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AN INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE GENITIVE NOUN PHRASE IN MIDDLE ENGLISH (1150-1500)

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

The evolution of the genitive noun phrase in English has been the subject of numerous studies, yet some aspects of this evolution have received less attention than others. In this study I address two of these less studied aspects: the evolution of the plural genitive noun phrase in Middle English (1150-1500), and the decline of the overtly case-marked genitive modifiers (singular and plural) in the same period. The former has generally been presented as following the same path of the singular genitive noun phrase; the latter has been all but ignored, with only a single study (Thomas 1931) which explicitly examines the use of the genitive definite article and strong adjective.

The study uses text samples from two electronic corpora, the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* and the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition*, as well as samples from printed editions. The texts used in the present study have been selected with the aim of covering as wide a geographical and chronological range as possible.

The thesis examines how and why the number of endings for the genitive plural inflection first increased (in the period up to about 1350) and then decreased (from 1350 onward), a fluctuation not found in the singular inflected genitive noun. The number of available inflectional endings increased due to the morphophonological weaknesses of the -V ending type – the dominant ending type inherited from OE – leading to instabilities in the inflectional system which allowed alternatives to arise. However, the number of genitive plural inflectional endings then decreased, apparently affected not only by the phonological strength/weakness of the ending types but also the type of noun phrase that these were associated with. The inflectional ending which survives, -Vs, is most commonly found with genitive noun phrases in which the genitive noun is animate and the noun phrase has one of the genitive functions labelled POSSESSIVE in this study. This distribution of the various inflectional endings according to animacy and function is related to the rise of the periphrastic genitive plural noun phrase. The initial preferred environment for the periphrastic genitive construction is noun phrases with those functions which will be referred to as NONPOSSESSIVE. As the inflected genitive becomes increasingly restricted to a single noun phrase type, the periphrastic construction expands, to become the default genitive construction by the end of the period.

The thesis examines the decline of overtly case-marked genitive modifiers in Middle English, both adjective and determiners. In general, the trend is that morphologically more conservative texts are more likely to preserve case-marked modifier forms, although some marked forms are more widespread due to the development of fixed expressions. Where case-marked modifiers are maintained, historical grammatical gender agreement and the strong/weak adjective distinction are often preserved. Factors which play a role in the survival of marked modifiers are chronological distribution, impact of Old English exemplars, and the development of certain fixed expressions with the adjectives. Thomas (1931) considered the loss of case-marked definite articles and strong adjectives to be the principal factor in the shift from inflected to periphrastic genitive constructions, but the evidence from the present study shows that this is not the case for all texts.

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I hereby declare that this thesis is my own composition, and that it contains no material previously submitted for the award of any other degree. The work reported within this thesis has been carried out by myself, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

Sara Myers
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

The evolution of the genitive noun phrase (GNP) in English has been the subject of numerous studies; these have examined the fate of the inflected genitive construction (Allen 2003; Allen 2008; Koike 2006), and the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions (Curme 1913; Thomas 1931; Altenberg 1982; Rosenbach 2002). These studies have also covered a range of time periods, from Old English (OE) (Koike 2006), through Middle English (ME) (Rosenbach 2002; Allen 2008), and into Modern English (ModE) and Present Day English (PDE) (Alternberg 1982; Taylor 1996; Rosenbach 2002). Despite this long history of investigation, certain aspects of the development of the GNP have been relatively neglected (Allen 2008: 2-3).

This thesis will examine two of these less studied aspects in the ME period: plural GNPs and genitive modifiers. Although the GNP in ME has been at least touched on by the standard reference works (including Mustanoja 1960; Brunner 1963; Fischer 1992; Lass 1992) and numerous articles have dealt with one or more aspects (such as Curme 1913; Allen 2009), there has not been any extensive study devoted exclusively to the use of the genitive in ME. One recent work which includes a discussion of the ME GNP, Rosenbach 2002, does so as part of an investigation into a related issue: the variation between the *'s* and *of* genitive in PDE. Thomas 1931 and Allen 2008, although they include work on the ME genitive, also cover earlier and later periods; every work after Thomas has relied on his figures for the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitives. These studies have devoted little if any attention to the fact that the genitive plural noun inflection, unlike the singular, shows an increase in the number of available inflectional endings in early ME, or why this should be; the present study thus fills a

gap in the history of the genitive noun. The present work also examines the variation between the inflected and periphrastic constructions in the plural GNP, and while the results do not completely contradict previous claims about the use of the two constructions, they do add some important qualifications (see Chapter 5).

This study also presents the first detailed study of genitive modifiers since Thomas 1931, and shows that, while his work on the variation between the two genitive nominal constructions may have stood the test of time (Allen 2008: 3), his theory on the relationship between the decline of the inflected genitive definite article and strong adjective and the rise of the periphrastic genitive is not supported by the evidence in my corpus of texts. Furthermore, Thomas is not particularly concerned with why genitive modifiers survived or not, but rather with their relation to the rise of the periphrastic genitive. A later work, Jones 1988, with proposes a re-analysis of case-marked modifiers in late OE and early ME which led to the survival of certain forms, is primarily focused on the issue of grammatical gender agreement (as does Stenroos 2008), and much of his focus in on the other cases. The results of this new investigation into the genitive modifiers does not entirely support either Thomas's or Jones's conclusions about the survival of case-marked modifiers. My work also reveals that the development of certain fixed or formulaic expressions play an important role not just in the plural genitive adjective (as widely agreed upon) but also in the singular genitive adjective.

1.1.1 Plural GNPs

Previous work on the evolution of the GNP in ME either conflates singular and plural (Thomas 1931), or focuses exclusively on the singular (Rosenbach 2002); often the difference between singular and plural is not addressed. Whether implicit or explicit, the accepted narrative is that

the singular GNP and the plural GNP developed in the same way in the shift from the OE synthetic (inflected) genitive to the PDE analytic (periphrastic) genitive, and there is no need to examine the plural separately from the singular. However, there was a notable difference between the singular and plural inflected GNPs in ME. While the three inflectional endings inherited from the OE singular paradigms were gradually reduced to a single ending, -*es* (which had been the most frequently occurring ending type in OE), in the plural, the opposite happened: the number of inflectional endings increases, from two in OE to five in the early ME texts. After about two centuries of this situation, the texts show another shift in the number of endings, with only -*es* remaining a frequent ending; unlike the genitive singular inflection, the -*es* in the genitive plural does not descend from an OE form. Although the eventual genitive inflectional ending was identical for both the singular and plural genitive , the paths leading to that end were not identical. This study will investigate how the genitive plural inflection evolved, and why its evolution differed from that of the singular.

The study also looks at the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions for the plural GNPs. As with the genitive plural inflection, a discussion of the variation between the inflected and periphrastic constructions for the plural specifically is lacking. In the treatment of the variation between the two genitive constructions in the literature, it is assumed that the two constructions developed as 'mirror images' of one another (Rosenbach 2002: 135). If we accept this mirror image approach to the variation between genitive constructions, then we assume that if an animate noun is a "trigger" for using the inflected genitive, then an inanimate noun will be a "trigger" to use the periphrastic genitive. There is a symmetry to the mirror image approach which is certainly appealing, but at least for the plural GNP[1] the data suggests that the relationship between the two genitive constructions was not

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1   It is has not been possible to carry out an equally exhaustive study of the singular GNP in the present work; I do not assume that what occurred in the plural GNP must necessarily have occurred in the same way, or at all, in the singular GNP.

quite so symmetrical, with animacy of the noun becoming the primary motivator in the use of the inflected plural GNP, and the function of the GNP being the initial motivation for the use of the periphrastic GNP.

1.1.2 Modifiers of genitive nouns

Overtly case-marked modifiers are considered to be an early loss in ME, and are often treated as occasional relics of the earlier OE system (Mustanoja 1960: 275; Lass 1992: 115). This is particularly true of the treatment of the adjective, which according to Allen suffered so much from the "devastating effect" of phonological attrition of the inflectional endings that case distinctions disappeared earliest in this word class (Allen 1995: 165). However, this is not the case with the genitive modifiers, where the singular strong adjective shows higher levels of case-marked forms than the definite article for early ME texts. It is not only the singular strong adjective which shows high levels of case-marked forms: the plural definite article and strong adjective also have over 50% marked genitive forms in the early ME texts. With the exception of the fossilised genitive plural adjective *alre* (Brunner 1963: §43), most studies of ME neglect the genitive modifiers. The only work which undertakes any sort of systematic study of the genitive modifiers, and which provides detailed statistics, is Thomas (1931); however, there are problems with Thomas's methodology, namely his inclusion of non-genitive modifiers in his genitive modifier data (see section 5.5).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The previous section has outlined some aspects of the evolution of the GNP in ME which have

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not been investigated thoroughly, and for which the (limited) account in the literature is problematic. Below are the three main research questions which I will consider.

1. Why is there an expansion in the number of inflectional endings available for the genitive plural noun in early ME, which increases from two in OE to five in early ME? And how do we account for the later ME reduction in genitive plural inflectional endings to one ending (with occasional remnants of a second)?

As detailed in Chapter 2, to answer this question I catalogued each instance of an inflected genitive plural noun in my corpus (see below section 1.3), and considered possible influences of dialect, time period, genitive function, morpheme realisation, and individual lexemes. I also consider the possible effects of conservative or innovative scribes. I find that both the proliferation and eventual reduction of genitive plural inflectional endings is related to the lack of isomorphy and phonological distinctiveness of the genitive plural inflectional ending which was most common in OE.

2. What factors contribute to the preservation of the overtly case-marked genitive modifiers? The impression given by the literature has generally been that such examples are occasional (Lass 1992: 113-115), and often attributed to conservative tendencies on the part of a scribe (although very few previous studies have focused on specific case-forms of the modifiers). However, as the marked modifiers, especially strong adjectives, are not particularly rare in the period up to 1350, the "relics" explanation seems dubious, as does the "conservative" one (certain marked modifier forms are found in texts which are not generally considered morphologically conservative).

This question has been examined in two parts. The first looks at the modifiers more or less in isolation from the rest of the GNP, and considers much the same factors mentioned above for the nominal plural genitive inflection; grammatical gender is also a feature to be considered for singular modifiers (there is no distinction for gender in the plural). The overall morphological conservativeness of a text does play a role in the survival of marked genitive modifier forms, but does not account for all the developments. The second part considers the modifiers as part of the entire GNP, and looks at what relationships exist between modifiers and other constituents. The data suggests that a variety of other factors may influence the use of marked or unmarked modifiers, including: the chronological distribution of the tokens; scribes who are copying from an OE exemplar; the inflectional ending type of the noun; and, most notably for the adjectives, the development of fixed or formulaic expressions.

3. What was the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions in the plural GNP in ME, and how did this result in the dramatic fall in the frequency of the inflected genitive in later ME?

As with the investigation into the genitive plural inflection, to answer this question it was necessary to catalogue all instances of the periphrastic genitive in the plural GNP in my corpus. Potential factors which may influence the variation between genitive constructions include those which were considered for the inflected plural GNP, with the addition of whether the text is prose or verse, and whether the text is a translation or not. The data in this study indicates that in the course of ME, the use of the inflected plural GNP became restricted to animate nouns; the principal factor in the initial rise of the periphrastic plural GNP was function.

It should be noted that this study is concerned with the written language; I make no attempt to

speculate on what the spoken language of the scribes might have been, nor on the possible timing of a change in the spoken language relative to the written.

1.3 CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The study is based on a corpus of texts compiled from three sources: *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*), *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English,* Edition 2 (*PPCME2*), and printed editions of ME texts. Below I detail how the corpus for this thesis was compiled, and how the genitive data was gathered.

1.3.1 Corpora

One of the recent advances in the study of ME has been the launch of *LAEME*, the largest electronic corpus of early ME texts. It includes 168 text samples, ranging from c.1150 to c. 1350; *PPCME2* includes only 16 text samples for the same period, although these are often longer samples in terms of word length. *LAEME* thus greatly increases the number of electronically searchable texts at our disposal. The use of *LAEME* has also resulted in a significant departure from one aspect of many previous studies: the abandonment of the *PPCME2* dating/dialect system. Both the dating system and the dialect regions in *LAEME* are narrower than those employed in *PPCME2*. *PPCME2* has only five regions: Kentish, Southern, East Midlands, West Midlands and Northern; neither *PPCME2* nor the manual to the Helsinki corpus defines these areas. The regions in *LAEME* are as follows:

CM Central Midlands: Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire (except Soke of

Peterborough)

EM East Midlands: Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambshire (incl. the Isle of Ely) Huntingdon, Soke of Peterborough

ESX Essex: Essex and London

N North: Cumbria, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire

NCM North-central Midlands: Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire[2]

NWM Northwest Midlands: Cheshire, Staffordshire

SC South Central: Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire

SE South East: Kent, Sussex, Surrey

SW South West: Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, Somerset

SWM Southwest Midlands: Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire

NL Nonlocalisable: mixed language or language which cannot be placed.

While the comprehensive list of dialect regions and counties is certainly convenient from an organisational point of view, it must be highlighted that in reality the borders are blurred. The boundary between Shropshire and Staffordshire (or any two adjacent counties) would not have created a linguistic break, but would form part of a continuum.

The dating systems are also very different: in *PPCME2*, there are only 4 time periods, the smallest of which covers 70 years; where possible, *LAEME* uses 25 year intervals, as in the following (Laing 2008: 1):

C13 = thirteenth century

C13a1 = thirteenth century, first quarter

C13a2 = thirteenth century, second quarter

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2   M. Laing, personal communication

C13a2-C13b1 = approximately the middle of the century

C13b1 = thirteenth century, third quarter

C13b2 = thirteenth century, fourth quarter

C13b2-C14a1 = approximate the end of C13/beginning of C14

C14a1 = fourteenth century, first quarter

Since so many of the early texts can now be quickly searched electronically, rather than having to read the printed editions, a larger number of texts can be included overall than was previously possible. For the period 1150-1350, the majority of the text samples are from *LAEME*, although the thesis corpus for this period has also been supplemented with some printed editions which fill a chronological and/or regional gap. For the 1350-1500 period, text samples have been included from printed editions and *PPCME2*. Adopting the *LAEME* dating and dialect divisions meant re-categorising the data from *PPCME2*, finding more precise information regarding the dialect and date of the MS; for both *PPCME2* and printed edition texts, the date of the manuscript was used rather than the hypothetical date of composition of the original text (*LAEME* also uses manuscript date). The first resource for date/dialect region information was the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)*; where text samples were not covered by *LALME*, it was often possible to find the needed information in the apparatus for the printed editions, or via institutions, such as the British Library, which house the manuscripts. If it was not possible to narrow down the date of the MS to a 50-year period (i.e. C15a, C15b) and dialect region could not be identified, the text was excluded.

For selecting printed editions, I used the Hyperbibliography of the *Middle English Dictionary (MED)*, which allows searches based on county; the *MED* entries included any *LALME* entries associated with manuscripts. Many texts are now available electronically, often in the corpus of

texts in the *Middle English Compendium*, but also in journals and even via Google Books. Possible entries were narrowed down based on the date, dialect, length, and whether the work was prose or verse. A final consideration in the case of published editions is the level of editorial intervention; a text which has extensive silent corrections, or which amalgamates different MS versions silently, was rejected. In the case of the *PPCME2* texts, which sometimes combine multiple manuscripts or scribes, where possible I have divided the original file in order to reflect the composite origins; thus, I have cmwycserA and cmwycserB, distinguishing the contributions of two scribes, where *PPCME2* has only cmwycser (The Wyclif Sermons). If dating or localising a particular portion of the text was not possible, that portion was excluded.

The result was a corpus of texts that included 206 text samples of varying length (some samples are only a few hundred words, others tens of thousands). However, not every text was used in every chapter. In Chapter 2, which looks only at the inflected genitive plural, only those texts which have at least one genitive plural inflected noun token were included. For chapters 3 and 4, which examine the development of genitive modifiers, only those texts which have a modifier in the GNP were included. For Chapter 5, which looks at the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive plural, only the texts which include at least one inflected plural GNP and one periphrastic plural GNP are used. Details of which texts have been used for the individual chapters can be found in Appendix A.

1.3.2 Methodology

Having compiled my corpus of texts, the next step was to gather the data for each research question. For the electronic texts this was relatively simple. In the case of *LAEME*, for inflected items it was usually a matter of identifying the correct tag (for example, plnG for genitive plural

nouns) and using the *LAEME* concordancing tool to output the relevant items. Similarly for *PPCME2*, searches could be done electronically, searching for the relevant tag (NS$ for genitive plural noun, for example). Note that for the periphrastic genitives the search was slightly more complex but still electronic, a combination of the built-in search tools of each electronic corpus and the UNIX command 'grep'. For printed editions, the method was the same regardless of the search item: read a text sample and compile a list of relevant tokens.

The results of the searches, both electronic and manual, were compiled into a series of spreadsheets. By using spreadsheets it was not only possible to enter a range of information (date, dialect, function, form, etc.; see individual chapters for more detail) but also to search and sort the data according to any criteria which had been entered in the spreadsheet. For example, it was simple to electronically sort the inflected and periphrastic genitive data by time period, in order to track the relative frequency of the two constructions throughout the entire ME period. Similar searches could be performed to check the regional distribution of a form, or whether a form was more common with a particular lexeme, etc. Each chapter contains more details of the methodology used for each investigation.

1.4 TERMINOLOGICAL MATTERS

One of the pitfalls of working on a topic with such a long scholarly tradition is that many people use the same words to mean different things. In addition to being frustrating, this can also lead to confusion and difficulty in using other studies (Thomas 1931: 33-34).. This section will define some of the potentially ambiguous terms which are used, and how these terms are used in the present study.

1.4.1 Genitive functions

One of the most vexing issues for anyone working on the development of the genitive noun phrase in English is the classification of the various functions for which the genitive can be used, not only because of the difficulty of trying to separate the many related uses of the genitive (Mitchell 1985: §1264-1265), but also because of the evolution of the genitive morpheme into something at least more clitic-like than in Old English (Rosenbach 2002: 201-232; Allen 2008: 121; but see Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 480 for an argument that the genitive is still an inflection in PDE), and into a determiner (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 472-473; Rosenbach 2002: 201-232: Allen 2008: 274-275) alters the preferred terminology for describing the functions that the genitive noun phrase has. A further difficulty, particularly in the earlier part of the ME period, is that the more categories that we divide the various genitive functions into (perhaps a futile endeavour; cf. Mitchell 1985: §1283), the less likely we are to have sufficient data to make any sort of conclusions about the use of the genitive. I have grouped the plural genitive noun phrases into two broad categories, as detailed below.

POSSESSIVE: This term refers to the following genitive functions; apart from the possessive, for which the phrase 'God's son' is found in religious texts in all eras, the OE examples are from Mitchell 1985, the ME examples from my corpus of texts, and the PDE examples from Huddleston & Pullum 2002.

possessive X has/possesses Y

    OE: *Godes sunu* 'God's son' (God has a son)

    ME: *Godes sune* 'God's son'

    PDE: God's son

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objective The genitive noun is the patient of an action expressed by the head noun

OE: *ure sawla Alysend* 'our souls' saviour' (i.e. our souls' are saved)

ME: *to cristen mennes saluacioun* (i.e. Cristian men are saved) (cmpurvey1666, I,3.117)

PDE: *Persia's conquest by Alexander the Great* (i.e. Alexander the Great conquered Persia)

subjective The genitive noun is the agent of an action expressed by the head noun

OE:*mines drihtnes lare* 'my lord's teaching' (i.e. my lord teaches)

ME: *þera apostla lare* 'the apostles' teaching (i.e. the apostles teach) (lamhomA1)

PDE: *No one objected to Kim's joining the party* (i.e. Kim joined the party)

The term POSSESIVE is not without its drawbacks, including the fact that the umbrella term POSSESSIVE includes the more specific term possessive (in the text, capitals are used to indicate the umbrella term). While there is some evidence that the objective genitive may not have developed in the same way in English as the possessive and subjective genitives (see Figure 5.18 and Allen 2009),[3] there is considerable difficulty in trying to separate the three functions, (Mitchell 1985: §1264; Rosenbach 2002: 29); an example of this overlap is *ge nabbað* **godes** *lufe on eow* 'ye do not have God's love in ye' (Mitchell 1985:§1281), where the sense could be possessive (the love God has for X), subjective (God loves X) or objective (X loves God). Furthermore, the subjective and objective genitives both have a clear thematic role (Agent and Patient/Experiencer, respectively), unlike the other genitive functions (Koike 2006: 51), which would seem to tie these two functions together. For OE, Mitchell classes the three together under the heading 'possessive' (Mitchell 1985: §1266), and lacking any other precedent,

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3   Although in my own variety of American English, the claim the objective genitive – realised by the synthetic genitive – cannot occur with nouns of cognition or emotion (Allen 2009: 50) does not hold true: a phrase such as *the theory of climate change and its [the theory's] perception has altered significantly in recent decades* is perfectly acceptable to me.

I have followed his usage. The different terminology employed by scholars whose focus is on PDE are not so easily adapted for the earlier stages.[4]

NONPOSSESSIVE: This term refers to the partitive and descriptive genitive functions:

partitive X is a part (even if zero/nothing) of the whole

OE: *nan ðing yfeles* 'no thing of evil' (Mitchell 1985: §1297)

ME: *Hengest cnihten alre væirest* 'Hengest, fairest of all knights' (layamonAa)

PDE: *one of the women* (note that in their section on the genitive, Huddleston & Pullum do not address the partitive genitive, as it is not possible to use the PDE *'s* form for this function)

descriptive Something of a catch-all category, in which the genitive modifies the head noun in a semantic relation not covered by any of the previous categories (in the ME example, it is *children's school*, rather than *anchoress's house*, which is the relevant example).

OE*: hwites lichaman and fægeres andwlitan menn* 'men of white body and fair face' (Mitchell 1985: §1292)

ME: *turnen ancre hus to childrene scole* 'turn [an] anchoress's house into [a] children's school' (corparX, 217.21)

PDE: *an old people's home*[5]

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4   For example, Huddleston & Pullum use the term 'nominalisation' to refer to certain subjective and objective genitives where the head noun is a nominalisation of a verb, as in conquest (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 475-476), and the term subject of the gerund-participial for subjective genitives where the genitive noun modifies a gerund/participal (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 467); it is not clear how an example traditionally classed as an objective genitive, such as 'the girls' hanging [i.e. X hanged the girls] outraged India' would be classified in this system. No mention is made of an *object* of the gerund-participial, yet that would seem to be the only way to classify such an NP.
5   They also recognise a further subtype, the genitive of measure, as in *an hour's delay* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 470).

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I do not generally attempt to distinguish between the many different nuances of the descriptive genitive (see Mitchell 1985: §1293), such as the genitive of age, genitive of measure, genitive of origin, etc.

1.4.2 Remaining terms

The remainder of this section will cover terms which are less complex than the categorising of genitive functions, but which are either ambiguous or less familiar.

Old English (OE): When referring to OE, unless otherwise noted, I am referring to the West Saxon variety, which is used as the variety to exemplify OE usage in handbooks.[6] This is not to imply that every ME form is derived from West Saxon; merely that as the most documented variety of OE, this is a convenient point of reference.

Middle English (ME): This refers to the language used in documents written (not necessarily composed) in the period from c.1150 to 1500. ME can also be divided into early and late subperiods, although different scholars draw the line at different points, generally between 1300 and 1350. I have avoided using a set time period for early and late ME, as this seems to vary slightly depending on which aspect of the language one investigates.

literatim scribe: A literatim scribe is one who copies letter for letter the language of his examplar, without introducing his own usage (McIntosh et al. 1986: I.13).

translator scribe: A translator scribe is one who has thoroughly translated the text of his

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6   There are early and late varieties of West Saxon; unless otherwise stated, I use the late West Saxon
    forms to exemplify OE morphology.

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exemplar from the original variety into his own variety (McIntosh et al. 1986: I.13). Note that a scribe can also fall anywhere on the spectrum between literatim and translator.

conservative: Refers to those features, whether morphological or syntactic or other, which are historically older; i.e. are commonly found in OE. Also refers to scribes who employ such features to a high degree.

innovative: Refers to features, whether morphological or syntactic or other, which are historically newer; i.e. are not (commonly) found in OE. Also refers to scribes who employ such features to a high degree.

definite article: While the ancestor of the PDE definite article 'the' functioned slightly differently in OE (as the simple demonstrative (Fischer 1992: 217)), by late ME 'that' and 'the' have established their distinct demonstrative and definite article functions. In early ME texts it is not always clear whether 'the' should be classed as a simple demonstrative or definite article; for convenience I have referred to the set of 'the' items as the definite article.

demonstrative: The development of distinct proximal and distal demonstratives is occurring in early ME (Fischer 1992: 217-218); the PDE distal demonstrative is descended from the OE neuter simple demonstrative *þæt*. In the later texts the proximal and distal demonstratives are used as in PDE, and so for consistency and convenience I refer to these as the demonstratives throughout the thesis. For early ME, I have generally followed the tagging system in *LAEME*, which tags separately for the definite article 'the' and the distal demonstrative 'that/those'.

strong/weak adjectives: These labels are applied to adjectives based on whether the context was

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historically strong or weak in OE: weak adjectives are used in conjunction with a definite determiner, and strong in the absence of a definite determiner. It is not within the scope of this study to determine the extent to which these category distinctions may or may not be valid for the entire ME period.

structurally assigned case: In the case of the genitive, this refers to the POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE genitive functions in which the NP is assigned the genitive case based on the syntax of the entire NP (Allen 1995: 125).

lexically assigned case: This is used to refer to GNPs which function as the complement of a verb, adjective, or noun (Allen 1995: 125).

1.5 ORGANISATION

The thesis has been organised as follows. Chapter 2 examines the use of the inflected genitive plural nouns, which endings are used, how frequently, and which factors appear to contribute to the use of the five ending types identified. Not only are there regional and chronological factors at work, but also certain lexical and functional factors which affect the use of any given ending. In Chapter 3, the investigation into the use of overt genitive morphology continues, examining the survival of overtly case-marked genitive modifiers, in both the singular and plural. Chapter 4 is a more detailed look at the factors which affect the survival of overtly case-marked genitive modifiers, and considers the entire GNP. Finally, in Chapter 5 the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions in the plural GNPs is considered. The two constructions are not mirror images; instead, animacy and function have different weight for the

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two constructions. Furthermore, the impact of French (in the form of translated texts) may have been somewhat overstated in the literature. It is also shown that the relationship between the survival of the overt genitive modifiers and the rise of the periphrastic genitive is not always what one would have predicted from existing descriptions. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the thesis, and provides an overview of the findings of the thesis and suggests potential areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2: GENITIVE PLURAL INFLECTION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the genitive plural noun inflection is its historical fluctuation in the number of possible endings. In OE, there were two endings, with one, *-a*, accounting for the vast majority of instances; in earlier ME (1175-1350 in this chapter) there were three frequent endings, and a further two infrequent endings; in later ME (1350-1500) there was only one frequent ending, with remnants of a second. The other interesting feature is that the two endings which are found throughout the later ME period have no OE ancestors – the OE genitive plural inflectional ending forms have all been lost. In this chapter I will look at the five endings which are attested in ME, and consider why those that were lost were lost, and how one ending, -Vs, came to be the dominant ending.

The most significant changes occurred in the earlier ME period (1175-1350), in which multiple factors acted on the genitive plural inflection, pushing in different directions. Some of the most prominent such factors include:

phonological robustness: -V, an unstressed final vowel, was vulnerable to the reduction and attrition that was a widespread feature of late OE and early ME.

morphological ambiguity: -V, -Vn, -Vs and -Ø were all used to express other case/number combinations in ME. Examples of other combinations include, but are not limited to: -V is used for weak masculine nominative singular (*licham-a*); -Vn is used for weak neuter genitive singular (*heort-an*); -Vs is used for strong masculine nominative accusative plural (*stan-as*): -Ø is used for strong neuter nominative plural (*word*).

genitive function: -V and -VnV, which are most often used with NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, are in "competition" with the periphrastic genitive construction, which was first established in the NONPOSSESSIVE NPs.

manuscript traditions: some regions have more conservative manuscript traditions than others, and preserve more conservative (i.e. older) forms.

paradigm pressure: possible influence from non-genitive plural endings (-Vs or -Ø), or from the genitive singular ending (-Vs).

These competing pressures were all occurring in early ME, and interact to affect which endings are used by which scribes, and when (Mustanoja 1960: 67). I will consider how these pressures affected each of the possible ending types, and how the combination resulted in the two phases of the ME genitive plural: the variation phase (1175-1350) and the -Vs phase (1350-1500), in which a single ending came to be the only option for marking the genitive plural inflection.

2.1.1 Methodology

As outlined in the Introduction (section 1.3.1), the data in this chapter comes from three sources, the electronic corpora *LAEME* and *PPCME2*, and printed editions (see Appendix A for details).[7] For the electronic corpora, it was possible to search for relevant items by using the tags. In the case of *PPCME2*, a search was performed on each individual text for all items tagged with **NS$**, the tag which is applied to nouns (**N**) which are plural (**S**) and have the genitive inflection (**$**). For *LAEME*, a search was performed on the entire corpus using the *LAEME* concordance tool, to search for items with the tag **/plnG**, which was applied to items which were plural (**pl**) nouns

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7   In the case of eight scribal texts (bod34, layamonAa, layamonAb, neroar, cleoara, cleoarb, corpar, and titusar), the data from *LAEME* has been augmented by the addition of further material from the printed editions. Data which comes from the printed editions, not *LAEME*, is indicated by appending an 'x' to the text name: layamonAax, neroarx; see Appendix A for details.

(**n**) with genitive (**G**) inflection. However, that version of the *LAEME* concordancing tool did not find genitive plural compound nouns (such as *his emcristen-es wowe* 'his fellow-Christains' woe' (trhomB)), due to a ing error owing to the compound tag -k. As a result, I also performed a second search on each text individually to check for the tag **/nplG** – in the text file, a genitive plural noun is tagged with **/nplG** and its separated ending is tagged with **/plnG**; the concordancing tool finds all occurrences of **/plnG**, but not **/nplG.**

For the printed editions, the only way to find the genitive plural nouns was to read a selection and note down the tokens. In general, the decision on whether a given form is a genitive plural or not was mine, although some editions do contain detailed glossaries or other grammatical apparatus which could also be consulted. The decision of what texts to include was rather complex; as one of the goals of this study is to consider as wide a geographic range as possible throughout the period 1150-1500, many texts were chosen to fill gaps left by the two electronic corpora. Preference was given, where possible, to longer texts, and an effort was made to include both prose and verse texts. A final limitation was the availability of printed editions.

The genitive plural noun tokens from this corpus of texts have been compiled in a single spreadsheet. In addition to the genitive plural noun itself, and its gloss, I have also recorded the following information in the spreadsheet:

ending: The form of the genitive plural inflection, such as *-es, -a, -enne, -ene, -Ø,* etc.

ending type: Which of the five "types" the form belongs to; e.g. *-is, -es, -s, -ys, -ess* all belong to the type -Vs.

source text: The 'short name' of the text, as assigned by *LAEME* and *PPCME2*, or created by the author for texts not included in these corpora. See Appendix A for details.

context: A selection of the text immediately before and after the genitive plural noun.

time period: As outlined in section 1.3.1, I have used the dating system employed in *LAEME*.

region: Again, I have used the regional divisions employed for *LAEME*. Details can be found in the Introduction (section 1.3.1) and Appendix A.

animacy: This indicates whether the noun refers to an animate or inanimate entity.

function: This category includes information on the genitive function of the noun; whether it is POSSESSIVE (subjective, objective, possessive), NONPOSSESSIVE (partitive, descriptive) or lexically triggered (object of verb, noun, or adjective).

lexeme: The lexeme which occurs in the genitive plural.

Note that in the tables in this and the following chapters, where percentages are given, the total of the percentages is not always 100%; rounding to the nearest whole integer sometimes results in totals of 99% or 101%.

2.1.2 Data gaps

Appendix A contains a complete list of the 173 text samples for which at least one inflected genitive plural noun is attested; these texts make up the corpus for this study. The texts are unevenly distributed, with regional and temporal gaps in the record, a fact which has the potential to skew the data. It is useful to provide some information here regarding the distribution of the texts in time and space.

Table 2.1 indicates the distribution of the texts according to dialect region and by century (so C12 = twelfth century, C13 = thirteenth century, etc.). The dialect regions are those suggested by *LAEME*, including NL, nonlocalisable texts.

	CM	EM	ESX	N	NCM	NWM	SC	SE	SW	SWM	NL	TOT
C12	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	6
C12-13	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
C13	1	2	3	0	0	2	0	3	3	32	12	58
C13-14	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	1	11
C14	0	7	2	5	1	1	1	1	2	7	1	28
C14-15	0	2	4	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	13
C15	9	13	4	3	0	4	2	3	0	5	4	47
TOTAL	12	30	15	9	1	7	8	10	6	47	19	164

Table 2.1: Regional and temporal distribution of texts[8]

As the table shows, there are some quite large disparities in how the texts are distributed in space and time. For example: Over one-third of the texts are from C13; nearly 30% are from the SWM, and 17% from the EM. SWM texts from C13 account for nearly 20% of all text samples, while there are no text samples from the N before C14. 14 of the 77 temporal/regional combinations have a single text witness; 32 have none at all. There are only 6 combinations for which we have more than 5 text witnesses. This very uneven distribution of the data must be borne in mind when analyzing the patterns in the development of the genitive plural inflection; any claim about a given period will generally apply only to particular regions, as there will be no evidence from other regions. The same is true about regional claims; these will generally only apply to periods for which we have data. A further caveat is that in many cases, a given region for a given period will only have a single text witness. There is no way to avoid such gaps; the best we can do is to be aware how such gaps or even "overloads" may skew the data and our perception.

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8 For the texts such as corpar, layamonAb, etc. where I have augmented the *LAEME* data, I have only counted each text once, as the language, scribe, and manuscript is identical. Unless otherwise specified, I do not differentiate between the *LAEME* sample and the additional material from the printed editions.

2.1.3 OE genitive plural

In OE there were only two endings for the genitive plural noun inflection: *-a* and *-ena*. *-a* was used for nouns that belonged to the strong class and all minor noun classes and *-ena* for nouns that belonged to the weak class, although *-ena* is also used for strong feminine nouns throughout OE and is attested with strong nouns of all genders in later OE texts (Campbell 1959: §572; Mustanoja 1960: 73; Hogg & Fulk 2011: §3.9-10, §3.75). In OE, the genitive case was used for all of the functions outlined in section 1.4.1: POSSESSIVE (possessive, objective, subjective) and NONPOSSESSIVE (paritive and descriptive; the genitive case could also be used as the complement of a noun, verb, or adjective (the lexically assigned case uses). In the present chapter I will be primarily concerned with the POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE uses of the genitive; plural genitive nouns in lexically assigned instances are too infrequent to be studied in detail (but see section 5.2.3 for how the disappearance of lexically assigned inflected genitive relates to the rise of the periphrastic genitive)..

2.2 OVERVIEW OF ME GENITIVE PLURAL

In the earlier ME texts, up to 1350, there are five ending types which are regularly attested; all but one (-Ø) have multiple forms. This is different from the genitive singular inflection, in which the set of OE inflectional endings was gradually reduced. From 1350 onward, we find that this proliferation of genitive plural inflectional endings has been lost, with only a single ending type, -Vs, surviving as a productive genitive plural inflectional ending.

2.2.1 Endings

Table 2.2 shows all the genitive plural inflectional forms which are attested in the 1427 tokens in the corpus for the entire period. Most of these endings can be considered as belonging to one of five common 'types': -Vs, -V, -VnV, -Vn, and -Ø.

TYPE	-V	-VnV	-Vs	-Vn	-Ø	OTHER
	-e: 368	-ene: 245	-es: 334	-en: 52	-Ø: 68	-um: 1[9]
	-a: 51	-ena: 6	-s: 100	-an: 18		-ne: 3
	-æ: 1	-enne: 3	-ys: 80	-enen: 1		-n: 6
		-æna: 1	-is: 48			
		-æne: 1	-us: 19			
		-anna: 1	-eʒ: 8			
		-enæ: 1	-ess: 3			
			-ʒ: 2			
			-ez: 1			
			-ss: 1			
			-enes: 1			
			-as: 1			
			-æs: 1			
TOTAL	420	258	599	71	68	10

Table 2.2: All genitive plural inflection forms

There is also one example in which the noun is abbreviated; both the context and the form of the article confirm that this is a genitive plural noun.[10]

(2.1) *fulien þer apo. lore* 'to follow the apostles' teaching' (trhomB)

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9 This example, in the phrase *to ælc þare mannum* 'to each of the men' (wintney), shows some confusion between the influence of the preposition *to* which governs the head noun *ælc* (and which often took a dative form in OE and eME) and the genitive case of the partitive modifier *þare* which modifies the head and which has an overtly genitive plural form.
10 There are no examples in which only the ending of the genitive plural noun is abbreviated.

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The -V ending type descends from the OE strong noun class ending -*a*, and the -VnV type from the OE weak noun class ending -*ena*. -Vs is an innovation, derived from either the genitive singular (Mustanoja 1960: 73) or common plural (Fisiak 1968: §3.4). Less frequent than -Vs but also innovations are -Vn and -Ø.

Examples of the five ending types are provided in (2.2)-(2.6) (genitive plural noun in bold):

(2.2) *þorh wise **menn-e** reade* 'through wise men's counsel' (layamonBO)

(2.3) ***werm-ene** mete* 'worms' meat' (ayenbite)

(2.4) *cristene **menn-es** hondes* 'Christian men's hands' (cmmandev,70.1749)

(2.5) *for vre **heldr-en** soule* 'for our elders' souls' (buryFf)

(2.6) *coveitede oþer **men-Ø** good* 'coveted other men's goods' (cmpolych, VI,369.2688)

Table 2.3 shows the number of tokens for each ending type, as well as what percentage of all tokens each type accounts for, which provides a very general impression of the overall frequency of the endings. However, such a simplistic table does not show how the use of the endings varied through time; as we shall see, pre- and post-1350 scribes had very different practices.

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	# of tokens	% of total
-Vs	599	42%
-V	420	29%
-VnV	259	18%
-Vn	70	5%
-Ø	68	5%
total gen. pl.	1427	

Table 2.3: Overall frequency of the five ending types

Before moving on to the detailed analysis of the evolution of the genitive plural noun inflection, I would like to briefly discuss the relationship between the singular and plural genitive noun inflections. By the end of the ME period, both the singular and plural genitive inflectional ending is the -Vs type. Unlike the plural, the genitive singular does not show an increase in ending types; furthermore, already in early ME, the -Vs type is clearly the dominant ending (Strang 1970: 259). Table 2.4 shows the relative frequencies for the three main ending types for the singular and plural genitive inflection in *LAEME*.[11]

Singular			Plural		
	#	%		#	%
-Vs	4508	78%	-Vs	221	2%
-V	816	14%	-V	418	41%
-Ø	430	7%	-VnV	255	25%
TOTAL TOKENS	5779		TOTAL TOKENS	1020	

Table 2.4: The three major ending types for singular and plural genitive inflection, 1150-1350

In the genitive singular, -Vs inherits an advantage over the -V and -Ø endings; this was the ending of the strong masculine and neuter *-a* stem noun class in OE, which is the largest noun

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11 The singular genitive nouns were searched for using the *LAEME* concordancing tool to find all items with the tag **/Gn**, which is used to mark the endings of singular genitive nouns.

class in OE (Hogg & Fulk 2011: §2.7). -Vs had a numerical advantage over the other ending types, an advantage compounded by the tendency of our surviving texts to talk about male humans, such as kings, knights, and monks (Curzan 2003: 66; Stenroos 2008: 460), nouns which in many cases belonged to the masculine *-a* stem noun class in OE. Thus, -Vs was already the most frequent genitive singular noun ending to occur in OE. Yet numerical advantage alone is not enough; if anything, the genitive plural -V ending inherited an even greater numerical advantage – this was the ending for all strong and minor noun classes, regardless of gender,[12] yet it is used for less than half the genitive plural nouns in this period.[13] As discussed in detail below, the -V ending is phonologically and morphologically "weak": as a final unstressed vowel, this ending type is prone to the reduction and loss that affected unstressed final vowels in early ME (Mustanoja 1960: 43; Brunner 1963: §24; Lass 1992: 95). Furthermore, final -V is not isomorphic; both *-a* and *-e* are used for other case/number/gender combinations in OE and ME; for example, in OE, *-a* is used for strong feminine nominative/accusative plural, and *-e* for strong dative singular. The ubiquity of *-e* in ME is well documented (Brunner 1963: §39; Lass 1992: 104); this ending is attested for virtually all combinations. It is presumably these weaknesses of the -V ending which gave rise to a greater level of variation in the genitive plural inflection in early ME. In the singular the most frequent inherited ending (-Vs) was more phonologically robust and less morphologically ambiguous than -V and -Ø and was extended to an increasing number of lexical items. In contrast, in the genitive plural the most frequent inherited ending (-V) was morphophonologically weaker, and rather than being extended to new lexemes, declined. This decline of -V allowed "space" for other endings to develop.

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12 See Hogg & Fulk 2011, Chapter 2 for a full account of the noun classes and paradigms in OE.
13 Using the sample provided by Hogg & Fulk (2011: §2.7) to estimate the frequency of strong and minor nouns in OE, we could expect -V to account for around 90% of all genitive plural nouns.

2.2.2 Chronological variation

The tables in the previous subsection do not provide any information about the chronological variation in the ending types; this will be the focus of this subsection. Table 2.5 shows the number of tokens of each type from C12b to C15b.[14] The table also includes what percentage of the total tokens for each period each ending type accounts for (e.g. for C12b, the -Vs type accounts for 31% of all tokens for that period).[15,16]

	-Vs		-V		-VnV		-Vn		-Ø		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
C12b	30	31	26	27	32	33	5	5	4	4	97
C13a	82	16	264	52	121	24	25	5	15	3	507
C13a-b	4	27	7	47	2	13	0	0	2	13	15
C13b	32	13	95	37	84	33	31	12	14	6	256
C13-14	10	32	7	23	13	42	0	0	1	3	31
C14a	59	63	15	16	1	1	5	5	14	15	94
C14b	44	83	1	2	3	6	1	2	4	8	53
C14-15	78	96	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	81
C15a	136	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	141
C15a-b	26	93	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	28
C15b	94	93	0	0	0	0	3	3	4	4	101
Total	**597**		**416**		**256**		**70**		**67**		**1406**

Table 2.5: Plural genitive inflection ending types through time

As the table indicates, the -Vs type begins to account for the majority of all genitive plural noun inflections from C14a onward, and rapidly increases, accounting for over 90% of all genitive plural noun inflections from c. 1400 onward.

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14 Note that C13a-b, etc. is shorthand for texts dated C13a2-C13b1; likewise C13-14 is for texts dated C13b2-C14a1.
15 Excluded are 11 tokens which do not fit into any of the five types. Also excluded are any tokens from texts which have not been dated to within the ranges used in the table.
16 Here and throughout the thesis, percentages are rounded to the nearest whole integer, unless otherwise specified.
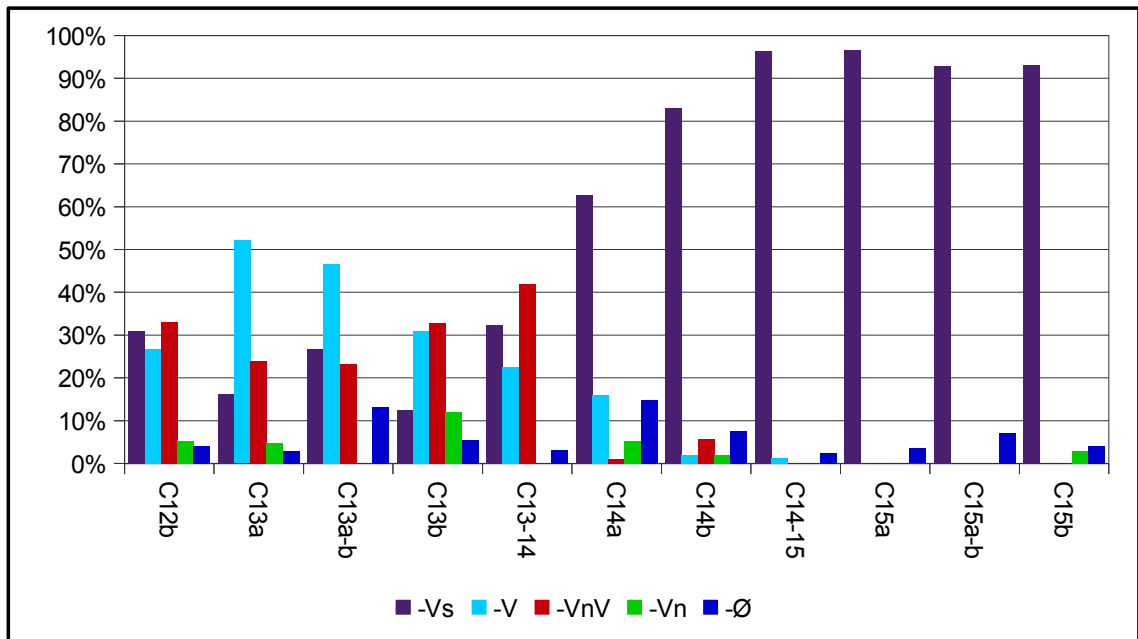
Figure 2.1: Relative frequencies of the five ending types, C12b–C15b

The later dominance of -Vs is perhaps even more obvious in Figure 2.1 than in Table 2.5. Figure 2.1 also makes obvious that the genitive plural inflection prior to 1350 was very different from that from 1350 onward. Given the homogeneity of the post-1350 period, the following discussion will focus predominantly on developments from C12b to C14a. Figure 2.2 shows the data for only the earlier period.
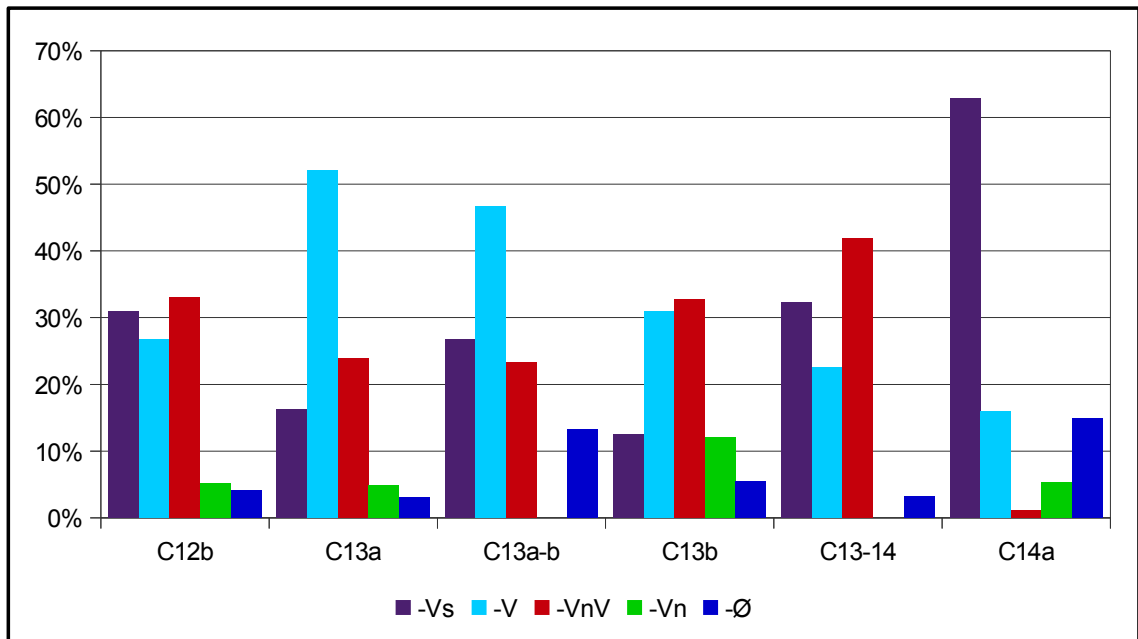
Figure 2.2: Relative frequency of the five genitive plural endings types, C12b–C14a

Sections 2.3-7 will consider the developments of the individual ending types.

2.3 THE ENDINGLESS GENITIVE: -Ø

-Ø is the least frequent of the 5 ending types, but its use reflects the complex nature of the evolution of the genitive plural inflection. The following examples are typical:

(2.7) *sorge seue **gier-Ø*** 'seven years' sorrow' (digpm)

(2.8) *alle **men-Ø** sin* 'all men's sins' (edincmb)

As Figure 2.1 shows, this ending is not associated with any particular period, nor does the regional distribution suggest a strong regional development, as Figure 2.3 shows. Given that the EM and SWM are the source of most of our texts, it is hardly surprisingly that most of the -Ø

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tokens are from texts from these regions (17 and 23 tokens, respectively). The only difference between the distribution of our sources and the distribution of -Ø tokens is the slight spike in N forms.
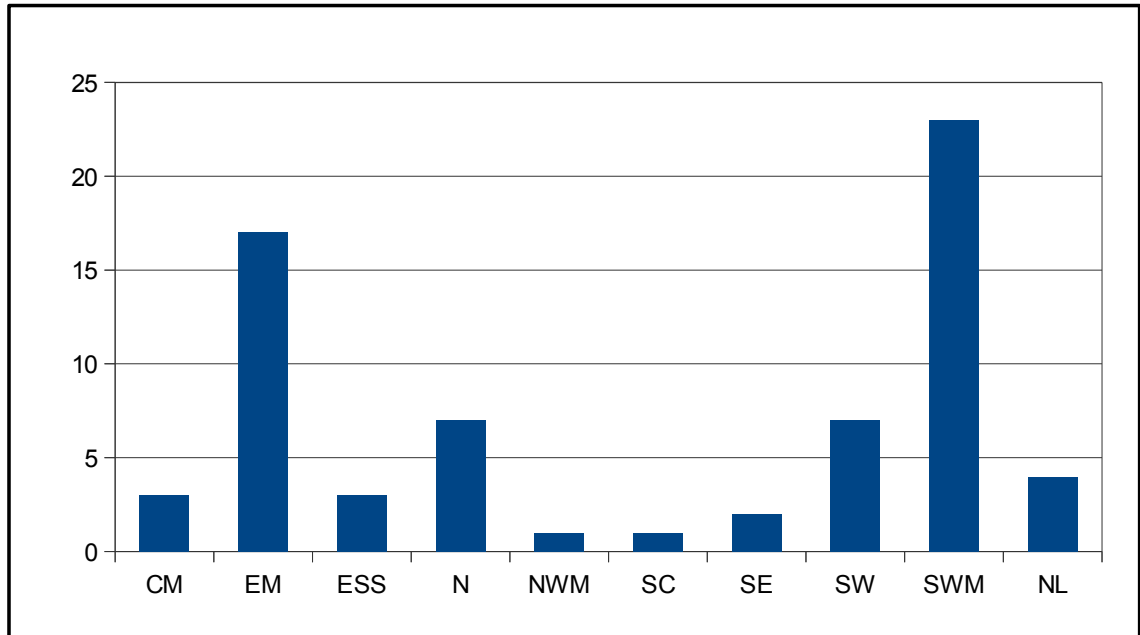
Figure 2.3: Regional distribution of -Ø tokens

Animacy and genitive function also do not appear to have a strong impact on the use of the -Ø ending. 39 of the tokens (57%) have NONPOSSESSIVE functions, which at first glance seems like a high level of NONPOSSESSIVE tokens; however, 38 of those tokens are from the pre-1350 period, in which NONPOSSESSIVE tokens did outnumber POSSESSIVE for the plural GNP (section 5.2.4). Similarly, we have a majority of animate tokens (44 of 68), but again this reflects a wider general trend in the use of the inflected genitive. Particularly after 1350, the genitive inflection is more often used with animate nouns rather than inanimate nouns (see section 5.2.1.1); none of the 17 post-1350 -Ø tokens are with inanimate nouns.[17] As far as

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17 25% of the -Ø tokens are post-1350, compared to 5% or less for -V, -VnV and -Vn and over half of the -Vs tokens. Thus, the post-1350 developments are more relevant to -Ø and -Vs tokens than the other three ending types.

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regionalism, genitive function, and noun animacy are concerned, the -Ø ending type does not show any peculiar characteristics, but instead reflects the broader trends of the inflected plural GNP.

From examples such as (2.7), one might be tempted to argue that the -Ø forms do show a particular functional distribution, occurring in genitives of measure (forerunners of the PDE endingless units of measure found in expressions such as 'ten mile' (Brunner 1963: §42.5; Strang 1970: 260); howevergenitives of measure are also regularly found with other ending types (e.g. *þreo niht-e*, 'three nights' (layamonAb)), and account for only 12 of the -Ø tokens. Instead, the most important factor in the use of this ending type appears to be the lexeme.

Although some lexemes, such as *gier* 'year', match the PDE pattern of endingless units of measure, the single most common lexeme, *men* 'men's', does not. But *men, gier,* and indeed most of the -Ø tokens do share a common feature: in OE these nouns were not part of the strong masculine *-a* stem class, and so did not have *-as* in the nominative/accusative plural.[18] The nominative/accusative plural ending of the noun is relevant to the form of the genitive plural, as Fisiak considers that the nominative/accusative plural form in *-es* (his 'common' case) was extended to the genitive plural of most nouns in ME (Fisiak 1968: §3.4). Table 2.6 shows a sample of the OE paradigms for these non-*a* stem masculine nouns, and for comparison also includes one of the *-a* stem masculine nouns.

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18 Note that these are the "classical" paradigms to which these nouns belonged; particularly in later OE, examples can be found of the endings of the masculine *-a* stems being extended to other declensions (Lass 1992: 109).

	-a stem, masc.	*-a* stem, neut.	*-n* stem, masc.	*-u* stem, masc.	stem-change, masc.
nom.pl.	*biscop**as***	*gear**Ø***	*ieldr**an***	*wintr**u***	*m**e**nn*
acc.pl.	*biscop**as***	*gear**Ø***	*ieldr**an***	*wintr**u***	*m**e**nn*
gen.pl.	*biscop**a***	*gear**a***	*ieldr**ena***	*wintr**a***	*mann**a***
dat.pl.	*biscop**um***	*gear**um***	*ieldr**um***	*wintr**um***	*mann**um***

Table 2.6: Sample plural paradigms of OE noun classes

Three of the 68 -Ø tokens do not have an OE etymon, leaving 65 tokens to consider. Of these 65 tokens (22 separate lexemes), only 6 belong to masculine *-a* stem noun class; the remaining 59 tokens all had non-*as* plural forms. As the plural paradigms outlined in Table 2.6 destabilised in late OE/early ME, due to the phonological reduction and loss of final nasals and unstressed final vowels, many of these ending forms would have been lost (Brunner 1963: §42.5). The distinct dative form in *-um* was an early loss, generally undergoing syncretism with the accusative (Fischer 1992: 340), so that all non-genitive plural forms would soon be identical (Mustanoja 1960: 94-95; Lass 1992: 111). In the strong masculine *-a* stems, this would result in a nominative/accusative/dative plural in *-s*. If the same process of accusative/dative (and nominative/accusative) syncretism occurred with other noun classes, then this syncretism, combined with the loss of final nasals and unstressed vowels, would result in non-genitive noun forms with -Ø. And if the analogical levelling of the non-genitive plural ending to the genitive was also in operation, even partially, that could result in -Ø genitive plural forms. If, even to a limited extent, the form of the genitive plural was influenced by the non-genitive plural forms, then we might expect that nouns such as *gier*, *men*, etc. would occasionally appear with -Ø in the genitive plural. Of the 17 post-1350 -Ø tokens, ten are *men*, showing the importance of this particular noun in the survival of the -Ø genitive plural form.[19]

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19 An alternate explanation is that the reduction and loss of unstressed final vowels could have resulted in endingless genitive plurals via the loss of genitive plural *-a* or *-e*. The very small number of -Ø tokens suggests that such a process was not widespread in ME, and it seems too much of a coincidence that the majority of the affected nouns would belong to noun classes other than the strong

The -Ø ending indicates that the development of the genitive plural inflection was not a "straight line", but instead may have been affected by multiple competing pressures, possibly simultaneously. Most of the nouns which have -Ø are also found with other endings, even within the same scribal text. For example, the Northern scribe of edincmb (one of the *Cursor Mundi* mss) has both *men* and *mennes* for the gentiive plural; *men* shows the influence of the endingless plural non-genitive forms, while *mennes* shows the influence of the genitive singular -*es*. The use of the two forms may also be evidence of the influence of the most common noun paradigm in ME, in which the genitive singular and all plural nouns had a -Vs ending.

2.4 THE OE STRONG DESCENDANT: -V

In OE, the -V ending type, with the form -*a*, was the most frequent genitive plural ending (Lass 1992: 109), used as it was for all but the weak noun class (see above; Hogg & Fulk (2011: §2.81) estimate that masculine and feminine weak -*n* stems account for only 10-15% of OE noun types). In ME, this was also the single most frequent ending type in the period C12b-C14a, although it is not always the most numerous ending in individual sub-periods. However, after C14a, the ending type is virtually nonexistent (see Figure 2.1). In this section I will examine the use of the -V ending type, how the use of this ending type relates to conservatism, and how the loss of this formerly dominant ending type is related to morphophonological distinctiveness.

2.4.1 Archaism?

There are two main variants of the -V ending type: -*a* is the classical OE form, while -*e* is the

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-*a* stems.

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ME descendant of that form, following the reduction of final unstressed vowels to [ə] (written as -*e*) (Brunner 1963: §24). Table 2.7 lists the seven texts in which the -*a* variant is found, along with the number of tokens.[20] A typical example is

(2.9)   *ælc þare* **word-a** 'each of the words' (worcthgrgl).

Text	short name	period	tokens
Lambeth Homilies, Group A	lamhomA1	C13a1	13
Layamon's *Brut*, Caligula, hand B	layamonAb	C13b1	1
Wells Cartulary, language A	wellsa	C13a2	1
Wells Cartulary, language B	wellsb	C13a2	4
Wintney, Benedictine Rule	wintney	C13a1	4
The Creed, Worcester Tremulous Hand	worcthcreed	C13a	1
Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, Worcester Tremulous Hand	worcthgrgl	C13a	28

Table 2.7: Texts with genitive plural form -*a*

layamonAb is a deliberately archaic early ME composition (Stanley 1969: 23-37; La Saux 1989: 8), worcthcreed is the work of the Worcester Tremulous Hand; the remainder are ME versions of earlier material.[21] It appears that OE was still exerting some influence in these texts, and may be the source of the -*a* forms in these texts. More than half of the examples of -*a* come from the work of the Worcester Tremulous Hand, the thirteenth-century Worcester scribe who glossed many OE texts. This scribe made something of a study of OE (Franzen 1991: 147); the high number of tokens from this scribe is a result of this antiquarian pursuit and the fact that his longest text is a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar*, a text which is particularly concerned with

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20   The single occurrence of -*æ* from wintney is included as an older form, as the use of the *æ* grapheme generally seems to be archaic, suggesting that this was certainly viewed as an "older looking" option (Stanley 1969: 27).

21   lamhomA1 is from what Sisam (1951: 106-107) terms Group A, material which is older chronologically and linguistically than the rest of the material (Group B) in the *Lambeth Homilies*. Millett (2007: 44-63) disputes some of Sisam's claims; however, for the purposes of the discussion here, the point is rather moot. 7 of the examples come from the Ælfrician sermons, and the others from I, III, and XII. All these are sermons which all authorities agree as originating from older material.

inflectional endings.

The occurrences of -*a* could reasonably be attributed to the influence of OE exemplars or the study of OE (or, in the case of layamonAb, to a desire to produce something that *looked* like OE influence). As such, should the -*a* tokens be included in the corpus, as they may not be early ME forms at all? There are problems with excluding the -*a* tokens. Firstly, there is the difficulty of placing too much emphasis on the variation of the final written vowel (Mustanoja 1960: 43); most of these scribes also use the -*e* form of the -V ending, indicating that they probably considered -*a* and -*e* to be equivalent. For example, in worcthgrgl, which provides over half of all -*a* tokens, only half of the -V tokens have the form -*a*; the other half have -*e*. Furthermore, it is possible that the -*a* forms are a part of the scribes' passive repertoire – forms which they recognize but do not themselves spontaneously produce (McIntosh et al. 1986: 14). All of the examples come from fairly early in the period, and the majority of the examples come from the SWM, with the remainder from the adjoining SW and SC regions. Following the Conquest, western parts of the country, especially the area around Worcester, were somewhat more conservative in their manuscript traditions (Clanchy 1979: 166; Franzen 1991: 81; Smith 1991: 56-57). This more conservative manuscript tradition could result in scribes, like the Worcester Tremulous Hand, who had at least a passive knowledge of the older forms of the genitive plural inflection. It being impossible to say for certain whether the scribes understood that -*a* was a genitive plural morpheme or were copying straight from an exemplar, I have included the -*a* tokens rather than exclude them.

2.4.2 Regional and chronological distribution of - V

While the -*a* form is not very frequent in absolute terms (52 tokens) and confined to "archaic"

texts, the same is not true of the -*e* ending. This is the single most frequent form in the period C12b–C14a, with 368 tokens, the majority of which are in ME compositions, although -*e* also occurs in ME copies of OE compositions. Although -*e* is much more frequent than -*a*, we cannot be sure that this indicates a widespread geographic survival of the -V ending type. Instead, nearly three-quarters of the tokens are in texts from a single region, the SWM, which as we saw above is a more textually conservative region. Table 2.8 shows the regional distribution of the -*e* tokens, as well as the distribution by century (-- indicates where there are no texts for that region for that period, while 0 indicates that there are no -V tokens in the extant texts).

	SWM	NWM	SW	SE	SC	CM	EM	ESX	Total
C12	--	--	--	2	1	--	15	8	26
C13	232	12	14	11	--	1	14	11	290
C14	9	0	1	1	0	--	5	0	16
Total	241	12	15	14	1	1	34	19	332

Table 2.8: Regional distribution of -V, according to century

The data is not evenly distributed, either by century (290 tokens from C13, 87%) or by region (241 tokens from SWM, 73%); 232 tokens, 55% of all -V tokens, are from SWM texts in C13. Given that 35% of the texts from the time periods outlined in Table 2.8 are C13 SWM texts,[22] the large portion of -V tokens from this region in this century could easily be a skewing effect caused by the limits of the available evidence. The very high proportion of SWM texts, and the more limited data available for other regions, make it difficult to say whether the use of -V had strong regional variations; the most we can definitely say is that -V was a frequent ending type in the SWM. To trace the use of the -V ending through time, I have used more refined time periods in Figure 2.4.

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22 From Table 2.1, we can see that for C12, C13 and C14 there are 92 texts, of which 32 are C13 SWM texts.
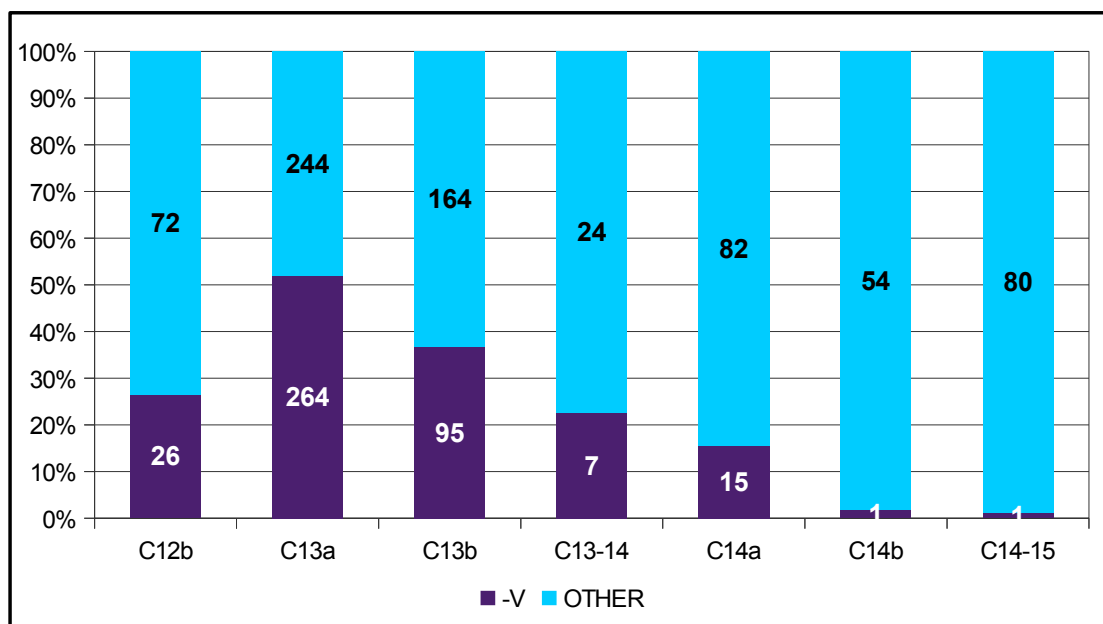
Figure 2.4: Chronological variation of -V and other ending types

The data shows that from C13a onward the -V ending type declines at a steady rate, virtually disappearing in the post-1350 texts. The relatively high level of -V forms for C13a and C13b suggests that the -V ending was a robust part of the SWM genitive plural inflectional system in this century, and possibly in other regions (what data we have from the C13a ESX and C13b EM shows no statistically significant variation from the SWM data in those periods). The C12b data, none of which comes from the SWM, shows a rather lower rate than the C13a and C13b data, suggesting the possibility that the -V ending may have been less robust outside of the SWM region; however, given the limited evidence, this remains a suggestion only. We can conclude that the -V ending was a feature of early ME, but we cannot be equally sure about regional variation.

2.4.3 Lexemes, animacy and function

An important factor which contributes to the high frequency of the -V ending is its use with

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some of the most common lexical items in the entire corpus. 'man', 'kind' and 'thing' are three of the four most common nouns in the corpus,[23] and in the period leading up to 1350 they are most frequently found with the -V ending type. However, as the table shows, this changes radically after 1350.

| | pre-1350 | | | post-1350 | | | TOTAL |
	-V	TOT	%	-V	TOT	%	
manne	125	189	66%	2	196	1%	385
þinge	59	66	89%	--	--	--	66
kunne	56	64	88%	--	--	--	64
overall	418	1020	41%	2	407	1%	1427

Table 2.9: Proportion of -V tokens for three common nouns

These three nouns are a microcosm of the entire -V situation. 'Men' is the most common noun in the entire corpus, accounting for over one-quarter of all inflected genitive plural tokens. Although 'men' has the lowest percentage of -V forms of these three nouns in the pre-1350 texts, it is still significantly higher than the 41% of all genitive plural nouns which have the -V ending type.[24] At the same time, the proportion of -V tokens for 'men' is significantly lower than the percentage of -V tokens with the other two nouns.[25] This comparatively low rate of -V tokens for 'men' is related to what becomes the deciding factor in the survival of the genitive plural inflection: animacy. 'Thing' and 'kind' are inanimate, and as will be shown below, the two other major ending types, -VnV and -Vs, are much more common with animate nouns than inanimate. 'Men', on the other hand, is animate, and so there is a much greater extension of other endings to this noun, particularly the -Vs type. The replacement of *manne* by *mannes/mennes* is virtually complete by 1350. Table 2.9 also shows that 'thing' and 'kind' have disappeared entirely as

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23   The fourth, 'angels'', has less than 10% -V tokens.
24   $\chi^2 = 40.8$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001
25   $\chi^2 = 20.7$, d(f) = 2, p < 0.001

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inflected genitive plural nouns; again, this is related to animacy, as the limiting of inflection to animate nouns becomes pronounced in the later period (see Chapter 5). Overall, the split between animate and inanimate nouns is quite even among the -V tokens: 205 animate tokens and 215 inanimate, a state of affairs which has much more in common with the OE genitive inflection than the later ME genitive, and is another indication that -V is a conservative ending type; the other frequent ending types found in the earlier period, -VnV and -Vs, are much more common with animate nouns (sections 2.5.3 and 2.6.1.2).

The frequent occurrence of *þinge* and *kunne* relates to another feature peculiar to the -V ending type: it is quite common with inanimate nouns which have NONPOSSESSIVE functions.

(2.10)   *seue **niht-e** blisce* 'seven nights' bliss' (digpm) - descriptive genitive (measure)

(2.11)   *he þus is alre **þing-e** feherest* 'he thus is of all things fairest' (bod34) - partitive genitive
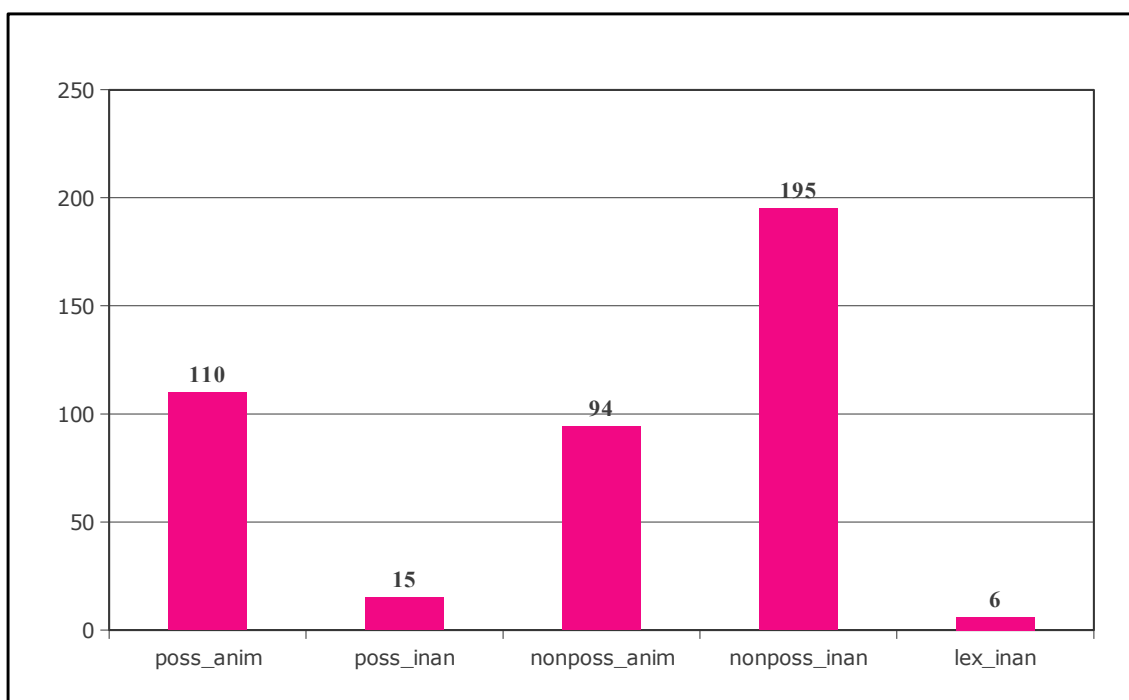
Figure 2.5: Animacy and function of genitive nouns with -V ending type

Figure 2.5 shows the number of -V tokens for each NP type, based on the combination of noun animacy and genitive function. While lexically assigned uses of the genitive plural inflection are not very frequent, it is striking that of the nine lexical tokens in the entire corpus, six are with the more conservative -V ending type. As Chapter 5 will show, the lexically assigned uses of the genitive are the first to be taken over by the periphrastic genitive; the use of any inflectional ending for lexically triggered uses is thus a very conservative feature. In addition, the -V ending type has a high level of tokens used in NONPOSSESSIVE functions, particularly for inanimate nouns, which seems to indicate that -V is not affected by the shift towards restricting the genitive inflection to animate nouns, particularly those with POSSESSIVE functions, that becomes prominent in the later period. The -V ending, as well as conserving the OE genitive plural *form*, also seems to be preserving the OE genitive plural *functions* (i.e. lexical, POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE, as opposed to the restriction to POSSESSIVE functions which becomes a feature of the genitive inflection in later ME (section 5.2.1.1).

2.4.3.1 -V, periphrasis, and the partitive

The specific function that the -V ending type is most frequent with is the partitive:

(2.12)   *to-foren gode ðe is **al-re king-e** king* 'before God who is king **of all kings**' (vvb)

147 of the -V tokens, or 35%, are used for the partitive function. This is a much higher level of partitive NPs than is found with the other two frequent endings: 13% for -VnV, and 4% for -Vs tokens in the pre-1350 texts.[26] The -V ending also accounts for the majority of the partitive tokens in the corpus: two-thirds of all the partitive tokens have the -V ending; the next most frequent ending, -VnV, accounts for only 33 partitive tokens compared to the 147 tokens which

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26   The level of partitive constructions for all texts for -Vs tokens declines to 2%.

have -V. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the partitive function was associated with early uses of the periphrastic genitive, and so this connection between the -V ending type and the partitive function is closely connected to the decline of the inflected genitive plural and the rise of the periphrastic genitive plural.

The high level of NPs with inanimate nouns and NONPOSSESSIVE functions is unique to -V.. In OE, animate and inanimate nouns would both appear with -*a*; they also would have been used for a wider range of functions, particularly the NONPOSSESSIVE. In preserving the older genitive morphology, the scribes also preserved the older functional patterns (section 2.1.3).

2.5 THE OE WEAK DESCENDANT: -VnV

The preceding section has shown that, despite being the most common ending in OE, the -V ending type disappeared after about 1350. This was most likely due to the combination of morphological ambiguity and phonological weakness, as well as the rise of the periphrastic genitive in NONPOSSESSIVE NPs. The most common form of the -V ending type, -*e*, was found with a variety of case and number combinations in the ME period, including singular nominative, accusative, dative and genitive of OE feminine nouns, the dative singular and plural for nouns of all three genders, and the genitive plural for nouns of all three genders (Brunner 1963: §24, 39). An ending which had so many functions for a single form, combined with the steady phonological reduction of unstressed vowels, would be at increased risk of loss, in which case a different ending would need to take its place. These features of the -V ending type may account for the rise of the -VnV ending type early in ME. A "pre-existing" ending, descended from the OE weak noun class genitive plural form -*ena*, -VnV was not used for any other

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nominal function, and its phonological form was more resistant to the phonological attrition which eventually eliminated the -V type (in all cases and numbers, not just the genitive plural). The most notable feature of the -VnV ending in ME is the massive extension of this historically weak ending to nouns which were historically strong, and would not be expected to use this ending.[27] However, like -V, -VnV was most frequently used in NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, and thus was in more direct competition with the periphrastic genitive.

As with -V, there are variant forms of the -VnV ending; also like -V, these fall into two types: those used only in archaic texts and those which are used in all types of texts. In the archaic texts only are found the forms *-æna, -æne, -anna, -ena, -enæ*. Examples include:

(2.13)   *heo wes **leod-ena** quene* 'she was [the] peoples' queen' (layamonAa)

(2.14)   *for allra minna **yldr-ena** sawlan* 'for all my ancestors' souls' (wellsb)

Like the *-a* forms in section 2.4.1, such archaic forms are a distinct minority, with only 10 such tokens. By far the most common form is *-ene*.

(2.15)   *ase þer beoð niene **engl-ene** ordes* 'as there are nine orders of angels' (neroar)

2.5.1 Lexical distribution of -VnV

For the -VnV ending type as a whole, over 70% of the tokens are nouns which were historically strong; the majority of these tokens were historically masculine or neuter, although some are strong feminine nouns, for which the weak ending was already an alternative in OE. To check that the effect is not the result of a small number of high-frequency lexemes, Figure 2.6 shows

27   The weak paradigm was already extended to strong nouns in OE, particularly strong feminine nouns.

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the proportions of nouns which are historically strong, weak, strong/weak, or non-attested in OE, according to both token and lexeme. As the figure indicates, there is a slight decrease in the proportion of strong lexemes as opposed to strong tokens, but the decrease is not statistically significant.[28] (For details of the individual weak and strong lexemes, see Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix B.)
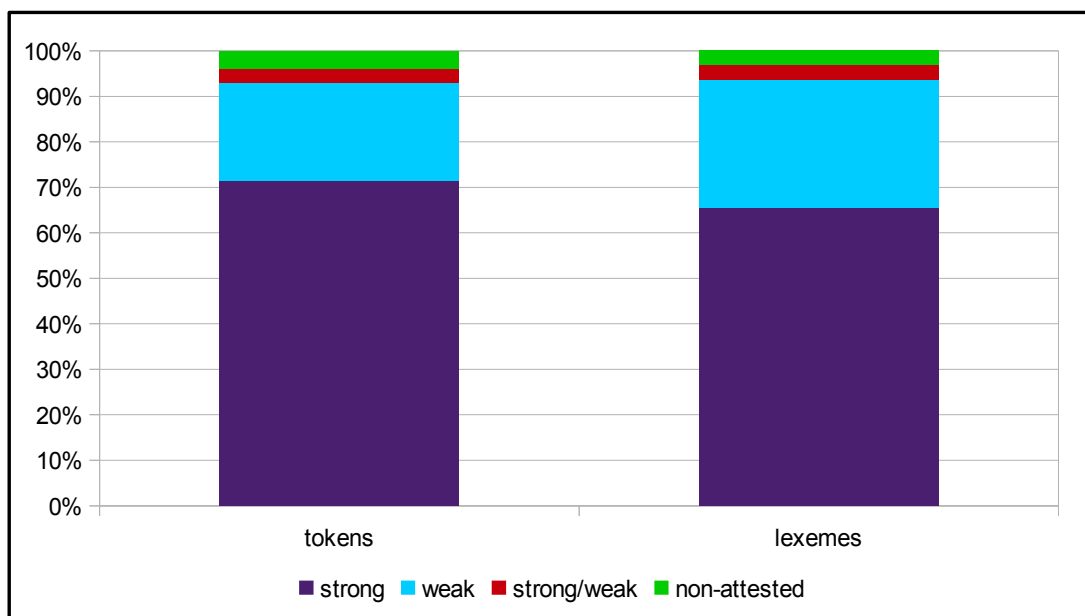
Figure 2.6: Proportion of tokens and lexemes for -VnV, based on historical noun class

This is very different from the -V ending, which is predominantly used with nouns which were historically strong nouns (i.e. had the -V ending type in OE), as Figure 2.7 shows.[29]

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28   $\chi^2 = .79$, d(f) = 1, p > 0.1.

29   Including or excluding the strong feminine nouns makes no difference to the overall picture.

45
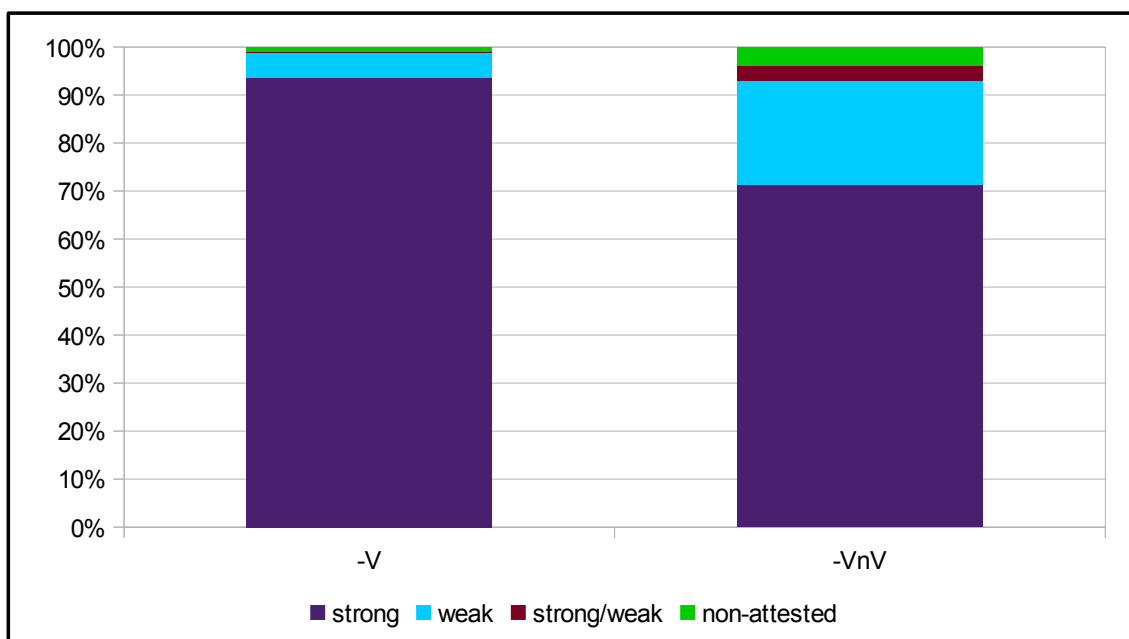
Figure 2.7: Proportion of tokens for -V and -VnV based on historical noun class

Over 90% of the tokens with -V would have had this ending type in OE, a much higher level of etymological "correctness" than -VnV shows. While -V is mostly confined to its historical environment, -VnV has expanded well beyond its historical environment of weak nouns. The failure of -V to extend much beyond its OE lexical repertoire , combined with the conservative uses of that ending (see Figure 2.5), suggests a rather static state for -V: it has not changed much from its classical OE use. -VnV, on the other hand, has extended well beyond its original lexical domain, with historically weak nouns a definite minority of the tokens. As -V weakens as a distinctive ending, -VnV might look like a viable alternative: it was phonologically more robust, and isomorphic.

The use of the weak genitive plural ending with etymologically strong nouns is attested already in OE, as shown by a search of the *DOE* web corpus.[30] Although 9 of the 42 nouns with strong

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30 As the *DOE* web corpus does omit some copies of documents, it is possible that the lexemes might be attested elsewhere with the weak genitive plural ending. Furthermore, although I have tried all normal orthographic variants (e.g. *-ene* in addition to *-ena*), it is also possible that there may be a very idiosyncratic spelling which has escaped me. However, the fact that the use of the weak ending with

OE etymons are attested with a weak genitive plural ending in the *DOE* web corpus, 8 of these are attested only rarely, with fewer than 10 tokens (compared to hundreds of historically expected *-a* genitive plural forms for these nouns). The most frequently occurring strong noun with a weak ending is *dæg* 'day': weak plural genitive forms account for 56 of 574 genitive plural *dæg* tokens, 10%;[31] weak genitive plural forms of *dæg* are attested in texts from throughout the OE period.[32] Hogg & Fulk (2011: §3.9) also observe *dæg* is the most frequent strong noun to appear with -VnV in late WS. The extension of the weak -VnV ending type may have started in OE, but was at its greatest in early ME.

It has been well documented that in southern and southwestern regions the *-n* plural, derived from the OE weak non-genitive ending *-an*, was extended to some new nouns (Brunner 1963: §42.5). With this in mind, is it possible that the extension of -VnV was part of a larger pattern of extending the weak endings to strong nouns? That is, is the extension of -VnV merely part of a larger pattern of extending the weak endings to more nouns, or is it in fact something special to the genitive? To investigate this question, I have looked at the strong and weak lexemes which are attested with -VnV in *LAEME*,[33] to determine if these are commonly used with *-n* plurals. I have excluded nouns which are governed by a preposition, and those which are indirect objects, as these are often dative contexts in OE;[34] an inflectional ending with the form *-n* is not a clear indicator of the extension of the weak ending, as it could equally well be a survival of the OE dative plural *-um* (late OE *-an*).

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strong nouns of any gender is so rare in the *DOE* corpus does suggest that OE texts are broadly following the expected patterns with respect to strong/weak distinctions.

31 There is only one other noun which occurs with comparable frequency to *dæg* in my corpus, *engel* 'angel'. Although *engel* is one of the most common early ME nouns with the *-ene* ending, of the 516 tokens in the *DOE* web corpus, only one has the weak *-ene* form, which again suggests that the extension of *-ene* is greatest in the ME period, rather than in OE.

32 The opposite search, for the weak nouns with strong endings, is more difficult; as most of the weak nouns have *-a* in the nominative singular, it would be necessary to check every single hit to determine whether it were in a genitive plural context or not, a procedure beyond the scope of the present study.

33 This search of *LAEME* is not perfectly equivalent to that which yielded the genitive plural -VnV tokens, as the latter includes some material which is not in *LAEME*.

34 In OE some prepositions could also select for a noun in the accusative or genitive case.

Of the 42 lexemes which appear with unhistorical weak genitive plural endings, 39 are attested in the corpus in non-genitive, non "dative" contexts, for a total of 3000 plural tokens. Of these, only 285 tokens have -*n* plurals, just 10%. This is significantly lower than the rate of weak genitive plurals for these same lexemes: 178 of 495 tokens, 36%.[35] The lexemes which occur with the -VnV ending are not, as a group, taking on weak endings generally. There may be some nouns for which there was a general shift to weak endings (*deofol, sawol, leod, dohtor*), but this is clearly not the case for some of the most frequent -VnV nouns (*engel, cyning, þorn, munuc, muþ*). There were probably two processes at work in this period, both of which would give new -VnV forms:

- The paradigm of OE weak nouns (-*n*) is extended to new nouns
- The -VnV of the OE weak genitive is extended to new nouns, possibly as an alternative to -V.

2.5.2 Regional and chronological variation

As with the -V ending type, determining whether -VnV is a regional feature is somewhat difficult, owing to the disproportionate amount of data from the SWM. In Table 2.10, which covers the period from C12b2 to C14b2, the first row indicates what percentage of all -VnV tokens comes from the listed regions; for comparison, the second row shows what percentage of all genitive plural nouns comes from these same regions. For example, the SWM texts account for 60% of the -VnV tokens and 56% of all genitive plural noun tokens. Thus, the high proportion of -VnV tokens from the SWM could be a reflection of the overall dominance of the SWM texts in the data.

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35 Statistically, the difference is highly significant: $\chi^2 = 266$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001.

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	SWM	NWM	EM	SW	SC	SE	ESX	NL
nouns with the -VnV ending	60%	2%	13%	9%	3%	5%	1%	7%
All genitive plural nouns[36]	56%	3%	13%	6%	3%	4%	5%	7%

Table 2.10: Regional distribution of -VnV

The regional distribution of the -VnV ending type closely matches the overall regional distribution of the data in this time period.

2.5.3 Animacy and function

Finally, the -VnV ending differs from the -V type in that it is used predominantly with animate nouns. 213 of the -VnV tokens are animate nouns, 83% of all tokens. This is quite different from what we saw with -V above, where there was an even split between animate and inanimate nouns. This tendency to use -VnV with animate nouns, the context in which the inflected geitive is most robust in the competition with the periphrastic genitive (see Chapter 5), may have contributed to the extension of the -VnV ending type to new nouns. This association with animate nouns suggests that unlike -V, which follows the OE patterns, -VnV is affected by the ME trend to limit the inflection to animate nouns, and was presumably less "conservative". Like the -V ending, the -VnV ending is more common with NPs which have NONPOSSESSIVE functions; 186 of the 258 tokens, 72%, have NONPOSSESSIVE functions. As the figure below shows, despite the difference between the two endings with respect to animacy, they are quite similar in one respect: the two ending type have similar proportions of animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions (about one-quarter of the tokens for each ending type). And it is the lack of a strong connection with the latter type of NP which contributes to the eventual loss of

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36 Note that this row does not add up to 100%, as a small number of genitive plural noun tokens from other regions have not been included.

49

-VnV: animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions are where the genitive inflection survives the best, and -VnV is associated with animate nouns with **NONPOSSESSIVE** functions, as in (2.16).

(2.16)   *reuene luðerest* 'most loathsome of reeves' (royalkgc)
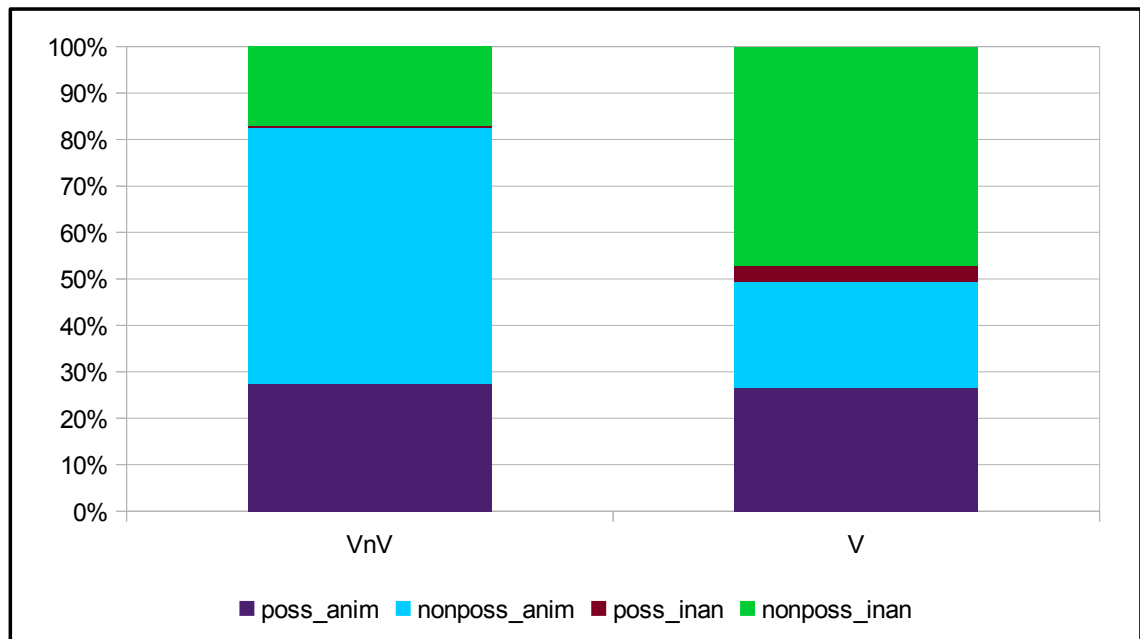
Figure 2.8: Relative proportion for -VnV and -V based on animacy and function of the NP

2.6 THE INNOVATION: -VS

This ending has two phases: pre-1350, when it coexisted with other ending types, and post-1350, when it is the only frequent inflectional ending. The following discussion primarily focuses on the pre-1350 period, as the post-1350 period will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, when the -Vs ending was competing with the periphrastic genitive. This section will

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show that the -Vs ending was ultimately successful due to its association with animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions. A typical example:

(2.17)   *nis me nan ofrende swa lief swa godes luue & alre **mannes***

         'to me there is no offering so pleasing as God's love and all men's [love]' (vva)

2.6.1 Early Middle English (pre-1350)

2.6.1.1 Regional distribution

As Figure 2.1 showed, the -Vs type is common from the earliest texts, and has an overall frequency in this period which is similar to that of -VnV; in some texts it is the most common ending (see below). It is only in the -Vs data that we begin to see a significant departure from what we might have predicted based on the overall distribution of the genitive plural tokens. As with Table 2.10, Table 2.11 shows the percentage of -Vs tokens from each region in the first row, while the second row shows the percentage of all genitive plural noun tokens from each region.

	SWM	NWM	EM	SW	SC	SE	ESX	NL	N
nouns with the -Vs ending	35%	7%	24%	0%	7%	2%	5%	9%	10%
All genitive plural nouns[37]	56%	3%	13%	6%	3%	4%	5%	7%	4%

Table 2.11: Regional distribution of -Vs, C12b2-C14b2

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37 Note that this row does not add up to 100%, as a small number of genitive plural noun tokens from other regions have not been included.

51

As Table 2.11 shows, the SWM accounts for a low percentage of the -Vs tokens, relative to the overall amount of data from this region, while the EM texts show a noticeable spike in the percentage of -Vs tokens relative to the overall percentage of genitive plural tokens from this region in C12b2-C14b2. Another notable feature of the -Vs regional distribution is that another region is now included, the North. Table 2.12 shows what percentage of -V, -VnV and -Vs tokens each region accounts for, as well as the overall proportion of the genitive plural nouns which comes from each region.

	SWM	NWM	EM	SW	SC	SE	ESX	NL	N
-V nouns	68%	3%	9%	4%	1%	4%	1%	7%	0%
-VnV nouns	60%	2%	13%	9%	3%	5%	1%	7%	0%
-Vs nouns	35%	7%	24%	0%	7%	2%	5%	9%	10%
all genitive plural nouns	**56%**	**3%**	**13%**	**6%**	**3%**	**4%**	**5%**	**7%**	**4%**

Table 2.12: Regional distribution of -V, -VnV and -V, C12b2-C14b2

Table 2.12 shows that, while broadly speaking the distribution of the three endings reflects the overall distribution of our data, there are some notable exceptions, such as the low level of -Vs tokens from the SWM and the relatively high level of -Vs tokens from the EM, which do suggest possible regional developments. To further explore this, Figure 2.9 shows the distribution of the three endings within regions (rather than across regions as in Tables 2.10-12).
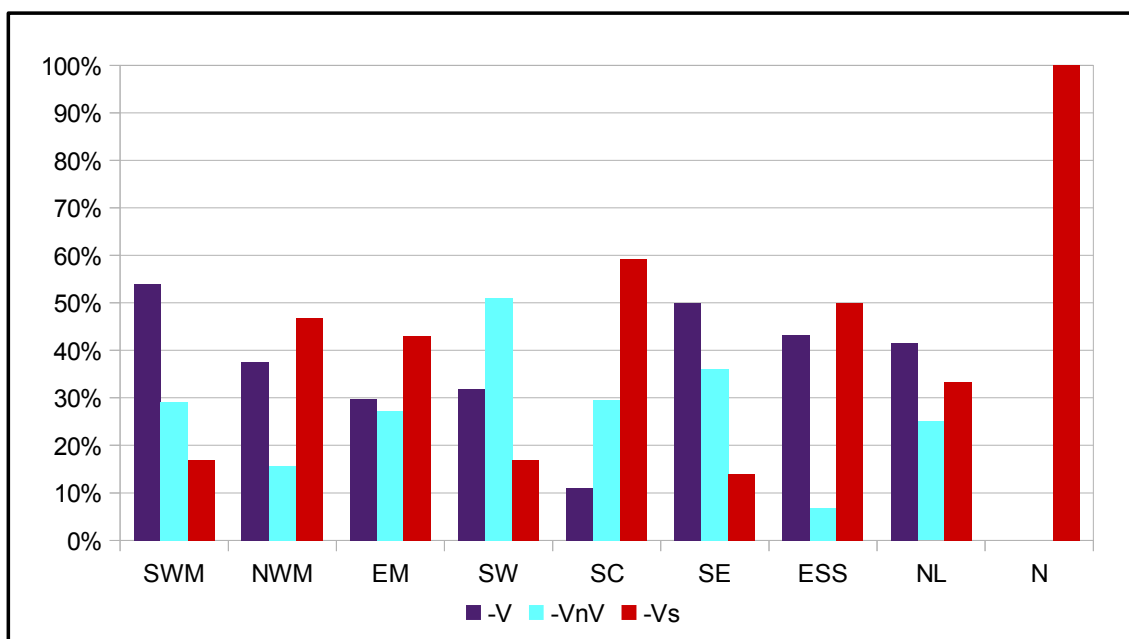
Figure 2.9: Frequency of -V, -VnV and -Vs within regions, C12b2-C14b2

The most striking feature of the chart is that 100% of the genitive plural tokens in N texts have the -Vs ending. At first glance this seems to support the assumption in the literature that the shift to -Vs began in the north (Strang 1970: 281; Fischer 1992: 226). However, all of the N texts in the corpus are from after 1300; the SC texts, which show the second-highest level of -Vs tokens, are also from c.1300 and later. As shown in Figure 2.1, it is in C14a that -Vs becomes the dominant ending, which could account for the increase of -Vs tokens in the N and SC data, as the bulk of the data for these regions is from c. 1300 and later. Thus, for the SC and N we cannot say for certain that the preference for the -Vs ending is a regional development, rather than a chronological development.

The region from which we have early attestations of the genitive plural -Vs form is the EM. Unlike most of the regions, where the majority of the -Vs tokens are from c.1300 onward, in the EM there is a large proportion of -Vs tokens from C12b. While one of the C12b texts, orm, could be considered "northerly" (given its localisation in south Lincolnshire), the bulk of the

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data comes from trhomB, and it is beyond a stretch to consider a scribe whose language is localised to West Suffolk as northern. trhomB is one of the few texts for which we have extensive genitive plural data; of his 66 genitive plural nouns, 21 have the -Vs ending (for orm, 4 of 10 tokens have -Vs). Common use of -Vs as a genitive plural marker is first attested in the EM, from which it could have as easily spread as from the N. Note that the EM data, with its large C12b2 component, shows a much higher level of the -V and -VnV forms than does the SC data, again suggesting a strong chronological component to the use of the three ending types.

It is equally difficult to separate regional and chronological developments when we look at the -V and -VnV endings. The majority of these tokens are from before c.1300, so that again we cannot say if the frequency is due to location in time or space or both. In addition to the SWM, both SE and ESX texts (from before 1300) show a high level of -V tokens, so that at the very least the frequent use of -V is not limited to the SWM. That the -V and -VnV endings were a feature of earlier SWM usage is clear, not only from the SWM data itself, but also from the SW, NWM and NL data. The pre-c1300 data for the NWM and NL texts is almost entirely from MS British Library Cotton Titus C.xviii, copies of material, such as *Ancrene Riwle* (titusar), which was originally composed in the SWM, and these texts show some influence of the SWM forms (Laing & McIntosh 1995: 235, 240). The SW is mostly represented by the Otho MS of Layamon's *Brut*, another text which was composed in the SWM (Millar 1995: 147). In the case of the SW, NWM, and NL texts, we have regional, temporal, and textual factors co-occurring.

To conclude, the prevalence of -Vs was definitely a feature of texts composed from about 1300 onward; it also appears to have been an early development in the EM.[38] In contrast, -V and -VnV were early features, with perhaps some regional association.

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38 The shift to -Vs may also have been an early development in the N, but in the absence of pre-1300 texts from this region this remains supposition.

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In addition to the regional differences, the -Vs ending also differs from the other two endings in its distribution based on the animacy and function of the noun. The following table shows the three main ending types, and how frequent they are with the different combinations (animate or inanimate, POSSESSIVE or NONPOSSESSIVE).

	-Vs		-V		-VnV		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
poss_anim	116	53%	109	26%	69	27%	294
poss_inan	14	6%	15	4%	1	0%	30
nonposs_anim	53	24%	93	23%	141	55%	287
nonposs_inan	37	17%	195	47%	44	17%	276
TOTAL	**220**		**412**		**255**		**887**

Table 2.13: Three endings according to animacy and function, pre-1350

There is only one feature that all three endings have in common, and that is the rarity of NPs which have inanimate nouns and POSSESSIVE functions (see Chapter 5). Regarding animacy, -Vs and -VnV are similar in showing a marked preference for animate nouns (77% and 82%, respectively), in contrast to the near-even split between animate and inanimate for -V, discussed above (section 2.4.3). However, if we look at function, -Vs is different from the other two, in showing a higher level (59%) of NPs with POSSESSIVE functions (30% for -V and 27% for -VnV). As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, the periphrastic genitive in pre-1350 texts was most frequent with NPs which had NONPOSSESSIVE functions, so -V and -VnV were under greater pressure from the alternative genitive construction (as will be shown in Chapter 5, function was of much greater importance to the use of the periphrastic genitive than animacy in early ME). -Vs was always most commonly used with POSSESSIVE functions, and

was less affected by the increasing use of the periphrastic genitive.

2.6.1.3 Lexical distribution

A final issue to consider is that of lexical distribution. We saw above that -VnV had greatly expanded the lexemes it occurred with, which was less true of the -V ending. As a genitive plural inflectional ending, -Vs did not have any inherited distribution. Figure 2.10 shows the relative frequency of these three ending types according to whether the token is historically strong, weak, strong or weak, or not attested in OE (included under the strong heading are nouns, such as *man*, which belonged to minor noun classes in OE, but which had the strong *-a* ending in the genitive plural).
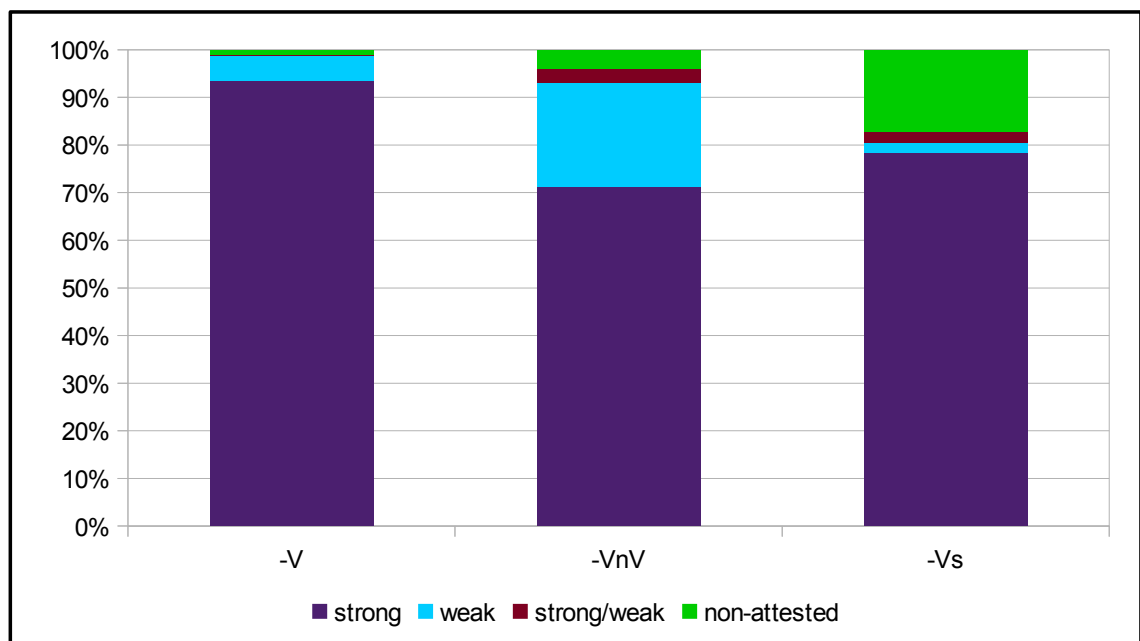
Figure 2.10: Lexical distribution of -V, -VnV and -Vs, by tokens

The significant difference is the much higher proportion of -Vs tokens which do not have an OE

etymon; most of these are lexical items borrowed from Old French dialects. The figure is much the same whether we consider lexemes or tokens.
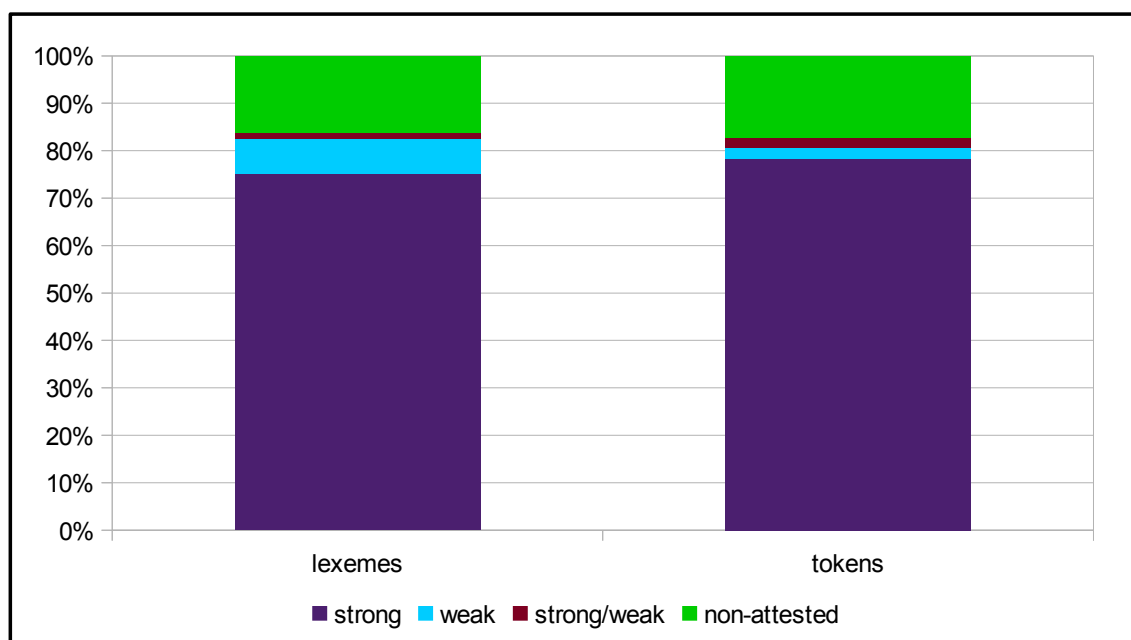
Figure 2.11: Lexical distribution of -Vs, by lexeme and by token

For the pre-1350 texts, the greater use of -Vs with the new borrowings may have given this ending type a slight advantage over the other ending types, but even for -Vs the non-OE lexemes are a definite minority, at less than 20% of the tokens/lexemes. However, as borrowings from French increased, reaching their zenith in C14b (Wright 1952 §183; Baugh & Cable 2002: 168), and the inflected genitive became rarer, even a slight advantage may have become significant.

2.6.2 Later Middle English (1350-1500)

From 1350 onward, the position of -Vs as the genitive plural inflectional ending is indisputable; competition is now not with other ending types, but with the periphrastic genitive construction.

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As Table 2.14 shows, the association of the -Vs type with poss_anim NPs becomes even more pronounced in the post-1350 texts; Chapter 5 will examine in detail the significance of NP distribution in the variation between inflected and periphrastic GNPs.

	pre-1350		post-1350	
	#	%	#	%
poss_anim	116	52%	298	79%
nonposs_anim	53	24%	59	16%
poss_inan	14	6%	7	2%
nonposs_inan	37	17%	14	4%
TOTAL	221		378	

Table 2.14: -Vs tokens, according to NP type, pre- and post-1350

2.7 AN UNEXPECTED ENDING: -VN

The last of the five genitive plural ending types is -Vn. With 71 tokens, this type is hardly frequent; however, the form is rather puzzling, and its use needs further investigation. There are only 18 examples of *-an*; as with the *-a* and *-ena* forms discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.5, these are found only in "archaic" texts, texts which were either ME copies of OE compositions or deliberately archaic ME compositions. The archaic texts are also the source of 36 of the 53 *-en* tokens, so that 76% of the -Vn tokens are from archaic texts, the highest level of any ending type.

Although it has attracted rather less attention in grammars of ME than the other ending types, the -Vn genitive plural has not been entirely overlooked. Mustanoja (1960: 73) implicitly treats the -Vn ending as a variant of the -VnV type, using *-en(e)* for both in his discussion of ME

genitive plural forms. However, his example, from Chaucer, is not entirely convincing:

(2.18)   *myn eyen sight* 'my eyes' sight' (CT D Sum.2071) (Mustanoja 1960: 73)

It is true that *eyen* could be a reduction of OE weak genitive plural *eagena*. However, *eyen* is also the nominative/accusative plural form of this noun (Brunner 1963: §42.5). If the nominative/accusative plural form was extended sometimes to the genitive plural (see section 2.3), Mustanoja's -Vn example could be an example of -Ø. As he does not explicitly comment on this ending, we do not know his reasoning, but one assumes, given his use of *-en(e)*, that he regarded the -Vn as a phonologically reduced form of -VnV.

In a more recent study of the use of *-an* with OE weak adjectives and nouns, Hoad suggests that the use of *-an* in the genitive plural is an extension of the *-an* form, found elsewhere in the weak noun paradigm, although the limited number of *-an* tokens makes this claim difficult to prove (Hoad 1994: 118, 128). While there are very few examples of this phenomenon from the lOE period, it does suggest that rather than being a variant of -VnV due to phonological reduction, the -Vn ending may be an ending type in its own right. However, this is highly speculative, due to the paucity of unambiguously genitive plural examples of *-an*. As only 11 of the -Vn tokens in the corpus are historically weak, this explanation as it is would not account for the majority of -Vn tokens in the ME texts.

What about Mustanoja's (implicit) treatment of -Vn as a variant of -VnV, in which the final vowel has been lost? This is rather trickier, as it is difficult to make claims about what is not, but *could have been*, written. One way to try and determine which, if any, ending -Vn derives from is to consider the distribution of the endings based on the noun animacy and function. Figure

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2.12 shows the proportion of the nouns with each ending type based on animacy and function. Broadly speaking, the -Vn data shows a distribution which is more similar to -VnV than -V (ignoring lexically assigned cases). However, there are differences between how -Vn and -VnV are used; -Vn is more commonly used for poss_anim NPs, while -VnV is most frequent with nonposs_anim NPs.[39] Furthermore, if -Vn is a variant of -VnV, why is -Vn mostly found in conservative texts, unlike -VnV?
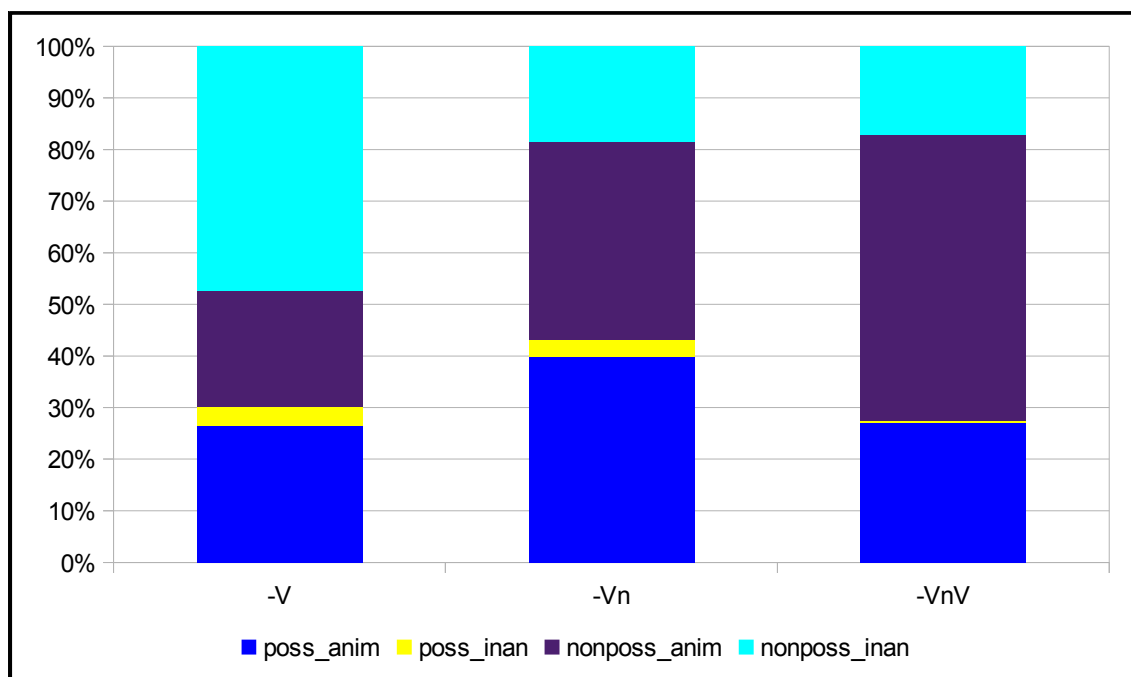
Figure 2.12: Distribution of -Vn, -VnV, and -V based on NP types, up to 1350

There is some reason to consider -Vn to be a variant of -V. The texts in which -Vn is most common, lamhomA1, layamonAa, and layamonAb, account for just over half of all the tokens (38 of 71); these texts raise the possibility that -Vn might be -V with nunnation, the addition of nonhistorical final -n. Nunnation is a well-known feature of the Caligula version (layamonAa & layamonAb) of the *Brut* (Madden 1847: I.xxix-xxx). It is possible that these scribes simply "stuck on" an extra -n in some places. Neither in these samples from the *Brut* nor any others

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39   A difference which is statistically significant: $\chi 2 = 5.82$, $d(f) = 1$, $p < 0.05$.

with -Vn is there any definite pattern to the addition of the final *-n.* It is not clear that the addition of final *-n* would affect the metre in verse works;[40] if the final *-e* were not pronounced, then the addition of final *-n* could theoretically have a prosodic function, in adding an additional, unstressed syllable to a line, although determining whether final *-e* is pronounced in each work is beyond the scope of this study. The majority of the tokens are followed by a consonant-initial word, so that avoiding vowel hiatus (Minkova 1991: 67-68) is not a motive.[41] Although generally overshadowed in the literature by the more extensive nunnation of the Caligula *Brut* manuscript, Morris (1868: xviii) does consider that the *Lambeth Homilies* has examples of nunnation, in the genitive singular of OE feminine strong nouns, in the dative singular of strong nouns, and in the plural of strong nouns (he does not specify any case for the plural). All of the -Vn genitive plural tokens in lamhomA1 are historically strong nouns, which would have had *-a* in OE; nunnation would thus give *apostlan < apostla.* Madden (1847: xxix) considers nunnation to be a dialectal feature, and 42 of the 70 examples are from texts localised to the SWM.[42]

The lexical distribution of -Vn unfortunately is not decisive. Table 2.15 shows how many tokens for -V, -VnV and -Vn are found, for the same lexeme, in texts which include at least one -Vn token.

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40 The metre of the *Brut* is quite complex (Glowka 1989: 62; Kooper 2013: 420), and its analysis outside the scope of the present work.

41 In a study on the syntax of synthetic genitive plurals used in conjunction with a superlative adjective (such as *alre kingen*) in the entire Caligula version of the *Brut*, Amodio provides 13 examples of an inflected genitive plural noun; of these, 12 have the -Vn ending type (Amodio 1987: 187-194) In my sample, the -Vn type occurs with all possible genitive functions, and all the other ending types are commonly used with superlative adjectives, so this would appear to be only a coincidence.

42 Morris (1868: xviii) notes the presence of nunnation in the EM at a 'later period' than that of the *Lambeth Homilies.*

	-Vn	**-VnV**	**-V**		**-Vn**	**-VnV**	**-V**
mannan	12	2	35	*kunnan*	1	0	32
anglan	2	16	2	*kingen*	3	6	2
apostlan	5	7	1	*cnihten*	4	3	1
brutten	1	15	0	*monken*	2	8	3
clerken	1	1	0	*leoden*	2	12	0
dagen	1	1	2	*wormen*	1	4	0
eldren	1	4	2	*sunnen*	1	0	2
ʒeren	4	0	5				

Table 2.15: Lexical items with the three endings

Some items are generally found with -V (*mannan*) and others with -VnV (*anglan*), but in many cases there is too little data to determine whether a scribe may have been adding a final *-n* or deleting a final *-e*. The lexical items thus give no definitive answer as to the origin of the -Vn ending type, except to suggest that perhaps it had composite origins: loss of the final vowel of -VnV, and/or nunnation of -V, and perhaps even some influence from the weak non-genitive *-an*.

2.8 CONCLUSION

2.8.1 Summary

To recap, for plural nouns there are five common types of genitive plural inflectional ending in the corpus: -Ø, -V, -VnV, -Vs, -Vn. The main features of each ending type are summarised below.

-Ø

This ending is at once both rare and universal, occurring as it does only occasionally, but attested in texts from all regions and periods. There appears to be a lexical element to its selection, as it is most common with lexical items which did not have the -*s* plural in the nominative/accusative case in OE; this feature suggests that there may have been some pressure from the rest of the plural paradigm on the form of the genitive plural inflection.[43]

-V

This is the most frequent ending in the pre-1350 texts, but occurs only twice in post-1350 texts. It appears to be a conservative ending type, maintaining not only the OE form of the strong noun class genitive plural, but also many of the distributional features of its ancestor. The majority of the tokens have a NONPOSSESSIVE function, and, unlike -VnV and -Vs, -V is evenly split between animate and inanimate nouns. The use of -V for a variety of nouns and functions reflects the OE patterns. In addition to being an early ending, the evidence suggests that -V may have been more common in the more conservative SWM scribal tradition. Its decline may reflect not only its phonological weakness and morphological ambiguity, but also the fact that it was in more direct competition with the periphrastic genitive in NONPOSSESSIVE NPs.

-VnV

Descended from the OE weak noun class genitive plural ending, this is the second most frequent

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43 The majority of the nouns which have -Ø in the genitive plural had -*es* in the genitive singular in OE, so that influence from the OE genitive singular would not explain the endingless genitive plural forms.

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type in the pre-1350 texts; like -V, it virtually disappears after 1350. This type is most frequent in the SWM texts, but is also common in early texts from other regions. It is most frequent with animate nouns in NONPOSSESSIVE functions. Although descended from the OE weak class, the majority of the nouns it is used with were strong in OE, suggesting an extension of this ending, possibly as an alternative to -V. The evidence from *LAEME* suggests that the extension of the weak ending to strong nouns was a genitive development, as the same nouns generally show a far lower rate of use of weak endings for non-genitive plurals.

-Vs

This ending type represents an innovation, and overall is the most frequent ending type. However, in the pre-1350 texts it is slightly less frequent than -VnV. It is most common with animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions. It is first attested in texts from the EM, and is common in texts from the fourteenth century onward. The eventual success of -Vs is probably due to a combination of factors: it was more readily used with borrowed lexemes; it had a strong connection to animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions, and so was not in direct competition with the periphrastic; it may also have been strengthened by analogy with the genitive singular and/or the non-genitive plural forms.

-Vn

This ending is rare, and not directly derived from an OE genitive plural inflection. It may be due to nunnation of forms which ended in -V, although phonological reduction of -VnV to -Vn is also possible.

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2.8.2 System instability and reorganisation

The evolution of the genitive plural inflection is quite complex, particularly in the pre-1350 period. Unlike in the genitive singular, there is not a gradual takeover by the previously most frequent ending type; rather, the ending which was most frequent in OE, -V, has destabilised, most likely due to its phonological weakness as a final unstressed vowel, and also to its lack of isomorphism. Although it is preserved, particularly in the SWM texts, it is definitely not evolving, but maintaining the OE usage as well as form. As much as the phonological and morphological weakness, it is this similarity to the OE usage which imperils the survival of -V as a genitive plural inflection. The frequent use of -V for inanimate nouns with NONPOSSESSIVE functions would bring this ending into direct competition with the periphrastic genitive (see Chapter 5), a competition the periphrastic genitive "won".

The weakening of -V as a genitive plural inflection creates a situation in which alternative endings can thrive. And in the earlier ME texts, without any sort of national standard to aim at (Clanchy 1979: 163), two alternatives do thrive: -VnV and -Vs. -VnV shows an early expansion to novel lexical items, suggesting that there was some impetus to replace -V with the more phonologically and morphologically distinctive OE weak ending. However, at the same time, there are other impulses at work, pushing in different directions. There is possible paradigmatic pressure from the other non-genitive plural forms, which even in early ME tend to be identical (Mustanoja 1960: 94-95; Altenberg 1982: 13). This introduces the -Vs as well as the -Ø ending. There may also have been some influence by the genitive singular (Mustanoja 1960: 73), which would also encourage the use of -Vs. There was the pressure on the inflection overall, through competition with the periphrastic genitive. As the periphrastic genitive's first success was with NPs which had NONPOSSESSIVE functions, it was the -V and -VnV ending types which were

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under the most pressure; the -V type, strongly associated with inanimate nouns with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, particularly the partitive, was the ending most likely to occur in the same NPs where the periphrastic was first established (as will be shown in Chapter 5). The -VnV type was perhaps slightly better off, associated as it was with animate nouns, but as the majority of the tokens had NONPOSSESSIVE functions, this ending too was under pressure.

The eventual success of the -Vs ending as the genitive plural marker was due to its association, even from the earliest texts, with animate nouns in POSSESSIVE functions. As Chapter 5 will show, this is the last NP type which the periphrastic genitive is extended to; the -Vs ending was able to establish a niche, however small, and thus survive.

CHAPTER 3: GENITIVE MODIFIERS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In OE, the most distinctively case-marked elements of the NP were often the modifiers (Lass 1992: 106), yet the loss of overtly case-marked modifiers has not received much attention in the standard works on ME morphology (such as Mustanoja 1960, Brunner 1963, Lass 1992). Partly this is due to the lack of evidence: productive case marking of modifiers disappears by about 1350, so compared to nouns there is less data on the use of marked modifiers. However, the implication that marked modifiers are very rare (Strang 1970: 268) is not entirely accurate. This chapter will look at the use of the marked genitive modifiers, and what these forms suggest about the preservation of genitive morphology. The evidence suggests a complex evolution of the case-marked genitive modifiers in the written language, with no clear predictor of when the different modifiers (definite articles, demonstratives, and adjectives) will lose case.

The data also shows that the overtly case-marked genitive modifiers were generally used in a "historically expected" manner. In addition to being marked for case, singular genitive modifiers were also marked for gender, and adjectives for the strong/weak distinction. Where the gendered forms are employed, they are usually used in accordance with the OE patterns: modifiers with masculine/neuter endings modify nouns which historically were masculine or neuter, and modifiers with feminine endings modify nouns which historically were feminine.[44] This is true regardless of the word class of the marked modifier. The more marked adjective forms were usually, but not always, used in the strong context in OE, and this is also the case in the early ME texts which employ marked forms. This maintenance of the OE patterns does not support

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44   The apparent exception, 'world', is probably not an exception; see section 3.2.2.1 below.

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Jones's claim that modifiers were "repurposed", either to maximise case-marking or for discourse tracking (Jones 1988: 17, 104).

3.1.1 OE modifiers

The most frequent modifiers in ME are the strong and weak adjective, the definite article, and the proximal demonstrative ('this'). Table 3.1 shows the genitive singular and plural morphemes for these word classes in OE. There is considerable similarity of the genitive morpheme between the different word classes. Many of the genitive modifier forms also share a certain degree of phonological strength, containing as they do a non-nasal consonant in the genitive morpheme. Such forms might be expected to be less subject to phonological attrition than those endings which consisted only of vowels or vowels and nasals (the final nasal in the weak genitive singular adjective is an exception to this pattern of phonologically robust genitive forms).

	singular	**plural**
strong adjective, masc/neut	*-es*	*-ra*
strong adjective, fem	*-re*	*-ra*
weak adjective, all genders	*-an*	*-ra/-ena*
definite article, masc/neut	*þæs*	*þara*
definite article, fem	*þære*	*þara*
demonstrative, masc/neut	*þisses*	*þissa/þisra*
demonstrative, fem	*þisre/þisse*	*þissa/þisra*

Table 3.1: OE genitive inflection for modifiers

As mentioned above, it has been claimed that the most distinctive case morphology in OE was on the determiners (my definite article and proximal and distal demonstrative)[45] and strong

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45 As outlined in the Introduction (section 1.4), the OE demonstratives are the ancestors of the ME/PDE definite article and proximal and distal demonstratives.

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adjective (Lass 1992: 105). To what extent was the definite article and strong adjective morphology more unambiguously case-marked than that of the nouns themselves? Note that here the emphasis is on the distinctiveness of the individual constituent endings, not the entire NP.[46] The following table shows six nouns, one example from the strong and weak masculine, feminine and neuter in the singular, and one example of the strong and weak masculine plural (in the genitive plural there was no difference for the different genders).[47]

Lexeme	Definite Article	Strong Adjective
stan strong masc, 'stone'	*þæs stan-es* 'the stone'	*god-es stan-es* 'good stone'
giefe strong fem, 'gift'	*þære gief-e* 'the gift'	*god-re gief-e* 'good gift'
scip strong neut, 'ship'	*þæs scip-es* 'the ship'	*god-es scip-es* 'good ship'
lichama weak masc, 'body'	*þæs licham-an* 'the body'	*god-es licham-an* 'good body'
heorte weak fem, 'heart'	*þære heort-an* 'the heart'	*god-re heort-an* 'good heart'
eage weak neut, 'eye'	*þæs eag-an* 'the eye'	*god-es eag-an* 'good eye'
stan strong plural, 'stone'	*þara stan-a* 'the stones'	*god-ra stan-a* 'good stones'
lichama weak plural, 'body'	*þara licham-ena* 'the bodies'	*god-ra licham-ena* 'good bodies'

Table 3.2 OE genitive noun phrases

Of the 16 NPs listed in Table 3.2, in only six is the form of the strong adjective or definite article unambiguously marked as genitive while the noun is not: weak masculine and neuter singular, and strong plural. For the weak plural and strong singular masculine and neuter nouns, both the modifiers and the noun have morphemes which are unambiguously genitive. For strong and weak feminine singular nouns, both modifier and noun morphemes are identical to those for the dative singular. We can compare this level of modifier distinctiveness for the genitive case

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46 For example, the entire NP *þara stana* can only be genitive plural; however, the noun ending *-a* in isolation is not isomorphic for case, as it is also used for weak masculine nominative singular and strong feminine nominative/accusative plural. The form *þara*, on the other hand, can only be genitive plural (as long as vowel distinctions are maintained).
47 For these tables I have taken examples only from the major noun classes.

with that of the two other OE oblique cases, dative and accusative. In the dative, there are once again 16 NPs (identical plural morphemes for all genders).

Lexeme	Definite Article	Strong Adjective
stan strong masc, 'stone'	*þæm stan-e* 'the stone'	*god-um stan-e* 'good stone'
giefe strong fem, 'gift'	*þære gief-e* 'the gift'	*god-re gief-e* 'good gift'
scip strong neut, 'ship'	*þæm scip-e* 'the ship'	*god-um scip-e* 'good ship'
lichama weak masc, 'body'	*þæm licham-an* 'the body'	*god-um licham-an* 'good body'
heorte weak fem, 'heart'	*þære heort-an* 'the heart'	*god-re heort-an* 'good heart'
eage weak neut, 'eye'	*þæm eag-an* 'the eye'	*god-um eag-an* 'good eye'
stan strong plural, 'stone'	*þam stan-um* 'the stones'	*god-um stan-um* 'good stones'
lichama weak plural, 'body'	*þam licham-um* 'the bodies'	*god-um licham-um* 'good bodies'

Table 3.3: OE dative noun phrases

Of these 16 NPs, in eight the modifiers have more unambiguous case marking than the noun; however, for the adjective the unambiguous case ending *-um* is used for both singular and plural, and the vowel distinctions for the singular and plural definite article given in the table were not maintained even in OE. Furthermore, the distinctions depended on the maintenance of *-um*, an ending which was at risk of phonological attrition.

In the accusative there are 22 NPs, as strong masculine, feminine and neuter nouns have different endings in the plural, and the strong adjective endings are also different for the three genders (although these gender distinctions depend on final unstressed vowels, and probably by the later OE period were no longer distinct). The plural definite article does not vary according to gender, nor does the weak plural ending, hence there is only a single example (with *lichama*) to represent weak plural nouns with the definite article.

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Lexeme	Definite Article	Strong Adjective
stan strong masc, 'stone'	*þone stan* 'the stone'	*god-ne stan* 'good stone'
giefe strong fem, 'gift'	*þa gief-e* 'the gift'	*god-e gief-e* 'good gift'
scip strong neut, 'ship'	*þæt scip* 'the ship'	*god scip* 'good ship'
lichama weak masc, 'body'	*þone licham-an* 'the body'	*god-ne licham-an* 'good body'
heorte weak fem, 'heart'	*þa heort-an* 'the heart'	*god-e heort-an* 'good heart'
eage weak neut, 'eye'	*þæt eag-an* 'the eye'	*god eag-e* 'good eye'
stan strong masc plural, 'stone'	*þa stan-as* 'the stones'	*god-e stan-as* 'good stones'
giefe strong fem plural, 'gift'	*þa gief-a* 'the gifts'	*god-a/-e gief-a* 'good gifts'
scip strong neut plural, 'ship'	*þa scip-u* 'the ships'	*god scip-u* 'good ships'
lichama weak masc plural, 'body'	*þa licham-an* 'the bodies'	*god-e licham-an* 'good bodies'
heorte weak fem plural, 'heart'	--	*god-a/-e heort-an* 'good hearts'
eage weak neut plural, 'eye'	--	*god eag-an* 'good eyes'

Table 3.4: OE accusative noun phrases

Of these 22 NPs, only four (definite article and strong adjective for masculine singular strong and weak) have unambiguous modifier marking. In the accusative, no noun has unambiguous case morphology, and in the dative it is only plural nouns which have an inflectional ending which is only used for dative and no other case. The genitive has the most distinctive modifier morphology for case and number; phonologically, the genitive also has some of the most robust morphemes. These features might lead one to predict that the genitive morphology would be more persistent in ME. On the other hand, the genitive nouns themselves also have the most unambiguous and phonologically robust morphology, so that genitive modifiers perhaps carried less of the functional load of the NP (Fischer 1992: 222).

3.1.2 Methodology

Unlike the previous chapter, which focuses on the plural form of the nouns only, in this chapter I look at both singular and plural modifiers. It would have been relatively uninformative to limit

the study to the plural; there are far fewer plural genitive nouns than singular (Table 2.4), and only a portion of these genitive plural nouns have any modifiers in the GNP. As there are few genitive plural modifier tokens (390 in total), the singular has also been included in order to ensure sufficient data. Furthermore, the literature lacks a detailed analysis of genitive modifiers of any number, so the singular still needs to be investigated.

Initially I had planned to use the same corpus for the modifier study as for that of the genitive plural nouns used in Chapter 2. However, it soon became apparent that texts after 1350 did not have genitive modifier marking, for singular or plural. This chronological limitation to pre-1350 texts excluded the *PPCME2* corpus[48] and most of the printed editions included in Chapter 2. This chapter is based on 126 text samples, mostly from *LAEME* but also those few printed editions which include pre-1350 texts; for details see Appendix A. For *LAEME* texts I performed an electronic search for all genitive singular and plural adjectives, articles, and demonstratives by using the concordance tool to search for all items with the following tags:

Gaj: singular genitive adjective

plajG: plural genitive adjective

AG: singular genitive indefinite article

TG: singular genitive definite article

TplG: plural genitive definite article

DisG: singular genitive proximal demonstrative (this)

DesG: plural genitive proximal demonstrative (these)

DatG: singular genitive distal demonstrative (that)

DosG: plural genitive distal demonstrative (those)

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48   All the pre-1350 texts included in *PPCME2* except one are already included in *LAEME*, although the exact sample may vary.

For pre-1350 texts in the corpus which are not in *LAEME*, the texts have been read and a list of all of the above types of modifiers was compiled. The data has then been sorted into individual spreadsheets (singular adjective, plural demonstrative, etc.). In addition to the modifier itself, the spreadsheets also include the region and period of the text, the ending form, a gloss, whether the form is overtly marked as genitive or unmarked, the historical gender of the head noun if singular, and whether the context is strong or weak for adjectives.

3.2 GENITIVE SINGULAR ADJECTIVES

3.2.1 Overview

Table 3.5 shows the temporal/regional distribution of the texts which have at least one example of a singular GNP which includes an adjective. The distribution of the texts is similar to that of the genitive plural nouns, with the SWM contributing more texts, and hence more tokens, than any other region.

	CM	EM	ESX	N	NWM	SC	SE	SW	SWM	NL	TOT
C12b	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
C12-13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
C13a	1	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	17	5	30
C13a-b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
C13b	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	11	6	21
C13-14	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	6
C14a	0	7	1	5	0	1	1	1	6	0	22
TOTAL	1	11	6	5	1	5	4	4	37	13	87[49]

Table 3.5: Regional and chronological distribution of texts which have genitive singular adjectives

In the corpus of texts used in this chapter there are 719 genitive singular adjective tokens. The table below shows the different ending types attested in the corpus; each column shows the written forms of the five ending types, and the number of tokens of each form.

TYPE	-es	-re	-e	-n	-Ø
	-es: 341*	-ere: 5	-e: 191*	-an: 10	-Ø: 142
	-s: 7	-re: 14	-a: 1	-en: 4	
	-æs: 1				
	-ess: 1				
	-res: 2[50]				
TOTAL	**352**	**19**	**192**	**14**	**142**

Table 3.6: Forms of genitive singular adjective endings

* The ending forms which have an asterisk, -*e* and -*es*, each include one token in which the ending is abbreviated, and the traditional expansion of that abbreviation corresponds to that ending form.

Of these five types, only -*es* is isomorphic; -*re* is used for dative as well as genitive singular adjectives,[51] while -*e*, -Ø, and -*n* can be used for a variety of functions. Historically, -*es* derives

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49 In this table, one N text, cotvespcma, not included as it is not dated with greater precision than C14; one EM text, culhh, not included, as it is not dated with greater precision than C13.
50 The scribe who uses this form, the scribe of the Titus MS, never uses feminine (-*re*) forms of the modifiers, so that this form has been considered as a variant of -*es*.
51 Also, in ME, for the genitive plural adjective.

from the OE strong masculine/neuter genitive singular adjective ending, -*re* from the OE strong feminine genitive singular, and -*n* from the OE weak genitive singular for all three genders. -*e* and -Ø may be due to phonological reduction of OE -*an*, or to the extension of the strong nominative adjective endings (Brunner 1963: §43). In this chapter, I will refer to -*es* and -*re* as the marked adjective endings, as these ending types are overtly case-marked, and -*n*, -*e* and -Ø as the unmarked endings.

Table 3.6 includes all the genitive adjectives in the corpus, but not all adjectives which have a genitive singular ending modify a genitive singular noun. 48 of the tokens are independent adverbs, adverbs which are created by inflecting an adjective as genitive, such as *alles* ('altogether, entirely' from *all*).

(3.1)   *þat maide was afered þo hit **all-es** vp-brac*

'that maiden was frightened when it broke up **entirely**' (layamonBO)

(3.2)   *ic bliðeliche ðine rad wile hlesten & **micheles** ðe bliðeliker gif ðu me ðin uncuðe name me woldest kyðen*

'I will blithely listen to thy advice and **much** the more blithely if you to me your secret name would make known to me' (vva)

I refer to these as independent adverbs as there are also examples of an adjective which modifies a genitive noun which is itself used adverbially.

(3.3)   *ȝe schulen **all-es wei-s** wið alle michte & strengðe wel witen*

'ye schall **[in] every way** with all might and all strength well know' (cleoara)

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Such examples are not considered examples of an independent adverb, as in genitive NPs such as (3.3) the adjective is modifying the noun, and it is the noun which determines the function of the NP. All 48 examples of an independent adverbial genitive adjective have the *-es* ending. Only three adjectives are used as adverbs: *alles* (31 tokens), *mucheles* (16 tokens), and *anes* 'once' (1 token). The adverbial genitive was a common feature of OE, particularly with the strong masculine/neuter *-es* ending (Mitchell 1985: §1389-90), and many adverbial genitives are first recorded in ME (Mustanoja 1960: 91), suggesting that the adverbial *-es* ending was a productive feature of ME. However, it is not at all clear that this *-es* was still viewed as a genitive ending, rather than an adverbial ending. Since this adverbial *-es* might not have been perceived as genitive, and even if it was it was not modifying a noun, it will not feature in the rest of this chapter, which focuses on adjectives which modify a genitive noun.

Another 48 tokens are substantive adjectives, in which the genitive singular adjective functions as a substantive.

(3.4)   *forbindeþ þas **dæd-an** muþ*

          'binds the **dead [man]'s** mouth' (worcthgrgl)

(3.5)   *beon **oðr-es** beodemon*

          'to be **another's** almsman' (neroar)

Unlike the adverbial forms discussed above, substantive adjectives do not only appear with *-es*. Historically, the use of the *-es* ending represents an innovation: in OE, the weak form of the adjective was used for the substantive (Mitchell 1985: §132; see Allen 2008: 39 for a similar pattern in Common Germanic). There are 43 examples of *-es*, 2 of *-an*, 2 of *-e* and 1 of *-res*. The

adjective most commonly used as a substantive is *oðres* 'other's', which accounts for 24 of the tokens; the frequency of this particular noun would partly account for the high incidence of *-es* forms, since *oðer* was always inflected as a strong adjective in OE (in the genitive singular it only occurred with the *-es* ending when modifying masculine/neuter nouns) (Campbell 1959: §638). Of the 19 tokens which have *-es* and modify a lexeme other than *oðer*, 16 have a demonstrative or possessive adjective in the NP; of these, nine have the strong *-es* ending, suggesting a weakening in the OE pattern of using the weak form of the adjective as a substantive. There does not appear to be any lexical restriction on which adjectives can occur as substantives: *rihtwises* 'righteous', *cwikes* 'living', *deades* 'dead', *anes* 'one'.

Of the 5 tokens which do not have the *-es* form, one is *anres* 'one's', a form peculiar to titusar (the other versions of the *Ancrene Riwle* have *anes/ones* instead). According to the *MED* (s.v. *on*), this form is an error (the titusar scribe has also produced this form on another occasion, as a modifying adjective). The *-e* ending occurs with only one lexical item, *worste/worse* 'worst'. The two examples of *-an*, from OE weak *-an*, are from two texts produced by morphologically conservative scribes:

worcthfrags: produced by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester, who had studied OE

lamhomA1: this part of the manuscript contains older material; the orthography is fairly conservative throughout, possibly due to its SWM origins (Millett 2007: 62).

As this chapter focuses on genitive modifiers, these 48 examples of substantive adjectives will not be included in the rest of the discussion, as there is no modification.

Finally, there are sixteen tokens in which the genitive adjective is neither an adverb nor a

substantive, yet does not modify a noun. All these tokens come from a single text, worcthgrgl, in which there is no English genitive noun which the genitive adjective modifies, as in (3.6):

(3.6)   *ones*   *onum*   **all-es**   *eallum*

one-GEN.SG. one-DAT.SG. **all**-GEN.SG. all-DAT.SG. (worthgrgl)

This text, cut up in C15 and used in the binding of another book (Franzen 1991: 71), suffers more damage than most manuscripts in this study. However, as a guide to Latin grammar, even in perfect condition not all of the adjectives would have modified a noun, with some instances serving as stand-alone examples and others as translations of Latin. These adjectives have been excluded from the rest of the discussion.

Having excluded the above three types of genitive adjective, there remain 608 adjectives which modify a genitive singular noun, the focus of the rest of this section.

3.2.2 Marked and unmarked forms of the genitive singular adjective

The remainder of this section will examine the use of overtly marked and unmarked forms of the genitive singular adjective, as in examples (3.7) and (3.8), respectively.

(3.7) *astrild an-es **hahȝ-es** king-es dohter*

    'Astrild, a high king's daughter' (layamonAa)

(3.8) *þurhlin godes side wið **scharp-e** spere-s ord*

    'to pierce God's side with sharp spear's point' (bod34x, l. 377)

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Removing the non-modifying adjective examples from the corpus does not affect the total number of texts represented (Table 3.5), but Table 3.6 does need to be revised. Table 3.7 below shows the revised number of tokens for the five ending types.

ending type	# of tokens	% of total
-es	254	42%
-re	19	3%
-e	185	30%
-Ø	142	23%
-n	8	1%
TOTAL	608	

Table 3.7: Number and percentage of adjective ending types

For the period C12b2-C14a2, -*es* is the most frequent ending type; the other marked ending, -*re*, is extremely rare. As will be shown below, the much higher rate of -*es* is related to noun gender and agreement. Overtly marked adjective forms account for 45% of all the adjectives. To follow the usage of marked and unmarked adjective forms through time, Table 3.8 adds the chronological element.[52] The **%** column indicates the percentage of the adjectives that are marked and unmarked for each time period; for C12b2, 28% of the adjectives in the texts from this period are marked (Figure 3.1 presents the same data in graphic format).

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52 Texts which cannot be dated to within one of these periods have been excluded.

	MARKED		UNMARKED		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
C12b2	13	28	33	72	46
C12-13	0	0	5	100	5
C13a1	86	74	30	26	116
C13a2	87	51	83	49	170
C13a-b	14	64	8	36	22
C13b1	21	51	20	49	41
C13b2	17	27	46	73	63
C13-14	1	14	6	86	7
C14a1	4	11	34	89	38
C14a2	0	0	22	100	22
TOTAL	243	46	287	54	530

Table 3.8: Variation of marked and unmarked genitive singular adjectives through time
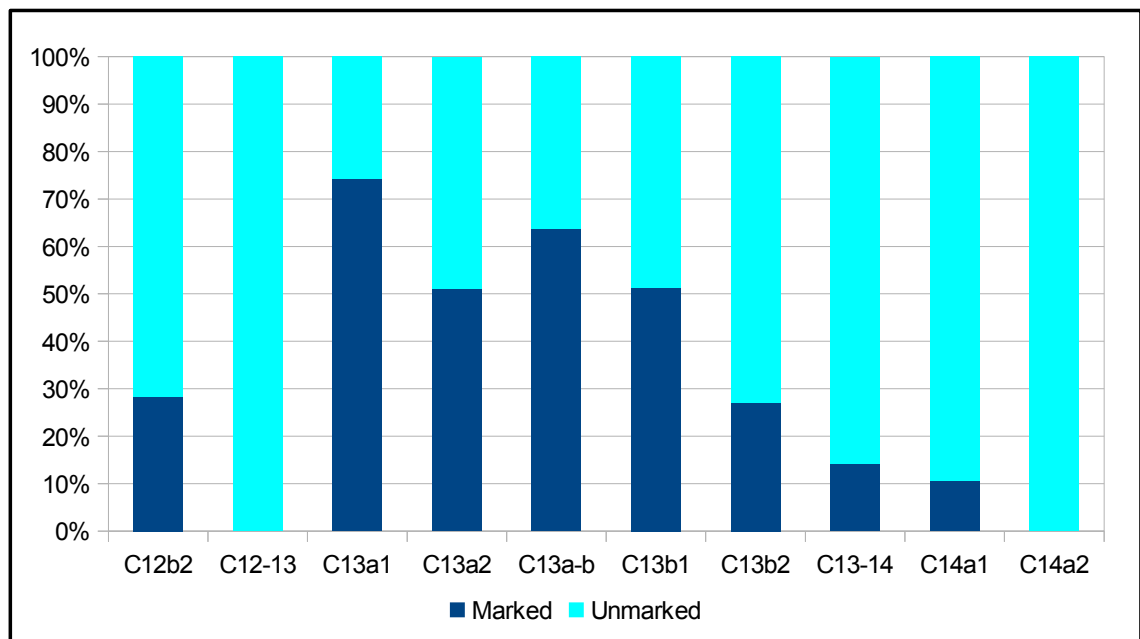
Figure 3.1: Variation of marked and unmarked genitive singular adjectives through time

As the table and figure show, the marked genitive adjectives undergo a steady decline in use

from C13a1 to C14a2.[53] The early dominance of the unmarked adjective in C12b2 may be due

to the fact that the bulk of the data is from the EM, which as we have seen in Chapter 2 (2.6.1.1)

is somewhat less conservative morphologically than the SWM, the region which provides most

of the data for C13. The data in Table 3.9 does suggest that the SWM texts use the marked

adjective more often than the EM. The ESX data shows some interesting variations between

C12b and C13a texts, with an even split in the C12b data followed by a clear majority of

marked forms in C13a, although the numbers are too low to be conclusive.

	SWM		EM		ESX		TOTAL
	M	U	M	U	M	U	
C12b	--	--	6	25	7	8	46
C13a	129	101	--	--	31	4	265
C13b	33	37	2	9	--	--	81
C14a	4	17	0	22	0	4	47
TOTAL	166	155	8	56	38	16	439

Table 3.9: Distribution of marked and unmarked adjectives for the three best-attested regions

3.2.2.1 Gender concord

The high proportion of marked adjectives which have the -*es* form has two potential

explanations:

1. The -*es* ending originally used for adjectives which modify masculine and neuter nouns in

OE has spread to new environments, mirroring the extension of strong masculine/neuter -*es* to

new lexemes in the genitive singular noun.

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53   The variations between C13a2, C13a-b, and C13b1 are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.2$, d (f) = 2, p > 0.5).

2. There is a very high number of nouns which were historically masculine or neuter in OE, and which, if gender concord is preserved, would be modified by adjectives which have the -*es* form.

To determine the cause of the high frequency of -*es* forms, it is necessary to check each use of the marked adjectives and determine, as well as possible, the historical gender of the head noun. In some cases, generally borrowings from OF, the noun has no OE etymon, in which case there is no historical gender. In general, the gender assigned to the head noun is its "historical" gender, the gender(s) for which forms are attested in OE. As the nominal gender system began to break down quite early in ME (Mustanoja 1960: 43; Stenroos 2008: 453), there is no practicable alternative for assigning noun gender in ME; the tendency of the nouns in my corpus to appear in accordance with the OE patterns makes the assumption of a certain amount of grammatical gender continuity not unreasonable. Note that in OE there are nouns which are attested with more than one gender (Mitchell 1985: §56). The results are in Table 3.10.

	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc/neut	neut/fem	OF	**TOTAL**
-*es*	120	112	17	1	2	1	**253**
-*re*	0	2	17	0	0	0	**19**
TOTAL	**120**	**114**	**34**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**272**

Table 3.10: Gender agreement of overtly marked adjectives and head nouns

The data indicates that both of the explanations suggested above for the high level of -*es* forms may be correct. The majority of the singular GNPs which feature a marked adjective are historically masculine or neuter: 237 tokens, or 87% of the tokens.[54] So there is a very high level of nouns for which we would expect the modifying adjective to have the -*es* ending. Of these

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54 The two tokens which are attested as neuter/feminine in OE have been included, using the benefit of the doubt that a noun which was attested as neuter could be expected to have modifiers which have neuter morphology.

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237 masculine/neuter tokens, only 2 do not have the historically expected -*es* ending, two occurrences of the GNP in (3.9).

(3.9) *we eornestlice mid...god-re werc-e bigenge*

  'we earnestly with … service of good work' (wintney)

Although ME *werc* descends from an OE neuter noun, *weorc*, it occurs in wintney with the feminine genitive singular ending -*e*; thus, the use of the feminine singular adjective ending -*re* is in agreement with the gender of the nominal ending. The -*e* ending might also be due to confusion with the strong neuter dative singular, caused by the preceding preposition *mid* '*with*'; however, even if the scribe was using *godre werce* as dative, the form of the adjective is still the historically unexpected feminine form.

If we look at the set of historically feminine nouns, we find that half of these are modified by an adjective which has the -*es* ending. This would appear to indicate that there is a significant extension of the masculine/neuter -*es* ending to nouns which are historically feminine. Of the 17 tokens, 12 involve a single noun, *worldes*, genitive singular of 'world', which was feminine in OE but very often appears in *LAEME* with the masculine/neuter genitive singular ending -*es* (209 of 248 occurrences); in my corpus there are no examples of 'world' which are modified by an adjective with -*re*, and so this may be a case of an OE feminine noun which has changed/is changing grammatical gender category.[55,56] In her study of grammatical gender agreement on anaphoric pronouns, Curzan finds that this noun occurs with both masculine and feminine

55 In the *DOE* online corpus, there are fifteen examples of the feminine noun *woruld* with the masculine/neuter singular -*es* ending. Unfortunately, the search for the feminine singular genitive form is more difficult, as this is also the form for the feminine dative singular; the search returns over 1500 tokens.
56 For comparison, the historically feminine noun *sawol* occurs with the masculine/neuter -*es* ending in only 14 out of 128 tokens in *LAEME*.

pronouns, although for pronouns, the feminine dominates (Curzan 2003: 117). If we exclude the *worldes* tokens, then we have five feminine nouns modified by an adjective with *-es* and 17 by an adjective with *-re*, in which case 77% of the adjectives have the historically expected grammatical gender. There is evidence that the OE grammatical gender patterns are not perfectly maintained, but whether this is due to a breakdown in the gender concord system, or in the grammatical gender system itself, is not clear (there is insufficient data in the adjectives).

There is a difference in the texts which have *-re* and those which have *-es*. The *-re* adjectives are only found in texts which are more conservative morphologically, whether copies of OE originals (worcthgrgl, wintney) or ME compositions (vvb, layamonAa, layamonBO). *-es*, on the other hand, is found in a greater variety of texts, including some which are not as conservative (orm, titusar); see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the preservation of the *-es* adjective form.

3.2.2.2 Strong/weak distinction

In OE, the form of the adjective depended not only on the gender of the noun it modified, but also on whether the adjective appeared in a strong or weak context. The strong, more marked adjective form was used when the adjective was in indefinite NPs, while the weak adjective form, which generally lacked overt case marking, was in definite NPs (often signalled by the presence of a definite determiner) (Mitchell 1985: §102; Campbell 1959: §638).[57] In the case of the genitive singular adjective, masculine/neuter *-es* and feminine *-re* endings are the strong, marked adjective forms. The scribes have maintained historical gender agreement; do they also maintain the strong/weak distinction?

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57   Note that in OE, the strong/weak distinction was not always followed, particularly in verse texts (Campbell 1959: §638).

	STRONG		WEAK		
	#	%	#	%	TOTAL
-es	241	51%	13	10%	254
-re	18	4%	1	1%	19
-n	0	0%	8	6%	8
-e	104	22%	81	62%	185
-Ø	114	24%	28	21%	142
TOTAL	477		131		608

Table 3.11 The use of marked and unmarked genitive adjective forms in historically strong and weak contexts

The data indicates that the strong/weak adjective distinction has begun to break down, and that this breakdown is largely a one-way affair: the marked adjective forms in -*es* and -*re* are largely confined to the historically expected strong contexts, while the unmarked forms in -*e* and -Ø account for almost as many strong adjective tokens as the marked forms; these unmarked forms are also more frequent in strong contexts than in weak. 259 of the 273 -*es* and -*re* tokens appearing in historically strong contexts (95% of the marked tokens); -*e* and -Ø appear in the historically expected weak context only 33% of the time (109 weak tokens out of 327 total tokens for these two endings).[58] Similar to what we saw in for the genitive plural ending -V, (section 2.8.1) the marked genitive adjectives appear to be preserved more or less in the context in which they were used in OE; the unmarked forms, on the other hand, are extending to new environments. See also Chapter 4 (sections 4.2-4.2.2.2) for a discussion of the possible relationship between the form of the determiners and adjectives.

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58 Although -*n* is only used in weak contexts, the number of tokens is very low.

3.2.2.3 Variation at the level of the individual text

The frequency of the marked adjectives in the C13 texts (Figure 3.1) demonstrates the variation that exists between texts of the same region. Much of the C13 data comes from texts localised to the SWM, yet far from demonstrating a steady progression from C13a1 through C13b2, the texts show surprising differences in the level of marked adjectives in strong contexts, as Table 3.12 shows.[59]

	marked		unmarked		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
C13a1	38	73	14	27	52
C13a2	56	51	54	49	110
C13a-b	12	80	3	20	15
C13b1	15	65	8	35	23
C13b2	14	39	22	61	36

Table 3.12: Marked and unmarked adjectives in strong contexts in SWM texts of the thirteenth century

The C13a1 data is from the Lambeth (lamhomA1, lamhomA2, lampm) and Royal (royalkga, royalkgb, royalkgc) scribes. These earliest SWM texts show a high level of marked adjective forms in strong contexts, although already a quarter of the tokens are unmarked. However, in the texts from the following period, the marked and unmarked adjectives are evenly divided. This period is represented by copies of the *Ancrene Riwle* (corpar, cleoara & cleoarb, neroar) and the Bodley 34 MS (bod34); most of these texts belong to the AB group. The *Ancrene Riwle* texts are closely related, although neroar is not considered an example of AB language.[60] The fair copy of the text, corpar, is considered to be orthographically conservative (Dobson 1976:

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59   The variations throughout the thirteenth century are significant: $\chi^2 = 15.85$, d(f) = 4, p < 0.005.
60   According to Smith (1991: 60), neroar is a "thorough translation" from an AB variety into the scribe's own dialect.

114; Smith 1992: 583), yet this text and the others are far less conservative in their use of the marked adjective forms than the C13a1 texts. The C13a-b texts are much more conservative in their use of the marked adjective; the data is from the two Egerton versions of the *Poema Morale*, a text for which grammatically conservative forms are common to all versions (Laing 1992: 577). The C13b1 texts, predominantly the work of the two scribes of the Caligula version of the *Brut* (layamonAa and layamonAb), show a fairly high level of marked adjective forms, but lower than C13a1 and 13a-b texts. C13b2, despite consisting of texts which are in some ways quite conservative (see section 5.5), nonetheless shows the lowest rate of marked adjective use in strong contexts for any period in the C13 SWM texts. The variation in the use of marked adjectives demonstrates that conservatism in one area of the language (genitive plural noun forms, or orthography) does not necessarily mean that other areas of the language will show the same level of conservatism. The following discussion on the use of marked definite articles will also demonstrate the wide variation among scribes in when they are conservative and when they are not.

3.3 SINGULAR GENITIVE ARTICLES

There are 1106 genitive singular article tokens in the corpus. The majority of these tokens are examples of the singular definite article 'the' (1020 tokens), while the remainder are examples of the singular indefinite article 'a' (86 tokens). The indefinite singular article 'a' is a ME innovation, developing from the OE numeral *an* 'one' (Fischer 1992: 218); this relative "newness" may account for the low number of tokens. The ME definite article and distal demonstrative are both descended from the OE simple demonstrative, *se, seo, þæt* (Fischer 1992: 217); however, as outlined in section 1.4, I have treated the ME article and demonstrative

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separately, based on the PDE semantics. In the earlier texts, there is some potential ambiguity between the definite article and demonstratives; I have followed the divisions in *LAEME* (based on the tagging) in deciding whether a form is to be considered a form of the definite article or demonstrative.

3.3.1 Definite articles

The OE ancestor of the definite article had two genitive singular forms: masculine/neuter *þæs* (as in (3.10)) and feminine *þære* (as in (3.11)). Similar to what we saw with the genitive singular adjective, in pre-1350 texts there are overtly case-marked forms of the definite article, but also unmarked forms (3.12).

(3.10) *ic ham **ðes** forgelt-es adam-es anlicnesse*

    'I am the guilty Adam's likeness' (vva)

(3.11) *Þu eært a swa hende gome, and **þere** eældre suster sone*

    'you are a very noble man, and the elder sister's son' (layamonAb)

(3.12) *þa com **þe** king-es cuen*

    'then came the king's queen' (petchron)

Table 3.13 shows the written forms of the genitive singular definite article attested in the corpus; there are five types, with 33 written variants.

TYPE	þe	þes	þere	þat	þan
	þ. : 1*	þæs: 26	þare: 5	þat: 2	þan: 2
	ðo: 1	ðæs: 1	ðare: 2	þatt: 4	
	t+: 1	þas: 12	þere: 18	þet: 1	
	te: 29	ðas: 8	þære: 25		
	þ+: 6	ðes: 15	þer: 3		
	þ~: 2	þis: 10			
	þa: 5	þos: 1			
	ða: 1	þes: 149			
	y: 1	þeʒs: 1			
	ðe: 44	þeos: 8			
	þe: 632	þese: 1			
	the: 2				
	þo: 1				
TOTAL	726	232	53	7	2

Table 3.13: Attested written forms of the genitive singular definite article

*from layamonBOx, where the missing letter is indicated with a dot in Brook & Leslie's edition.

The unmarked *þe* tokens are much more frequent than marked *þes* or *þere*, and account for 71% of all genitive singular definite articles (for strong adjectives unmarked forms accounted for only 46% of all tokens). The following table shows the chronological variation of the marked and unmarked forms.

	marked		unmarked		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
C12b1	0	0%	9	100%	9
C12b2	2	2%	107	98%	109
C13a1	99	78%	28	22%	127
C13a2	27	11%	222	89%	249
C13a-b	2	29%	5	71%	7
C13b1	78	66%	41	34%	119
C13b2	15	21%	56	79%	71
C13-14	2	3%	60	97%	62
C14a1	1	1%	78	99%	79
C14a2	0	0%	43	100%	43
TOTAL	**226**		**649**		**875**

Table 3.14: Variation of marked and unmarked definite articles through time

The singular definite article is different from the other modifiers considered in this chapter, as it is attested earlier in time, with tokens from C12b1 – the Final Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. This EM text has no marked singular article tokens. The EM texts from C12b2 also show a very low incidence of marked articles, suggesting that the marked genitive singular article was a very early loss in this area. The later texts (after about 1300) also show very low levels of marked definite articles. One of the latest texts in this corpus is the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, a text occasionally cited for its conservative tendencies (Mustanoja 196: 44) but which has only unmarked definite articles (15 tokens). The texts from C13, predominantly from the SWM, show higher levels of marked definite articles than either C12 or C14; however, within the C13 texts there is considerable variation. Before considering the effects of individual scribal habits for texts from the SWM, it should be mentioned that morphological conservatism is not confined to that region; the C13a1 period, which has the highest level of marked genitive singular definite articles, includes *Vices and Virtues*, a manuscript from the ESX region (text samples vva and vvb) which has over 80% marked definite articles (26 total tokens).

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By controlling for the factors of time and region, we can see just how much individual scribal habits vary. Table 3.15 lists all the scribal texts from the SWM from C13a1, C13a2, and C13b1; the table shows the number of tokens of marked and unmarked types of the definite article for each scribal text. The percentage of tokens which are marked or unmarked for each text is given in parentheses (although in some cases the overall number of tokens is quite low, making the percentages less reliable than in the more extensive texts).

PERIOD	MARKED	UNMARKED
C13a1		
royalkga	6 (43%)	8 (57%)
royalkgb	3 (75%)	1 (25%)
royalkgc	2 (25%)	6 (75%)
lamhomA1	53 (96%)	2 (4%)
lamhomA2	8 (57%)	6 (43%)
lampm	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
C13a2		
corpar	2 (5%)	41 (95%)
cleoara	2 (5%)	42 (95%)
neroar	12 (27%)	33 (73%)
bod34	6 (25%)	18 (75%)
nerowg	1 (100%)	0 (0%)
C13b1		
layamonAa	27 (96%)	1 (4%)
layamonAb	33 (97%)	1 (3%)
caiusar	2 (10%)	18 (90%)
iacob	0 (0%)	6 (100%)

Table 3.15: Relative frequency of marked and unmarked genitive singular definite articles for SWM texts

Looking at the data, we see that the SWM C13a1 dominance of the marked genitive singular article forms is largely due to the large number of tokens from lamhomA1; lamhomA1 accounts

for 57% of all the genitive singular article forms for C13a1 in Table 3.15. The other texts in C13a1 show less frequent use of the marked forms: including the lamhomA1 tokens, marked tokens account for 76% of all definite articles, while excluding lamhomA1 results in only 49% of the tokens being overtly marked. Nonetheless, the non-lamhomA1 C13a1 texts show a rate of marked forms which is significantly higher than what we find in the C13a2 texts: overall, 23 of the 158 genitive singular definite article tokens in texts from this period are overtly case-marked, only 15%. As with C13a1, the overall period average is somewhat skewed by certain texts. The lowest levels of marked genitive singular definite articles are found in corpar and cleoara, the fair copy and working version of the *Ancrene Riwle* (Dobson 1972: ix), which have only a 5% rate of marked forms.[61] The non-AB SWM version of *Ancrene Riwle*, neroar, has a higher rate of marked forms, 27%, and the data from MS Bodley 34 shows a similar level of marked definite articles. The linguistic variety found in corpar and cleoara is less conservative in terms of definite article morphology than the other texts from that period.

The high level of marked forms in C13b1 in the SWM is due to the very large number of marked forms in the two scribal texts which make up the Caligula MS of Laȝamon's *Brut*, which like lamhomA1 have a skewing effect on the entire period. These two scribes copied the archaizing *Brut*, and have produced the older, marked forms of the article. The other two SWM texts from the period do not show a similarly high level of conservative forms, nor does the sample from the Otho version of the *Brut* (layamonBO), from the SW, in which marked and unmarked forms are roughly equal (16 marked, 15 unmarked). Examples (3.13) and (3.14) are typical of the marked/unmarked variation between the two *Brut* manuscripts.

(3.13) *wes to-drefed **þere** quene cun* 'was driven away the queen's kin' (layamonAa)

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61 The only SWM text sample with a lower rate, iacob, has too few tokens to be conclusive.

(3.14) *weren to-dreued **þe** cwene cun* 'were driven away the queen's kin' (layamonBO)

The more refined chronological divisions used in the tables in this subsection mean that some texts have been excluded, as they are not dated to within the more narrow time span. For most of the scribal texts which have been excluded, there are only a few tokens, but there a few texts which are longer and have more tokens:

worcthgrgl (C13a, SWM): 49 tokens, all marked

gloucester (C14a, SWM): 42 tokens, all unmarked

edincmb (C14a, N): 14 tokens, all unmarked

edincmc (C14a, N): 11 tokens, all unmarked

edincmb and edincmc are typical of the early ME N texts: morphologically they are not conservative, but this could as easily be attributable to the date as the region, as is shown by gloucester, a SWM text of approximately the same period which also shows only unmarked definite article forms. worcthgrgl, on the other hand, is an early text, from a region which was more morphologically conservative in the early period; this particular text, a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, is explicitly concerned with the forms and functions of morphology, and not surprisingly has the highest levels of marked modifier forms of any of the longer texts.

3.3.2 Genitive articles and OE gender

Like the adjective, in OE the definite article agreed with the gender of the noun which it modified. In the case of the genitive singular, there were two forms, *þæs* and *þære*; note the similarity to the form of the genitive singular strong adjectives. We saw in section 3.2.2.1 that

where the gender-marked forms of the adjectives are used in the corpus, they are generally used in accordance with the OE patterns of gender agreement, with some extension of the masculine/neuter *-es* ending to historically feminine nouns. The adjective data did, however, indicate that historically masculine and neuter nouns, especially masculine nouns, account for the majority of the nouns in those GNPs. The same is true of the genitive singular definite article in early ME, as Table 3.16 shows. The masc* and fem* columns are data from the damaged MS worcthgrgl; the nouns are missing from the ME MS, but on the basis of the OE MS (based on the edited text in Zupitza 1880) the gender of the missing nouns can be deduced.

	masc	neut	fem	mult.	masc*	fem*	TOTAL
þes	192	36	1	2	1	--	232
þere	1	--	40	--	--	12	53
TOTAL	193	36	41	2	1	12	285

Table 3.16: Level of historical gender agreement

The majority of the tokens are nouns which were historically masculine or neuter, 232 of the 285 tokens, 81%.[62] There is only one token which may indicate the use of the masculine/neuter *þes* with a feminine noun; however, that example is with *weorldes*, genitive singular of 'world', which may have switched to the masculine/neuter noun class (section 3.2.2.1).

(3.15) *riche men þe habbeð **þes** muchel-es weorld-es ehte*

    'rich men that have the great world's wealth' (lamhomA1)[63]

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62 As with the adjective, the masculine/neuter modifier forms are considered historical for nouns which are attested   with more than one gender, but for which masculine and/or neuter gender was a possibility.

63 Note that this example, with overtly masculine/neuter forms of the definite article, adjective, and noun, is from the morphologically conservative lamhomA1 text. It is not impossible that the scribe has made an error, but the shift to all masculine/neuter forms in this text is suggestive that 'world' may no longer be exclusively feminine.

If *weorldes* can be masculine/neuter, then there are no examples of the use of *þes* which are historically unexpected. For *þere*, the historical feminine form, there is only one example of a historical mismatch between the definite article and the noun gender.

(3.16) **þere** *bring-e* 'of the offering' (layamonAa)

In OE *bring* is a strong masculine noun; however, as in the case of the feminine adjectives which modified a historically neuter noun (see example (3.9) in section 3.2.2.1), *bringe* has the historically feminine genitive singular ending *-e*, rather than the masculine *-es*. Thus, while there is a historical gender mismatch, within the ME GNP the definite article agrees with the gender of the noun ending, as expressed by the genitive singular ending *-e*. This particular noun has a root which ends in *-ing*, and there may have been some influence from the large class of feminine nouns which had the suffix *-ung/-ing*, although this is only speculation. It seems unlikely that in this instance there is confusion with the dative singular, for which *-e* is the expected ending for a masculine singular noun; the entire line reads: *wel bið him þere bringe; oeu bið þe beð þer-fore* 'well it will be to him the offering; to you [it] will be the better therefore' (l.374).

The two examples of possible historical gender mismatch thus are not very convincing of a possible breakdown in the gender concord system, although they may show some breakdown in the historical grammatical gender of a few nouns. Thus, at least among those scribes who use the gender-marked genitive singular definite article forms, these forms preserve gender agreement; there is no evidence of the sort of repurposing of the genitive singular article proposed by Jones, in which the more phonetically distinct endings, such as *-es*, are used to maximize the expression of case relationships (Jones 1988: 17, 104)[64]; note however that both

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64 With the possible exception of the Caligula MS of the *Brut*, Stenroos did not find evidence of any

masculine/neuter -*es* and feminie -*re* are phonetically distinct endings, so that there is no phonologically compelling reason to drop either. The feminine *þere* is mostly confined to morphologically conservative texts, as was the feminine adjective ending -*re*, although *þere* is also attested in the jes29 and cotowla texts (*Owl and the Nightingale*). The masculine/neuter *þes*, like masculine/neuter adjectives in -*es*, are found in both ME copies of OE documents and ME compositions, so it is not the case that the gender-marked forms are only found in more morphologically conservative texts. There is no evidence that there was a widespread pattern of extending the masculine/neuter definite article forms to new lexical environments, or of widespread confusion between the masculine/neuter and feminine forms.

The unmarked form of the genitive singular definite article is extended to all nouns, regardless of historical gender. Only the unmarked form is extended to novel lexical items (predominantly borrowings from OF).

3.3.3 The indefinite article

(3.17)   *astrild **an-es** hahȝ-es king-es dohter* 'Astrild, a high king's daughter' (layamonAb)

(3.18)   ***a** mihti king-es luue* 'a mighty king's love' (corpar)

The modern indefinite article is a ME innovation (Fischer 1992: 218) and is derived from the OE numeral *an* 'one'. The numeral *an* was inflected for gender and case; in the genitive singular the masculine/neuter form was *anes* and the feminine *anre*. Table 3.17 gives the three types of indefinite article (unmarked, masculine/neuter and feminine) and the different forms attested for each type.

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such repurposing either (Stenroos 2008: 455).

TYPE	a/an	ennes	are
	a: 33	enes: 1	hare: 1
	an: 13	ænnes: 1	are: 1
	ane: 13	ennes: 1	ore: 1
	one: 9	ones: 1	
	on: 4	anes: 5	
	hone: 1	onnes: 1	
TOTAL	73	10	3

Table 3.17: Forms of the genitive singular indefinite article

One set of forms is of particular note: those with *-r-*. Unlike the OE feminine genitive singular form of the numeral *an*, in ME the feminine forms of the indefinite article take *a*, rather than *an*, as their stem. A search of *LAEME* provides only one feminine form of the numeral, *onre* 'one', so that it is only speculation to consider that the use of the feminine article with the *a-* stem indicates that scribes may have begun to use a different stem for the indefinite article and the numeral; note that the masculine/neuter forms have the *an-* stem.

As with the genitive singular adjective and definite article, marked forms of the genitive singular indefinite article are less frequent than unmarked forms. However, the indefinite article shows a far lower use of marked indefinite forms than either of these modifiers; only 15% of the tokens have the case-marked form. All gender-marked forms show historical agreement with the gender of the head noun. The very low level of marking may be due to the innovative nature of the indefinite article, which was coming into use at a time when case-marked modifiers were declining.

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Historical gender	marked	unmarked
masculine	7	47
feminine	3	7
neuter	3	11
non-OE (OF, etc)	0	8
TOTAL	**13**	**73**

Table 3.18: Marked and unmarked indefinite articles and historical gender

Of the 13 marked tokens, 12 are from SWM texts and 1 from ESX; there are no examples after about 1300 (the latest comes from fmcpm, a copy of *Poema Morale*, dated C13-14). As with the adjective and definite article, the use of overtly marked forms of the indefinite article appears to be a feature of the texts from earlier in the period and/or from more morphologically conservative regions.

3.4 GENITIVE SINGULAR DEMONSTRATIVES

There are 211 genitive singular demonstrative tokens in the corpus. As with the genitive singular adjective, not every demonstrative is modifying a noun. 8 tokens are used pronominally, as in (3.19):

(3.19)   *wo is hom **þes** vor þeyh hi beo heom-selue iborewe*

          'woe is to-them of-this for though they be themselves saved' (jes29)

There are 203 demonstrative tokens which modify a noun. Of these, 16 are forms of the distal demonstrative ('that')[65] and 187 are forms of the proximal demonstrative ('this') in the genitive

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65   Considered separate from the definite article, as outlined in section 3.3.

singular context. Given how few distal demonstrative tokens there are, this section will focus on the forms of the proximal demonstrative, and will use the term 'demonstrative' henceforth only for the proximal demonstrative. Table 3.19 shows the three types of the genitive singular demonstrative, along with the variant written forms.

TYPE	þisses	þissere	þis
	þisses: 12	þissere: 12	þis: 77
	ðisses: 1	þyssere: 1	þisse: 14
	þesses: 1		þeos: 18
	þises: 2		ðis: 14
	þyses: 2		þes: 21
	ðises: 1		þiss: 1
	ðeses: 1		þese: 1
			tis: 1
			ðies: 1
			ðese: 1
			þas: 1
			þise: 2
			this: 2
TOTAL	20	13	154

Table 3.19: Written forms of the genitive singular demonstrative

Like the articles and adjective, in OE the demonstrative was inflected for gender as well as case: the masculine/neuter *þisses* and the feminine *þisse/þisre* (Campbell 1959: §711). However, in Table 3.19 the form *þisse* has been included as a written variant of unmarked *þis,* as *þisse* does not appear to have a strong association with historically feminine nouns in ME. Table 3.20 shows the level of historically expected gender agreement for the three types; there is a separate column for 'world', which is extremely frequent with the demonstrative (probably due to the religious nature of many of the texts, which are contrasting this world with the next).

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	MASC	NEUT	FEM	M/N	'world'	TOTAL
þisses	7	9	1	--	3	20
þissere	--	--	10	--	3	13
þisse	2	6	1	1	7	17
þis	48	34	2	2	51	137
TOTAL	**57**	**49**	**14**	**3**	**64**	**187**

Table 3.20: Gender agreement for the demonstrative

Of the 64 'world' tokens, 53 have the masculine/neuter -*es*; combined with the data from the adjective and definite article, I conclude that 'world' can be masculine/neuter in addition to feminine. For *þissere*, all 13 tokens are used with a feminine noun (note that here the three 'world' tokens all have the historically expected -*e* ending). For *þisse,* at most eight of the 17 tokens, 47% are feminine; if we consider the five 'world' tokens which have -*es* to be masculine/neuter, then only three of the 17 tokens are feminine (18%). As Table 3.21 shows, even if we assume that all the 'world' tokens are feminine, the level of historically unexpected feminine nouns is far lower for *þisse* than forany other modifier.

	fem. modifier form	feminine nouns	percentage
strong adjectives	17	19	89%
definite articles	52	53	98%
indefinite articles	3	3	100%
demonstrative (*þissere* only)	13	13	100%
demonstrative (*þisse* only)	8	17	47%

Table 3.21: Historical gender agreement for modifiers of feminine nouns (including 'world' as feminine)

The level of historically feminine tokens for *þisse* is much lower than for the other modifiers. The low level of gender agreement suggests that for the ME scribes *þisse* was not a feminine form, but a gender-neutral unmarked form. The loss of *þisse* as a feminine form may reflect a

certain amount of analogical levelling in early ME, in which the -*r*- forms became seen as the feminine forms, and the single demonstrative form which did not fit this pattern became disassociated from gender.

The unambiguously gender-marked forms *þisses* and *þissere* show a level of historical gender agreement similar to what we have seen for the corresponding forms of the genitive singular strong adjective and definite and indefinite articles; 100% of the *þissere* forms are used with nouns which were feminine in OE, while the level for *þisses* is 97% if we include the 'world' tokens (all of which have -*es*). There is only one example of masculine/neuter *þisses* extended to a feminine noun, suggesting that, as with the adjective and articles, there has not been a significant extension of the masculine/neuter form to new environments. Masculine and neuter nouns, when they are used with a gender-marked demonstrative, are used with the historically expected masculine/neuter form; feminine nouns, when used with a gender-marked demonstrative form, are used with the historically expected feminine form.

Even more than the other modifiers discussed so far, the use of marked genitive singular demonstratives is a feature of very early texts. As Table 3.22 and Figure 3.2 show, there is no period in which the marked forms account for the majority of tokens, and marked demonstratives disappear somewhat earlier than marked adjectives and definite articles.

	12b2	13a1	13a2	13a-b	13b1	13b2	13-14	14a1	14a2
marked	1	9	5	1	8	1	0	0	0
unmarked	13	14	10	3	42	26	8	13	0
total	**14**	**23**	**15**	**4**	**50**	**27**	**8**	**13**	**0**

Table 3.22: Variation of marked and unmarked demonstrative forms through time

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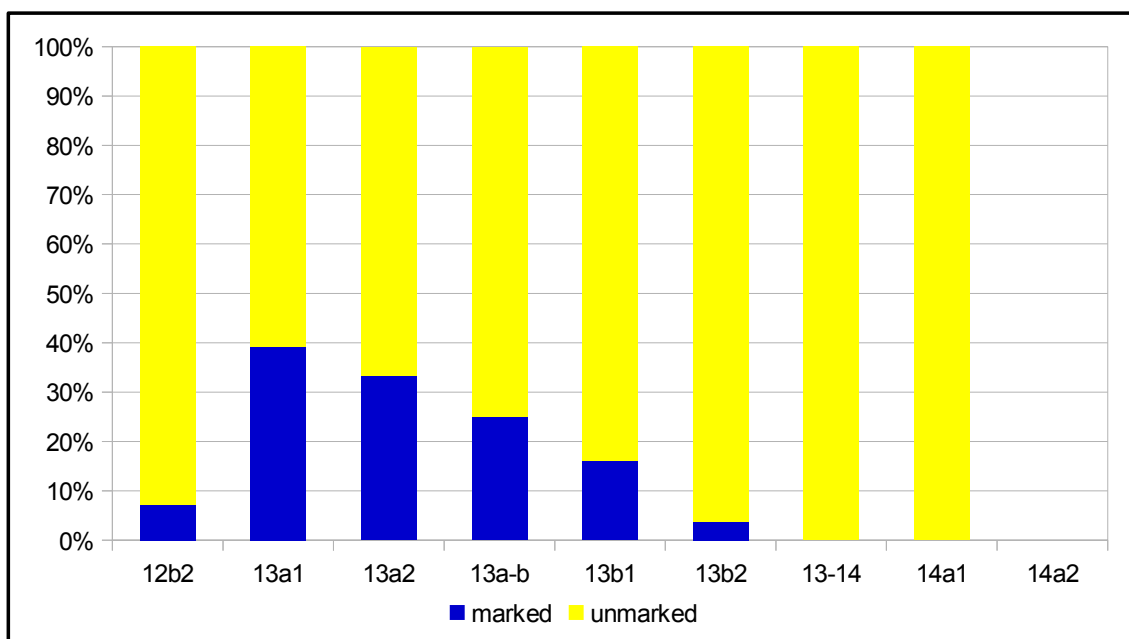
Figure 3.2: Variation of marked and unmarked demonstrative through time

Not even in the most conservative period, C13a1, does the marked form account for a majority of the tokens (only 39% of the tokens have a marked form). Also of interest is the very low level of marked tokens in the C13b1 texts (only 16%). This period is mostly represented by data from the two MSS of Laȝamon's *Brut*, which generally show a higher level of marked forms for the strong adjective and definite article. The chronological distribution of the marked demonstrative forms indicates that this modifier was the earliest word class to lose overt genitive marking.

3.5 GENITIVE SINGULAR MODIFIER OVERVIEW

3.5.1 Gender

The individual modifier studies have revealed a common thread: the preservation of historical gender agreement patterns with the overtly marked modifiers. As Table 3.23 shows, the gender-

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marked forms of the strong adjective, definite and indefinite articles, and demonstrative are almost always used in historically expected agreement with the head noun. I have assumed, based on the modifier and noun forms, that 'world' could have either masculine/neuter OR feminine gender, and thus masculine/neuter modifiers which modify this noun have been considered "correct". Note that even if we considered 'world' to be exclusively feminine in grammatical gender, the level of historically expected gender agreement would still be over 90% for every word class.

	historically "correct"		historically "incorrect"		
	#	%	#	%	TOTAL
str. adj.	264	97%	7	3%	271
def. art.	284	100%	1	0%	285
indef. art.	13	100%	0	0%	13
demon.	32	97%	1	3%	33
TOTAL	593	99%	9	1%	602

Table 3.23: Levels of historical gender agreement for gender-marked modifier forms

There is little evidence to suggest that the masculine/neuter modifiers in -*es* are being extended to feminine nouns. Having concluded that 'world' may be masculine/neuter or feminine, there are only six tokens for all four modifiers in which historically feminine nouns have modifiers with masculine/neuter morphology (there are only three tokens in which feminine modifiers appear with historically masculine/neuter nouns). There is no evidence that the scribes are mixing up forms, even in those texts, like *Ancrene Riwle*, which are ME compositions. The non-literatim scribes who used them presumably knew the forms well enough to know when they were appropriate.

Despite the similar levels of gender concord, the different word classes show different patterns of decline. Figure 3.3 shows the frequency of marked forms for the genitive singular strong adjective, definite article, and demonstrative.[66]
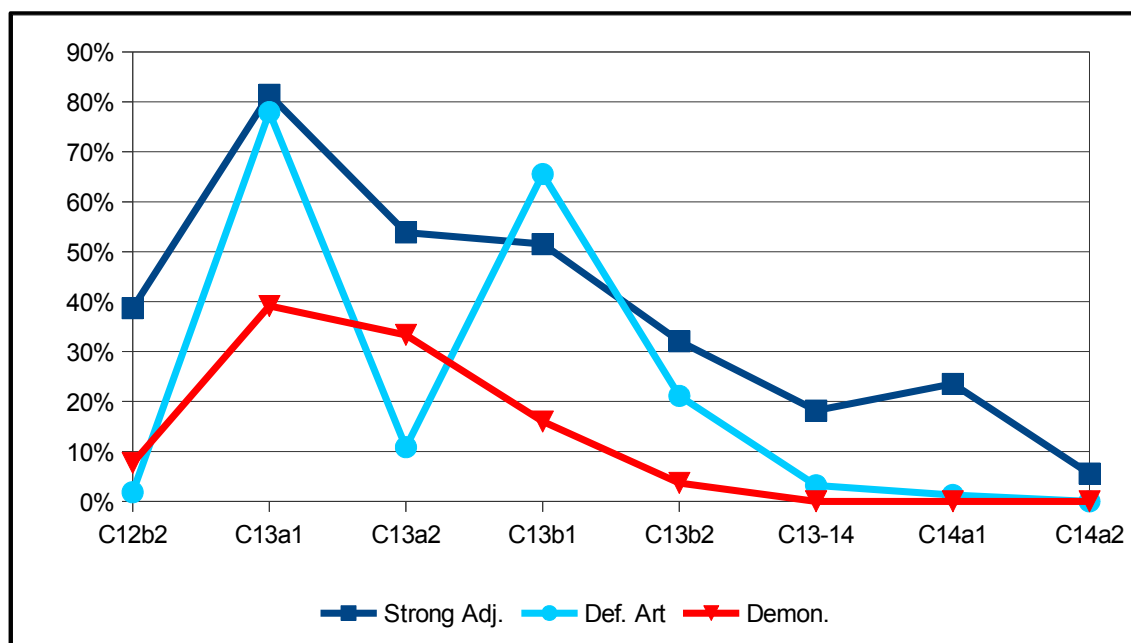
Figure 3.3: Percentage of marked forms for genitive singular strong adjective, definite article, and demonstrative

As we saw above, the demonstrative generally has lower levels of overtly marked genitive forms than the strong adjective and definite article, with lower levels in most of the sub-periods, and disappears somewhat earlier. The demonstrative also shows the most steady decline in the use of marked forms, with little evidence of a resurgence in periods in which the texts tend to be morphologically conservative (unlike the definite article, which shows quite marked peaks and troughs before the eventual decline of the marked forms). Broadly speaking, the definite article seems to be the next loss; the percentage of marked definite articles is lower than for adjectives

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66 The indefinite article has been excluded due to the low number of tokens.

for every period but one (C13b1), and the marked definite article disappears earlier than the marked adjective. This is unexpected, as conventional wisdom is that the marked adjective forms, as a whole, disappeared before the marked definite article forms (Allen 1995: 165, 195).[67] Of particular interest are the texts from C12b2 and C13a2, as both show a fairly low level of marked definite articles, but much higher levels of marked strong adjectives. The two groups of texts have little in common on the surface: C12b2 is represented by texts localised to the EM and ESX — orm, trhomB, trhomA, trinpm — while C13a2 is represented by texts from the SWM: corpar, cleoara & cleoarb, neroar, bod34. However, both groups of texts are consistently less conservative in their genitive morphology than the C13a1 group (see Tables 3.8 and 3.14), which suggests that the high level of overtly marked strong genitive adjectives is quite significant; the continued use of the genitive singular adjective forms is further discussed in Chapter 4.

3.6 GENITIVE PLURAL MODIFIERS

Plural modifiers are much less frequent than singular ones; unlike the singular modifiers, which had two different gender-marked forms, in the plural the forms were identical for all genders. The lack of gender differentiation and the lower number of tokens make it more difficult to make definitive statements about the usage of plural genitive modifiers.

3.6.1 Adjectives

There are 281 tokens with the form of a genitive plural adjective in the corpus; of these, 259

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67 For the period from the late twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, Allen's 1995 work is based on approximately half the number of texts used in the present study.

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modify a genitive plural noun as in (3.20).

(3.20) **al-re** *maiden-Ø maide and heuene quen*

　　'maid of **all** maidens and heaven's queen' (trhomB)

Some function as substantives:

(3.21) *ffor oure **alþr-es** nede* 'for need of us all' (Alexis108, l.186)

The remainder function as an intensifying prefix, similar in meaning to PDE 'of all' in the phrase 'best of all'.

(3.22) *þai wil bigile þe **alþer**formest*

　　'they will beguile thee most **of all**' (SagesS, l. 2716)

As with the singular genitive adjectives, I will focus on those adjectives which modify a genitive plural noun, and exclude examples where the adjective functions substantively or as a prefix. The table below shows the various written forms of the genitive plural adjective, divided into five main types.

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TYPE	-Ø:	-re	-e	-en	-es
	-Ø: 41	-are: 1	-a: 2	-en: 1	-es: 1
		-er: 2	-e: 76		
		-ere: 4			
		-ra: 5			
		-re: 126			
TOTAL	41	138	78	1	1

Table 3.24: Written forms of the genitive plural adjective ending

The *-re* forms are descended from the OE *-ra* ending, used for all genders, which was found with both strong and weak adjectives; the OE weak adjective ending, *-ena*, does not appear to have any descendants.[68,69] Just over half of the tokens have the *-re* ending: 138 of 259 tokens, 53%. The other commonly occurring endings, *-e* and *-Ø*, account for 30% and 16% of the tokens, respectively. Although this at first looks like a relatively high level of overtly marked genitive plural adjectives, the productivity of the *-re* inflection is quite doubtful.

Of the 259 genitive plural adjectives, 161 are examples of a single lexeme: 'all'. 'all' accounts for nearly two-thirds of all plural adjectives, and 92% of the *-re* tokens are *alre* (127 of 138 tokens). *alre* generally occurs in a partitive function, as in (3.23).

(3.23) *hegest **al-re** lorþew-Ø* 'highest of all teachers' (trhomB)

The picture without 'all' is very different (Table 3.25 excludes all 'all' tokens, not only *alre*):

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68 According to Campbell (1959: §656), in OE weak genitive plural adjectives usually appear with *–ra* except in early WS.

69 The sole *-en* token appears in a strong context; although this form could potentially be descended from *-ena*, via loss of the unstressed final vowel, there is not enough evidence to support this.

TYPE	-Ø	-e	-re	-en	-es	TOTAL
TOKENS	41	44	11	1	1	93

Table 3.25: Genitive plural adjective endings, excluding 'all'

Excluding 'all', overtly marked forms account for only 12% of the tokens; unmarked -Ø and -*e* are far more frequent. The remaining -*re* tokens are from morphologically conservative texts: worcthgrgl, lamhomA1, layamonAb, and buryFf (a copy of an OE document).[70] Figure 3.4 shows the relative frequency of marked genitive adjectives for singular and plural strong adjectives; overtly marked genitive plural adjective forms preceded the singular adjective in the loss of genitive inflectional morphology.
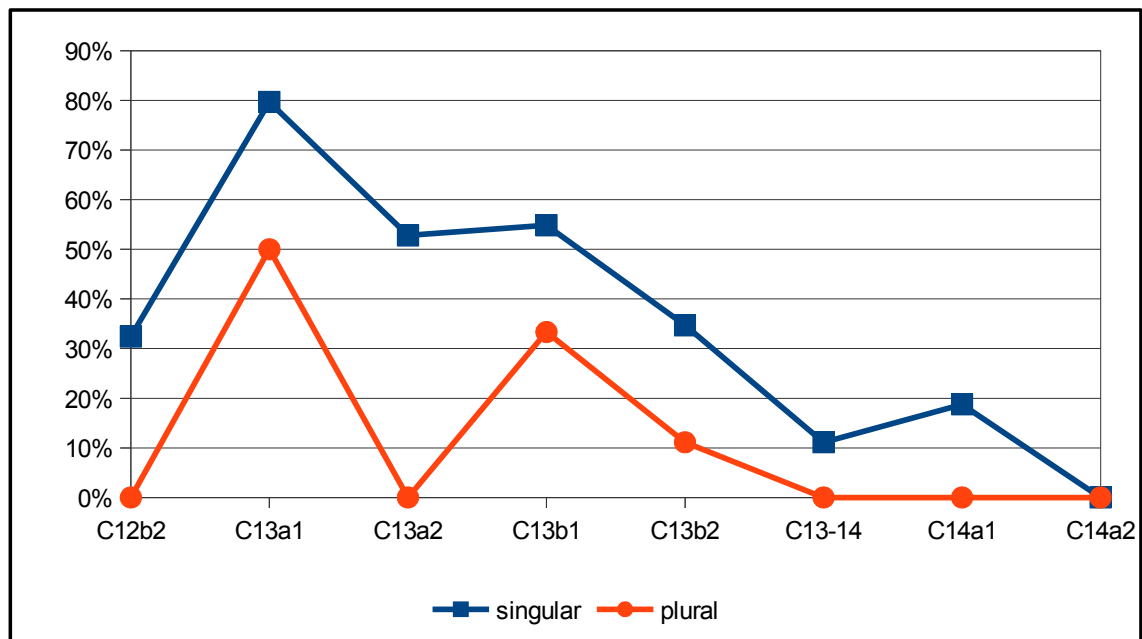
Figure 3.4: Relative frequency of marked forms of singular and plural strong genitive adjectives, excluding 'all'

It should be noted that once we exclude 'all', there are only 37 genitive plural adjectives in the corpus, so that the above tendency cannot be taken as definite; however, the fact that there are

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70 3 of the 4 texts are from Worcestershire, while buryFf is an EM text.

so very few tokens does suggest that the marked form of the genitive plural adjective was lost quite early.

3.6.2 Definite articles

As with the adjective, genitive plural definite articles are less frequent than singular ones.[71] There are 113 tokens in the corpus, and the table below shows the five types and their written variants.

TYPE	þere	þe	þen	þeren	þes
	þere: 24	þe: 40	þen: 1	þeren: 1	þes: 1
	þare: 16	þa: 3			
	þære: 9	te: 1			
	ðare: 5	þ: 1			
	ðere: 4				
	þæræ: 1				
	þer: 2				
	þera: 2				
	yer: 1				
	yeyre: 1				
TOTAL	65	45	1	1	1

Table 3.26: Forms of the genitive plural definite article

In OE, the genitive plural article for all nouns, regardless of gender, was *þara*; it is from this form that the most numerous *þere*-type forms descend. *þere* accounts for 65 tokens, or 58% of all genitive plural tokens (for the genitive singular, the marked forms account for only 28% of all tokens). The next most common type of genitive plural article is the completely unmarked *þe* type, for which there are 45 tokens. More difficult to categorize are the remaining three tokens: *þen, þeren,* and *þes*.

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71   There is no indefinite plural article in ME.

(3.24) *vuel ... cumeð of **þen** eien-Ø arewen* 'evil … comes from the eyes' arrows' (neroar)

(3.25) *on **þeren** munech-en deie* 'on the monks' day' (winchester)

(3.26) *wurð brohten to **þes** apostl-as fotan* 'were brought to the apostles' feet' (lamhomA1)

In (3.24), the form of the article appears to have been influenced by the preceding preposition, resulting in a "dative" form of the article, rather than a genitive. (3.25) seems to have acquired a final -*n* for the same reasons, yet this -*n* looks to have been attached to a genitive base, *þere*. This text is a copy of an OE document. Finally, (3.26) may show influence from the genitive singular form of the article.

The genitive plural article differs from the singular in having a majority of marked forms. Another difference is the later switch to having a convincing majority of unmarked plural articles.

	MARKED	UNMARKED	TOTAL
C12b2	5	2	7
C13a1	18	2	20
C13a2	6	7	13
C13b1	8	1	9
C13b2	9	3	12
C13-14	1	6	7
C14a1	0	13	13
C14a2	0	0	0
TOTAL	47	34	81

Table 3.27: Marked and unmarked forms of the plural article through time

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As we saw in section 3.3.1, the relative frequency of marked and unmarked singular article forms varied widely between different periods, reflecting variations in scribes' usage. Similar variations are found in the plural, but in every period up to C14a1 the level of marked plural forms is higher than for marked singular forms.
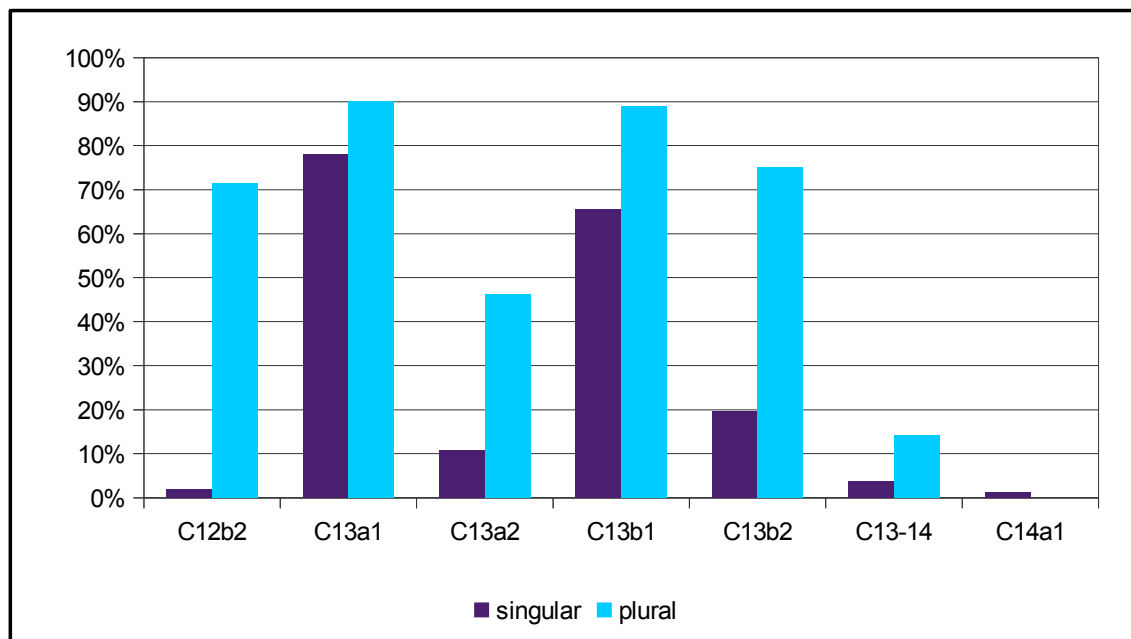
Figure 3.5: Relative frequency of marked genitive plural and singular definite articles through time

For a discussion of why the plural definite article may maintain a higher level of overtly genitive forms than the singular, see section 4.4.1.

3.6.3 Demonstratives

There are only 17 genitive plural demonstrative[72] tokens, of which only one example is marked: *þissere*, from thorneyk, a ME copy of an OE composition. This is a conservative form

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72   I only consider the proximal demonstrative, as there is only one plural distal demonstrative token.

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descended from the OE *þisra*. We can hardly draw conclusions from 17 tokens, other than to say that, as with the adjective, the loss of overtly marked genitive demonstrative forms has occurred earlier in the plural than in the singular, and that among the plural modifiers the loss of overtly marked forms occurs first in the demonstrative, as it did in the singular.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Overtly marked modifiers were undoubtedly on the decline in early Middle English, and disappeared entirely from 1350 onward; however, this study has shown that marked genitive modifiers were not quite so rare as has been implied in previous works. If we look at the period up to 1350, we find that marked genitive modifiers are commonly employed in the morphologically more conservative texts (such as *Vices and Virtues*), and some forms are not infrequently used in less conservative texts (such as the *Ancrene Riwle*). Perhaps the most surprising feature of the use of marked modifiers is the comparatively frequent use of case-marked genitive singular adjectives, which account for almost half of all the adjective tokens in the corpus (see the next chapter for an account of why the genitive singular adjective is so frequent). This study has shown that the scribes who use the marked forms of modifiers maintain a very high level of gender agreement between modifier and noun. There is no evidence of widespread confusion, extension, or repurposing of the genitive morphemes.

This study has also suggested that some modifiers were more robust than others (although not necessarily those which have been previously suggested). The proximal demonstrative appears to have lost marking before the definite article and adjective in both the singular and the plural. As the demonstrative occurs much less frequently than the adjective or article, this loss of

marked demonstrative forms may reflect a lack of input on marked forms leading to an earlier decline in the use of such forms. Indefinite articles also show a fairly low level of occurrence, both overall and of marked forms. But while marked singular adjectives are clearly more frequent than marked singular definite articles, the reverse is true in the plural, a development which suggests that there are multiple factors which may affect the use of the marked genitive forms. The following chapter will examine the entire GNP to determine what other factors may have contributed to the variation in the survival of case-marked forms for the different modifiers.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONTINUED SURVIVAL OF GENITIVE MODIFIERS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I discussed the forms of the genitive modifiers, and some of the factors which contributed to the survival/decline of the overtly case-marked forms. However, in that chapter the modifiers were considered as forms in isolation from their wider context: the noun phrases and texts in which the modifiers appeared were not considered in great detail, with the exception of potential grammatical gender agreement. In this chapter, I will focus on the other factors influencing the survival of overtly case-marked genitive modifiers: the chronological distribution of the tokens; whether the text is a copy of an OE composition or is a ME composition; the emergence of fixed expressions; and the type of inflectional ending used on the noun. I also find that previous statements in the literature regarding the relative frequency of overtly marked forms of the articles and adjectives do not always reflect the data in this study.

4.1.1 Methodology

In this chapter I use the same data and corpus that was described in Chapter 3, which includes all singular and plural GNPs from the texts up to 1350 (see Appendix A) that contain a modifier. To that set of spreadsheets, which includes all the data and incorporates information on modifier form, date and region of the text, historical gender and strong/weak context for adjective, I have added information on whether the adjective is a quantifier or not, and information on the head noun.

The study includes four types of modifier: the definite article, the adjective, the proximal

demonstrative, henceforth referred to as the demonstrative, and the indefinite article. Due to the low number of tokens, the distal demonstrative has not been included. For the definite article and adjective, there is sufficient data for the singular and plural; for the demonstrative, there is only sufficient data for the singular, and the indefinite article only exists in the singular.

4.2 THE WEAK ADJECTIVE CONTEXT

4.2.1 Historical context of the weak adjective

It was shown in the previous chapter (section 3.2.2.2) that the strong forms are largely confined to historically strong contexts, but that -*e* and -Ø have made considerable progress in being extended to the strong environment. However, the previous chapter did not engage with the form of the determiners; if, as Fischer claims (1992: 222), in OE and ME adjectives did not carry the functional load of indicating the function of the NP, then we should also examine to what extent the determiner may carry the functional load in early ME.

In OE there were two ways in which the constituents of the genitive noun phrase interacted with one another: gender agreement[73] and the strong/weak adjective distinction. Grammatical gender agreement has been discussed in the previous chapter, which showed that historical gender agreement patterns are generally maintained by those scribes who use gender-marked modifier forms (sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.3.2). The second inter-constituent interaction was the strong/weak adjective distinction, according to which the weak adjective form, which was often ambiguous as to case, was used when a definite determiner was present as in (4.1); otherwise the strong

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73 As OE adjective morphology was fusional rather than agglutinative, gender, number and case were all indicated with a single morpheme. Thus, if grammatical gender agreement is preserved, than so are case and number agreement. For this reason I have not explicitly addressed case and number.

adjective, which was more likely to have unambiguous case marking, was used, as in (4.2).

(4.1)   *sit on riht half þes **almighti-e** fader-es*

          'sit on the right side of the almighty father' (trhomA)

(4.2)   *speken **ech-es** lond-es speche*

          'to speak each land's speech' (trhomB)

For the genitive singular, the OE strong adjective ending -*es* is isomorphic for case, while the strong -*re* ending and the weak ending -*an* are not unambiguously genitive. The innovative ME endings, -*e* and -Ø, are also ambiguous for case. In the plural adjective, both the OE weak ending -*ena* and the strong ending -*ra* were isomorphic for case; the ME endings -*e* and -Ø are not isomorphic.

This strong/weak adjective distinction was not always followed in OE (Mitchell 1985: §136-144), and the OE strong/weak adjective system is generally considered to have broken down early in ME (Mustanoja 1960: 276; Brunner 1963: §43; Lass 1992: 115), with a more limited strong/weak adjective system surviving in ME, in which monosyllabic singular adjectives which have a final consonant have a strong form in -Ø and a weak form in -*e*; the regularity with which this system was employed is difficult to discern, due to the use of otiose final -*e* (Dahood 2000: 144). In this section, adjective endings which have overt genitive case marking (-*es*, -*re*, -*ra*) are referred to as marked, and those adjectives which do not have overt genitive case marking (-*e*, -Ø) as unmarked.[74]

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74   There are no examples of the weak plural adjective ending -*ene* in my corpus.

4.2.2 Weak adjective contexts in ME

In the corpus, GNPs with adjectives in historically weak contexts are the minority of GNPs: 136 of the 608 singular GNPs, and 20 of 259 plural GNPs. Table 4.1 shows the number of tokens, according to whether the adjective has a marked or unmarked form and whether the determiner has overt genitive case marking or not; in this way one can check whether there is evidence for either the determiners and/or adjectives being responsible for carrying the functional load of overtly expressing the function of the NP in ME. There are four possible combinations of adjective and determiner (marked and unmarked determiner refer to forms which have or do not have overtly genitive case marking):

Marked determiner and unmarked adjective: the pattern found in OE, in which the determiner could be said to carry the functional load (in the singular; in the plural the weak genitive ending in OE is unambiguously genitive)

(4.3)   *sit on riht half **þes almighti-e** fader-es* (trhomA)

   sit on right half the-GEN almighty father-GEN

   'sit at the almighty father's right side'

Marked determiner and marked adjective: such double-marked modifier phrases would suggest a pattern of agreement in which all modifiers are marked for case/gender/number; strong/weak adjective distinction not observed

(4.4)   ***þes wrecch-es** world-es luue* (egpm2)

   the-GEN wretched-GEN world-GEN love

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'love of the wretched world'

Unmarked determiner and unmarked adjective: the use of the unmarked adjective is historically expected, but neither the determiner nor adjective has overt genitive inflection

(4.5)   *beleaue þet is bricht in **þe god-e christen-e** mann-es herte* (laud471ks)

belief that is bright in the good Christian man-GEN heart

'belief that is bright in the good Christian man's heart'

Unmarked determiner and marked adjective: Not the historically expected environment for a marked adjective. Usually found with possessive adjectives. In OE the genitive of the third person pronouns was used for the possessive adjective, but no additional genitive ending (i.e. no such form as **his-es*); first and second person possessive adjectives in OE did have genitive endings (e.g. *eowres* 'your', gen. sg.).

(4.6)   ***his ahgen-es** þonk-es he þrowede for us* (lamhomA1)

his own-GEN will-GEN he suffered for us

'of his own will he suffered for us'

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	marked determiner	unmarked determiner	TOTAL	marked determiner	unmarked determiner	TOTAL
marked adjective	13	6	19	0	0	0
unmarked adjective	22	95	117	2	18	20
TOTAL	**35**	**101**	**136**	**2**	**18**	**20**

Table 4.1: Singular and plural genitive adjectives in historically weak contexts

4.2.2.1 Plural adjectives in historically weak contexts

There is very little we can say about the strong/weak adjective distinction in the plural GNPs, as the number of tokens which include both an adjective and a determiner is very low. Of the 20 adjectives which occur in historically weak contexts, none have the strong, overtly case-marked ending *-re*. This may indicate that the strong/weak distinction is being maintained, or may reflect the general decline of the case-marked genitive plural adjective forms (apart from the fossilised form *alre*, see sections 3.6.1 and 4.4.2.1). The fact that the majority of the tokens include a determiner which is also not case-marked suggests that the determiner is not carrying the functional load of indicating the function of the noun phrase.

4.2.2.2. Singular adjectives in historically weak contexts

There is more data for the adjective in weak contexts for the singular GNP than for the plural; the singular GNPs include at least one example of all four types of marked/unmarked determiner and marked/unmarked adjective combinations. However, as with the plural, the data is generally not conclusive about the relative decline of the strong/weak distinction and case marking.

Of the 136 tokens which feature an adjective in a historically weak context, the majority consist of unmarked adjectives and unmarked determiners (95 tokens, or 69%) such as in example (4.5). These 95 tokens could be said to follow the OE strong/weak system of using the less-marked adjective forms after a definite determiner. Alternatively, it may be that these tokens reflect the overall decline of overtly case-marked forms of both the definite article and adjective.[75] Broadly speaking, the patterns of the ME strong/weak system are found in this

75 It was shown in the previous chapter (section 3.2.2.2) that nearly half of the singular adjectives in

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corpus of early ME texts. Although 28 of the 95 tokens have -Ø, these tokens tend to be multisyllabic (and hence not potential candidates for the ME strong/weak distinction, which operated on monosyllabic adjectives), while those adjectives which have the *-e* ending tend to be monosyllabic. The next most frequently found pattern is marked determiners with unmarked adjectives, as in example (4.3) (22 tokens, 16%). This pattern agrees with the principles of the OE strong/weak system and also with the newer ME system, as there are no examples in this group of the weak adjective with -Ø. As with the plural GNPs, the data is not conclusive on the relative timing of the loss of the case system and the decline of the strong/weak distinction, or indeed on whether the OE or ME strong/weak adjective system is being adhered to.

There is only one determiner/adjective combination which definitely does not follow the historically expected pattern of weak adjectives after a determiner, and that is the group of 13 tokens which have marked determiners and marked adjectives. All 13 tokens are from texts which are more conservative morphologically, such as worcthgrgl and layamonAa. These double-marked examples are too few to draw firm conclusions from, but could be taken as evidence for the breakdown of the strong/weak distinction (Lass 1992: 115). However, even among the texts which have these double-marked tokens, such tokens are the minority; more commonly, either the determiner is marked and the adjective unmarked, or both adjective and determiner are unmarked. For worcthgrgl, for example, only one token is double-marked; the remaining 11 have a marked determiner but unmarked adjective. As evidence for the breakdown of the system, the double-marked tokens are suggestive but not conclusive.

For both singular and plural, the majority of the adjectives which occur in the weak context have the non-case-marked form; but this could indicate either the survival of the weak adjective

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historically strong contexts had endings which were not overtly case-marked, which would also suggest that the OE strong/weak distinction is breaking down.

pattern or the decline of the case-marked adjective forms, or both. Since less than a quarter of the combinations feature an overtly case-marked determiner (37 out of 156 total), it does not appear that the determiner is the principal indicator of the function of the entire NP.

4.3 SINGULAR GNPS

Figure 4.1 shows the overall frequency of overtly case-marked genitive singular modifiers based on the ending type of the genitive singular noun (nouns with the genitive singular ending type -*n* have been excluded, due to the very low number of tokens (*n* < 10)).
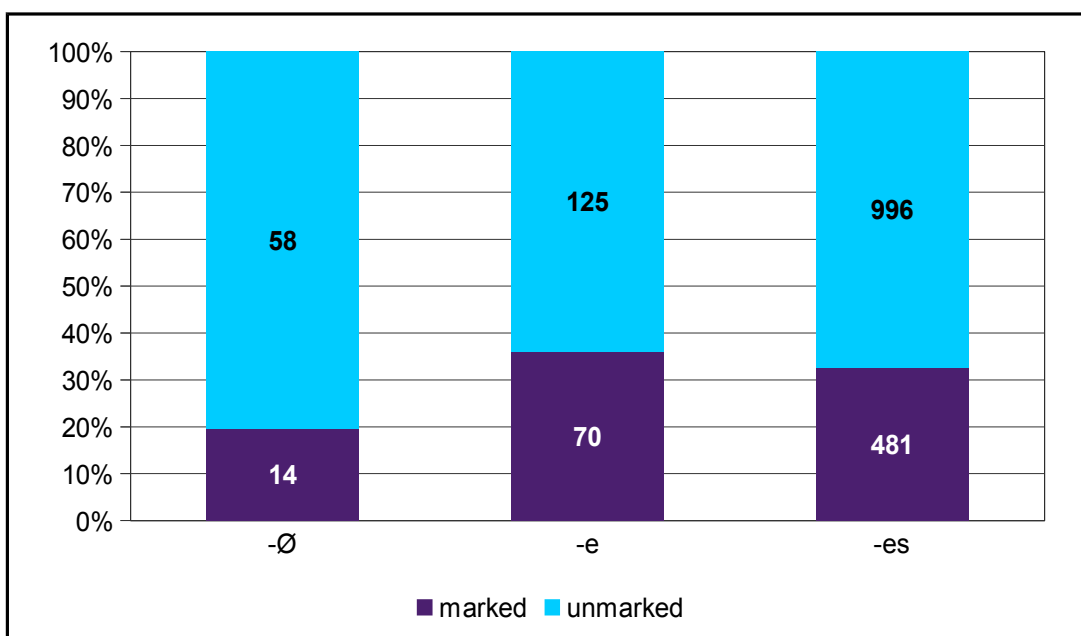
Figure 4.1: Overall level of marked genitive modifier forms for nouns with genitive singular ending -Ø, -*e*, and -*es*

Overall, unmarked modifiers are more frequent than marked ones, but nouns with the -*e* or -*es* ending have higher levels of overtly marked modifiers than nouns which have the -Ø ending. However, this study will show that it is not the noun endings themselves which determine

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whether or not a marked modifier is used, but instead certain features of the context in which these noun endings occur: the chronological distribution of the noun tokens, the text type (OE or ME composition) in which the nouns are found, and the development of certain fixed expressions.

In this section I will include only those adjectives which occur in historically strong contexts, as it is only in this context that we would expect significant levels of overtly marked genitive adjectives to occur (section 3.2.2.2).

4.3.1. Nouns with the -Ø ending type

Although nouns which have the -Ø ending type in the genitive singular do occur with overtly case-marked modifiers, as in (4.7), in most cases the modifier does not have overt case marking, as in (4.8).

(4.7)   *in et þan est gete **pere burh-Ø***

          'in at the east gate of the city' (lamhomA1)

(4.8)   *and sua dos **cresten-Ø man-Ø** praier*

          'and so does Christian man's prayer' (edincmb)

Overall, only 19% of the -Ø noun tokens are modified by an overtly marked genitive modifier. Table 4.2 shows that the marked genitive singular form is consistently in the minority for all four modifier categories, although the number of tokens is usually very low. The data for this noun set does not support the accepted sequence of events described in the literature, namely

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that the adjective lost overt case marking before the determiners (Fisiak 1968: 3.13; Strang 1970: §167; Allen 1995: 165: Millar 1995: 145-146)[76]; this is similar to what we saw for all nouns, regardless of ending type, in the previous chapter (see section 3.5.2). Unfortunately the very limited amount of data makes it impossible to draw conclusions from the -Ø nouns as to why the marked adjectives might be more robust than the marked determiners.

	strong adjective		definite article		demonstrative		indefinite article	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
marked	4	36%	8	17%	2	15%	0	0%
unmarked	7	64%	38	83%	11	85%	2	100%
TOTAL	11		46		13		2	

Table 4.2: Relative frequency of marked and unmarked forms of the four modifier categories for genitive singular nouns ending in -Ø

Although the evidence is limited, it is possible to identify factors which may have contributed to the very low level of marked modifier forms with -Ø nouns. First, the use of -Ø as a genitive singular noun ending is relatively infrequent, and nouns with this ending may not have been strongly associated with the available marked modifier endings (modifiers with -*re* being associated with -*e* nouns, modifiers with -*es* with -*es* nouns). However, the principle factor in the low rate of overtly marked modifiers with the -Ø nouns appears to be chronological distribution: nearly half of the -Ø tokens are from post-1300 texts, in contrast to the -*es* and -*e* tokens.

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76 As general reference works, it is not clear which texts Strang and Fisiak base their conclusions on; Millar is focused on the *Brut* only (for which the conclusion may indeed be true), and Allen does make use of a fairly extensive set of texts, although these number about half the number of text in the present study.

	pre-1300	post-1300	TOTAL	% post-1300
-Ø	38	34	72	47%
-*e*	157	38	195	19%
-*es*	1148	329	1477	22%

Table 4.3: Chronological distribution of the nouns which have -Ø, -*e*, and -*es* endings

As we saw in the previous chapter, the use of overtly case-marked genitive modifiers declines steeply from about 1300 onward, and scribes from this period are more likely to use unmarked modifiers. The three noun ending types show similar levels of pre- and post-1300 marked modifier usage; for all three ending types, the pre-1300 data shows a level of marked modifier usage of about 40% (variations are not statistically significant), while the post-1300 data shows almost no marked modifiers. Thus, since a greater proportion of the -Ø nouns are found in post-1300 texts, this set of nouns has a greater proportion of unmarked modifiers. The difference in chronological distribution is a major factor in the differing levels of marked modifier usage among -Ø nouns and -*es* and -*e* nouns.

Another difference between the nouns which have -Ø in the genitive singular and those which have -*e* and -*es* is the regional distribution. A significant portion of the -Ø nouns are from N texts, in contrast to nouns with -*e* and -*es*. Table 4.4 shows the number of tokens of each noun ending type from three regions: N, SWM, and EM; other regions have not been included, as, like the EM, they do not show significant variation among the different noun endings. For these three regions, the table also shows the percentage of the total tokens for each noun ending that each region accounts for, e.g. the 22 -Ø tokens from the N account for 31% of the 72 total -Ø tokens.

	N		SWM		EM		total for all regions
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
-Ø	22	31%	27	38%	7	10%	72
-*e*	4	2%	122	63%	19	10%	195
-*es*	28	2%	829	56%	209	14%	1477
total nouns for the region	54		978		235		

Table 4.4: Regional variation of -Ø, -*e* and -*es* nouns

The proportion of -Ø tokens from N texts is very high, considering the overall number of tokens from this region; there are almost as many -Ø tokens from this region as from the SWM. However, as has been noted before, all N tokens are also post-1300, so the use of unmarked modifiers may be a regional or temporal feature, or both. On the other hand, the use of the genitive singular noun ending -Ø does appear to be a feature of N texts (22 of the 54 genitive singular nouns from this region, 41%, have the -Ø ending).

*4.3.2 Nouns which have the -*e* ending type*

The set of genitive singular nouns with the -*e* ending has higher levels of marked genitive modifier usage than did the nouns with -Ø, with an overall rate of 36% marked modifiers (70 out of 195 tokens).

(4.9)   *uor **o-re niȝt-e** blisse* 'for a night's bliss' (fmcpm)

(4.10)   ***hali chirch-e** larewes* 'holy church's teachers' (corpar)

Table 4.5 shows the level of overtly genitive forms for the four categories of modifier. Like the nouns which had the -Ø ending, nouns with the -*e* ending show a higher level of marked

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genitive strong adjectives than definite articles (the number of tokens for the demonstrative and indefinite article is too low to be conclusive), although the variation is not statistically significant.

	strong adjective		definite article		demonstrative		indefinite article	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
marked	20	41%	36	31%	10	67%	4	29%
unmarked	29	59%	81	69%	5	33%	10	71%
TOTAL	49		117		15		14	

Table 4.5: Relative frequency of marked and unmarked forms of the four modifier categories for genitive singular nouns ending in -*e*

The most notable feature of the data in Table 4.5 is that the demonstrative has a majority of marked forms, although the overall number of demonstrative tokens is low.[77] The very high proportion of marked genitive singular demonstratives is probably due to the textual distribution of the tokens, as Table 4.6 shows.

	strong adj.		definite art.		demonstrative		indefinite art.		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
OE composition	14	29%	25	21%	7	47%	0	0%	46
ME composition	35	71%	92	79%	8	53%	14	100%	149
TOTAL	49		117		15		14		195

Table 4.6: Distribution of modifier tokens according to text type

About half of the demonstrative tokens are found in texts which are copies of OE originals, particularly worcthgrgl, the copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, which has the highest rates

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77 Statistically, the level of overtly case-marked forms is significantly higher than for the definite article and indefinite article, but not the strong adjective.

of case-marked genitive modifiers. -*e* nouns in general are more likely to occur in texts which are copies of OE originals than nouns in -Ø or nouns in -*es*, a distributional pattern which may account for the higher level of marked genitive modifiers which are found with -*e* nouns. Nouns which have the -*e* ending account for a higher proportion of all OE composition tokens, 33% (46 of 136 tokens), than their overall frequency (11%, 195 of 1744 tokens) would suggest.

	-*e*		-Ø		-*es*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
OE compositions	46	31%	4	6%	86	6%
ME compositions	149	69%	68	94%	1391	94%
Total	195		72		1477	

Table 4.7: Distribution of the three genitive singular noun endings for texts which are copies of OE compositions and texts which are ME compositions

The distribution of the three noun endings based on composition type adds another layer to the distribution of the noun endings. Above we saw that a larger proportion of -Ø tokens occur in post-1300 texts than -*e* and -*es* tokens; the lack of -Ø tokens in OE compositions cannot be separated from the chronological distribution, as most of the copied texts are from the pre-1300 period. The -*e* nouns, which tend to occur in earlier texts than the -Ø nouns, and for which nearly a third of the tokens are from copies of OE compositions, have a level of marked modifiers which is nearly twice that of the -Ø nouns.

However, chronological distribution of the tokens alone does not seem to account for the higher proportion of marked demonstrative tokens; as Table 4.8 shows, the chronological distribution of the modifiers of -*e* nouns is more similar than their textual distribution, in particular for the three determiners.

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	strong adjective		definite article		demonstrative		indefinite article	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
pre-1300	35	71%	97	83%	12	80%	12	86%
post-1300	14	29%	20	17%	3	20%	2	14%
TOTAL	49		117		15		14	

Table 4.8: Chronological distribution of the four modifier categories which modify *-e* nouns

It is not possible to determine whether there is a regional component to the use of marked genitive modifiers with the nouns with the *-e* ending, as SWM texts provide most of the data from copies of OE compositions and most of the data from the thirteenth century.

*4.3.3 Nouns which have the -*es *ending type*

Tables 4.4 and 4.7, which show the distribution of the three genitive singular endings according to chronological period and text type, reveal a potential "contradiction" in the data for *-es* nouns. *-es* nouns have a similar chronological distribution to that of the *-e* nouns, but a text type distribution which is similar to that of *-Ø* nouns. In this section I will examine the impact of these two factors on the use of marked modifiers with *-es* nouns, and what other factors might affect the use of marked and unmarked forms.

Nouns with the *-es* genitive singular ending have an overall level of marked modifiers similar to that of the nouns with the *-e* ending, 33% marked genitive modifiers; as with the other two noun ending types, unmarked modifiers (4.11) are more frequent than marked ones (4.12).

(4.11)   *in **almichtin-Ø** drichtrin-es name* 'in [the] almighty lord's name' (buryFf)

(4.12)   ***oper-s** mann-es wiue* 'another man's wife' (cotowlb)

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Table 4.9 shows the frequency of marked and unmarked forms for the four modifier categories. Similar to what we saw for the -Ø and -*e* nouns, there is a higher frequency of marked forms for the strong adjectives than for any of the determiners; with the -*es* nouns, we have sufficient numbers of tokens to check the statistical significance of the variations between modifier categories. We find that the greater frequency of the marked genitive forms for the strong adjective compared to any other modifier is statistically highly significant ($p < 0.001$ in all cases).

	strong adjective		definite article		demonstrative		indefinite article	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
marked	230	57%	222	27%	20	13%	9	13%
unmarked	183	43%	615	73%	137	87%	61	87%
TOTAL	413		837		157		70	

Table 4.9: Relative frequency of marked and unmarked forms of four modifier categories for genitive singular nouns ending in -*es*

Chronological distribution of the different modifiers appears to play a part in the frequency of overtly genitive strong adjectives; of all the modifier categories for all three noun endings, strong adjectives which modify -*es* nouns have the highest proportion of pre-1300 tokens. The data in Table 4.9 suggests that the demonstrative and indefinite article lose the overtly case-marked forms first, followed by the definite article, followed by the strong adjective; the data in Table 4.10 suggests that this is partly, but not entirely, due to the chronological distribution of the tokens.

	strong adjective		definite article		demonstrative		indefinite article	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
pre-1300	375	91%	608	73%	123	78%	42	60%
post-1300	38	9%	229	27%	34	22%	28	40%
TOTAL	413		837		157		70	

Table 4.10: Chronological distribution of the four modifier categories which modify -*es* nouns

Only in the case of the strong adjective does the pattern of significantly higher levels of marked forms and significantly higher levels of pre-1300 tokens hold. Indefinite articles and demonstratives have the same low level of marked forms, despite a significant variation in the chronological distribution of the tokens ($\chi^2 = 8.21$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.005). The demonstrative and definite article, on the other hand, have similar chronological distribution patterns ($\chi^2 = 2.21$, p > 0.10) but significant variation in the level of marked forms ($\chi^2 = 13.64$, p < 0.001). The distribution according to text type does not seem to be an explanation for the high frequency of marked strong adjectives; as Table 4.11 shows, all four modifier categories have very low frequency for copies of OE compositions.

	strong adj.		definite art.		demonstrative		indefinite art.		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	TOTAL
OE composition	29	8%	46	5%	4	3%	1	1%	80
ME composition	384	92%	791	95%	153	97%	69	99%	1397
TOTAL	413		837		157		70		1477

Table 4.11: Distribution of modifier tokens according to text type

For the -*es* nouns we have sufficient data to make reliable conclusions about the frequency of the marked forms for the four modifier categories, and this data has shown that the strong

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adjective has much higher levels of marked forms than any of the determiners. Examination of the data has also shown that, while chronological distribution probably does have an impact on the level of marked forms, it does not appear to account for all the observed facts. In sections 4.3.4−4.3.4.3, I will present an alternative explanation for the very high level of marked strong adjectives with -*es* nouns: the development of fixed or semi-fixed expressions.

4.3.4 Adjectives which modify -es *nouns and fixed expressions*

The high frequency of the marked genitive adjective with -*es* nouns is related to two specific head nouns: *kunnes*, gen. sg. of 'kind', and *weies*, gen. sg. of 'way'. Table 4.12 shows the frequency of these two nouns for overtly marked and unmarked strong genitive singular adjectives, as well as *mannes*, genitive singular of 'man', the most common nonpersonal genitive singular noun in the corpus.[78] All other lexemes are included in the category OTHER. The table shows the number of tokens for each head noun for the marked and unmarked adjectives; it also shows what percentage of the GNPs with marked/unmarked adjectives each head noun accounts for (i.e. *kunnes* accounts for 34% of the GNPs which include a marked adjective).

	marked adjective		unmarked adjective		
	#	%	#	%	**TOTAL**
kunnes	78	34%	27	15%	105
weies	63	27%	15	8%	78
mannes	34	15%	46	25%	80
OTHER	55	24%	95	52%	150
TOTAL	**230**		**183**		

Table 4.12: Frequency of selected head nouns for singular GNPs (where the noun has the -*es* ending type) with marked and unmarked adjectives

The head nouns *kunnes* and *weies* are much more frequent in singular GNPs with marked

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78 The single most frequent genitive singular noun is *godes* 'God', but this noun is not as frequent in GNPs with modifiers.

genitive adjectives, accounting for 61% of the GNPs together, than in GNPs with unmarked adjectives (23%).[79] The high frequency of *kunnes* and *weies* is not mirrored in the GNPs with the other modifier categories.[80]

An examination of the relative frequency of *kunnes*, *weies*, and *mannes* in the *LAEME* corpus shows that *mannes* is far more frequent overall in singular GNPs.[81]

	Singular Genitive Noun Phrases	
	#	%
kunnes	105	20%
weies	65	12%
mannes	364	68%
TOTAL	534	

Table 4.13: Frequency of three head nouns in *LAEME* corpus for singular GNPs

There is no evidence of similar high-frequency nouns for the -Ø or -*e* nouns which are modified by strong adjectives. In the -Ø nouns, nouns which belong to the category of personal names and kinship terms dominate, but no individual noun is especially frequent, although this may be due to the very low number of strong adjectives which modify a -Ø noun (11 tokens). In the -*e* nouns, a single noun, *tide* 'time; tense' does account for 35% of the marked adjectives (7 out of 20 tokens), but it is not possible to isolate the effect of this single noun from the effect of the text that all the tokens come from: worcthgrgl, a copy of an OE original (*kunnes* and *weies*, in contrast, are found in a variety of texts). High-frequency individual lexemes appear to be a feature only of the strong adjectives which modify nouns with the -*es* ending.

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79   $\chi^2 = 60.75$, p < 0.001.
80   0 definite article tokens, 4 demonstrative tokens, and 1 indefinite article token.
81   The frequency of 'man' as a head noun is similar for the singular direct object noun phrases in *LAEME*.

The next question is why these two lexemes in particular are so frequent, and why they are usually modified by overtly genitive adjectives (74% of the *kunnes* tokens have a marked genitive adjective and 81% of the *weies* tokens do, compared to 43% of the *mannes* tokens). The answer to both questions relates to the nature of the entire GNP, which in both cases is a fixed/semi-fixed expression, and perhaps not a productive use of the genitive inflection.

4.3.4.1 Quantifiers

A particular subset of adjectives accounts for the majority of the adjectives with all genitive singular nouns in -*es*: quantifiers. Of the 413 singular GNPs with a strong adjective, in 281 cases (68%) the adjective is a quantifier. This is not the case with the -Ø nouns (only 1 out of 11 tokens is a quantifier) or -*e* nouns (14 out of 49 adjectives are quantifiers, 29%). In addition to being generally more frequent with nouns with the -*es* genitive singular ending, quantifiers are more common when the adjective is overtly marked as genitive (Allen 2003: 5). Table 4.14 shows which proportion of the GNPs for the listed head nouns contains a quantifier, for both overtly marked and unmarked adjectives (Q stands for 'quantifier').

	marked adjectives			unmarked adjectives		
	w/ Q	total	% w/ Q	w/ Q	total	% w/ Q
kunnes	70	78	90%	24	27	89%
weies	61	63	97%	9	15	60%
mannes	17	34	50%	15	46	33%
OTHER	33	55	60%	52	95	55%
TOTAL	181	230	79%	100	183	55%

Table 4.14: Frequency of overtly marked and unmarked quantifiers, according to head noun

When *kunnes* and *weies* are modified by marked genitive adjectives, it is almost always by a

quantifier; the majority of the marked genitive singular quantifiers occur with these two nouns (131 of 181 quantifier tokens with -*es* nouns, 72%). There is a strong tendency for the two features (head nouns *kunnes* and *weies* and quantifiers) to co-occur in GNPs with marked modifiers. This level of co-occurrence is not matched for the unmarked quantifiers, of which only a third occur with *kunnes* or *weies* (33 of 100 tokens); GNPs with *kunnes* have similar levels of quantifier occurrence for both marked and unmarked adjective forms, which is further discussed below (4.3.4.2.3).The high rate of overtly case-marked adjective forms is not a feature of quantifiers generally, but only for quantifiers in genitive noun phrases. Table 4.15, from a study on case marking on adjectives in singular genitive and direct object noun phrases in SWM texts in *LAEME* (Myers, in preparation),[82] shows how frequent quantifiers are in the two different functions.

	direct object		genitive	
	#	%	#	%
quantifier	703	45%	146	68%
non-quantifier	858	55%	69	32%
TOTAL	1561		215	

Table 4.15: Frequency of quantifiers and non-quantifier adjectives in singular direct object and genitive nouns phrases in SWM texts in *LAEME*

Both types of noun phrase show that quantifiers are a very frequently occurring type of adjective, but the frequency with which they occur is significantly higher for genitive noun phrases than for direct object noun phrases ($\chi^2 = 39.62$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001). The relationship between quantifiers and case-marking is also different for the two noun phrase types, as Table 4.16 shows.

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82 *LAEME* tags for direct object function rather than accusative form in the ME texts.

	DIRECT OBJECT			GENITIVE		
	marked	unmarked	TOTAL	marked	unmarked	TOTAL
quantifier	75	628	703	97	49	146
non-quantifier	82	776	858	29	40	69
TOTAL	157	1404	1561	126	89	215

Table 4.16: Frequency of marked and unmarked quantifiers and non-quantifiers in singular direct object and genitive noun phrases in *LAEME*

Of the 157 case-marked adjectives which modify a direct object, only 75 are quantifiers (48%), whereas for the GNPs in that study, 97 of the 126 overtly case-marked genitive adjectives are quantifiers (77%), a significant variation ($\chi^2 = 25.0$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001). For the accusative singular noun phrases, the level of case marking does not vary for quantifiers (11%) and non-quantifiers (10%), while the variation between the level of case-marked forms for quantifiers (66%) and non-quantifiers (42%) is significant for the genitive noun phrases ($\chi^2 = 11.51$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001).

4.3.4.2 Functions of GNPs with kunnes *and* weies

The previous subsection has shown that singular GNPs which consist of the head nouns *kunnes* and *weies* modified by a quantifier have the highest rates of case-marked adjectives. However, the question still remains as to why these particular GNPs have such a high rate of case-marked forms. Consider the following typical examples of the two expressions.

(4.13)   *ne seh katerine **nan-es cunn-es** pinen*   þ   ha ofdredeð (royalkga)

         not saw Katherine no-GEN kind-GEN torments that she feared

         'Katherine did not see any kind of torments that she feared'

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(4.14)   *ne schalt tu* **nan-es** **wei-s**   *þes-ilke twa cunforz ...*

not shall you no-GEN way-GEN these-same two comforts …

habbe togederes (corpar)

 have   together

'nor shall you **in no way** these same two comforts … have together'

The *kunnes* and *weies* expressions have different functions: *weies* expressions are adverbial, while *kunnes* expressions are adjectival. I will argue that despite the preservation of the OE genitive forms, these two expressions may not have genitive functions.

4.3.4.2.1 weies

In my corpus, genitive singular *weies* is only used adverbially.

(4.15)   *ne   mei hit*   **nan-es**   **wei-s**   *neomen*

not   may it   no-GEN way-GEN   take

'nor may take it **in no way**' (bod34)

(4.16)   *hit maʒe don*   **summ-es**   **wei-s**

 it   may   do   some-GEN way-GEN

'may do it **in some way**' (cleoara)

This usage of the genitive form is found in OE, in which the genitive form of a noun or adjective could be used to indicate an adverbial function, as in *dæges* 'by day'*, nihtes* 'by night'*, weges* 'in a certain way' (Mitchell 1985: §1389–1407). This use of the *-es* ending

continues into ME, and even expands, with forms such as *whiles* 'while' and *thries* 'thrice' first attested in documents from this period (Mustanoja 1960: 91). However, it appears that the -*es* form has undergone a reanalysis in early ME; rather than being a genitive ending with an adverbial function, -*es* has become an adverbial ending with an adverbial function. The continued use of -*es* quantifiers with the noun *weies* may have been encouraged by the existence of some quantifiers as independent adverbs, particularly the common form *alles* 'entirely' (section 3.2.1).

Definitive evidence of the shift from genitive to adverbial ending comes from later stages of the language; the prime example is the PDE adverb *always*. In OE, the corresponding adverb of time was the accusative form *ealne weg*, not genitive *ealles weges* (an adverb of manner); via loss of adjectival inflection, *ealne weg* would become *alwei* (*MED*, s.v. AL-WEI). However, with the extension of -*es* as a generic adverbial marker not associated with any case, but frequently found with temporal adverbs such as *nihtes* and *whiles*, this adverbial -*es* could be added to *alwei* to create the form *alweis*. The early ME scribes may have perceived the expressions with *weies* as genitive forms, or as adverbial forms, or somewhere in between.

4.3.4.2.2 kunnes

The GNPs headed by *kunnes* are also liable to reanalysis. Like the GNPs headed by *weies*, these can be traced back to an OE model: genitive singular noun phrases such as *ealles cynnes* 'of all kind'*, sumes cynnes*, 'of some kind'. However, while for *weies* there was a relatively straightforward shift from a genitive form with adverbial function to an adverbial form with an adverbial function, the expressions with *kunnes* seem to offer more than one possible interpretation. (For brevity, the following discussion will focus on a single example.)

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Consider the phrase in (4.17), and the three possible analyses:

(4.17)   *drecceð wið*   **all-es**   **cun-es**   *pinen* (royalkga)

     torture   with all-GEN   kind-GEN   torments

    (a)   'torture with torments **of all [every] kind**' (gen. sg.)

    (b)   'torture with torments **of all kinds**' (gen. pl.)

    (c)   'torture with **allskinds [all kinds of]** torments' (adj.)

The translation in (a) assumes that, as in OE, the ME expression is a singular GNP. For the corpus of texts used in this chapter, in which the majority of the data is from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this interpretation is possible; however, expressions with *kunnes* are found throughout ME, and later developments in ME make (a) problematic. In the transition from OE to ME, the use of several types of inflected singular GNPs declined: those with inanimate noun heads, or NONPOSSESSIVE functions, or heavy genitive noun phrases, as in (4.17) (Rosenbach 2002: 179–180;Allen 2008: 137-138, 159-160). Furthermore, all of these types of GNPs became less likely to appear in prenominal position, which was becoming increasingly restricted to nouns which were animate, POSSESSIVE, and light; perhaps the most frequent example is *godes luue* 'God's love' (a trend which had already begun in OE (Allen 2008: 93-98; Koike 2006: 50-53)). *Alles cunes* is a heavy, inanimate, NONPOSSESSIVE GNP in prenominal position; while the genitive singular analysis of (a) may work for the early ME example in (4.17), it is a less satisfactory explanation when we consider the continued use of *kunnes* expressions in later ME.

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Given that *-es* is the ending for genitive plural nouns from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, we should consider the possible reanalysis of *alles cunes* as a genitive plural, as in (b). However, the objections raised for (a) apply at least as much to plural GNPs (Rosenbach 2002: 180), and we have additional morphological problems. While *-es* was the dominant ending for genitive plural nouns in later ME, and even in early ME for some regions, it is not the only ending, or even the most frequent in the period up to about 1350 (section 2.2.2). Still, a genitive plural noun form *cunes* is possible. What is *not* possible, and what seems to me to be an insurmountable obstacle for the genitive plural analysis, is the form of the adjective. There is no evidence to support a genitive plural adjective ending *-es*.[83] In more than 150 text samples, ranging throughout the ME period and covering a variety of regions, I have found only one example of a genitive plural adjective with *-es*:

(4.18)   *ha   schaweð hit ...in   **rich-es   monn-es**   ehnen   þat   hahabben*

        they show   it … in rich-GEN.PL. men-GEN.PL. eyes   that they have

        reuþe   of   ham

        pity   of   them

        'they show it … in rich men's eyes so that they [i.e. the rich men] might have pity on them' (caiusar)[84]

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83 As far as the quantifier 'all' is concerned, gen. pl. *-es* is unsatisfactory for another reason: there was already a form occupying that space. The form *alre*, from OE *ealra*, not only survives, but thrives in the SWM: in *LAEME*, 72 of the 92 GNPs with 'all' have *alre*; the attested variants are *all* and *alle*, not *alles*.

84 *LAEME* includes text samples from four other versions of *Ancrene Riwle*; however, none of the samples include this passage. I have checked the passage in the printed editions, and none of these four other versions has this form of the adjective: cleoara and titusar have *riche mennes*, neroar *riche monne*, and corpar *riche monnes*. The *riches* form in caiusar appears to be an anomaly, perhaps a scribal error in which the scribe has been confused by the form of the noun, which is identical to the genitive singular *monnes*, and has produced the *-es* ending generally found with genitive singular adjectives.

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While the genitive singular analysis of (a) is possible but becomes less likely as the period progressed, the genitive plural interpretation of (b) was never possible.

How might we explain the survival of the *alles cunes* expression in later ME, if the analysis of such expressions found in (a) ceases to be a possibility? If *alles cunes* has become a fixed or formulaic expression, in which the original genitive meaning has been weakened or lost, then (c) may be a better translation. Analysing the expression as a single adjective presents none of the morphological or syntactic objections raised for (a) or (b). The objection to adjectives in *-es* only applies to *non-fossilised* forms. If we suggest that *alles cunes* has become a fixed expression, preserving the original form but not function, then we can ignore the morphological issues. Furthermore, the prenominal position is the unmarked position for an adjective, so an adjective 'allskinds' would be syntactically unremarkable.

As with *weies*, conclusive evidence of the fossilisation of quantifier + *kunnes* expressions is found somewhat later than the period focused on in this chapter. Later manuscripts (from approximately 1350 onward) show several variant forms, forms which are descended from the OE genitive singular but do not have a genitive meaning.

Examples such as (4.19) and (4.20) show that the expression is still phrasal, but the *-s* of the adjective has been reanalysed as belonging instead to the following noun (examples (4.19)-(4.24) are taken from the *MED*).[85] It has been shown that *-s* was not a possible genitive plural adjective ending, but neither was it a widespread common case plural adjective ending, appearing only occasionally in expressions with pronounced French influence (e.g. *letters*

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85 Where possible, I have checked the word division against the published editions to confirm the *MED* division.

patents). Furthermore, the genitive singular adjective *-es* had virtually disappeared from manuscripts in the period after 1350, and so the only remaining option (if the *-s* is to be retained) was to reanalyse the *-s* as belong to the following noun.

(4.19)   *Sette scoleris to scole   or **summe skynes** craftis*

        Set scholars to   school   or some kinds crafts

        'Set scholars to school or some kinds crafts'

        (*Piers Plowman A* (Trin-C R.3.14))

(4.20)   *Þer   was ioye and   melodye*/*Of **alle   skynnes** menstracye*

        There   was joy and   melody/   Of   all kinds minstralsy

        'There was joy and melody/ Of all kinds minstralsy'

        (*Siege Troy* (1) (LinI 150))

This is the variant which is closest to the *alles cunes*-type found in (4.17): the expression appears to retain its phrasal structure, and in speech *alles kynnes* and *alle skynnes* would have sounded similar.

Further morphological/phonological losses resulted in a single lexeme:

(4.21)   *Vnkyndenesse is   þe   contrarie   of **alkynnes**   resoun*

        Unkindness   is   the contrary   of all kinds   reason

        'Unkindness is the contrary of all kinds reason'

        (PPl.B (LdMisc 581))

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(4.22)   *With arborye and **alkyns**   trees*

          With arbor   and   allkinds trees

          'With arbor and allkinds trees'

          (*Morte Arth. (1)* (Thrn))

(4.23)   *In heuen bliss ... May **nakines** nede be funden   þare*

          In heaven bliss … May nokinds need be found   there

          'In heaven bliss … May nokinds need be found there'

          (*Cursor* (Göt Theol 107))

The loss of the last vestige of the original morphology, the *-s* of the noun, as in (4.24), was probably the final development of this expression.

(4.24)   *Grewhoundez ...   and   **alkyn** gamnes*

          Greyhounds … and   allkind   games

          'Greyhounds … and allkind games'

          (*Morte Arth. (1)* (Thrn))

Mustanoja (1960: 85-86) provides a rather different analysis, suggesting that the loss of *-es* noun forms arose from confusion caused by the 'indiscriminate' use of genitive singular *kinnes* and genitive plural *kinne*, although he does not consider adjectives, or different regional patterns, or indeed why the *kinne* form should win out over *kinnes*.

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4.3.4.2.3 Quantifier form

It was shown in Table 4.14 (section 4.3.4.1) that *kunnes* is the most frequent individual head noun for GNPs which have an unmarked quantifier, while *weies* is not particularly frequent in this category. The above discussion of *kunnes* suggests a possible reason why the two head nouns *kunnes* and *weies* show a different distribution in this category of GNP. The expressions with *weies*, while they survived, maintain the *-es* adjective ending on the quantifier. The examples from section 4.3.4.2.2 show that expressions with *kunnes*, on the other hand (e.g. *alkyns*) will survive but lose the inflectional ending from the adjective.

4.3.4.3 Regionalism

Along with their different functions, the expressions with *kunnes* and *weies* also differ in their regional distribution. Table 4.17 shows how the GNPs with *kunnes* and *weies*, as well as with *mannes* and OTHER, are distributed regionally (for GNPs in which the strong adjective has the *-es* ending).

	CM	EM	ESX	NWM	SC	SW	SWM	NL	TOTAL
kunnes	0	2	22	1	0	0	45	8	78
weies	0	0	0	6	0	0	43	14	63
mannes	1	2	5	1	0	0	25	0	34
OTHER	1	4	9	0	4	1	36	0	55
TOTAL	2	8	36	8	4	1	149	22	230

Table 4.17: Regional distribution of singular GNPs which contain a strong adjective modifying a noun with the *-es* ending, based on head noun

GNPs with *weies* are only found in texts from 2 regions, SWM and NWM, plus NL texts. However, the NWM and NL texts which have *weies* are all copies, by the scribe of MS BL

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Cotton Titus C.xviii, of texts which were originally written in the SWM (Laing & McIntosh 1995: 240).[86] If expressions with *weies* were (semi) fixed, and since the Titus scribe was a literatim copyist (Laing & McIntosh 1995: 239, 256), then he may well have copied these tokens from his exemplar. No other region has a single *weies* token; while in some cases we could say that this is simply a gap in the data, the lack of any tokens from ESX, a relatively well-attested region which includes the morphologically more conservative vva and vvb scribes, supports the idea that *weies* expressions were a SWM feature. *Mannes* and the other head nouns are found in almost every region.

The use of expressions with *kunnes,* on the other hand, is well-attested in ESX, and is also attested in the C12b2 EM texts, trhomB and orm, in addition to texts from NL, NWM and SWM. As the data for the early EM is limited, for orm (the *Ormulum*) I also looked at the sample included in *PPCME2*, which is longer than the *LAEME* sample (about 50,000 words to *LAEME*'s 11,000). In the *PPCME2* sample, the only genitive singular noun which is modified by an overtly marked genitive adjective is *kinness*, and the five marked adjectives are all quantifiers; there is a single instance of *kinness* modified by a non-quantifier, and this is not marked as genitive.

(4.25)   *wiþþ al an oþerr kinness lif* (cmorm, I, 260.2107)

            'with life of all another kind'

The presence of *kunnes* in texts from two additional regions is not evidence of nationwide coverage, but the use of this construction in regions so far geographically from the SWM, and including the generally more morphologically innovative EM texts, does lend support to quantifier + *kunnes* as a more widely employed expression than quantifier + *weies*. In fact, fixed

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86 titusar (NWM), titushm, tituslang2, titussk, titussw (NL)

expressions with *kunnes* are found not only in ME, but also in modern Northern Germanic languages (original genitive morphemes in bold).

Icelandic	all**sk**ona**r**
Swedish	all**sk**ön**s**
Norwegian	al**sk**en**s**
Danish	al**sk**en**s**
Faroese	al**sk**yn**s**

Table 4.18: Cognates of *alles kunnes* in North Germanic languages

The dictionary entries for these cognate forms of *alles kunnes* in these languages all list the form as an adjective, not a GNP. Only Icelandic seems to use the *-konar* form as productively as ME used *-kunnes*, with other adjective forms such as *samskonar* 'samekinds' and *tvennskonar* 'twokinds'. The use of a *-kunnes* type suffix dates back to Old Icelandic: both Zoega (sv KONAR) and Cleasby & Vigfusson (sv KONR) consider *konar* to be an obsolete genitive form, occurring only in compounds such as *allskonar* 'of all kinds'; *einskiskonar* 'of no kind'. The *MED* (sv -KINNES) suggests that the ME *-kunnes* forms were encouraged by the Old Norse model; *-kunnes* forms are particularly common in N texts. As the *-kunnes* compounds are only found in Modern North Germanic languages,[87] it is possible that the North Germanic pattern may have encouraged the ME one, although the ME *-kunnes* originated in OE.

4.3.5 Conclusion

The singular GNPs have shown considerable variation in the level of overtly genitive modifier usage. -Ø nouns have lower levels of marked modifiers than *-es* and *-e* nouns. The low level of

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87 Modern Dutch and German show similar patterns with quantifiers and other semantically related nouns, but no *-kunnes* type construction. I have not found any evidence of *-kunnes* type constructions for earlier periods of these languages either.

marked modifiers for nouns with the -Ø ending is due to the chronological distribution of these nouns, with half the tokens from post-1300 texts, although it may also be that the infrequent -Ø ending was not strongly associated with the available marked genitive modifier endings. The higher level of marked genitive modifiers for nouns with the -*e* ending reflects not only the chronological distribution of these tokens, which are predominantly from pre-1300 texts, but also the distribution according to text type. The variation between the different modifiers of -*e* nouns shows a correlation between higher levels of marked forms and the frequency of occurrence in texts which are copies of OE compositions. Finally, the analysis of strong adjectives which modify nouns with the -*es* ending shows that in addition to chronological distribution, a major factor in the use of overtly-case marked strong adjectives was the emergence of certain fixed or semi-fixed expressions: GNPs in which *kunnes* or *weies* is modified by a quantifier.

One feature which is shared by all three noun ending groups is that strong adjectives generally have higher levels of marked forms than determiners. Even if we remove the fixed expressions from consideration, the strong adjectives still have a higher rate of marked forms than the determiners (39%, compared to 27% for the definite article). This conflicts with the general consensus in the literature, which is that adjectives lost case marking before determiners, and will be discussed in more depth in section 4.5 below.

4.4 PLURAL GNPS

Due to the low number of tokens, the approach used for the singular GNPs is not suitable for the plural GNPs. Only the definite article and the strong adjective can be considered, as there is no

indefinite article and the number of demonstrative tokens is too low. Also due to the low number of tokens, the approach taken with the singular GNP, of organising the data based on noun ending type, is not practical; rather, the data has been organised by modifier type. As we shall see, the same factors which affected the survival of the overtly marked singular modifiers are at work in the survival of the overtly genitive plural modifiers, namely chronological distribution and fossilisation; however, noun ending type may also play a role.

4.4.1 Genitive plural definite article

The plural definite article shows a very different pattern to the singular definite article. In the singular there were variations in the frequency of the marked forms depending on the noun ending, but all three noun ending types were dominated by unmarked article forms. As Figure 4.2 shows, in the plural the marked and unmarked forms of the definite article tend to be associated with different noun endings: the marked, older *þere* form is most often used with -V nouns (an older noun ending), while the unmarked, innovative *þe* form is clearly associated with the innovative -Vs ending, as in examples (4.26) and (4.27), respectively. Although less frequent, nouns with -VnV and -Vn also show a preference for the marked *þere* form.

(4.26)   *þera apostl-a* *lare* (lamhomA1)

'the apostles' teaching'

(4.27)   *þa apostl-is* *lare* (edincmc)

'the apostles' teaching'

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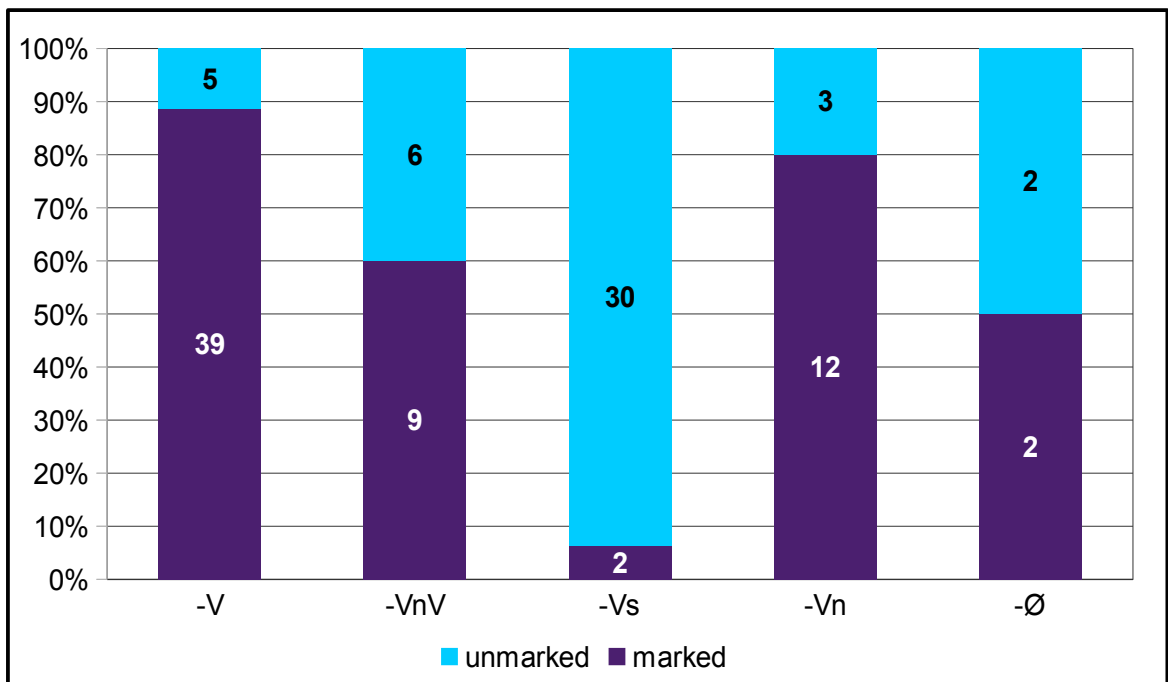
Figure 4.2: Marked and unmarked forms of the definite article according to noun ending type

Marked and unmarked definite articles show a split in the nouns that they are used with; this split may explain why the overtly marked genitive plural definite article appears to be more robust than the singular (section 3.6.2). In the singular GNP, the majority of the nouns had the -*es* ending (Table 2.4), and the marked and unmarked article forms were in competition for those -*es* nouns. In contrast, in the plural, the marked and unmarked forms were not competing for the same nouns, but had split, and the marked article was associated with -V and other non-Vs noun endings, while the unmarked article was associated with -Vs. The non-Vs noun endings survive up to 1350, before essentially disappearing (Figure 2.1) and the marked article form survives with them. As Figure 4.3 shows, throughout C13 the non-Vs noun ending types and the *þere* definite article form are similarly frequent in their use (relative to -Vs nouns and the *þe* forms, respectively).[88] However, around 1300, the non-Vs noun endings begin to decline

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88 I do not have the numbers on how often *þe* occurs post-1350; as this is the only form of the definite article after 1350, I stopped tracking the number of occurrences. Whatever the number may be, 100% of the tokens are *þe.*

in frequency, and the *þere* article form declines dramatically.
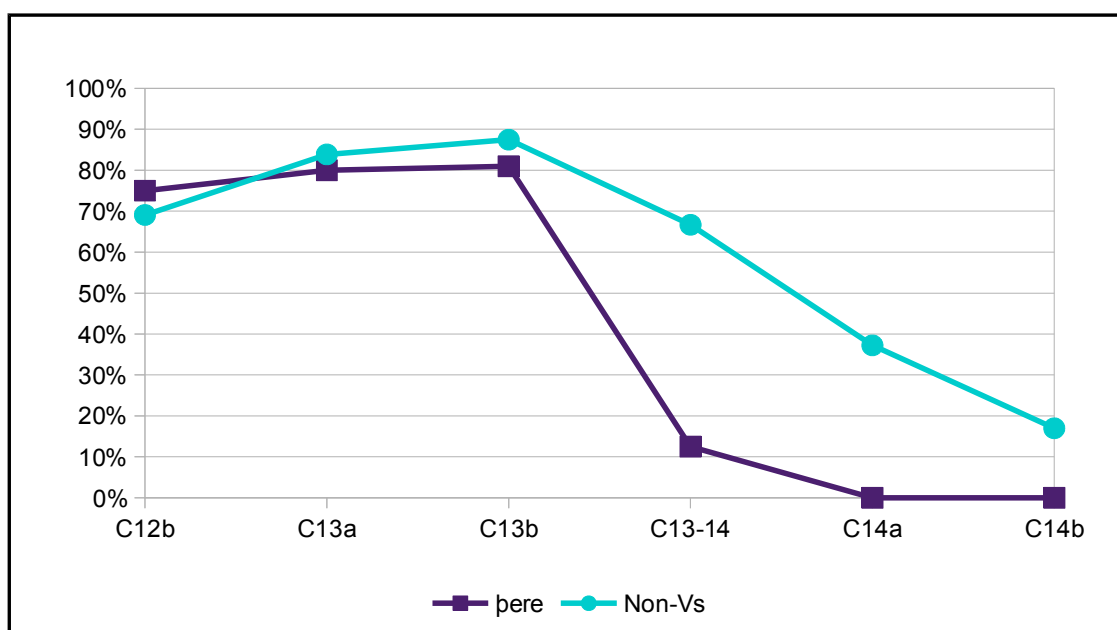
Figure 4.3: Decline of *þere* and non-Vs noun ending types

Of the four genitive plural noun endings that commonly occur with *þere*, only -VnV is isomorphic for number and case; the rest are ambiguous for case and/or number. One might argue for a function-bearing role for *þere*, that the more marked article form was used with the more ambiguous noun endings. However, one would then have to explain the very low levels of the marked plural article with the case and number ambiguous -Vs noun ending (which could be any plural case, or singular genitive). One would also have to explain why the marked plural article is common with the unambiguously genitive -VnV noun ending. The hypothesis that the marked definite article and non-Vs noun endings are both conservative features, which follow similar patterns of decline, does not have these problems.

The distribution of the noun endings according to text type and time period also plays a role.

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Table 4.19 shows the chronological distribution of the marked and unmarked forms of the definite article for the five noun ending types.

	pre-1300			post-1300		
	marked	**unmarked**	**total**	**marked**	**unmarked**	**total**
-V	39	5	44	0	0	0
-VnV	8	3	11	1	3	4
-Vs	3	7	10	0	23	23
-Vn	12	0	12	0	3	3
-Ø	2	1	3	0	1	1
TOTAL	64	16	80	1	30	31

Table 4.19: Chronological distribution of marked and unmarked forms of the definite plural genitive article, according to noun ending type

The non-Vs endings are more common in the pre-1300 texts, with 70 of the 80 tokens being non-Vs endings; of these 70 non-Vs tokens, 61 have the overtly marked genitive plural definite article. In contrast, genitive plural nouns with the -Vs ending make up the majority of the post-1300 texts (23 of the 31 tokens), and all the post-1300 -Vs tokens occur with an unmarked form of the definite article; there is only one marked article token in the post-1300 period. The chronological distribution of the different noun ending types is one of the factors in the division of the overtly marked/unmarked genitive plural definite article forms.

The frequent use of the *þere* form with nouns which have the -V ending may also reflect the distribution of the nouns according to text type. Of the 44 -V tokens, 64% are found in texts which are copies of OE compositions, particularly worcthgrgl. The -Vs nouns, on the other hand, are predominantly from ME compositions. The textual distribution for these two noun ending types is what we might have predicted, based on the chronological distribution of the tokens. However, for -VnV and -Vn, the other endings which are most often found with the *þere*

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form and are predominantly from pre-1300 texts,[89] the majority of the tokens are found in ME compositions.

	OE composition			ME composition		
	marked	**unmarked**	**total**	**marked**	**unmarked**	**total**
-V	27	1	28	12	4	16
-VnV	0	0	0	9	6	15
-Vs	1	1	2	2	29	31
-Vn	3	0	3	12	0	12
-Ø	2	0	2	1	1	2
TOTAL	33	2	35	36	40	76

Table 4.20: Text type distribution of marked and unmarked forms of the definite article for the five noun ending types

In the case of -V nouns and -Vs nouns, chronological and text type distribution "match": -V is more common in pre-1300 copies of OE compositions than -Vs, which generally occurs in post-1300 ME compositions. The same is not true of the nouns with -VnV and -Vn, which are predominantly from pre-1300 ME compositions. This suggests that in the case of the marked definite article, the date of the text may be more important than the type of text. There may also be the question of overall morphological conservatism in the plural GNP: scribes who preserve the marked genitive definite plural article are also those who preserve non-Vs noun endings.

4.4.2 Genitive plural adjectives

The marked and unmarked genitive plural adjective forms in historically strong contexts show a similar distribution among the different genitive plural noun ending types to the plural definite article, and the overall level of marked adjectives is similar to that of the definite article: 65 of

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89   The number of -Ø tokens is too low to be conclusive.

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the 111 definite article tokens were overtly case-marked (59%), and 138 of the 243 strong adjectives are overtly case-marked (57%). Nouns with non-Vs endings (as in (4.28) and (4.29)) have higher rates of marked adjective forms than -Vs nouns (4.30).

(4.28)   *gehealdsumness **godd-ere ded-a*** (wintney)

'observance of good deeds'

(4.29)   *loseden monie þusend **god-ere monn-en*** (layamonAb)

'they lost many thousands of good men'

(4.30)   *for **swilc-Ø sinful-Ø ded-es** sake* (genexod)

'for such sinful deeds' sake'
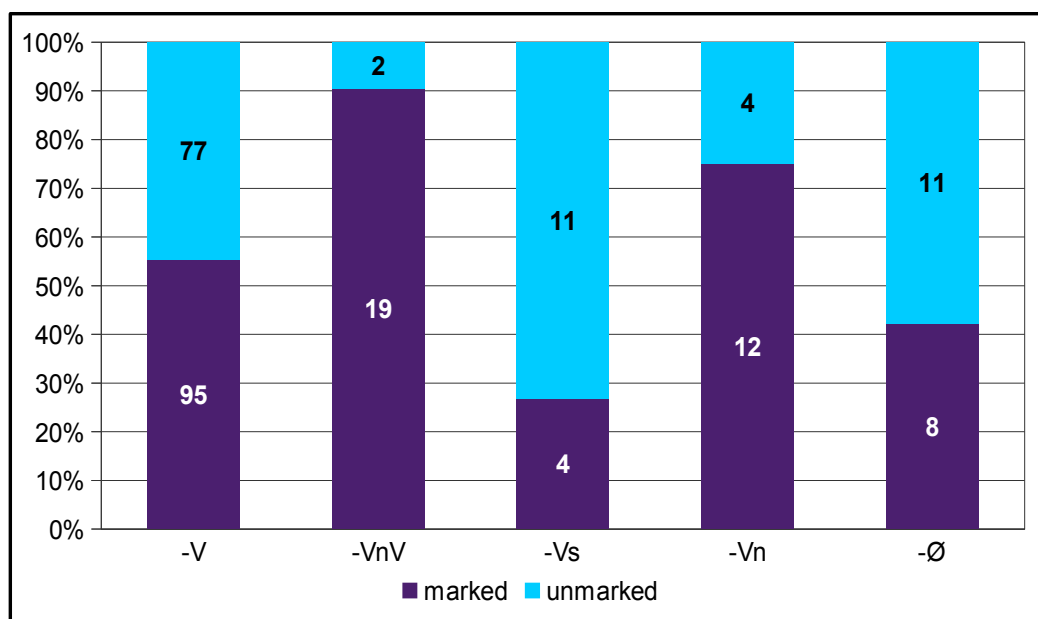
Figure 4.4: Relative frequency of marked and unmarked strong genitive plural adjective forms

While the majority of the nouns which have the -V ending are modified by marked adjectives, it

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is also true that nearly half of these nouns occur with unmarked adjectives, as in (4.31), in contrast to what we saw in Figure 4.3 for the article.

(4.31)   *alle **rich-e menn-e** sones* (Horn2253, l. 24)

        'all rich men's sons'

-VnV and -Vn nouns have higher percentages of marked forms than -V nouns, but far fewer tokens. As Table 4.21 shows, the adjective data is dominated by nouns with -V, unlike the article data. Not only are -V nouns more likely to occur with marked adjectives than nouns with other ending types, -V nouns are also more likely to occur with **un**marked adjectives than nouns with other ending types.

	ARTICLE		ADJECTIVE	
	#	%	#	%
-V	44	40%	172	71%
-Vs	33	30%	15	6%
-VnV	15	13%	21	9%
-Vn	15	13%	16	7%
-Ø	4	4%	19	8%
TOTAL	**111**		**243**	

Table 4.21: Noun ending frequency for genitive plural article and adjective

Unlike the definite article, in the genitive plural adjective the chronological distribution of the endings does not explain the variation in marked and unmarked forms. Consider the following table:

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	pre-1300			post-1300		
	marked	unmarked	total	marked	unmarked	total
-V	94	65	159	1	11	12
-VnV	19	2	21	0	0	0
-Vs	4	10	14	0	2	2
-Vn	12	4	16	0	0	0
-Ø	7	5	12	2	1	3
TOTAL	136	86	222	3	14	17

Table 4.22: Chronological distribution of marked and unmarked strong genitive plural adjectives, according to noun ending type

If we compare the chronological distribution of marked and unmarked forms of the strong adjective with that of the definite article in Table 4.19, we find that the distribution of the marked forms is the same for both word classes (98% of the tokens are from pre-1300 texts). The distribution of the unmarked forms is very different: only 35% of the unmarked definite articles are from pre-1300 texts, compared to 86% of the unmarked strong adjectives.

This chronological distribution does not however explain the high level of -V nouns which are modified by strong adjectives which lack any overt case marking. I suggest that the use of any adjective, regardless of form, with a genitive plural noun is a somewhat conservative feature; heavier NPs (i.e. those which contained more than the bare noun) were instead formed with the periphrastic genitive construction (I say "heavier" rather than "heavy", as there does not appear to be a single, uniformly agreed upon definition of "heavy" (Altenberg 1982: 76; Rosenbach 2002: 36, 173)). Figure 4.5 shows the relative frequency of the periphrastic and inflected genitive constructions for plural GNPs which contain an adjective in a historically strong context, and shows that the inflected genitive does indeed become rare with these GNPs from c. 1300 onward.

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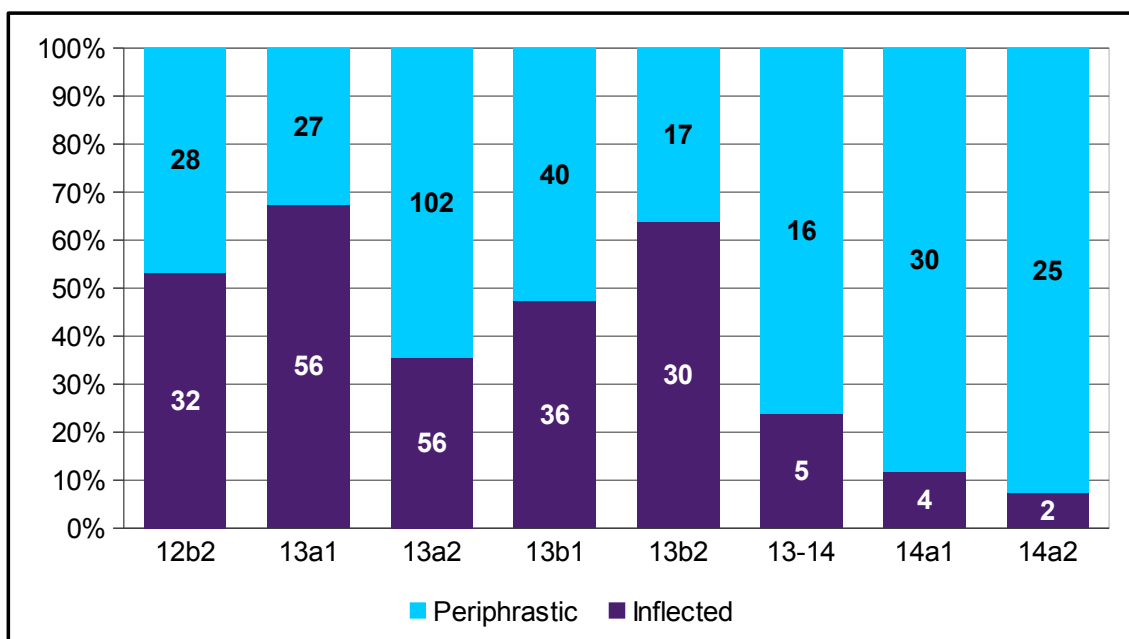
Figure 4.5: Decline of inflected genitive for GNPs which contain an adjective in the historically strong context

4.4.2.1 Fossilisation of alre

As with the singular -*es* adjectives, which had the highest level of overtly case-marked forms of any singular modifier (for which we have a large number of tokens), the overtly case-marked genitive plural adjective shows signs of fixed expression support. It was observed in the previous chapter (section 3.6.1) that the majority of the marked plural adjective tokens are the form *alre*. It is well known that *alre* becomes fossilised in ME (Brunner 1963: §43) as an intensifying prefix with a meaning similar to that of PDE "of all", as in the following later ME (post-1350) examples:

(4.32)   *aldermychfullichest* (Psalter, ch.44, v. 4; C14b1)

         'might-fullest of all'

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(4.33)   *alder-grattest* (Erkenwald, l. 337; C15b2)

        'greatest of all'

In examples such as the above the genitive plural form is clearly a non-productive fossilised form which is used as an intensifying prefix. However, in the pre-1350 texts, the use of *alre* is not always so clear. Example (4.34) is clearly a genitive plural use of *alre*, but (4.35) is less straightforward, especially given the variety of noun endings employed by the layamonAb scribe.

(4.35)   *god-es*   *luue*   *&*   ***al-re***   ***mann-es*** (vva)

        god-GEN.SG. love   and all-GEN.PL. man-GEN.PL.

        'God's love and all men's'

(4.35)   *mi*   *lauerd* *leoust*   ***alre***   ***monne*** (layamonAb)

        my   lord   dearest all-GEN.PL. man-GEN.PL. **or**

        my   lord   dearest of-all   man-SG

        'my lord, dearest of all men' **or** 'my lord, dearest man of all'

The first gloss of (4.35), in which *alre monne* functions as a genitive plural NP with a partitive function, is certainly a possible interpretation of *alre monne*. This use of the genitive plural is quite common in OE and early ME, and there are no unusual syntactic or morphological features. However, the second gloss is also possible, given the varied orthography of the scribe; if the scribe is attempting an end-rhyme (Mustanoja 1981: 335), he may have chosen the form *manne* (rather than *man*) as a better rhyme with the preceding line, which ends *and þus spec wih Brenne.* Exactly how the scribe might have interpreted the form *alre* is called into doubt by the example given in (4.36).

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(4.36) *hehst   of   **al-re**   **mann-e***   (layamonAbx, l. 4532)

highest of   all-GEN.PL.   man-GEN.PL. **or**

highest of   of-all   man-SG

'highest of all men' **or** 'highest man of all'

This phrase combines the genitive plural form of *alre* with the periphrastic *of* genitive. The combination of inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions in the plural is quite rare (no other examples in my corpus). Semantically, the possible interpretations are essentially the same: this man is the highest that there is. Given the semantic equivalence of "highest of all men" and "highest man of all", some slight reinterpretation of the function of *alre* is perhaps not so surprising, particularly when we remember that the periphrastic genitive plural 'of all' in PDE has the same intensifying function. However, to consider it a productive genitive plural inflection is perhaps overstating the case, although given the ambiguity we cannot be entirely certain how scribes interpreted this adjective form; what we can be certain of is that the continued use of *alre* makes the genitive plural adjective inflection seem far more robust than it is. None of the 12 non-*alre* overtly marked genitive plural adjectives have the partitive function; it may be that the function of the *alre* GNPs played a role in the survival of *alre*.

4.5 PREDICTION PROBLEMS

Many works on ME implicitly or explicitly state that case-marked adjectives were lost rather earlier than case-marked definite articles (Brunner 1963: §43, 56, 57; Strang 1970: §167; Allen 1995: 165) yet in the singular at least this is not the case. The treatment of modifiers, which generally overlooks the non-*alre* plural forms, implies that plural forms were lost before

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singular, but again, the data from the corpus suggests that, at least for the definite article, this is not the case. Neither word class nor number seems to be a consistent predictor of the robustness of the genitive modifier inflections. In this section I suggest that the standard works, with their much greater scope, have overlooked the role played in the preservation of case-marked modifiers by the "external" factors mentioned above: fossilised expressions, chronological distribution, impact of text type.

Consider the following chart, which shows the overall frequency of marked modifier forms for the singular and plural definite article, singular and plural strong adjective, singular demonstrative and singular indefinite article for the entire corpus. The indefinite article and demonstrative show the lowest level of marked modifiers, followed by the singular definite article.[90] The singular adjective, plural adjective and plural article, however, are all similar in terms of having a relatively high rate of marked modifiers forms.
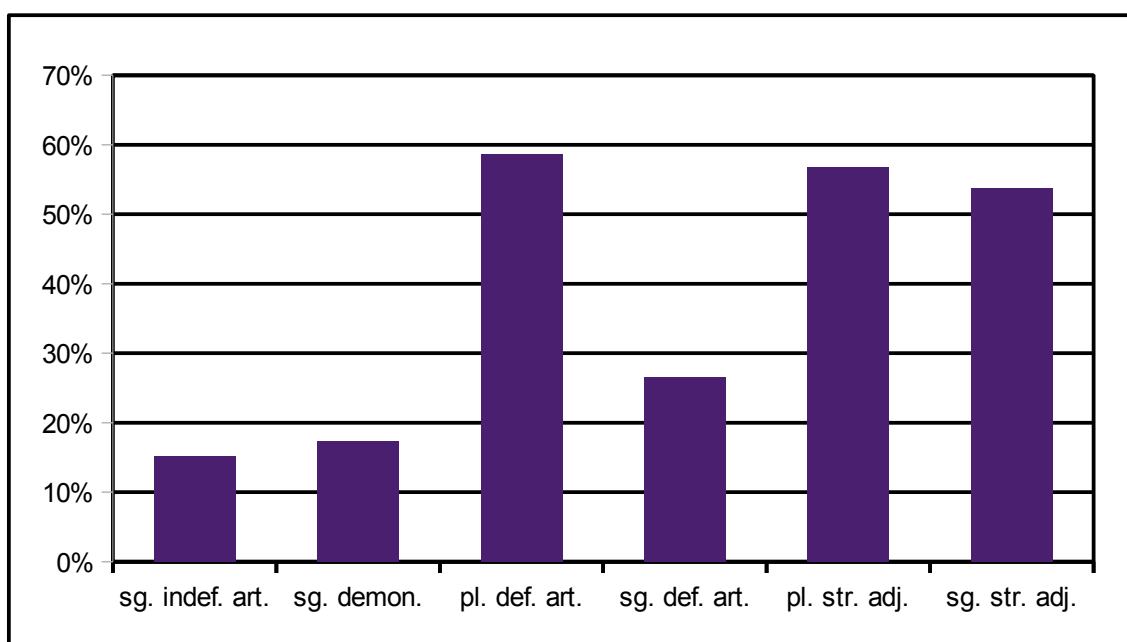
Figure 4.6: Overall levels of marked genitive forms for modifiers

90 The variation between the singular demonstrative and definite article is significant: $\chi^2 = 8.44$, d(f) = 1, $p < 0.01$.

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However, if we consider the frequency of marked genitive modifier forms through time, patterns do emerge. Figure 4.7 shows the relative frequency of the overtly marked forms for the singular and plural strong adjectives and definite articles (the demonstrative and indefinite article have been excluded, due to the lack of plural data).
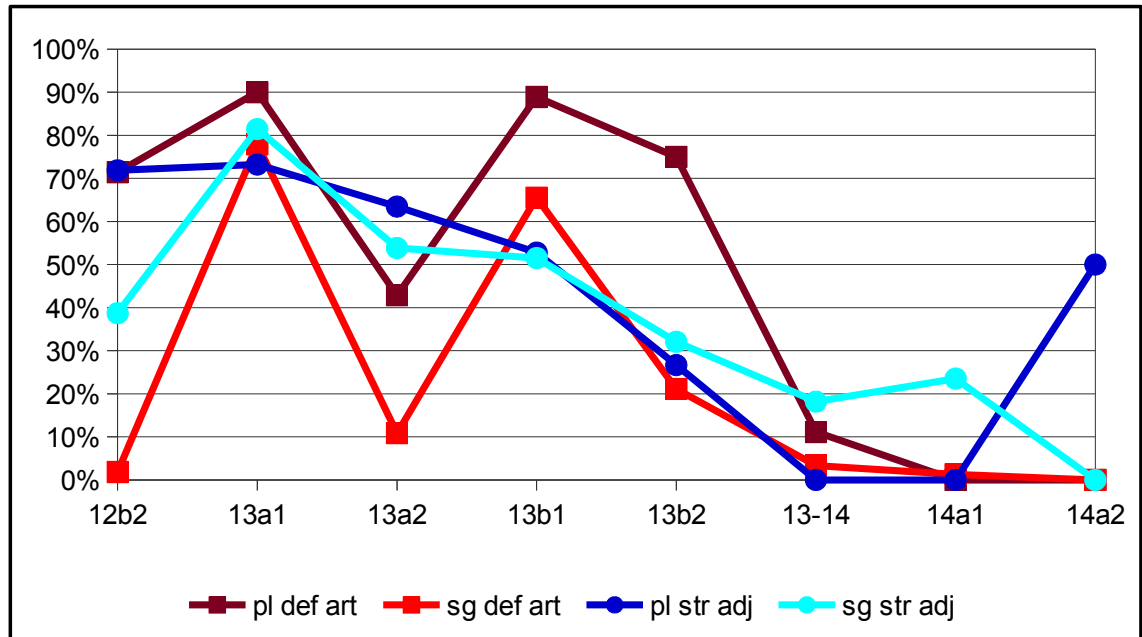
Figure 4.7: Relative frequency of overtly case-marked forms for four modifiers, through time

Broadly speaking, the singular and plural definite articles show similar patterns, with peaks and troughs in the same time periods; the highs and lows also correspond to periods with morphologically more conservative texts, so that the highest levels of marked definite articles are found in C13a1 and C13b1. The plural definite article shows consistently higher levels of marked forms than the singular, due to the split in marked and unmarked plural definite articles between non-Vs and -Vs nouns (see section 4.1).

The singular and plural strong adjectives patterns are similar, although less similar than those of

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the definite articles. The plural strong adjective shows a very steady decline, regardless of the relative conservativeness of the different periods (the spike in C14a2 is somewhat misleading, as there are only 2 tokens for this time period). The steady decline of the marked strong adjective in the plural may reflect the emerging trend of using the periphrastic genitive construction with heavier NPs. Note that for the plural, the marked form of the definite article is generally more frequent than that of the adjective, in line with the general consensus in the literature.

Of the four modifiers considered in Figure 4.7, the singular strong adjective appears to be the most robust in preserving the marked form. This preservation of the marked form is in large part due to the fixed expressions with *kunnes* and *weies*. However, as was mentioned in section 4.3.5, even without these expressions, the singular strong adjective still shows a higher level of marked forms than the definite article. If we exclude the *kunnes* and *weies* expressions, for all three noun ending types, 113 of 290 (39%) singular strong adjective tokens have the marked genitive form, compared to 266 of 1000 singular definite articles (27%).[91] The genitive singular adjective maintains overtly case-marked forms longer and to a greater extent than the definite article. Why do the standard reference works consistently take the position that adjectives lost case marking before the definite article/determiner? The reason may have to do with the much broader focus of previous studies: most are dealing with the entire category of case, and it may well be that if one looks at not just the genitive, but also the accusative and dative, then the definite articles do indeed show a higher level of case-marked forms than the strong adjective. It may also be that other studies have used a less extensive corpus of texts, which would affect what data was used, especially as several of the texts do not specify which texts the conclusions are based on (Allen 1995 is a notable exception). For example, in the period C13b1, the definite articles are more frequently case-marked than the strong adjectives; however, the majority of

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91   A highly significant variation: $\chi^2 = 64.0$, $p < 0.001$.

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this data is from the two manuscripts of Laȝamon's *Brut*, which may not be the most representative sample of early ME usage.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The choice of whether to use an overtly marked modifier in singular and plural GNPs in early ME is influenced by a variety of factors, including

- fossilised forms/fixed expressions
  - adjectives which modify genitive singular nouns in -*es* have higher levels of overtly marked adjectives, due to combinations of quantifier + *kunnes/weies*
  - the high level of marked forms in the strong plural adjective is due to a single adjective, *alre*
- chronological distribution
  - genitive singular nouns with the -Ø ending have a higher percentage of tokens in post-1300 texts relative to -*e* and -*es* nouns, and have lower levels of marked modifiers
- text type distribution
  - genitive singular nouns in -*e* are more likely to occur in texts which are copies of OE compositions, and show the highest overall levels of marked modifiers (once we accept that the high level of adjectives with -*es* nouns is due to the above-said fixed expressions)
- noun ending type
  - marked and unmarked genitive plural definite articles show a division according to whether the noun has a non-Vs or a -Vs ending.

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These factors sometimes operate together, sometimes separately, and not always with the same impact for the different nouns. Note also that there is the possibility of regional variation, but it is usually impossible to separate region from the other factors: N texts are post-1300; SWM texts are predominantly pre-1300; much of the copied OE texts are from the SWM; the fixed expressions with *weies* are a SWM feature. We cannot separate the factors to determine which contributes to the choice to use marked or unmarked forms. Other factors also overlap: copied OE texts tend to be pre-1300, so that high levels of marked modifiers could be due to either factor.

These factors have generally been overlooked by the standard reference works, which are all much broader in scope. However, they have a clear impact on the overall level of marked modifier forms which are found in early ME, levels which do not correspond exactly to the statements in the general reference works. As a result of the combination of factors described above, the strong singular adjective is surprisingly common in early ME. Similarly, the marked form of the plural definite article is more robust than that of the singular definite article, as the marked plural form has the "advantage" of not being in direct competition with the unmarked form. The impact of the fossilisation of the genitive plural adjective *alre* is the one feature which has been widely acknowledged.

The choice of whether or not to use an overtly genitive modifier in early ME is dependent upon a variety of factors, discussed in this chapter and the preceding: phonological robustness, morphological markedness, grammatical gender agreement, chronological distribution, type of text, and the development of fixed forms. The final three factors, which have been the focus of this chapter, only become apparent upon very detailed examination of the data, a level of

refinement which is not possible in works with a broader scope and/or a more limited set of texts with which to work.

CHAPTER 5: VARIATION BETWEEN INFLECTED AND PERIPHRASTIC GENITIVES IN THE PLURAL GNP

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The most dramatic change to the genitive plural noun phrase in ME was the shift from the inflected plural GNPs in OE to the predominantly periphrastic plural GNPs in later ME. In this chapter I will examine the variation between the inflected and the periphrastic genitive for plural nouns in ME texts, and some of the factors that contribute to the eventual dominance of the periphrastic genitive. I initially consider five factors which may have an impact on the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitive constructions:

animacy: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by whether the genitive noun has an animate or inanimate referent?

function: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by the function of the entire genitive noun phrase?

translation: do texts translated from another source language have different levels of periphrastic genitives?

literary type: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by whether the text is verse or prose?

regional variation: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by the region the text is from?

There has been a great deal written about the history of the genitive in English, and the following answers have been suggested to the questions posed above:

animacy: the inflected genitive is more common with animate nouns, and the periphrastic genitive with inanimate nouns (Altenberg 1982: 14; Nunally 1992: 368; Rosenbach 2002: 190).

functions: the inflected genitive is more common with POSSESSIVE functions, due to its association with animate nouns, and thus the periphrastic is more common with NONPOSSESSIVE functions (Nunally 1992: 368-369).

translation: the relative frequency of the periphrastic genitive increases in texts which are translated from French (Mustanoja 1960: 77; Fischer 1992: 226).

literary type: the relative frequency of the periphrastic genitive increases in prose texts (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Fischer 1992: 226; Rosenbach 2002: 180).

regional variation: there is insufficient data to make any claims (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Fischer 1992: 226).

None of these statements is "wrong", but they are not all completely accurate, either. Previous work tends to, implicitly or explicitly, frame the inflected and periphrastic genitives as "a kind of mirror image" with respect to the factors of animacy and function (Rosenbach 2002: 135) (Admittedly, Rosenbach is looking at a more limited data set, for the singular only; it is possible that for her data, this description is accurate.). So, if an animate noun "triggers" the use of the inflected genitive, then an inanimate noun will "trigger" the use of the periphrastic genitive. However, my investigation of the two genitive constructions shows that they are not simply mirror images of one another. Instead, the animacy of the noun is of greatest importance in whether the inflected genitive is used, but animacy is not the dominant factor in the use of the periphrastic construction (section 5.2). I will suggest that the high frequency of periphrastic constructions with inanimate nouns in later ME is due to the fact that in the later period the periphrastic genitive is becoming the default construction: unless the genitive noun is animate,

there is little impetus to use the inflected genitive construction. The rise of the periphrastic genitive was driven, not by a connection with inanimate nouns, but by its early connection with NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions.[92]

The next two questions involve external factors: the text type and the effect of translation. It is claimed that the inflected genitive is more common in verse texts (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Fischer 1992: 226; Rosenbach 2002: 180), and periphrastic genitive is more common in texts "written under a strong French influence" (Mustanoja 1960: 77). The corpus in this chapter does show an increase in the frequency of inflected genitives in verse texts compared to prose texts, perhaps because a larger portion of the verse data is from the earlier period. Although I do find that translations from French show an increased frequency in the use of the periphrastic genitive, at only 5% greater than in texts which are original English compositions that increase in periphrastic genitives is relatively small. Translations from Latin show the same levels of inflected and periphrastic genitives as texts which are original English compositions. This lack of a significant translation effect may reflect the fact that none of the translated texts is from early in the ME period, when the inflected genitive was at its most robust.

Regional variation is indeed rather difficult to determine, because of the gaps in the record (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Rosenbach 2002: 180), particularly in the first half of the ME period. However, for the regions for which we have evidence more or less throughout the entire period, there is little evidence of regional variation in the use of the two genitive constructions. There is some evidence which suggests that the shift to the periphrastic genitive occurred slightly earlier in ESX than in the other regions. The frequency of the periphrastic genitive in the C13a1 ESX

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92 Rosenbach does note that "it is somehow striking" (2002: 181) that the periphrastic genitive's first success seems to have been with the partitive functions, and that the periphrastic construction was particularly prevalent with partitive and descriptive functions, i.e. NONPOSSESSIVE, but does not draw any further conclusions; however, she is primarily focused on PDE contexts in which either genitive construction could be used, and the partitive is not one of these.

texts (vva and vvb) raises questions about the relationship between the decline of overtly genitive morphology and the rise of the periphrastic genitive. vva and vvb (*Vices & Virtues*) are commonly considered among the more morphologically "rich" texts of early ME (Allen 1995: 185), yet despite the continued use of overtly marked genitive modifiers, the periphrastic genitive construction is common in these texts, which calls into question the theory that the principal factor in the increase of the periphrastic genitive was the loss of overtly marked genitive determiners and strong adjectives (Thomas 1931: 120).

5.1.1 Methodology

The corpus of texts in this chapter is based on that used in Chapter 2 (section 2.1.1) with one modification: only texts which have at least one inflected genitive plural and one periphrastic plural have been included. Texts such as worcthgrgl, which have only inflected genitive plural NPs are not included, nor are texts which have only periphrastic genitive plurals.[93] (Inflection-only texts of any length are all from the early ME period, while periphrasis-only texts are all later.) By including only texts in which both the inflected and periphrastic genitive are present, we get a more accurate picture of the variation between the two alternatives. In addition to the information already mentioned in section 2.1.1, the tokens are also tagged with information on the source language and whether the text is verse or prose. The corpus for this chapter consists of 144 text samples (Appendix A).

The data set from the electronic corpora has been compiled by searching for phrases which include both *of* and a plural noun. I have manually checked all the data in order to remove those phrases in which *of* means 'off', and any phrase in which *of* does not actually govern the

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93 Such texts include *The English Register of Oseney Abbey, by Oxford* (ed. A. Clark, *EETS* 133, 144), and *Of Arthour and of Merlin* (ed. O. D. Macrae-Gibson, *EETS* 268).

following plural noun.[94] For the published editions, I have read the same samples that were used in Chapter 2 (see Appendix A) and compiled a spreadsheet of all the examples in which *of* governs a plural noun. The original data set included over 7400 tokens, and included all plural nouns governed by *of*, regardless of the function of *of*. As the primary focus of this chapter is the variation between inflection and periphrasis, the original data set has been separated into two.

(I) The main data set, which includes only those *of*-phrases which have POSSESSIVE or NONPOSSESSIVE genitive functions. This set includes over 5000 tokens, and unless otherwise noted is the source of the data in the rest of the chapter.

(5.1)   *all þat god hath seyd be the mouthes of his prophetes* (cmmandev, 87.2182)

'all that God has said by the mouths of his prophets' POSSESSIVE (possessive)

(5.2)   *þe worste of all synnes* (SermonsA, 33.28)

'the worst of all sins' NONPOSSESSIVE (partitive)

(II) An auxiliary data set which includes the remaining tokens, including lexically assigned examples (5.3), and non-genitive uses: where *of* means 'from'(5.4), where it marks the agent of a passive construction (5.5), and where it appears to mean 'about, regarding', as in Latin/French *de* (5.6). This data set is used only in section 5.2.3, in which the progression of the periphrastic genitive through the different genitive functions is examined.

(5.3)   *Marie-Magdalene …was clene of hire fule synnes* (trhomB)

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94   Note that the *LAEME* tagging does differentiate between *of* meaning 'from' (of{f}/) and *of* 'off' (off/), but *PPCME2* does not.

'Mary Magdalene … was clean of her foul sins' (lexical)

(5.4)   *ȝe wende ut alswa of baðe þine ancre huses* (titusarx, 139.9-10)

          'you also went out from both your anchorite's houses' (from)

(5.5)   *whare Iudas kissed oure lorde when he was taken of þe Iews* (mandeville1982, 52.20)

          'where Judas kissed our Lord when he was taken by the Jews' (passive)

(5.6)   *was examyned of certeyn poynteȝ* (Brut1419, 386.22)

          'was examined regarding certain points' (*de*)

5.2 INTERNAL FACTORS

In the corpus for this chapter, there are 5264 periphrastic GNPs and 1265 inflected GNPs. Figure 5.1 shows the relative frequency of inflected and periphrastic genitive plural tokens for the entire corpus for the period from C12b2 through C15b2.[95] (See Appendix B, Table 3 for the number of tokens.) As the figure shows, the periphrastic genitive is already a common choice for genitive plural NPs from the earliest texts, accounting for 45% of all genitive plural NPs in C12b2, and 43% of all genitive plural NPs in texts from C13a1 (the period which contains some of the most morphologically conservative texts, such as lamhomA1 and vva). Figure 5.1 shows a more or less steady decline in the use of the inflected genitive up to C14a1, apart from a spike in usage in C13b2 texts (due to the presence of a text which is copied from OE (section 5.3.1)

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95 The figure only includes those periods for which there is a sufficient amount of data; texts from C12-13 and C13a-b have too few tokens to be included (less than 25 for inflected and periphrastic genitives, which for this chapter is substantially lower than the number of tokens for other periods). The figure also excludes those texts, such as Gloucester, edincma, Lanfranck, etc. for which the period of the manuscript cannot be narrowed down to fit into the given periods.

and the preponderance of verse texts (section 5.3.2)). In C14a2 the use of the inflected genitive drops quite dramatically, and remains low for the rest of the ME period, showing a slight increase only in the very latest texts.
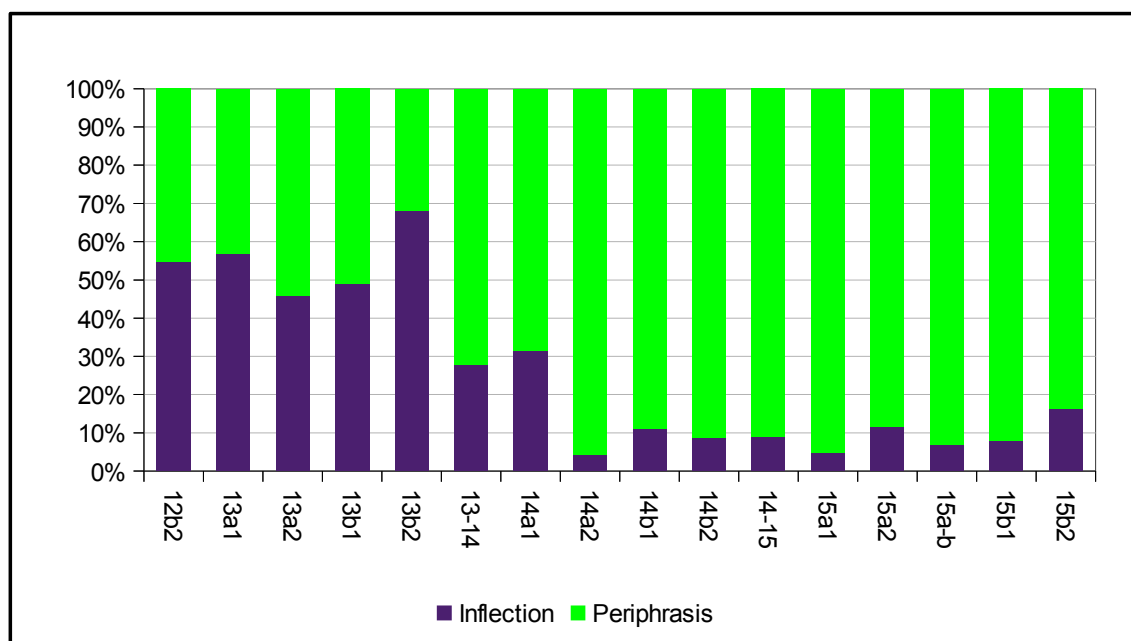
Figure 5.1: Relative frequency of inflected and periphrastic genitive plural tokens

In the rest of this section I will investigate how and why the periphrastic genitive came to be the dominant form of the genitive in plural NPs, with particular regard to the questions of the animacy of the genitive noun and the function of the GNP. I will consider the development of each construction independently (5.2.1) and then consider the interaction between the two constructions (5.2.2). The study will show that while animacy was the most important factor in the survival of the inflected genitive, function played a more important role in the establishment of the periphrastic genitive.

5.2.1 Separate histories

In this section and the next (5.2.2) I discuss the effects of animacy and function on the use of the

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two genitive constructions. Every genitive NP contains a noun, which is either animate or inanimate, and every genitive NP has a function, as outlined in section 2.1.3. For the purposes of this chapter, I have generally focused only on two broad groupings of the possible functions: POSSESSIVE (possessive, subjective, and objective functions) and NONPOSSESSIVE (partitive and descriptive functions).[96] Thus, there are four possible types of NP based on the combination of these two factors (the genitive NP is in bold):

POSSESSIVE function, animate noun (poss_anim)

(5.7)   *bifore **þo apostuls** fete* 'before the apostles' feet' (Acts, ch.4, v.37)

(5.8)   *for þon eie **of þon heðene*** 'for the fear of the heathens' (lamhomA1)[97]

POSSESSIVE function, inanimate noun (poss_inan)

(5.9)   ***worlene** Helare* 'healer of worlds' (layamonBOx, l. 4561)

(5.10)   *he is sendere **of alle holie heten*** 'he is sender of all holy desires' (trhomB)

NONPOSSESSIVE function, animate noun (nonposs_anim)

(5.11)   *seinte marie hehest **alre halehen*** 'Saint Mary, highest of all saints' (royalkgb)

(5.12)   *one **of the beste knyghtes*** 'one of the best knights' (cmmalory, 37.1179)

NONPOSSESSIVE function, inanimate noun (nonposs_inan)

(5.13)   *loue is **blissene** mest* 'love is greatest of joys' (digby86map)

(5.14)   *flawme of fire **of diuerse colours*** 'flame of fire of various colours' (mandeville1982, 31.23)

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96 Neither *LAEME* nor *PPCME2* tags for genitive function, and of course the printed editions do not. Thus, function has been assigned by the author, to the best of her ability. Those few GNPs in which the distinction between POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE could not be made with reasonable certainty have not been included.

97 Note the use of what appears to be a dative article form after the preposition *of*.

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Figure 5.2 shows, thoughout the ME period, which types of NP use the inflected genitive construction, with each line tracking what percentage of all inflected tokens each NP type accounts for; Table 5.1 gives the raw numbers for the four NP types.
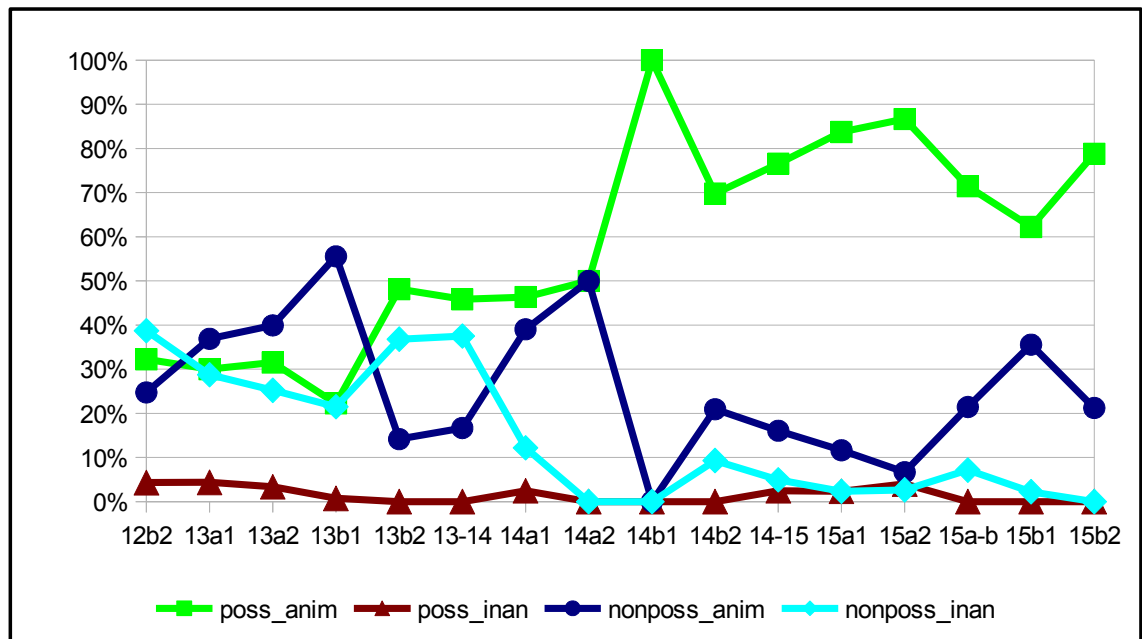
Figure 5.2: Use of the inflected genitive plural for the four NP types

	poss_anim	poss_inan	nonposs_anim	nonposs_inan	TOTAL
12b2	30	4	23	36	93
13a1	48	7	59	46	160
13a2	75	8	95	60	238
13b1	30	1	75	29	135
13b2	51	0	15	39	105
13-14	11	0	4	9	24
14a1	19	1	16	5	41
14a2	3	0	3	0	6
14b1	12	0	0	0	12
14b2	30	0	9	4	43
14-15	62	2	13	4	81
15a1	36	1	5	1	43
15a2	65	3	5	2	75
15a-b	20	0	6	2	28
15b1	28	0	16	1	45
15b2	26	0	7	0	33
TOTAL	546	27	351	238	1162

Table 5.1: Number of inflected tokens for the four NP types

Before continuing with the discussion of the data in Figure 5.2, we need to make some caveats about the nature of the texts from which our data comes, namely that not all periods are equally well documented, or have the same quantity/type of evidence (a caveat which applies to the entire chapter). A particularly arresting aspect of Figure 5.2 is the dramatic ups and downs associated with C14a2 and C14b1. These two periods are different from the others, in that none of the texts in my corpus for these periods were originally composed in ME. Instead, the two texts from C14a2 are both translations from French (ayenbite, from which the majority of the data is taken, and SagesS), while C14b1 is entirely represented by a single text (Psalter) which is translated from Latin. The small number of texts and low number of tokens in my corpus for these two periods means that such data has to be treated rather carefully – it could potentially skew our results. However, while these texts may indicate some unusually dramatic behaviour, the overall trends of the inflected genitive plural (shift to animate, decline of inanimate, and preference for the POSSESSIVE NPs within the animate subset) still occur even if we exclude these two periods, as Figure 5.3 shows.
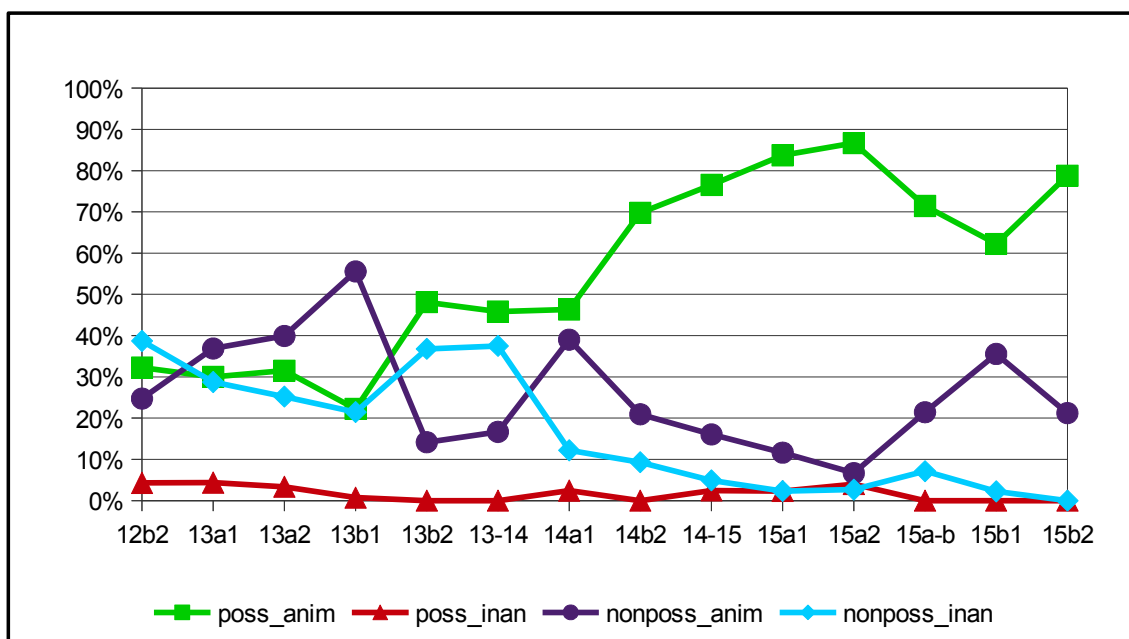
Figure 5.3: Use of the inflected genitive plural for the four NP types, excluding C14a2 and C14b1 data

Prior to 1300, the inflected genitive is used frequently for three of the four possible NP types, but it is quite rare with the GNPs with inanimate heads in POSSESSIVE functions (poss_inan); for NPs of this type the inflected genitive is infrequent throughout the period, at less than 10% of all inflected tokens. The low level of poss_inan inflected tokens found in the earliest texts suggests that there was not a strong association between inflected genitives and NPs with POSSESSIVE functions. Note that overall, poss_inan NPs are the least frequent type of NP; however, for the periphrastic genitive, the poss_inan NP is at times as frequent, if not more, than the poss_anim, so that the very low level of poss_inan tokens does appear to be a feature of the inflected genitive use. In the early ME period (defined in this chapter as C12b2—C14a1), the NONPOSSESSIVE NPs outnumber the POSSESSIVE in every period; POSSESSIVE NPs only become more frequent in C14b1. On the other hand, the data in Figure 5.2 does show an early connection between NPs with animate nouns and the use of the inflected genitive construction. NPs with animate genitive nouns are more frequent than those with inanimate genitive nouns throughout the early period, by a notable margin. The prevalence of POSSESSIVE functions

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for inflected GNPs may come as part of that limitation to animate nouns; already in OE GNPs with personal nouns are usually used in POSSESSIVE functions (see Fischer 1992: 227, although she does not specify whether this is singular and/or plural).

The most unusual feature of Figure 5.2 is that up to about 1300 the inflected genitive is commonly used for NONPOSSESSIVE NPs with inanimate nouns (nonposs_inan). The frequency of this NP type indicates that the genitive plural inflection was not limited to animate nouns at the beginning of the ME period. However, in texts from around 1300 onward, the use of the inflected genitive for NPs of this type declines, a decline which becomes permanent in the later period (5.2.2.5). The decline of the inflected genitive with nonposs_inan NPs signals the overall decline of the inflected construction with inanimate nouns; from 14a2 onward, NPs with animate nouns dominate the inflected genitive plurals, particularly those with POSSESSIVE functions. The dominance of NPs with animate nouns is particularly striking graphically: the poss_anim and nonposs_anim begin to mirror one another in Figure 5.2, as there are too few tokens with inanimate nouns to affect the overall picture. In this later period, the NONPOSSESSIVE functions are more frequent with NPs with inanimate nouns, although overall numbers are too low to be conclusive.[98] The development of the inflected genitive suggests the primary importance of animacy.

5.2.1.2 Periphrasis

Based on the implicit "mirror image" assumption in previous work on the ME genitive, we

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98 It is not the case that inanimate nouns are more frequent than animate in NONPOSSESSIVE NPs; of the 16 sub-periods in Figure 5.2, only three have more nonposs_inan NPs than nonposs_anim NPs, and of the 589 NONPOSSESSIVE GNPs in this figure, less than half have inanimate nouns (238 tokens). The periphrastic genitive has slightly more than half of the NONPOSSESSIVE GNPs with inanimate nouns (1868 of 3434 tokens), so that overall only 52% of the NONPOSSESSIVE GNPs in this study have inanimate nouns.

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might expect that the periphrastic construction would show a strong connection to inanimate nouns. However, that "mirror image" assumption does not quite work: for the periphrastic construction, function is more important than animacy. Figure 5.4 shows the relative frequency of the periphrastic genitive for the four types of NP.
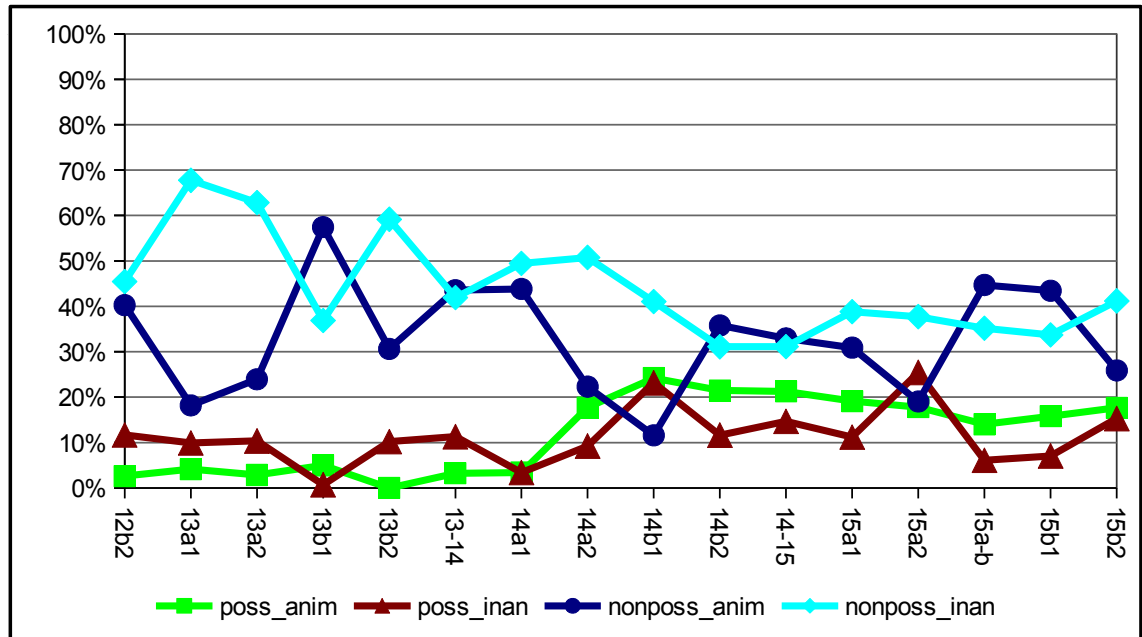
Figure 5.4: Use of the periphrastic genitive plural based on animacy and function

As with the inflected genitive, the turning point is between C14a1 and C14a2, although the shift is less dramatic. To highlight the difference, Figure 5.5 duplicates Figure 5.4, edited to add a line between C14a1 and C14a2.

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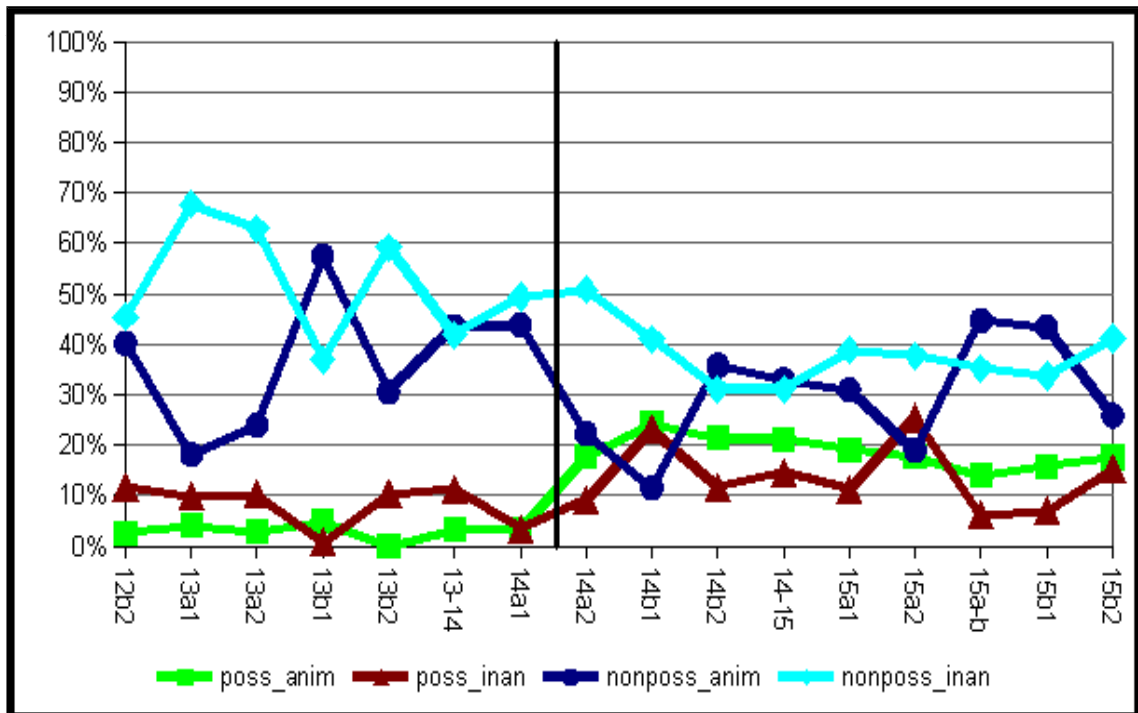
Figure 5.5: Two phases of the periphrastic genitive plural

In the period C12b2–C14a1, there are two pairs of "mirror image" NPs, pairs based on shared function: the nonposs_anim and nonposs_inan NPs roughly mirror one another, and the poss_anim and poss_inan NPs roughly mirror one another. These functional pairs highlight the importance of function in the use of the periphrastic genitive. The two pairs, POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE, do not appear to interact with one another: there is no evidence for instance that nonposs_inan and poss_inan either reflect or follow each other.

The above figures clearly show that in the period C12b2–C14a1 the periphrastic genitive is most often used for NONPOSSESSIVE NPs. The periphrastic genitive is much less frequently used when the functions are POSSESSIVE, and is also used more frequently withinanimate nouns which is most likely a reflection of the strong association which existed between the inflected genitive and animate nouns (5.2.2.1). At this stage, animacy is clearly of secondary

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importance to function in the use of the periphrastic genitive.

From C14a2 onward, these two mirror-image pairs of NPs (POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE) disappear from the use ofthe periphrastic genitive, as its overall use increases and it becomes the most frequent genitive construction with all NP types. This indicates that the periphrastic has reached critical mass, becoming the dominant genitive construction type. Also starting from C14a2, the relative frequency with which the periphrastic genitive is used for the four NP types changes radically, a change which we might have expected based on the data in Figure 5.1 – the overall increase in the use of the periphrastic construction would be associated with the extension of this genitive construction to the POSSESSIVE NPs. NONPOSSESSIVE NPs are still the most frequent, but POSSESSIVE NPs (as in *þe hertes of þe kynges enemys* 'the hearts of the king's enemies' (Psalter))have become common (in stark contrast to the inflected genitive, where NPs with animate nouns have an almost total dominance, and NPs with the dispreferred inanimate nouns virtually vanish).

Note that for both the inflected and periphrastic GNPs, the pairings are only evident when a given genitive construction is more restricted in terms of the NP types it is used for – for the periphrastic genitive the pairings are only evident in the earlier period, and for the inflected genitive only in the later period. Figure 5.6, extracted from Figure 5.4, shows that even in the later, more prolific period of the periphrastic genitive a new pair develops, poss_inan and nonposs_anim, but not one that involves a "natural" class of NPs (i.e there is no shared feature). There does not seem to be any reason for these two NP types to be rough reflections of each other in terms of relative frequency (this does not happen for poss_anim and nonposs_inan). The only explanation that I have is that it is coincidental.

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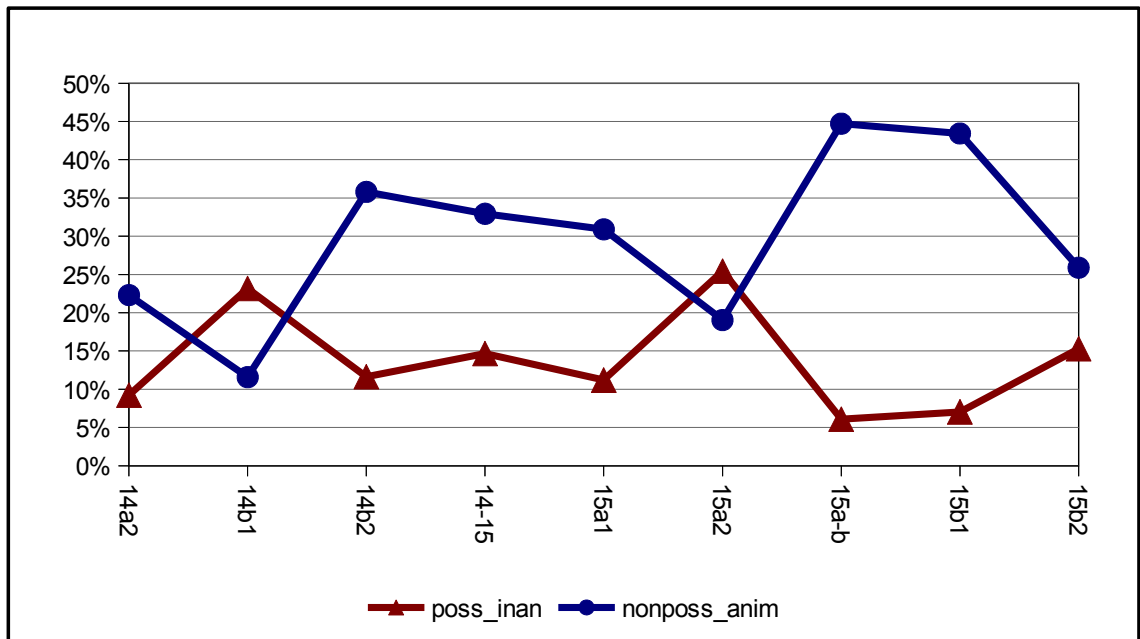
Figure 5.6: Periphrastic "pair" in late ME

5.2.2 Shared histories

In the preceding sections it has been shown that from c. 1300 onward there is a strong tendency to limit the use of the inflected genitive to NPs that had animate nouns, while the use of the periphrastic genitive appears to be primarily motivated by function, particularly in the early periods. However, for my claim about the differing "triggers" for the two genitive constructions to be valid, this claim must also apply to the interaction between the two constructions (the choice between the two variants). Thus, this section will examine the relative frequency of the two constructions for each of the four NP types. (The raw numbers for Figures 5.7-10 can be found in Appendix B, Tables 4-7.)

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Figure 5.7 shows the relative frequency of the inflected and periphrastic genitive for NPs with POSSESSIVE functions and animate nouns (poss_anim). This is the context in which the inflection is most robust, accounting for more than 80% of the tokens in each period from C12b2–C14a1, and remaining a significant minority for the remainder of the ME period.
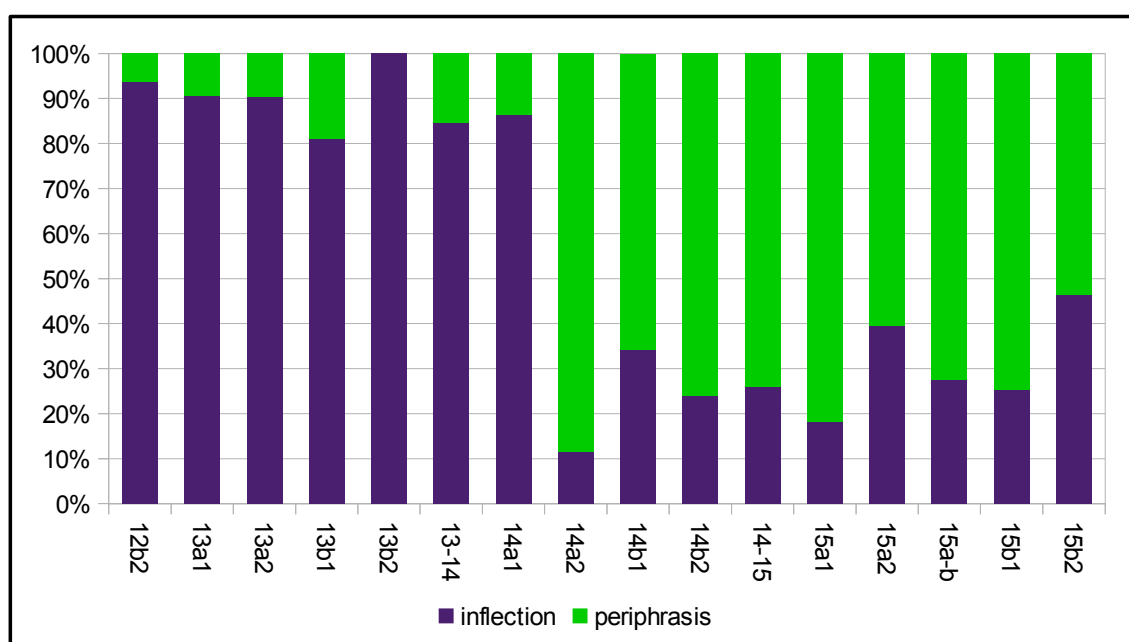
Figure 5.7: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for poss_anim NPs

Taken with the data in section 5.2.1.1, this evidence further confirms the connection between animacy and the inflected genitive. The fact that the inflected construction is much more frequent with poss_anim than nonposs_anim (see below) has several possible explanations:

1. The inflected genitive was preferred with POSSESSIVE rather than NONPOSSESSIVE NPs.

2. There is an independent connection between animate nouns and

POSSESSIVE functions, and animate nouns do not often occur in NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions.

3. It is not that there was a connection between the inflected genitive and POSSESSIVE functions, but that there was a connection between the periphrastic genitive and NONPOSSESSIVE functions. That is, the periphrastic genitive was first used for NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, so that there was initially less competition between the inflected and periphrastic genitives in NPs with POSSESSIVE functions.

The first explanation, that there was a connection between the inflected genitive and POSSESSIVE function, independent of animacy, is not supported by the evidence. As the following subsections will show, the inflected genitive is relatively robust in early ME for nonposs_anim NPs (5.2.2.2), but not for poss_inan NPs (5.2.2.3). The second explanation, that animate nouns are not common in NONPOSSESSIVE functions, does have some support (noted for OE (Fischer 1992:226)). The third explanation also fits the data: as we have seen in section 5.2.1.2 and will see in the following sections, in the early period of ME the periphrastic genitive was strongly associated with NONPOSSESSIVE functions. Thus, it was not that the inflected genitive was strongly associated with the POSSESSIVE function, but that there was less competition between the inflected and the periphrastic constructions in POSSESSIVE NPs, and most particularly in POSSESSIVE NPs with animate nouns, as the inflected genitive **did** have a strong connection to animate nouns.

5.2.2.2 nonposs_anim

Figure 5.8 shows the relative frequency of the inflected and periphrastic constructions for

NONPOSSESSIVE NPs with animate nouns (nonposs_anim), and supports the theory that animacy is the principal factor in the use of the inflected genitive, while function is more important for the periphrastic genitive.
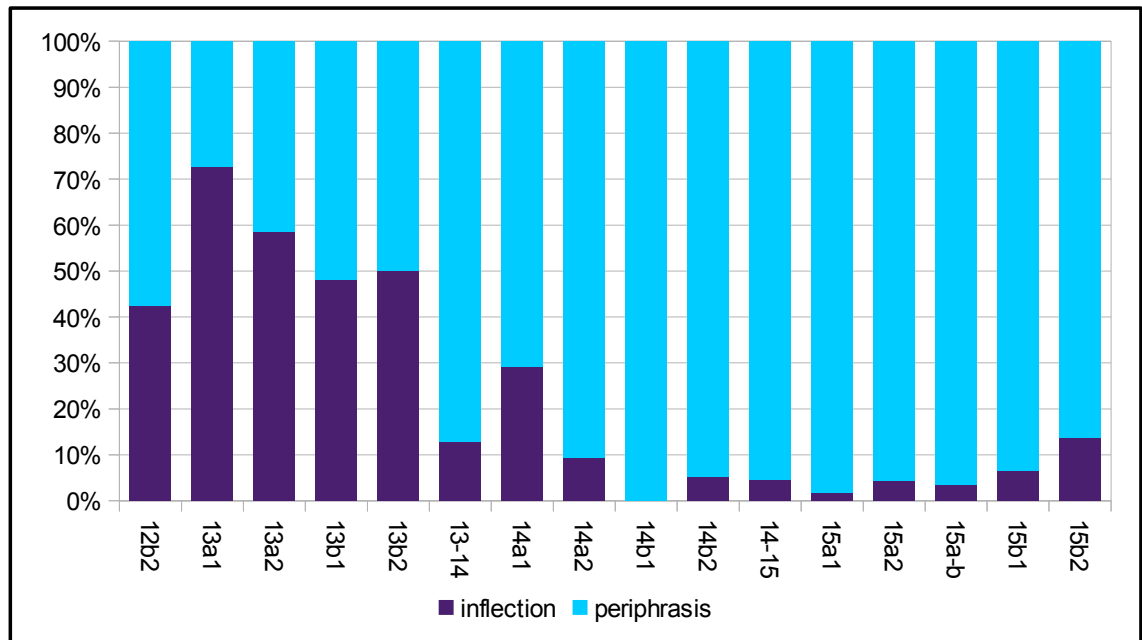
Figure 5.8: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for nonposs_anim NPs

The inflected genitive is common up to about 1300, although not as frequent as it was for poss_anim NPs (Figure 5.7), and survives throughout the period, again to a lesser extent than for poss_anim. The higher relative frequency of the periphrastic construction with nonposs_anim than with poss_anim reflects the importance of function for the use of this construction. The periphrastic genitive has made more progress with nonposs_anim than poss_anim in the period leading up to c.1300, and accounts for a larger portion of the NPs compared to poss_anim in the later part of ME as well. In poss_anim NPs, in which the driving factor for the periphrastic genitive (NONPOSSESSIVE function) is absent while the driving factor for the inflected genitive (animate noun) is present, the inflected genitive is dominant in

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early ME and is most robust in its survival; in nonposs_anim NPs, the driving factor for both periphrastic genitive and inflected genitive is present (NONPOSSESSIVE function and animate noun, respectively), and in the GNPs in which the two constructions are in direct competition, the periphrastic genitive makes more progress and eventually becomes the preferred construction.

5.2.2.3 poss_inan

Figure 5.9 is the first to look at the relative frequency of the two genitive constructions with NPs with inanimate nouns, although it should be pointed out that the overall number of tokens is low for both genitive constructions. In the early period (C12b2-C14a1), there are only 87 tokens of this NP type; there are 291 poss_anim NPs in the same period, and 596 nonposs_anim NPs and 674 nonposs_inan NPs.
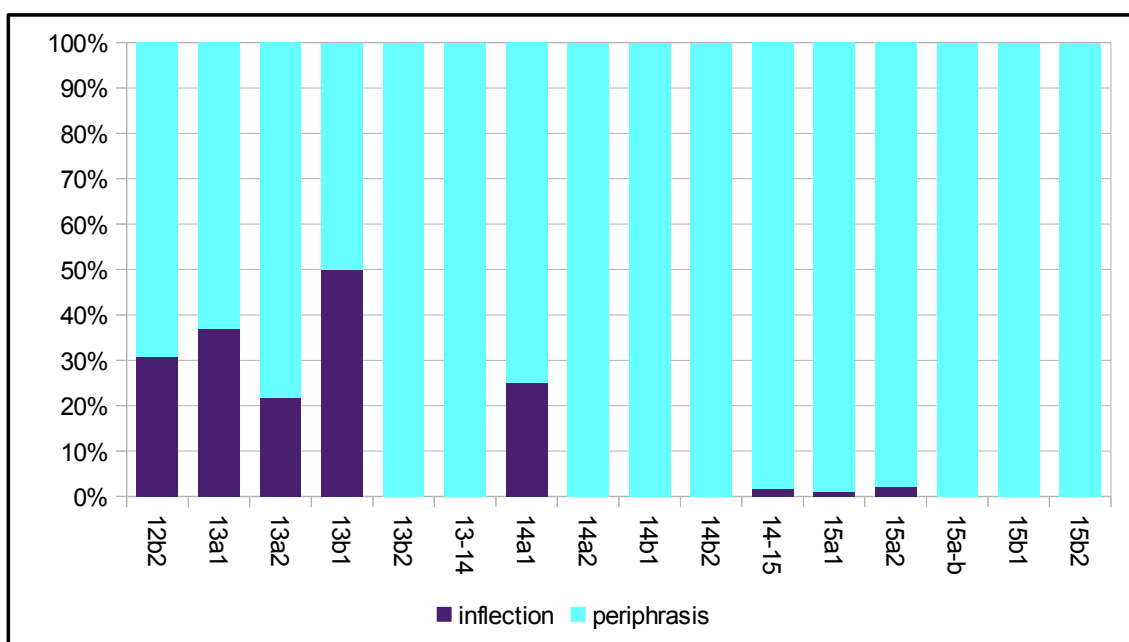
Figure 5.9: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for poss_inan NPs

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The most important factor in whether the inflected genitive was used was the animacy of the genitive noun, not the function. If we compare Figures 5.8 and 5.9 we see that the inflected genitive is more robust in nonposs_anim NPs than poss_inan; the animacy of the former carries more weight than the function of the latter. Similarly, the low number of periphrastic tokens would not have provided a strong foundation for establishing a connection between the periphrastic genitive and inanimate nouns: the periphrastic is used more frequently with nonposs_anim NPs than it is with poss_inan NPs.

In the case of poss_inan NPs, neither of the "positive" factors is present for either genitive construction. My explanation for the eventual dominance of the periphrastic genitive is that it was not so much the preferred choice as the only one in poss_inan NPs in later ME. If GNPs with inanimate nouns became strongly dispreferred environments for the inflected genitive, then there was only one other option left: the periphrastic genitive.[99]

5.2.2.4 nonposs_inan

Figure 5.10 shows the relative frequency of the two genitive constructions for NPs with inanimate nouns in NONPOSSESSIVE functions. Of the four NP types, the variation between the inflected genitive and the periphrastic genitive for nonposs_inan NPs may be the most surprising. From about 1300 onwards, the virtual disappearance of the inflected genitive is similar to that observed in Figure 5.8, and reflects the shift of this construction to being used primarily with animate nouns. Figure 5.10 also fits well with the hypothesis that there was a strong connection between NONPOSSESSIVE NPs and the use of the periphrastic construction. Thus, nonposs_inan NPs are the NP type where we would expect the inflected genitive to be

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99 Although there are other constructions which can be used for the genitive, such as the preposition *at*, these are marginal (Rosenbach 2002: 185).

weakest and the periphrastic genitive to be strongest; for the later period, this is what we find. But the data from before c.1300 is rather harder to explain.
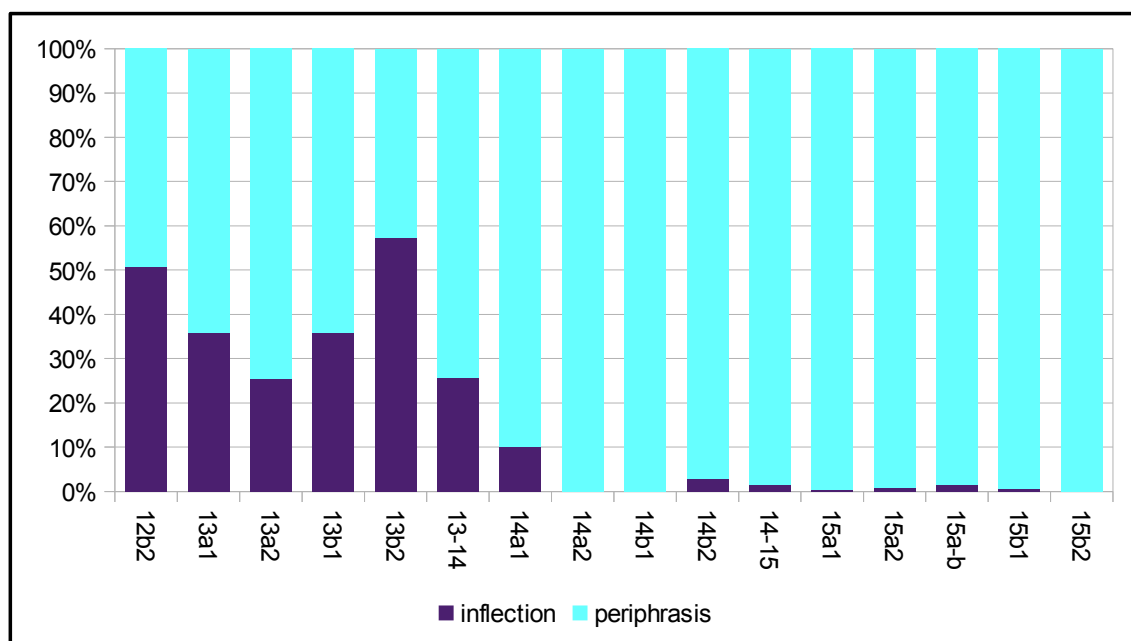
Figure 5.10: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for nonposs_inan NPs

The inflected genitive has a surprisingly robust presence in the early period (unlike Figure 5.9, in this case we do not have the problem of low numbers of tokens); this inflected presence corresponds to the trends we observed in the inflection-only data (Figure 5.2). To explain the unexpectedly high level of inflected GNPs, we will have to consider an aspect of the genitive plural inflection hitherto unexplored: the existence of multiple inflectional endings.

5.2.2.5 Morphological variation in the genitive plural inflection

So far, the inflected genitive plural has been treated as something of a monolith, a single entity to be compared with the periphrastic construction. While the periphrastic genitive is a single entity (in that there is only one form), this is not true of the inflected genitive. As we have seen,

there are five forms of the genitive plural inflection, three of which are frequent: -V, -VnV, -Vs. This section will show that the development of the inflected genitive as a whole is connected to the development of the different inflectional endings.

Figures 5.11 and 5.12 track the development of the three principal genitive endings and the periphrastic genitive for nonposs_inan NPs (where we would expect the inflected genitive to be weakest). and poss_anim NPs (where the inflected genitive is strongest).
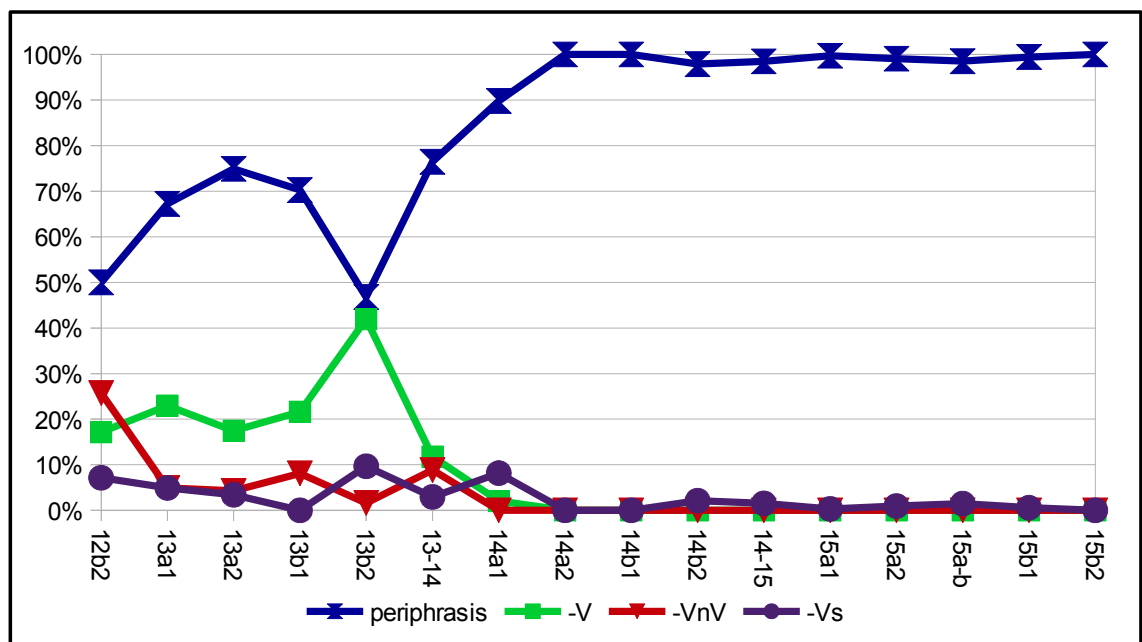
Figure 5.11: Variation of three genitive inflectional endings and the periphrastic genitive for nonposs_inan NPs

Figure 5.11 shows that the -V ending type was the most frequent inflectional ending with nonposs_inan NPs, and the overall decline of the inflected construction with nonposs_inan NPs is correlated to the decline and disuse of the -V ending. It was mentioned in Chapter 2 (see section 2.8.1) that there was something of a functional divide in how scribes used the various plural inflectional endings, with the -V type being used for NONPOSSESSIVE functions,

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particularly the partitive, more often than any other inflectional ending type. So when -V fell out of use as a genitive plural ending type, the entire genitive plural inflection fell out of use for nonposs_inan NPs.
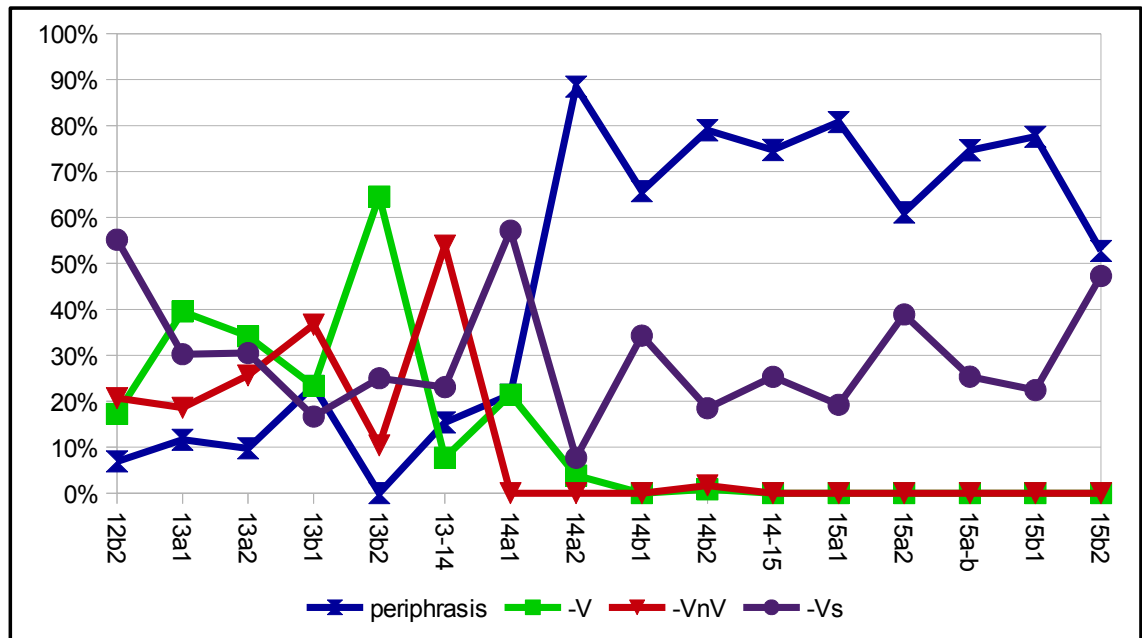
Figure 5.12: Variation of three genitive inflectional endings and the periphrastic genitive for poss_anim NPs

As Figure 5.12 shows, the situation was quite different for poss_anim NPs. Prior to c.1300, all three genitive inflectional endings are commonly employed; the frequent use of the -Vs ending is particularly striking when compared to the use of this ending for nonposs_inan NPs in Figure 5.11. -Vs did not share the same functional domain as -V and -VnV. -Vs is the only ending to survive as a productive ending post-1300, and as it was most strongly associated with animate nouns in POSSESSIVE functions, these are the NPs with which the inflected genitive continued to be used.

Thus, the surprising robustness of the inflected genitive in nonposs_inan NPs is due to the survival of the -V inflectional ending in the early period; when this ending declines, so does the

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overall use of the inflected genitive for such NPs. The surviving genitive inflectional ending, -Vs, does not have a strong connection with nonposs_inan NPs. It did, however, have a connection even in the early period to poss_anim NPs and has a robust survival in such NPs; furthermore, at least early on, there was less direct competition between -Vs and the periphrastic genitive, which was most closely connected to NONPOSSESSIVE NPs. The impact of the NONPOSSESSIVE function on the choice of genitive construction can be seen if we look at the data for the nonposs_anim NPs:
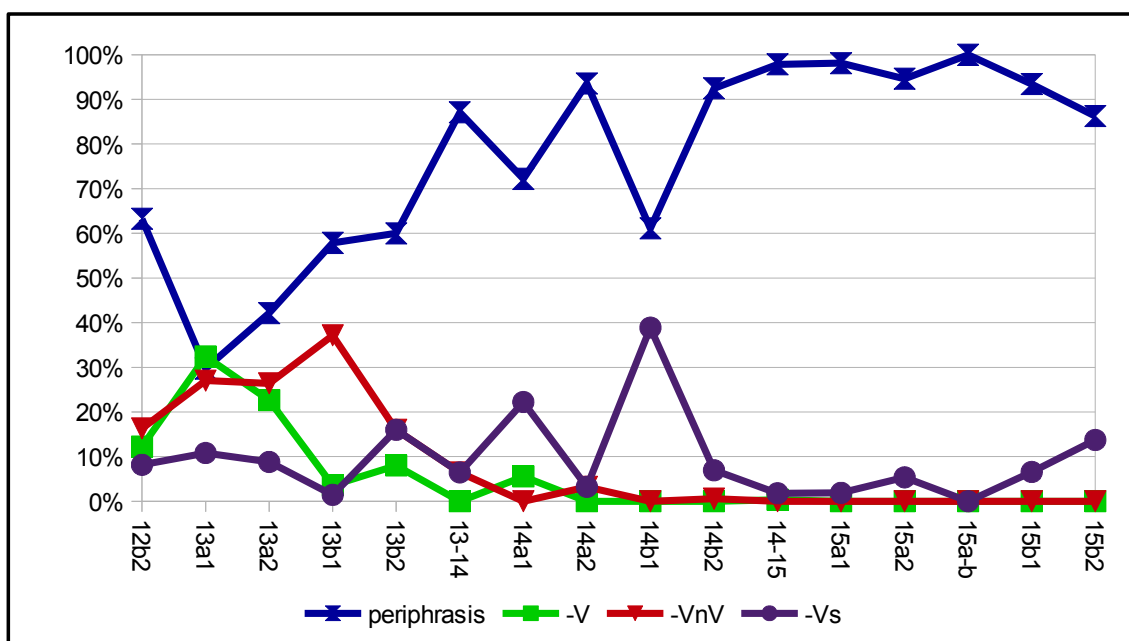
Figure 5.13: Variation of three genitive inflectional endings and the periphrastic genitive for nonposs_anim NPs

The periphrastic genitive is much more frequent for this type of NP than for poss_anim, and is established as such quite early. Although -Vs does survive, it is much less frequent than for poss_anim NPs, reflecting the strong connection between the periphrastic genitive and NONPOSSESSIVE functions.[100] (The spike in -Vs tokens in C14b1 may be due to the nature of

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100 Such a comparison for poss_inan NPs is not possible due to the low number of tokens.

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the evidence for this period, which is from a single text, Psalter; this period also has the lowest number of tokens of any sub-period in Figure 5.13.)

5.2.3 Function and the spread of periphrastic of

The above discussion has demonstrated that the periphrastic genitive was commonly employed first in NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, eventually spreading to POSSESSIVE uses (possibly due to the retreat of the inflected genitive to NPs with animate nouns). However, as mentioned in section 5.1.2, not every use of *of* is POSSESSIVE or NONPOSSESSIVE. Many of the examples are non-genitive, including the meaning 'from', use as a passive marker, or equivalent to French/Latin *de* 'about, regarding'; there are also very many lexically assigned uses, those in which the *of*-phrase is the complement of a noun, adjective, or verb. There are 2143 such uses of *of* in the texts used in the Chapter 5 corpus, compared to only 1479 POSSESSIVE uses of *of* in the same texts. In this section I will look at the use of *of* in all contexts, and what this means for the encroachment of *of* into the genitive space.

One of the features of the non-genitive uses of *of* is that these are employed in a text which has been excluded from the rest of the discussion in this chapter, as it has inflected plural GNPs but not periphrastic ones: worcthgrgl, the Tremulous Hand of Worcester's copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary.* The scribe does use the preposition, but only with the meaning 'from' (5.15) or to mark the agent of a passive construction (5.16).[101]

(5.15)   *of alle fulfremedum wordum cumeþ [PARTICIPIA]*

          'from all perfective words come [PARTICIPLES]

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101 The ME text has been severely damaged (Franzen 1991: 71), leaving many gaps. The translations are partially reconstructed by comparing the ME text with the OE version in Zupitza's edition (1880). *PARTICIPIA* in (5.15) is supplied by Zupitza's edition.

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(5.16)   *gif þe noma biþ ifei[…] of twam ifeiʒede casen þonne biþ he vndeclin[…]lic*

'if the noun is joined by two inflectional cases then it is undeclinable'

These uses of *of* are found in OE (Mitchell 1985: §1199), and in other Germanic languages (Mustanoja 1960: 74), and are more or less independent of the genitive functions in the earlier stages. This scribe does not employ *of* in lexically assigned contexts; for those he employs the inflected genitive:

(5.17)   *orsorh **wæpn-a*** 'unconcerned about weapons'

Note that (5.17) comes from the section on the use of the genitive case. As the most morphologically conservative scribe, the Tremulous Hand does not innovate in his use of *of*, confining himself to the OE uses, probably under the influence of his exemplar.

In the corpus used in the rest of this chapter, there are only seven tokens in which the inflected genitive plural is used in a lexically triggered context (5.18). In contrast, there are 1101 lexical uses of *of*, as in (5.19).

(5.18)   ***wnn-en*** *biræued* 'deprived of joys' (layamonAa)
(5.19)   *bireaued **of manig-e god-e*** 'deprived of many goods' (vva)

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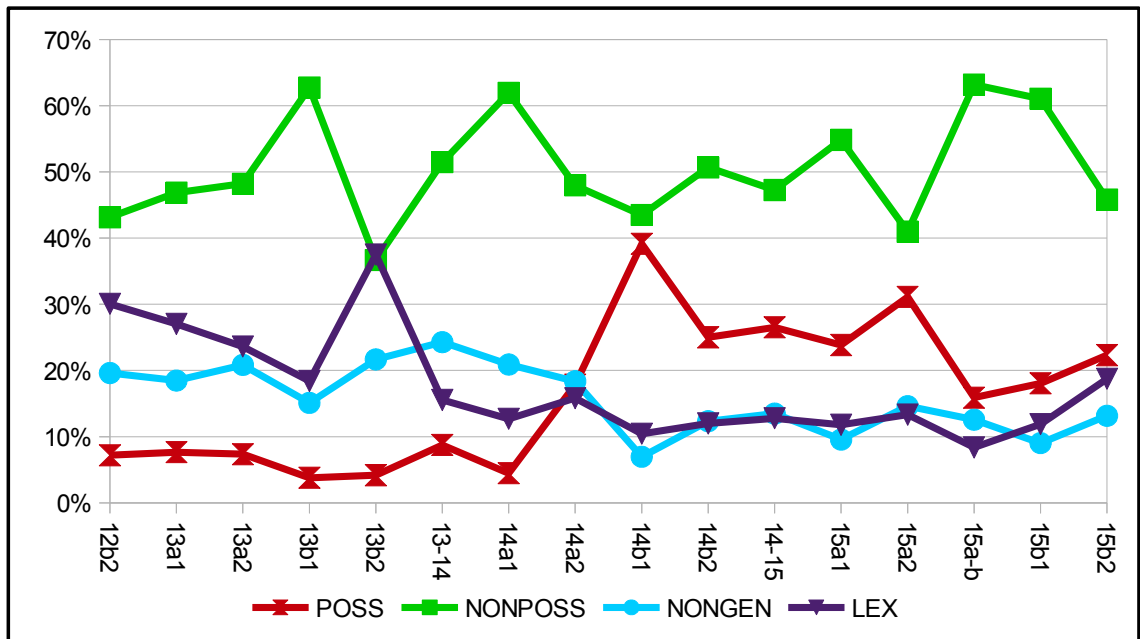
Figure 5.14: The uses of *of* through time

Up through C14a1, the POSSESSIVE use of *of* is much less frequent than the lexical or non-genitive uses of *of*. While this figure suggests that the first success of the periphrastic genitive was with the NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, if we look at the use of the inflected and periphrastic genitives for POSSESSIVE, NONPOSSESSIVE, and lexical functions, we find that the first success of the periphrastic genitive was actually in the lexical NPs.

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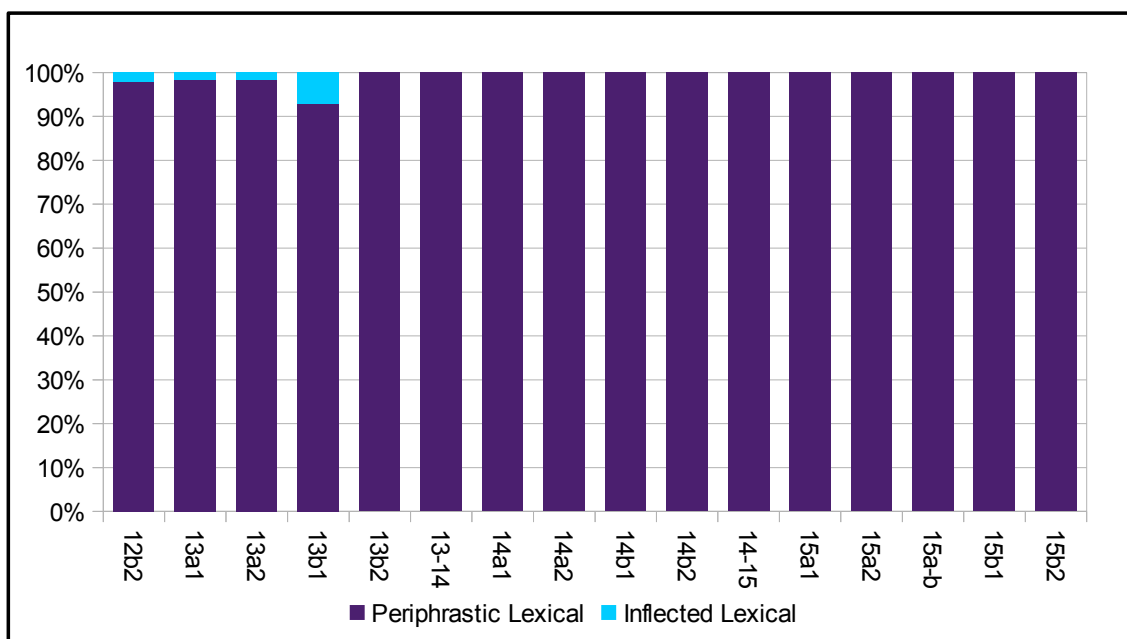
Figure 5.15: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for lexically assigned NPs

The lexically assigned uses of the genitive inflection for plural nouns have more or less disappeared even in early ME, in line with the claims made in the literature regarding the early loss of these functions of the genitive (Fischer 1992: 225; Allen 1995: 194-195). The periphrastic genitive seems to have been most successful in the least prototypical uses of the genitive first.

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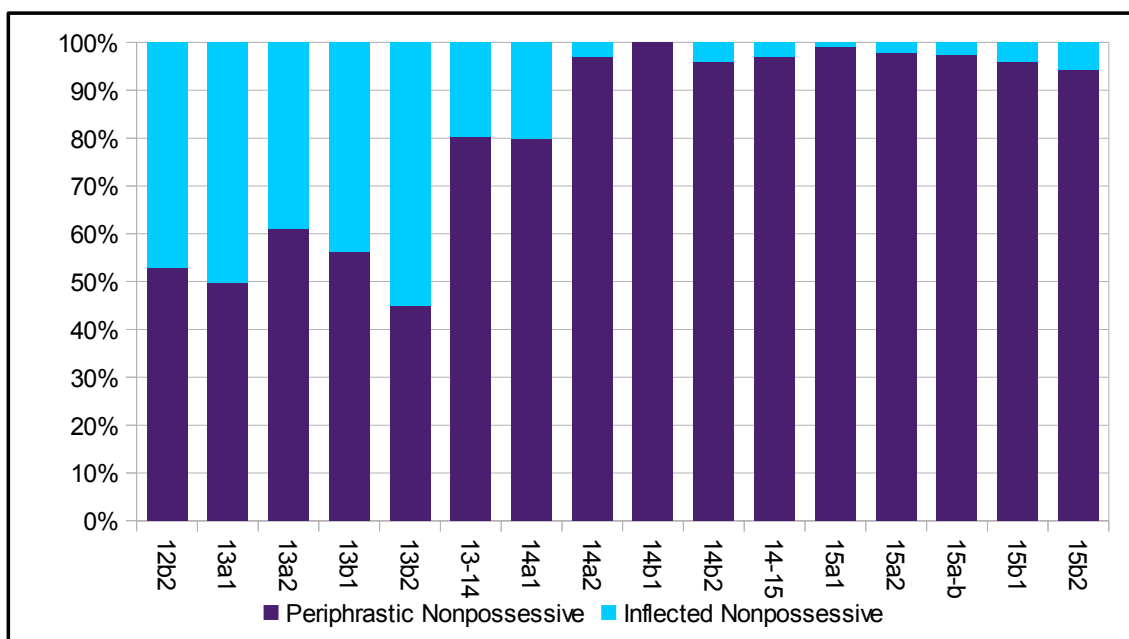
Figure 5.16: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for NONPOSSESSIVE NPs

The use of the two genitive constructions for NONPOSSESSIVE NPs shows that the periphrastic genitive continued its expansion from the marginal to more "central" uses of the genitive. As Figure 5.16 shows, in the early period the periphrastic genitive is frequent with NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, and accounts for over 90% of the NONPOSSESSIVE NP tokens in later ME. In contrast, Figure 5.17 shows that the periphrastic genitive was the minority construction for POSSESSIVE NPs in the early texts, and although it is eventually the dominant construction in later ME, the inflected genitive remains a stronger presence here than in the less prototypical functions.

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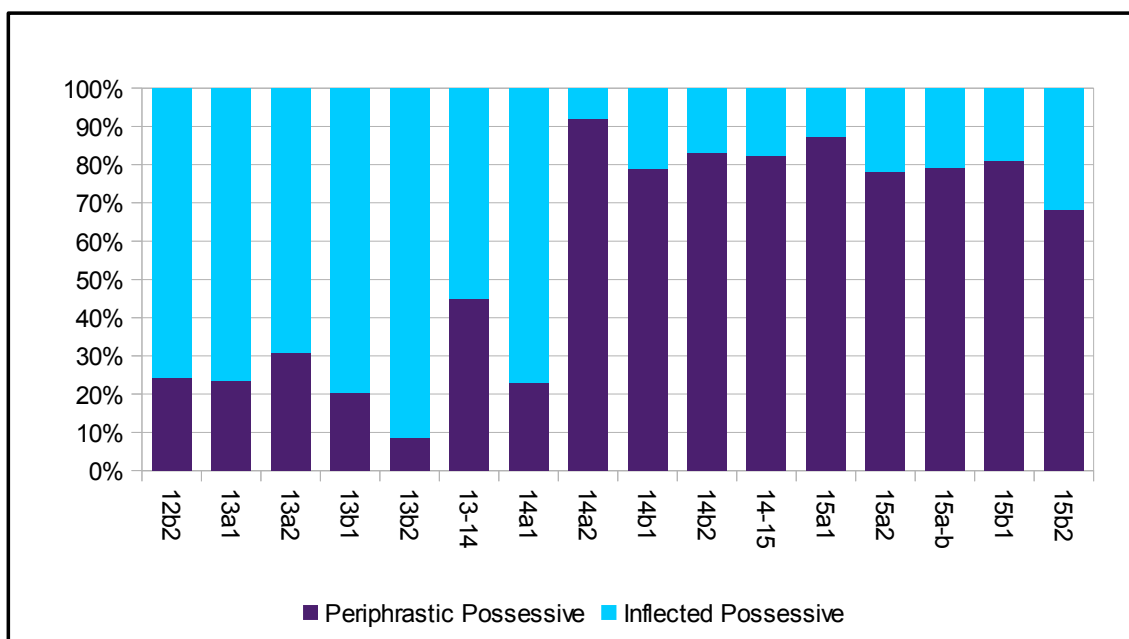
Figure 5.17: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for POSSESSIVE NPs

The extent to which the inflected genitive has been confined to the most prototypical genitive function can be demonstrated by an examination of different types of POSSESSIVE functions. Figure 5.18 shows the percentage of periphrastic tokens for the objective genitive (whose usage became more limited in early ME (Allen 1995: 159)) and possessive genitives, the most prototypical genitive function.[102]

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102 I have only included tokens where the function is unambiguous; if there is any ambiguity (especially between the objective and subjective genitive) I have excluded those tokens.
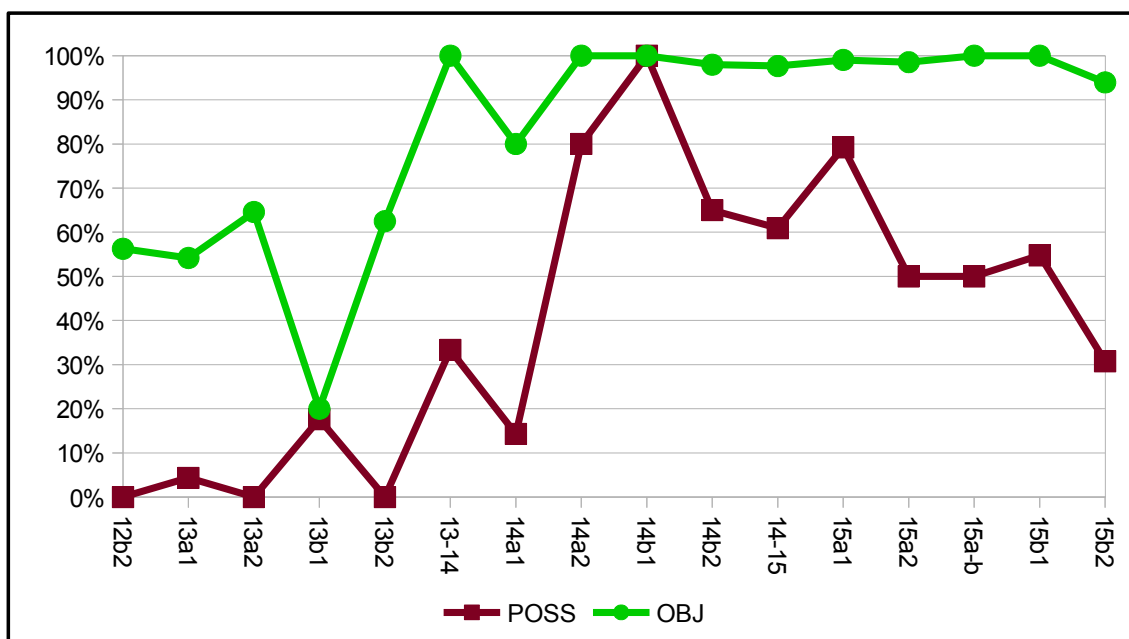
Figure 5.18: Frequency of the periphrastic genitive (relative to the inflected genitive) for objective and possessive NPs

The difference between objective and possessive is striking. The periphrastic genitive is nowhere near as successful with possessive NPs as with objective ones. However, despite being considered the most prototypical sense of the genitive (Quirk et al. 1985: 4.93), the possessive genitive is the less frequent usage: 505 tokens in Figure 5.18 compared to 654 objective tokens. The inflected genitive survives commonly only in the least frequent use of the genitive for plural GNPs, the possessive.

5.2.4 Conclusion

The two internal factors of animacy and function have a significant impact on the choice between the inflected and periphrastic genitive in plural GNPs, even though animacy and function have different impacts on the two genitive constructions. From the fourteenth century onward the inflected genitive is almost entirely limited to animate nouns, to such an extent that

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Rosenbach considers animacy to be a "knockout" factor for the use of the inflected genitive (Rosenbach 2002: 199-200). The tendency to limit the use of the inflected construction to NPs with POSSESSIVE functions may at least in part reflect a tendency for animate nouns to have POSSESSIVE functions (Fischer 1992: 226). The decline of the inflected genitive with inanimate nouns is closely connected with the decline of the non-Vs endings, particularly -V, which was most often used with inanimate nouns (from the earliest texts, -Vs was generally limited to animate nouns). There is no definite evidence that NPs with POSSESSIVE functions "triggered" the use of the inflected genitive.

For the periphrastic genitive, on the other hand, the determining factor was the function of the NP, with even early texts showing a strong connection between NONPOSSESSIVE NPs and the periphrastic genitive. The success of the periphrastic genitive with NONPOSSESSIVE NPs was a major factor in the overall success of this genitive construction, as NONPOSSESSIVE NPs were numerically much more frequent than POSSESSIVE NPs; despite the supposed prototypicality of the possessive function (Allen 2008: 64), the possessive function is the least frequent of all the structurally assigned genitive functions. There is no evidence of a positive connection between the periphrastic genitive and inanimate nouns; what is more likely the case is that the periphrastic genitive was becoming the default genitive construction, with the inflected genitive only possible when the noun was animate.

5.3 EXTERNAL FACTORS

While the previous section looked at the impact of internal features of the plural GNP, in this section I will consider the potential impact of "external" features, namely the possible effects of

translation and text type on the frequency of the two genitive constructions. It has been proposed that the frequency of the periphrastic genitive relative to the inflected genitive increases in texts which are close translations of French source texts (Mustanoja 1960: 77; Fischer 1992: 226) and in texts which are written in verse (Rosenbach 2002: 180). The data provided by my corpus will show that there is a small increase in the relative frequency of the periphrastic genitive in texts which are close translations of French, but translations from Latin show no difference from ME texts in the use of the two genitive constructions. The claim that verse texts have higher rates of inflected genitives than prose texts is confirmed, but with an important qualification.

5.3.1 Translation effects

There are five different types of source language (L1) in the texts included in this study:

L1: ME: *texts which are composed in ME, although the origins of the content may be in another language originally; also includes translations which depart significantly from the source.*

L1: OF: *texts for which the source is written in an Old French dialect; there may be intervening copies, but the surviving MS is a fairly "faithful" rendering.*

L1: L: *texts for which the source is written in Latin; there may be intervening copies, but the surviving MS is a fairly "faithful" rendering.*

L1: OE: *texts which are copies of OE originals, there may be intervening copies, but the*

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language of the surviving MS is not much modified.

L1: OTHER: *there are a small number of texts which have composite origins, from multiple source texts in more than one language. This group also includes cmrenart, which is a translation from a Dutch version of the OF* Reynard the Fox *tales.*

The focus of this section is on three of the above types, L1: ME, L1: OF, and L1: L, as these are the three types for which we have the most evidence. Mustanoja claimed that the frequency of the periphrastic genitive increases in L1: OF texts: "It is worth noticing, for example, that the genitival *of*-periphrasis is particularly common in works written under strong French influence" (Mustanoja 1960: 77), an observation which has been echoed by others (e.g Fischer 1992: 226). Unfortunately, Mustanoja does not offer any details to support this statement – we do not know which works he refers to, what exactly "strong French influence" means, or even the relative frequencies of the two genitive constructions. Neither Mustanoja nor any other standard work mentions what the possible effects of L1: L texts in this period might be. This study confirms an increase in the relative frequency of the periphrastic construction in L1: OF texts, but in a qualified manner: the increase in L1: OF texts is statistically significant, but at about 5%, does not seem "particularly common" relative to L1: ME texts. L1: L texts show no translation effect whatsoever.

A simple totaling of the inflected and periphrastic tokens for the entire corpus would suggest that the periphrastic construction is much more frequent in texts which are close translations from French and Latin:

	inflected genitive		periphrastic genitive		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
L1: ME	1064	24%	3403	76%	4467
L1: OF	62	6%	957	94%	1019
L1: L	84	10%	792	90%	876

Table 5.2: Frequency of inflection and periphrasis based on L1, C12b2-C15b2

This approach has a major flaw, as it overlooks the fact that the translated texts in my corpus all date from c. 1300 and later, while the pre-1300 data is from texts which are L1: ME; as we saw in the preceding sections, the inflected genitive is at its most robust in the pre-1300 period, so that the inclusion of the pre-1300 data means that we are not really comparing like for like. To compare the three groups more accurately, we need to exclude that pre-1300 data. The table below shows the number of tokens for the three groups in texts from c. 1300 and onward (i.e. texts dated to C13b2-C14a1 and later).

	inflected genitive		periphrastic genitive		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
L1: ME	350	11%	2737	89%	3087
L1: OF	62	6%	957	94%	1019
L1: L	84	10%	792	90%	876

Table 5.3: Frequency of inflection and periphrasis based on L1, c.1300 and onward

As Table 5.3 shows, once we exclude the pre-1300 data, the proportion of inflected and periphrastic constructions becomes much closer across the three categories. L1: L and L1: ME texts show the same level of periphrastic GNPs. There is an increase in periphrastic genitives in L1: OF texts, 5% higher than in L1: ME texts; however, this increase does not seem to warrant the description of the periphrastic genitive as "particularly common" in L1: OF texts. Why are L1: L texts so similar to L1: ME, while L1: OF texts have slightly higher levels of periphrastic

genitive use? This is probably due to syntactic (dis)similarity: OF syntax is much closer to ME syntax than Latin is. The result is that the translator may be more likely to copy over the word patterns from a L1: OF source text, especially as by the date of our texts the periphrastic genitive has become commonplace in English, so that the OF periphrastic genitive looks quite "normal".

The following examples show a passage from the OF *Somme le Roi* (Brayer & Leurquin-Labie 2008: 108-109) and the ME *Ayenbite of Inwit* (Morris 1866: 12).

(5.20) *Souz   celui juge fu   Jhesu-criz   jugiez   a   tort   a la   requeste   des*
       Under that   judge was Jesus Christ judged with wrong at the request of-the-PL

       tres felons Juis, et crucifiez et morz et mis el   sepulchre.[103]
       very evil Jews, and crucified and died and put in-the   tomb.

(5.21) *Onder þo demere wes Iesu   crist y-demd wyþ wrong to þe biddinge of þri*
       Under that judge   was Jesus Christ judged with wrong at the asking of three[104]

       kueade ieus and y-do   a   rode   and dyad and y-do in-to berieles.
       evil   Jews and put   on cross and died and put   into   tomb.

  'Under that judge Jesus Christ was wrongly judged at the request of the very/three evil Jews, and crucified and died and put in the tomb'

However, such close correspondence is not possible when translating from Latin into ME. The

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103 The OF text preserves the nominative singular case, with the nouns and participles which refer to the subject, Jesus, having a final *-z/-s* which marked the masculine nominative singular in OF.
104 Note that Dan Michel has mistranslated from the OF text, confusing the OF *tres* 'very' with *tres, trois* 'three'.

greater verbal and nominal morphology of Latin has implications not only for morphology but also syntax. Given this syntactic difference, translators have to start from scratch when translating from Latin (from Lumby's facing page edition of the *Polychronicon*).

(5.22)   *Hæc urbs ab eo tempore usque adventum Normannorum   mansit apud*
         This city from that time   until   coming   Normans-GEN.PL. remained among

         episcopos   Merciorum   (VI, 4.19-20)
         bishops   Mercians-GEN.PL.

(5.23)   *þis citee Dorchestre longede to þe bisshoppis of Mercia from þat tyme anon to þe*
         This city, Dorchester, belonged to the bishops of Mercia from that time until the

         comynge of þe Normans. (VI, 5.16-7.1)
         coming of the Normans.

The syntactic similarity between OF and ME, combined with the almost exclusive use of the periphrastic genitive in the plural in French by this period (Pope 1952: §772, §1240) means that it is possible that the periphrastic genitive has sometimes been carried over into the ME text from the OF original, with the result that these texts have a slightly higher rate of periphrastic genitive constructions for plural nouns. The English translators do not introduce periphrastic genitives for which there is no equivalent in ME, such as *mout de Xs*, *tant de Xs*: for example, the OF expression *mout de foiz* 'many of times' is rendered as *uele ziþe* 'many times' by Dan Michel.

The similarity between L1: L and L1: ME texts, and the relatively small increase of the periphrastic genitive in L1: OF texts, suggests that translation did not have a major impact on the decline of the inflected genitive plural construction in writing (at least as far as we know

from the evidence in my corpus).[105] To illustrate the similarity between the use of the inflected

and periphrastic genitives for the data set 'all texts' and the data set 'L1: ME' texts, Figure 5.19

shows the relative frequency of the inflected genitive construction in L1: ME texts as well as for

the entire corpus. Apart from the obvious difference that there are no L1: ME texts for C14a2

and C14b1 in my corpus, the only significant difference between the two data sets is in C13b2,

where the level of inflection is 66% for L1: ME and 73% for all texts. However, this difference

reflects the effect, not of French or Latin, but of Old English: this period contains buryFf, the

only copied OE text which has both inflected and periphrastic genitives, with 34 inflected GNPs

but only 3 periphrastic GNPs.
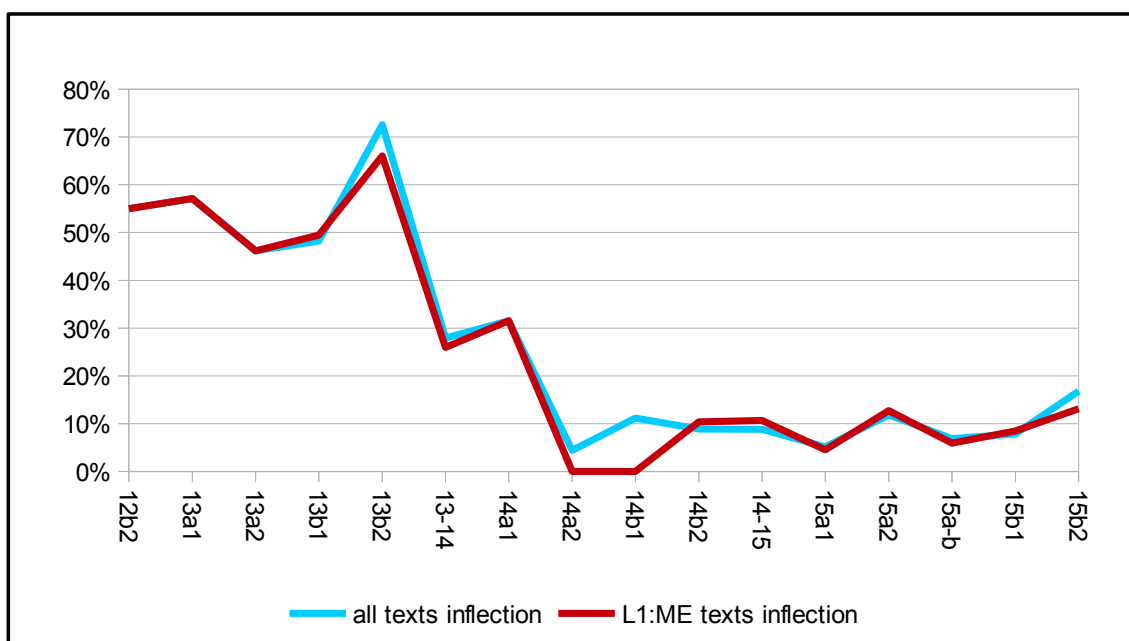
Figure 5.19: Relative frequency of inflected genitive plural for all texts and for L1: ME texts only

For the texts in this corpus, there is no evidence that the periphrastic genitive is "particularly

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105 Note that NP type does not appear to have an impact on the relative frequency of the two genitive constructions for L1: OF, L1: L and L1: ME texts. There are no significant variations among in the three L1 groups for poss_anim NPs to account for the slightly lower level of inflected genitives in L1: OF texts; moreover, the highest levels of poss_anim NPs are in the L1: L texts.

common" in texts which are close translations from OF, or from any language. The most significant translation effect is from the text which is a copy of an OE exemplar, buryFf. The L1: OF and L1: L texts are all from the period when the periphrastic genitive is increasing generally.

5.3.2 Literary type

It has been claimed that the inflected genitive is more common in poetry than in prose; for example, Stahl (1927) finds that the inflected genitive accounts for about 20% of genitives in Chaucer's verse and less than 1% in his prose (Rosenbach 2002: 180); Mustanoja does not provide statistics, but agrees with this conclusion (Mustanoja 1960: 76). The following table gives the numbers of inflected and periphrastic genitives in prose and verse texts for the entire corpus.

	PROSE	**VERSE**	**TOTAL**
inflected genitive	839	431	1270
periphrastic genitive	4445	819	5264
TOTAL	5284	1250	6534

Table 5.4: Inflected and periphrastic genitives in prose and verse texts

Even though verse texts only account for 19% of the total tokens (1250 of 6534), within the set of verse texts, 34% (431 of 1250 tokens) are inflected, compared to only 16% (839 of 5284 tokens) for the prose texts. The inflected genitive for plural nouns is nearly twice as common in verse texts as in prose,[106] supporting the previous claims that the inflected genitive is more common in verse than prose, although this is not nearly as dramatic as what Stahl reports for

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106 Statistically highly significant, $\chi^2 = 223.4$, d(f) = 1, p < 0.001.

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Chaucer (the corpus used in this chapter does not include any verse texts by Chaucer). Table 5.5 and Figure 5.20 reintroduce the aspect of L1, and examine whether the L1 affects the use of inflected and periphrastic genitives, from c. 1300 onward.

	L1: ME PROSE	L1:OF PROSE	L1:L PROSE	L1:ME VERSE	L1:OF VERSE	L1:L VERSE
inflection	205	39	75	144	23	9
periphrasis	2259	863	766	478	94	26
TOTAL	2464	902	841	622	117	35

Table 5.5: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for verse and prose texts, L1: ME, L1: OF, and L1:L
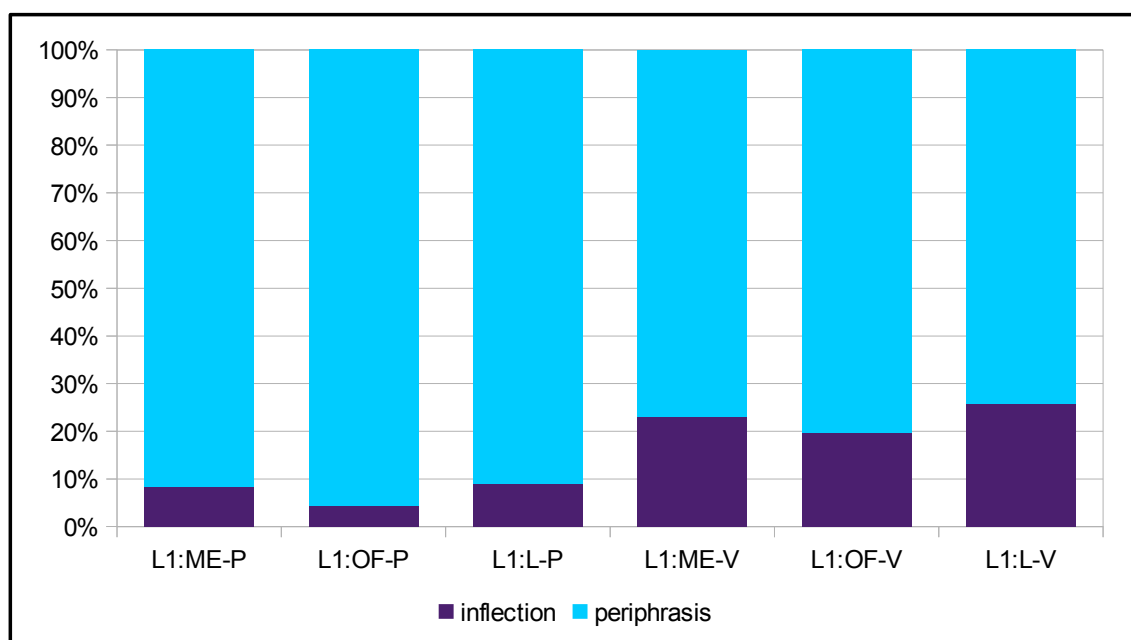
Figure 5.20: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for prose and verse texts, L1: ME, L1: OF, L1: L texts

Each L1 shows a higher level of inflection in verse texts than in prose; the variations between the different L1 texts are small, and in line with what we observed in section 5.3.1, namely that L1: ME and L1:L are similar, while L1: OF has a slightly lower proportion of inflected genitives. Translation has little impact on the use of the two genitive constructions: text type is

far more significant.

Does the inflected genitive decline in use at a similar rate for prose and verse texts? Table 5.6 shows the relative frequency of the two genitive constructions in prose and verse texts through time. Since there is little overall difference in L1: L, OF, and ME, I have included all texts, regardless of L1; furthermore, the time periods are fairly broad. By including all texts, regardless of L1, and broadening the time periods, we avoid having too many gaps.

	prose-inflected genitive	prose-periphrastic genitive	verse-inflected genitive	verse-periphrastic genitive
12b	73	40	21	37
13a	384	397	17	4
13b	44	23	198	166
13-14	--	--	24	61
14a	3	116	80	219
14b	40	443	15	100
14-15	74	812	7	20
15a	120	1501	21	114
15a-b	28	378	--	--
15b	73	735	29	70
TOTAL	839	4445	412	791

Table 5.6: Number of inflected and periphrastic genitive tokens for prose and verse texts through time

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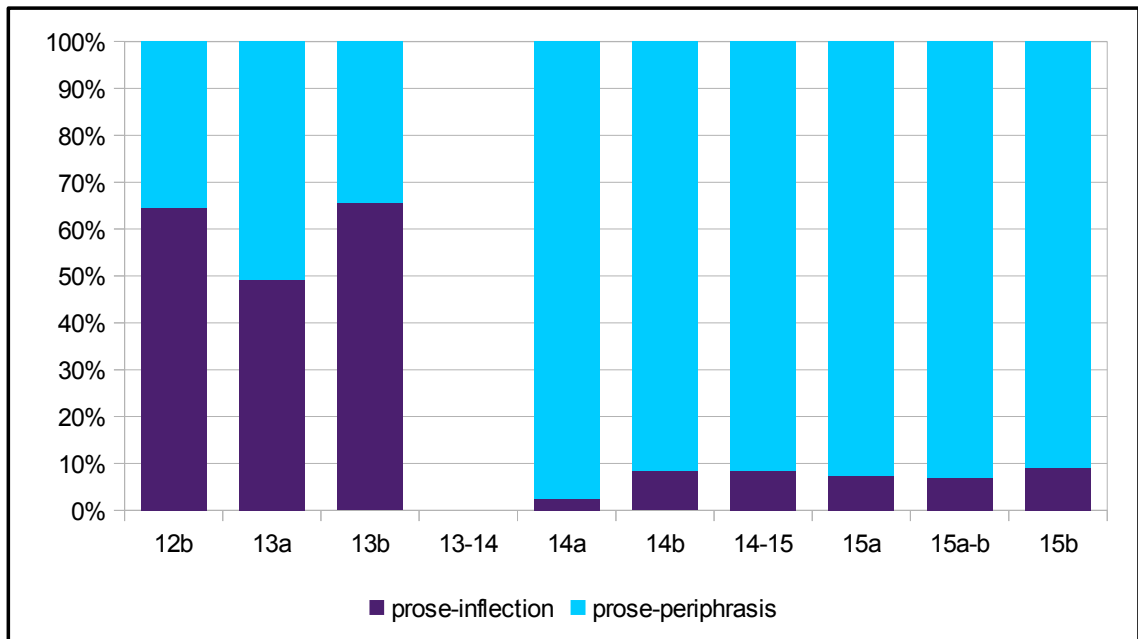
Figure 5.21: Relative frequency of inflected and periphrastic genitives in prose texts

As Figure 5.21 shows, the prose texts, which do after all account for the majority of all genitive plural tokens, follow a pattern similar to what we saw in Figure 5.1: frequent use of the inflected construction in the period leading up to about 1300, followed by consistently low levels of inflected genitives thereafter. The relative frequency of the two constructions is somewhat variable in the pre-1300 period, but quite stable afterward. As Figure 5.22 shows, this is not the case with the verse texts:

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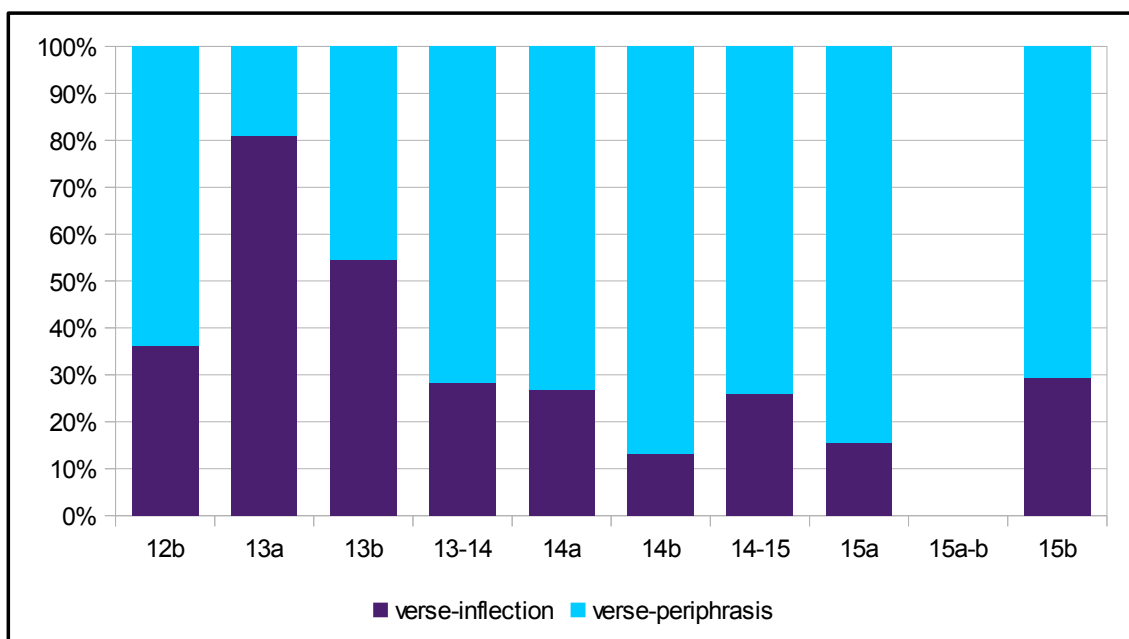
Figure 5.22: Relative frequency of inflected and periphrastic genitives in verse texts

The verse texts in Figure 5.22 show a somewhat uneven decline, with large ups and downs even in the post-1300 period. Partly this may be due to lower numbers (as in the period C14-15), but this is not consistently the case, suggesting there may indeed be a greater level of variation in verse texts.

5.3.2.1 Text type and NP type

Why might the verse texts have a notably higher level of inflected genitives than prose texts? The general argument is that verse texts use more archaic structures, and that using the inflected construction may work better with the needs of rhyme and/or meter (Rosenbach 2002: 180). However, discussions of the type of GNP with which the inflected genitive is used in verse generally center on the issue of personification of abstract concepts, and imply that the higher frequency of the inflection in verse texts is due to the resulting increase in "animate" nouns (Rosenbach 2002: 180). However, there is very little in the way of actual data in the literature on

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this point; in this section I will examine the distribution of the four NP types for the inflected and periphrastic genitives in verse and prose texts. I conclude that the verse texts are more archaic, but also chronologically earlier.

As Figure 5.23 shows, the genitive NPs in the verse texts are indeed of a more archaic type than the genitive NPs in prose texts. In the verse texts, the periphrastic genitive is mostly confined to the NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, which we have established is a feature of the early period. The inflected genitive is not confined to the POSSESSIVE animate NPs, but is also common with nonposs_anim and nonposs_inan. The inflected genitive in the prose texts, although following a broadly similar pattern to that found in verse texts, shows a more pronounced preference for poss_anim. The periphrastic genitive also has a different distribution in the prose than verse texts, with a greater presence of POSSESSIVE NPs.
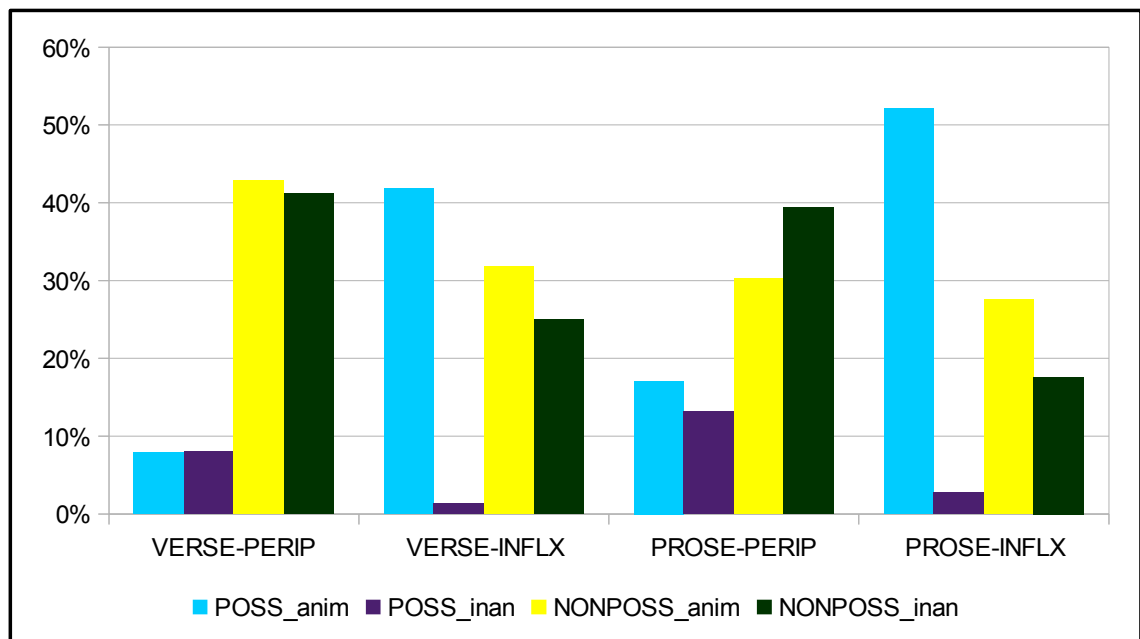
Figure 5.23: Proportion of the four NP types for verse and prose texts, according to genitive construction

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So at first glance it looks as if the verse texts are indeed more archaic in their use of the genitive constructions. However, the caveat about the uneven survival of texts comes back. The verse texts certainly have more features of "earlier" genitive use than the prose texts, but this is likely because a much greater proportion of the verse data is from the earlier period than is the case with the prose data.

	PROSE		VERSE	
	#	%	#	%
pre-1300	961	18%	528	44%
post-1300	4323	82%	675	56%
TOTAL	5284		1203	

Table 5.7: Chronological distribution of prose and verse data

Nearly half of the verse data is from the earlier ME period, so that we cannot simply say that poetic texts are more archaic than prose; the texts are simply older, and show older forms. To prove whether or not verse texts are in fact more archaic than the prose texts, we would need to look at the frequency of the four NP types in the early and later period. Figures 5.24 and 5.25 compare the distribution of the two genitive constructions for verse and prose texts for texts before and after c. 1300 (i.e. C12b-C13-14 and C14a-C15b).

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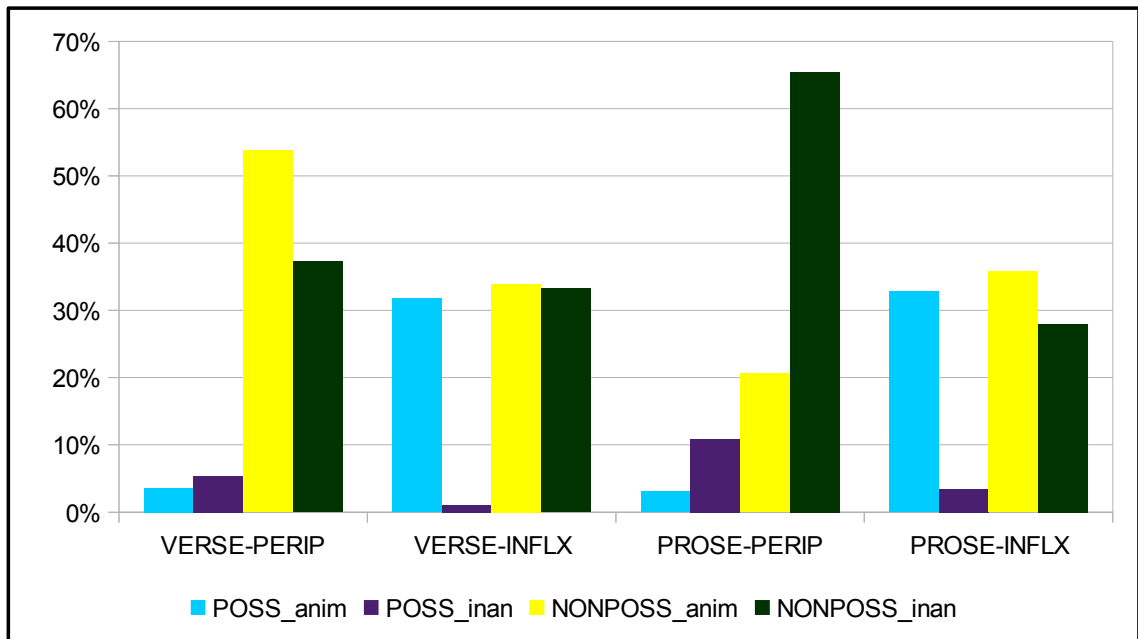
Figure 5.24: Proportion of the four NP types for verse and prose texts, according to genitive construction, pre-1300 texts

For the verse texts, the results for the early period are similar to those of Figure 5.23. The periphrastic genitive is mostly used for NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, while the inflected genitive is evenly distributed among three different NP types (poss_anim, nonposs_anim, and nonposs_inan). As the prose data shows, these are features of early texts generally, not just verse texts. In the prose texts, the periphrastic genitive is mostly found with NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, although here there is a very strong preference for nonposs_inan in particular. The inflected genitives in prose texts show the same basic pattern as the inflected genitives in the verse texts; the majority are roughly evenly distributed among poss_anim, nonposs_anim, and nonposs_inan. Thus, the NP distribution in the verse texts is an early distribution, not a verse distribution.

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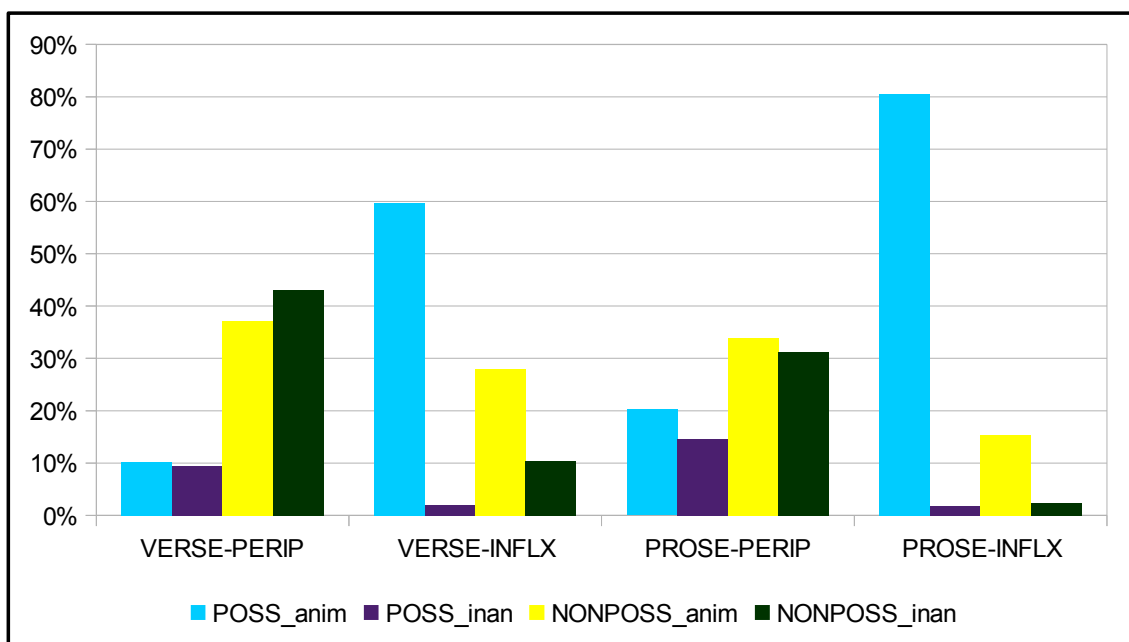
Figure 5.25: Proportion of the four NP types for verse and prose texts, according to genitive construction, post-1300 texts

Also for Figure 5.25, representing the later period, the overall patterns are quite similar. Both verse and prose texts show a tendency to use the periphrastic genitive with NONPOSSESSIVE NPs, although in prose texts there is a larger proportion of POSSESSIVE NPs. The overall pattern is again similar for the inflected genitive, with a clear preference for the poss_anim NPs in both prose and verse; this limitation is more pronounced in the prose texts, suggesting that the verse texts may be slightly more archaic than the prose.

5.3.3 *Conclusions*

Although the data does show a small increase in the frequency of the periphrastic genitive in L1: OF texts, it does not support the claims of the periphrastic genitive being very much more frequent than in L1: ME texts. The slightly higher proportion of periphrastic genitives in L1: OF texts is probably indicative of the extent to which the periphrastic construction had become

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established as a genitive construction for all types of NP in the period for which we have translations, which may have facilitated scribes copying the periphrastic construction straight from one text over to another. Similarly, although the data generally supports the observation that the inflected genitive is more frequent in verse texts than in prose, this is largely due to the uneven distribution of the texts in the corpus; a much higher proportion of the verse genitives are from the early ME period, when the inflected genitive was more robust in both prose and verse.

5.4 REGIONAL VARIATION

The genitive inflectional endings show some regional variation (see sections 2.8 and 4.3.4.3). Are there also regional differences regarding the variation between inflected and periphrastic genitives? This question is rather difficult to answer, as not all regions are well represented throughout the entire ME period (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Fischer 1992: 226). There are 3 regions which are attested more or less throughout the period: SWM, EM, ESX. The other well-attested "region" is not a region at all: NL, texts in which the language is nonlocalisable/mixed. However, I have included these texts in the following table, for reasons which will be explained below. Table 5.8 shows the number of tokens for inflected and periphrastic genitives from texts from these regions throughout the ME period; again, the broader time spans have been adopted to avoid too many gaps.

	SWM		EM		ESX		NL	
	inflx.	**perip.**	**inflx.**	**perip.**	**inflx.**	**perip.**	**inflx.**	**perip.**
12b	-	-	76	73	18	4	-	-
13a	287	262	-	-	16	50	58	45
13b	173	129	35	5	-	-	4	2
14a	21	92	11	30	3	13	-	-
14b	13	84	-	-	12	95	3	20
14-15	4	100	44	292	10	249	2	4
15a	4	165	64	418	20	336	25	452
15b	12	93	17	187	6	44	1	26
Total	**514**	**925**	**171**	**932**	**67**	**787**	**93**	**549**

Table 5.8: Inflected and periphrastic genitives through time for four regions

There is not a great deal of variation between the regions, which show a shift to periphrasis from around C14a. Note that the timing is similar for the NL texts; despite their disparate origins, this group of texts shows similar timing in the switch to periphrastic genitives. There are two features of note. In the EM, the high proportion of inflected forms in 13b is due to the presence of the text buryFf, which is a copy of an OE original and has a high level of inflected GNPs (section 5.3.1). The other interesting feature concerns the ESX data. This is the earliest region to show the shift to periphrasis, in C13a. This early shift is unusual as this period is represented by the scribal texts from the C13a1 *Vices and Virtues*,[107] which is one of the more morphologically conservative early ME texts (Allen 1995: 185; Curzan 2003: 123; Allen 2008: 128). Despite this morphological conservativeness, we find 76% of the genitive plural NPs have the periphrastic genitive, rather than inflected. The level of periphrastic genitives is much higher in the ESX C13a texts than C13a texts from any other region, as the following figure shows.

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107 The manuscript is the work of two scribes, represented by the samples vva and vvb, who worked together from a common exemplar and who have very similar text languages (Laing, personal communication).
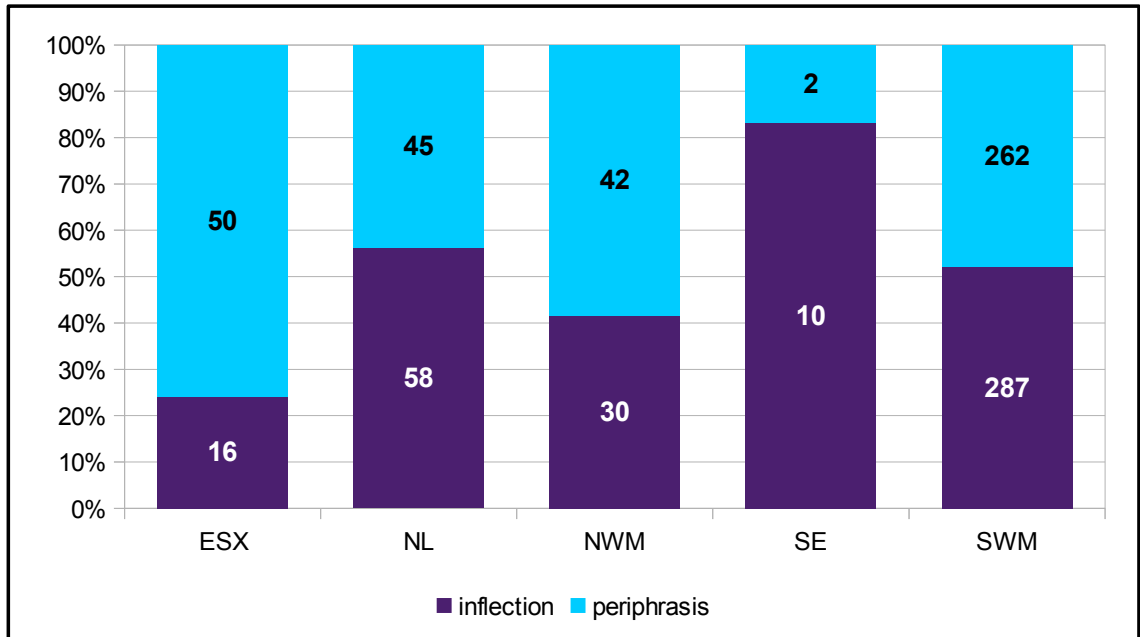
Figure 5.26: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for five regions in C13a

With the exception of the SE, which is represented by a single verse text (digpm), the texts from these regions in C13a are generally prose, and all are L1: ME, so that neither translation nor text type effects can account for the higher level of periphrastic genitives in the ESX data. ESX does have a lower proportion of POSS_ANIM GNPs than the other regions, so that the difference may be due to the type of NPs which occur in the texts. However, although NP type may account for the low level of inflected GNPs in ESX, it does not account for the fact that these scribes have both high levels of conservative genitive inflectional morphology and high levels of periphrastic GNPs.

5.5 MORPHOLOGY & PERIPHRASIS

The very high level of periphrastic genitives in the *Vices and Virtues* text samples raises questions about the relationship between the rise of the periphrastic genitive and the decline of

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overtly case-marked morphology in early ME. The most extensive study of the relationship between the decline in the frequency of the inflected genitive and the decline of overtly genitive modifiers is that of Thomas (1931), who considered that there was "a direct relationship between loss of inflection in the definite article and strong adjective and the increased use of the periphrastic genitive" and that "the principal cause for the increase in the use of the periphrastic genitive from the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth is the loss of inflection in the definite article and strong adjective" (Thomas 1931: 120). Thomas's work has been accepted by later scholars (Mitchell 1985: §1202; Rosenbach 2002: 180), and intuitively the explanation sounds quite tidy: as the definite article and strong adjective, with some of the more overtly case-marked inflectional morphology (Lass 1992: 106), lose inflection, the use of the periphrastic genitive increases. Or, alternatively, as the use of the periphrastic genitive increases, the use of overtly marked articles and strong adjectives declines. We do not expect to find a text with a high frequency of periphrastic genitives **and** of overtly case-marked modifiers.

However, there are problems with Thomas's methodology, which appear to have gone unremarked in the literature.[108] Firstly, he includes in his study of the loss of inflected definite articles and strong adjectives which are not genitive, as in (5.24), in addition to those which are genitive, as in (5.25)(Thomas 1931: 51):

(5.24)   *abutan **þan** mann-es swiran*

about the-DAT man-GEN neck-DAT

'about the man's neck' (Herb. 79, 21, 2)

(5.25)   *abutan **þas** mann-es swuran*

about the-GEN man-GEN neck-DAT

---

108 Rosenbach does observe that, contrary to more recent studies, Thomas does not distinguish between different functional categories in the genitive (Rosenbach 2002: 181); he also does not distinguish between singular and plural.

'about the man's neck'(Herb. 106, 76, 4)

He also includes examples from periphrastic genitives (Thomas 1931: 55):[109]

(5.26)   *togeanes þe muneces of **þe** mynstre* (P.Chr. 252 1123)

'against the monks of the monastery'

(5.27)   *þa cnihtes of **þan** castle* (Brut I, 27, 20-1)

'the knights of the castle'

Thomas's inclusion criteria is based primarily on semantic, not formal, considerations: if the article or adjective *could* modify either the genitive or the head noun, then he includes it, regardless of the form of the modifier. Thus (5.24), which formally has a dative singular definite article, is included in Thomas's data because he judges that it makes little difference to the overall meaning of the phrase whether the article modifies *mannes* or *swiran.* His inclusion of the periphrastic data is problematic as the expected form of a modifier following the preposition *of* is the dative, not the genitive.

The second problem with Thomas's conclusion about the role of the definite article and strong adjective in the decline of the inflected genitive is that it only works if we ignore several things. Thomas admits this:

> It is true, of course, that when we compare one document with another, for example, the *Peterborough Interpolations* with the *Peterborough Chronicle*, the direct relationship between loss of inflection and the increase in the periphrastic is not evident. (Thomas 1931: 121)

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109 Thomas does exclude any *of*-phrase in which the function is lexical - no verbal complements, for example.

There are also difficulties at the regional level, as the following table shows:

Dialect Area	Percent Periphrastic	Percent Loss of Inflection
Southern	34.4	69.3
Midland	25.4	82.1

Table 5.9: Dialectal variations in the use of the periphrastic genitive and the loss of modifier inflection, C13a (Thomas 1931: 127)

> From these figures, there does not seem to be a direct relationship between loss of inflection and the increase in the POSSESSIVE periphrastic genitive. (Thomas 1931: 127)

It is unreasonable to expect that every one of the texts shows the exact same patterns, or that different dialects should do so, particularly given the uneven distribution of data (and indeed, Thomas does not assume that the loss of modifier inflection was the only factor, but rather the principal one (Thomas 1931: 127)). However, Thomas is too quick to dismiss the cases in which his theory does not seem to work, assuming that if there had been any other factor in the increase in the periphrastic genitive of equal importance to the decline of case-marked modifiers, then it would have become evident in his study (Thomas 1931: 129).

In this section I will consider the relationship between the use of overtly genitive definite articles and strong adjectives and the use of the periphrastic genitive in plural GNPs.[110] I focus on eight early texts (pre-1300) which have a sufficient amount of data for plural inflected and periphrastic GNPs, strong adjectives, and the definite article; in order to have a sufficient number of tokens, I have combined the multiple scribes of the Royal *Katherine Group*

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110 For this section, which will also look at the singular genitive NP, I have included only those sections of layamonAb and layamonBO which are from *LAEME*; data from the printed editions has not been included.

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(royalkga, royalkgb, royalkgc) and *Vices and Virtues* (vva, vvb). For each text, Figure 5.27 shows the percentage of inflected plural GNPs and certain "conservative" morphological features: non-Vs noun endings and overtly marked modifiers.
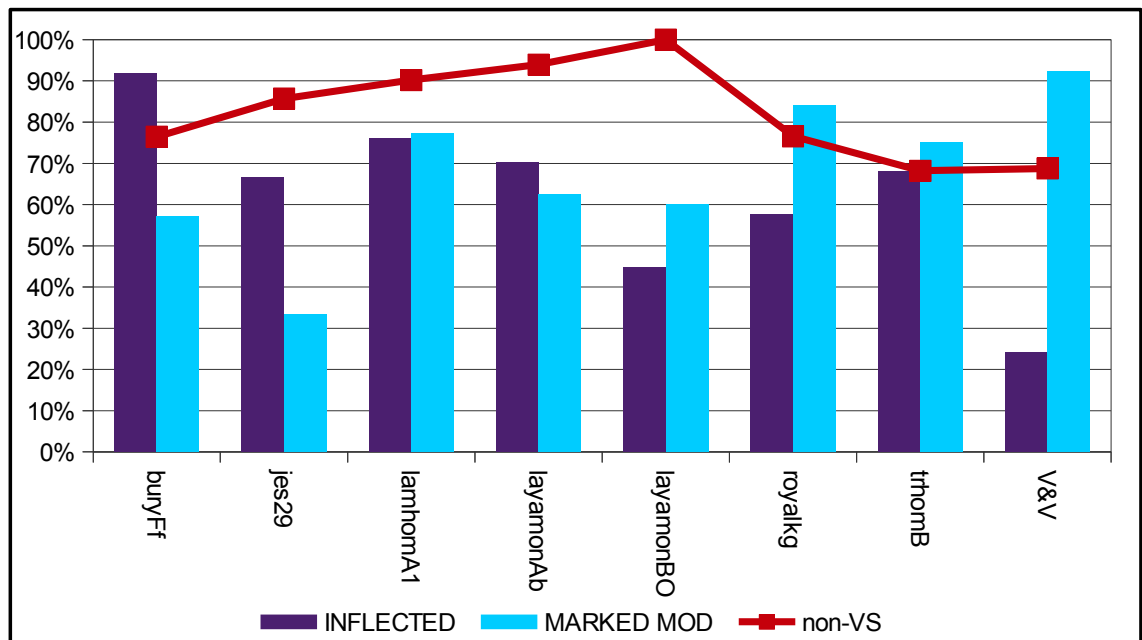
Figure 5.27: Frequency of inflected genitive plural, marked genitive modifiers, and non-Vs noun endings for eight texts

There is no consistent correlation between the use of conservative morphology and the use of the inflected genitive. As both V&V and layamonBO show, a lower level of inflected genitives does not mean that there is a low level of non-Vs nouns; similarly, V&V and jes29 show that there is not a predictable connection between the level of marked modifiers and the use of inflection. The only text in which the three features are at the same level of frequency is trhomB. We could argue that the V&V data indicates that the decline of the inflected genitive preceded (and resulted in?) the decline of case-marked modifiers, but then we would have to argue the opposite for jes29, in which the decline of case-marked modifiers preceded the decline of the inflected genitive.[111] The plural data seems to suggest that there was a broad relationship

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111 And what explanation would account for the developments in both these texts, as well as buryFf, the OE copy which has the highest level of inflection but rather low levels of marked modifiers?

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between the loss of modifier marking and the decline of the inflected genitive, as these were both losses of inflection, but that this relationship was rather fluid, and that there were multiple paths to the eventual dominance of the inflection-free periphrastic genitive.

5.5.1 Singular

In order to consider more fully the relationship between morphological richness and the use of the periphrastic genitive, in this subsection I look at the genitive singular, as there is much more data available, shown in the table below. It has been claimed that the rise of the periphrastic genitive proceeded earlier and/or faster in the plural than in the singular (Mustanoja 1960: 76; Fischer 1992: 226; Rosenbach 2002: 180). I have selected four of the eight texts as a sample (those with the most data) and looked at the frequency of the inflected and periphrastic genitives, and how this relates to the use of overtly case-marked modifiers. In addition to V&V, I have considered lamhomA1 (a C13a1 SWM text which is one of the most morphologically conservative of early ME), trhomB (a C12b2 EM text which is less conservative) and royalkg (C13a1 SWM text which is less morphologically conservative than lamhomA1 or V&V). The following figure shows the level of inflected genitive singular NPs (POSSESSIVE and NONPOSSESSIVE only) and overtly marked modifiers; as -Vs is not an innovative ending in the genitive singular, I have not looked at the noun endings (especially since these texts have high levels of historical gender agreement).
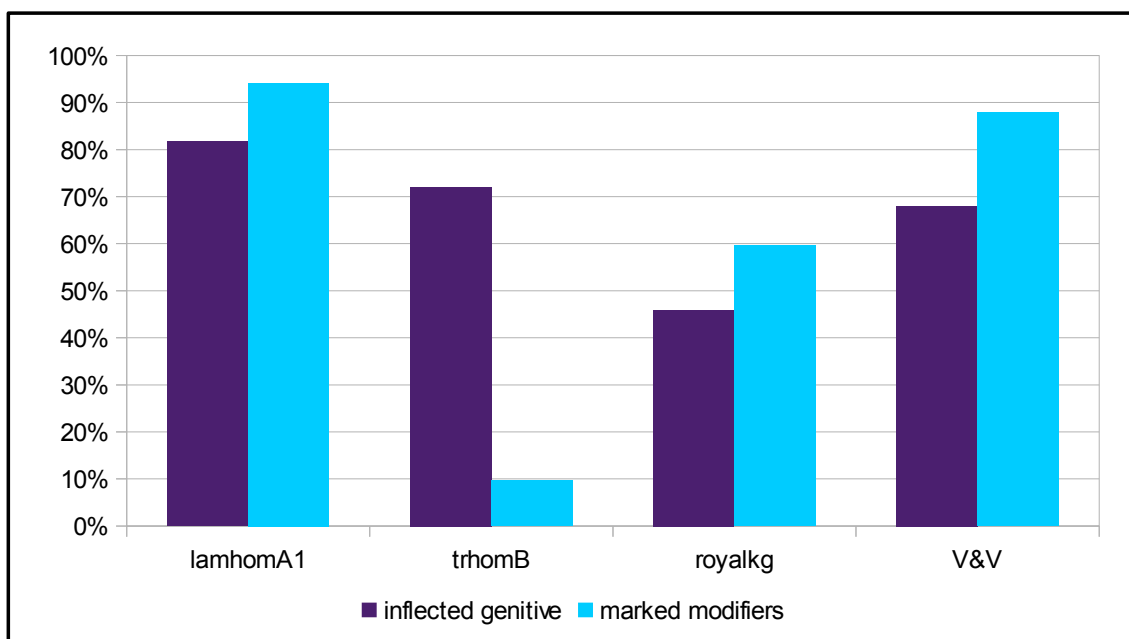
Figure 5.28: Relative frequency of inflection and marked modifiers for four texts

For the singular, the picture is more consistent than for the plural, although marked modifiers again show a tendency to be used at a slighter higher rate than the inflected genitive. There is a major discrepancy though in the data from trhomB, which has a very low rate of marked singular modifiers, but a rate of inflected genitives similar to V&V, a text which again shows a very high rate of overtly genitive modifiers.[112] As with the plural, we would expect the reality "on the ground" to be less tidy than the abstract theory, but none of the theories seem to account for the reality (and few of those proposing the theories mention this "messiness").

5.5.2 Singular and plural

Finally, the figure below compares the proportion of inflected genitives for the singular and plural, as well as the percentage of overtly marked forms of the singular and plural definite articles (I have here excluded the strong adjective, to avoid the issue of fixed expressions).

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112 In both the singular and the plural, the level of marked modifiers is likely to be skewed somewhat by the strong adjective, which may or may not be productive uses of the inflectional endings.
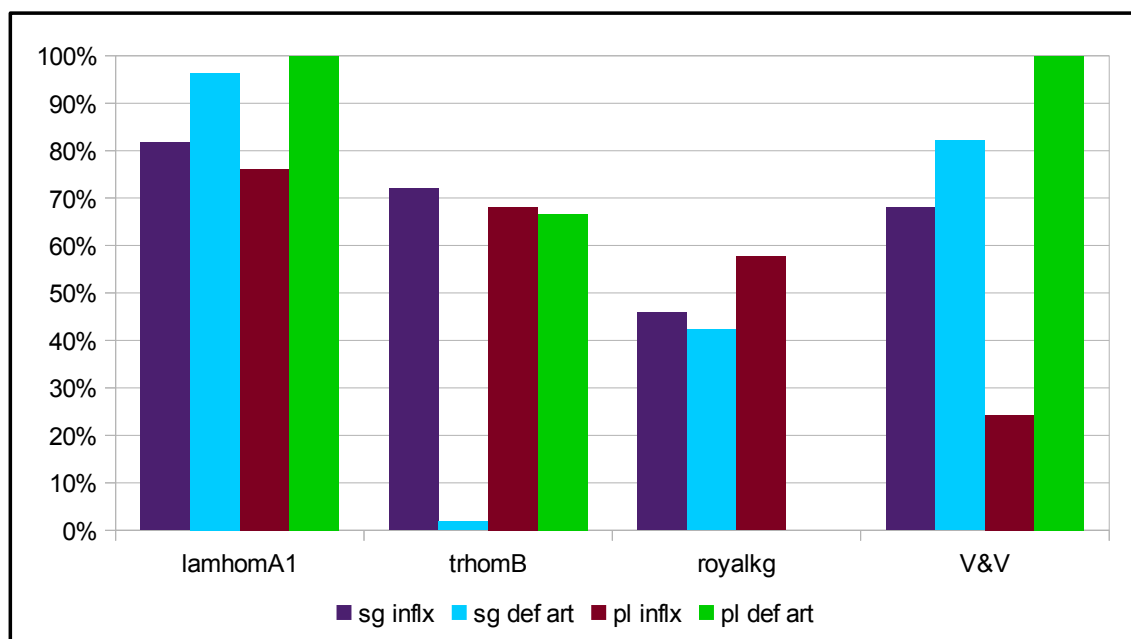
Figure 5.29: Relative frequency of inflected genitive and case-marked definite articles for singular and plural GNPs

A data sample of only four texts is not exhaustive, yet it does raise some questions about the validity of some of the claims about the decline of the genitive inflectional morphology, at least as far as these claims can be applied to all texts. For three of the texts, the use of the plural periphrastic genitive is more frequent than the use of the singular periphrastic genitive, although the variation is only statistically significant in V&V. In royalkg, however, the singular is actually slightly ahead of the plural (statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 4.81$, d(f) =1, p < 0.05). Although it may be the case that the plural GNPs switched to periphrasis before the singular GNPs generally, the royalkg data suggests that this was not the only way for the shift to periphrasis to happen. And the virtual disappearance of the overtly genitive singular definite article in trhomB is quite interesting, as another C12b2 EM text, orm, shows a similar pattern for the singular, with no marked articles and over 80% inflected genitive singular GNPs, but a much lower level of inflected plural GNPs, only 23% (there are no plural articles in the *LAEME* sample). There is no clear correlation between the frequency of overtly case-marked genitive

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definite articles and the frequency of the inflected genitive construction, indicating that other factors may be at work. One possibility is suggested by the data from the NP types for the plural GNPs: it may be that the frequency of the POSS_ANIM or the NONPOSS_INAN types has an impact; however, an exhaustive study of this for singular and plural for a significant number of text samples is beyond the scope of the present study.

5.6 CONCLUSION

To the original five questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, this study provides the following responses:

animacy: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by whether the genitive noun has an animate or inanimate referent?
The use of the inflected genitive is very closely tied to the animacy of the genitive noun, becoming almost exclusively associated with animate possessors. The periphrastic genitive does not show a strong association with animacy, but as the inflected genitive becomes more restricted, the periphrastic genitive becomes the default construction for GNPs with inanimate nouns.

function: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by the function of the entire genitive noun phrase?
The use of the periphrastic genitive is connected to NPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions. Furthermore, the data from the lexically assigned NPs suggests that the periphrastic began its incursion at the more marginal uses of the genitive case and worked its way into the central

functions.

translation: do texts translated from another source language have different levels of periphrasis?

Based on the data of the corpus used for this study, translating from French has a small impact in the form of a very slight increase in the use of the periphrastic genitive relative to L1: ME and L1: L texts. French syntax may have had a slight influence of the choice of genitive construction in the ME translations, but at least as important is the chronological distribution of the L1: OF texts: by the time of our translated texts the periphrastic genitive has become established as a genitive construction, and the construction is easily copied over in the ME translation.

literary type: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by whether the text is verse or prose?

As suggested by the standard works, there is a marked increase in the use of the inflected genitive in verse texts relative to prose texts, although in the case of my corpus this is affected by the uneven chronological distribution of the verse and prose texts, as a large portion of the verse data is from the early period when the inflected construction was more robust anyway.

regional variation: is the variation between the two genitive constructions affected by the region the text is from?

As noted in previous works, it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion on this matter, given the gaps in the evidence. It may be that the region of ESX was an early adopter of the periphrastic genitive for the plural GNP, but this is speculative (particularly given that the same is not true of the singular).

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In addition to these findings, this chapter has also found that certain claims about the progress of the periphrastic genitive are not sufficiently detailed to be indisputable, namely the claims about a direct link between the use of overtly marked modifiers and the use of the inflected genitive, and the claim that the shift to periphrasis occurred earlier/faster in the plural than in the singular. There are certainly texts in which this appears to be the case, but there is also evidence where these statements are not true.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The present work is the most comprehensive study of the plural GNP and of genitive modifiers carried out to date, and has shown that the development of these two aspects of the English genitive is worthy of detailed investigation. This study, which benefits from the increased number of electronic texts available, has revealed that the plural GNP is a topic of investigation in its own right, with unique developments peculiar to the plural, as opposed to simply following the development of the singular GNP. It has also shown that the relationship between the inflected and periphrastic genitive is complex, and that the two constructions are not "mirror images" of one another.

The examination of the genitive modifiers has been equally revealing. The greater frequency of the case-marked forms of the singular strong adjective compared to the definite article in particular contradicts the claims of previous, broader studies. The data has also shown the almost universal maintenance of historical gender agreement for marked genitive modifiers, and revealed that in addition to *alre* in the plural, the singular adjectives also show the emergence of fixed expressions.

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6.2.1 Genitive plural inflection

As with so many aspects of ME, the genitive plural inflection shows the profound effect of system destabilisation. The most frequent OE ending, *-a*, was subject to phonological reduction; the resulting ME form, *-e*, was not only subject to further phonological attrition but was also very ambiguous as to function. As such, the -V type ending in ME was not an unambiguous case marker, and its position as the dominant genitive plural inflectional ending form was threatened by more phonologically robust and morphologically distinctive forms. This is in direct contrast to the developments in the genitive singular inflection, where the most common ending in OE, *-es*, was both phonologically robust and isomorphic (within the singular paradigm); the numerical advantage and morphophonological distinctiveness of this ending resulted in its eventual success as the only surviving genitive singular inflectional ending.

In the pre-1350 period, there are five different ending types for the genitive plural nominal inflection; of these -V, -VnV and -Vs are frequent and -Vn and -Ø are infrequent. In addition to the morphophonological weaknesses mentioned above, the -V ending type had another weakness: nouns with this ending type are commonly used with inanimate nouns, and also for GNPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions. As was shown in Chapter 5, the development of the plural GNP as a whole saw the restriction of the inflected genitive to animate nouns and the extension of periphrastic genitives to NONPOSSESSIVE functions. -V would have been in direct competition with the periphrastic genitive, a competition it lost.

An alternative to -V already existed in OE, the weak -VnV ending, and this ending type did

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have some early success as a replacement for the -V ending. Scribes who use the -VnV ending have extended its use well beyond the historical context of weak nouns, using it frequently with historically strong nouns. Unlike the -V ending, -VnV was most common with animate nouns; however, like the -V ending, -VnV was most often used with GNPs with NONPOSSESSIVE functions, again in competition with the periphrastic genitive.

Unlike the other two common endings, -Vs was most commonly used with animate nouns with POSSESSIVE functions, the NP type in which the inflected genitive most often survives in the post-1350 texts. Phonologically the -Vs type is robust, but not isomorphic – it is identical to the genitive singular and common case plural endings. It is unclear whether the development of genitive plural -Vs is analogical levelling from the rest of the plural paradigm or analogical extension of the genitive singular form. Unlike -V and -VnV, the -Vs ending is relatively infrequent in the SWM; the first attestations are from C12b2 EM texts. From 1350 onward, -Vs is clearly the preferred genitive plural inflectional ending.

However, -Vs is not the only ending to survive up to the end of the ME period. Although never frequent, -Ø is found in all regions and in all periods. There appears to be a strong lexical element to the use of this ending, as the majority of the tokens are nouns which did not have *-as* plurals in the OE nominative/accusative. This feature of the lexemes which have -Ø suggests that there was influence from the rest of the plural paradigm on the genitive plural; there is also the potential influence of the rest of the plural paradigm for nouns which take the -Vs ending. As these are the only two endings which are found throughout the ME period, this suggests that analogical levelling throughout the plural paradigm may perhaps be a better explanation for the appearance of -Vs genitive plurals, rather than analogical extension of the genitive singular ending.[113]

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113 The majority of the nouns which occur with -Ø in the genitive plural would have had the *-es* ending in the genitive singular in OE (e.g. *wintr-es* 'winter's', *gear-es* 'year's', *mann-es* 'man's'), so that analogical extension of endingless genitive singular forms is not likely.

6.2.2 Genitive modifiers

Inflected genitive modifiers disappear in the ME period, but only from 1350 onward. Prior to 1350, overtly case-marked forms of the modifiers are not uncommon; indeed, for some modifiers, such as the plural definite article, the case-marked forms account for the majority of the tokens. Broadly speaking, the inflected modifier forms tend to be found in morphologically conservative texts, such as lamhomA1 and vva. However, the marked forms of the plural definite article, plural strong adjective, and singular strong adjective are found in a greater variety of texts, including less conservative texts, such as trhomB and corpar, suggesting that other factors may play a role in the survival of these forms. For the strong adjectives, the robustness of the marked genitive forms is greatly dependent on certain fixed or semi-fixed expressions: *alre* in the plural and *kunnes* or *weies* modified by a quantifier in the singular. The marked form of the plural definite article is associated with non-Vs forms of the genitive plural noun, and survives as long as these non-Vs noun endings do. Chronological distribution and the language of the exemplar also play a role in the use of the case-marked modifier forms, with pre-1300 texts or copies of OE compositions generally showing higher levels of genitive inflectional morphology than post-1300 or ME compositions (note that copies of OE compositions tend to be pre-1300).

For those texts that do employ the marked forms of the genitive modifiers, historical gender agreement patterns are very well preserved, with very few cases of a historical mismatch; however, historically feminine nouns are much less frequent than masculine/neuter nouns, so that the majority of the nouns in my corpus would be expected to occur with the historically masculine/neuter modifier forms which make up the majority of the modifier tokens. The most

frequent apparent mismatch, the noun *worldes*, is probably not a mismatch, but a noun which is changing its gender. The historical OE strong/weak adjective pattern is not as well maintained, with nearly half of the historically strong singular tokens having weak (i.e. unmarked) forms. The majority of the historically weak singular tokens have weak/unmarked forms, but whether this is the preservation of the OE system, the switch to the new ME system, or simply the result of the decline of case-marked modifiers is difficult to say. The dominance of *alre* in the plural is so great that it is not possible to draw conclusions about the state of the strong/weak distinction for the plural adjectives.

6.2.3 Variation between inflected and periphrastic plural GNPs

The study of the variation between the inflected and periphrastic constructions for plural GNPs has shown that the two constructions are not mirror images of each other, but that the two factors of animacy and function operated differently for the two constructions. The presence of an animate   noun became the deciding factor in the use of the inflected genitive; after about 1300, the vast majority of the inflected plural GNPs have animate nouns. There is no evidence of a strong link between function and the survival of the inflected genitive in later ME, although animate nouns are more likely than inanimate to have POSSESSIVE functions. For the periphrastic genitive, it was function, not animacy, which drove the increasing use of this genitive construction. The periphrastic genitive's first success was on the "margins" of the genitive functional space, with virtually all of the lexically assigned (least prototypical) functions being expressed with the periphrastic genitive from the beginning of the ME period. From here, the periphrastic genitive spread to the NONPOSSESSIVE functions. Although considered less prototypical than POSSESSIVE functions, the NONPOSSESSIVE functions are the most frequent of the genitive functions; the success of the periphrastic here probably

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established this construction as an alternative to the inflected genitive. Thus, as the inflected genitive becomes increasingly restricted to POSS_ANIM NPs, the periphrastic genitive spreads also to POSS_INAM, and finally even to GNPs with animate nouns and the possessive function, the most prototypical.

Regarding the "external" factors of translation, text type and region, the data in this corpus does not support the claim that the periphrastic genitive is particularly frequent in texts with a strong French influence. There is only a slight increase in the frequency of the periphrastic genitive in texts which are L1: OF; all the translated texts are from c. 1300 and later, when the periphrastic genitive was becoming more common anyway. The data in my corpus shows an increase in the relative frequency of the inflected genitive in verse texts compared to prose texts, but with an important caveat: in this corpus, a much greater proportion of the verse data is from pre-1300 texts, so that we cannot say whether the increased frequency of the inflected genitives in verse texts is an effect of the time period or text type, or both.

Of all the possible influences on the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitives, the possible impact of regional variation is the most difficult to evaluate, due to the gaps in the record. However, the data for ESX (primarily the two scribes of the *Vices and Virtues*) shows a rather earlier shift towards the periphrastic genitive than for other regions. This is particularly surprising, not because the texts are from ESX, but because the *Vices and Virtues* is relatively conservative in its use of genitive morphology for nouns and modifiers and also has a high proportion of periphrastic plural GNPs. A more detailed study of a small sample of texts revealed that there is no consistent pattern regarding the proportion of periphrastic genitives and the survival of genitive inflectional morphology, contrary to Thomas's (1931) claims. The data also suggests that the commonly accepted narrative, that the periphrastic genitive increases

more rapidly in the plural than the singular, may not apply to all cases, although this is speculative.

6.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has shown that there are still many aspects of the evolution of the genitive in English which merit further investigation. The work in Chapter 5 has revealed that statements regarding the factors which influence the variation between the inflected and periphrastic genitives are not entirely accurate; it remains to be seen whether a more extensive study of the singular GNP would confirm or refute the standard "mirror image" description of the variation between inflected and periphrastic GNPs.

The study has also revealed an area of potential investigation, not of the genitive, but of case-marked modifiers. In the genitive the singular strong adjective maintains case-marked forms at higher levels and for slightly longer than does the definite article, a finding which directly contradicts the claims in the literature. It would be useful to investigate, with a similarly extensive corpus, the case-marking of strong adjectives and definite articles for the dative and accusative, in order to determine whether the genitive is anomalous, or if the standard narrative is not correct.

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For details of texts used in the study, see Appendix A.

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In this appendix are listed the corpus of texts used for each of the main chapters. Within each chapter are listed the text samples from *LAEME*, *PPCME2*, and the printed editions. The entry for each text sample has the following format:

shortname
MS coordinates. Period. Region.
Name of text(s) where applicable. Folio/Page/Line numbers as appropriate.
Text Type. L1.

In the case of lyrics or very short samples (all in *LAEME*), I have not provided a list of titles/first lines; full details can be found in the *LAEME* Index of Sources. In the case of *PPCME2* and the printed editions, I have included the edition which has been consulted. For some *PPCME2* entries, I have updated the MS coordinates if the MS designation has changed from the time that *PPCME2* was originally published; full details of the *PPCME2* texts can be found in that corpus. For the printed editions, if the text was published by the Early English Text Society series, only the EETS volume number has been included; for all other texts, full publication details are provided.

Chapter 2 Corpus: texts with at least one inflected genitive plural noun

LAEME
A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325 (LAEME 2.1). Compiled by Margaret Laing. Electronic text corpus with accompanying software, index of sources and theoretical introduction (with Roger Lass). [http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html] (Edinburgh: © 2008– The University of Edinburgh).

Text samples

aberdeen
MS Aberdeen University Library 154. C13b2–C14a1. SW.
Miscellaneous verse texts. fol. 368v.
Verse, L1: ME.

arundel292vvt
MS London, British Library, Arundel 292, entry 1. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
Miscellaneous verse texts. fol. 3r–v
Verse, L1: OTHER.

ayenbite
London, British Library, Arundel 57. C14a2. SE.
Ayenbite of Inwit, fols. 2r–4r, 13r–32v, 79v–81v, 91r–96v.
Prose, L1: OF.

bestiary
MS London, British Library, Arundel 292, entry 2. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
The Bestiary, fols. 4r–10v.
Verse, L1: ME.

bod34
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
Hali Meiðhad, 52v–71v; *Sawles Warde,* fols. 72r–80v.
Prose, L1: ME

buryFf
MS Cambridge University Library Ff.II.33. C13b2. EM
Sacrist's Register of Bury St Edmunds, 20r–v; 22r–24r; 27v–28r; 45r–47r; 48r–50r.
Prose, L1: OE.

caiusar
MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 234/120. C13b2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, pp. 1–59.
Prose, L1: ME.

ccco59
MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 59. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse. fols. 66r–v, 113v, 116v.
Verse. L1: ME.

chertsey
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xiii. C13. SE.
Chertsey Cartulary, fols. 50r–51v, 53v.
Prose. L1: OE.

cleoara
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

cleoarb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle. parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

corp145sel
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145. C14a1. SC.
South English Legendary, fols. 63r–77r line 8; 82r line 11–92v line 18; 122r line 35–133r line 8.
Verse. L1: ME.

corpar
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME

cotdoomsday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 6. C13b2. NL.
Doomsday, fols. 246v–247r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotlastday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 7. C13b2. NL.
The Latemest Day, fols. 247r–248v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowla
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 233r–239v line 13; 240r line 6–241v line 15.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowlb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 2. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 239v line 14–240r line 5; 241v line 16–246r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotsermon
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 9. C13b2. NL.
A Lutel Soth Sermun, fols. 248v–249r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotvespcma
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.iii. C14. N.
Cursor Mundi, fols. 2ra–10vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

digby2b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 2, entry 3. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fol. 15r.
Verse. L1: ME.

digby86map
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 119r–143r, 163v–164r, 165r–168v, 195v–200r, 206r.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby86pains
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 2. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 132r–134v.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby86sirith
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 4. C13b2. NL.
Dame Siriz, fols. 132r–134v.
Verse. L1: ME.

digpm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Libary, Digby 4. C13a1. SE.
Poema Morale. fols. 97r–110v.
Verse. L1: ME.

dulwich
MS London, Dulwich College MS XXII. C12b2–C13a1. EM.
La Estorie del Euangelie, fols. 81v–85v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincma
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 1. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 1r–15v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincmb
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 2. C14a. N.
Northern Homily Collection, fols. 16r–36v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincmc
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 3. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 37r–50v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm1
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 6. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 64r–70v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm2
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 5. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 7r–12v.
Verse. L1: ME.

emmanuel27
MS Cambridge, Emmanuel College 27 (I.2.6). C14a1. SW.
Miscellaneous. fols. 111v and 162r–163r.
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME.

fmcpm
MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 115r–120r.
Verse. L1: ME.

genexod
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 444. C14a1. EM.
Genesis and Exodus, fols. 1r–41r line 2.
Verse. L1: ME.

havelok
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 108, entry 3. C14a1. EM.
Havelok, fols. 204r–219va.
Verse. L1: ME.

iacob
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652. C13b1. SWM.
Iacob and Iosep, fols.1r–10v.
Verse. L1: ME.

jes29
MS Oxford, Jesus College 29, part II. C13b2. SWM.
The Owl and the Nightingale, *Poema Morale*, *Death's Wither Clench*, *Orison to Our Lady*, *Doomsday*, *The Latemest Day*, *Ten Abuses*, *Lutel Soth Sermun*, *A Luue Ron*, fols. 156r–168v, 169r 174v, 179v–180v, 182r–185v, 187r–188v.
Verse. L1: ME.

lam499
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 499. C13b2. NWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 64v–68v, 69r, 124r, 125v.
Verse. L1: ME.

lamhomA1
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies I–V, IX–XIII., fols 1r–21v, 30v–51v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lamhomA2
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies VI– VIII, XIV–XVII, fols. 21v–30v, 51v–59v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lampm
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 3. C13a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 59v–65r.
Verse. L1: ME.

lamursn
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 4. C13a1. SWM.
On Ureisun of Ure Loverde, Fols. 65v–67r.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud108a
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc 108, entry 1. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Life of Christ, *Infancy of Christ*, *SS. Barnabe*, *John the Baptist*, *James the Great*, *Oswald* and *Edward*, fols. 1r–22r, 31v–41v.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud108b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc 108, entry 2. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
Debate between the Body and the Soul, Fol. 200v–203v.
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonAa
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 3ra–17rb (foot); 17va line 5–18vb line 6 (*mahte*); 27ra lines 1–6 (*wes bli! e*); 88ra–89rb line 3 (*þan kinge*)
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonAb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 17va lines 1–4; 18vb line 7 (*of his*)–26vb (foot); 27ra line 6 (*þat mæiden*)–87vb (foot); 89rb line 4 (*to ani)* –194vb (end).
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonBO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C xiii. C13b1. SW.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 1r–19rb.
Verse. L1: ME.

maidspa
MS Maidstone Museum A.13, entry 1. C13a. CM.
Proverbs of Alfred, fol. 93r.
Verse. L1: ME.

neroar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

nerowg
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
Miscellaneous prose, fols. 120v–131v.
Prose. L1: ME.

newcoll88
MS Oxford, New College 88. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fol. 31r, 179r, 179v, 488v.
Verse. L1: ME.

orm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 1. C12b2. EM.
Ormulum, fols. 3r–5ra; 9r–16vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

ramseya
MS London, Kew, The National Archives, E 164/28, entry 1. C14a. EM.
Register of Ramsey Abbey, fols. 52v, 52v–53r, 165v–166r, 59v–60r and 166r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

ramseyb
MS London, Kew, The National Archives, E 164/28, entry 2. C14a. EM.

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Register of Ramsey Abbey, fol. 229v.
Prose. L1: OE.

ramseycott
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho B xiv. C14a. EM.
Register of Ramsey Abbey, fols. 263r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

royalkga
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME.

royalkgb
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME

royalkgc
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Juliana, Oreisun of Seinte Marie, fols. 9r–10v; 58v–70r, 70r–v.
Prose. L1: ME.

tanner169
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169*. C13b2. NWM.
Stabat iuxta Christi, p. 175.
Verse. L1: ME.

thorneyk
MS Cambridge University Library, Additonal 3021. C14a. EM.
The Red Book of Thorney Abbey, fol. 372r.
Prose. L1: ME.

thorneym
MS Cambridge University Library, Additonal 3020. C14a. EM.
The Red Book of Thorney Abbey, fol. 18r.
Prose. L1: ME.

titusar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
Ancrene Riwle, fols. 14r–40r.
Prose. L1: ME.

titushm
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 4. C13a2. NL.
Hali MeiDhad, fols. 112v–127r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituslang2
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 2. C13a2. NL.

Ancrene Riwle, fols. 40ra line 1 word 7–40vb line 6; 44vb line 22–46rb line 26; 52va line 17–54ra line 25; 56va line 7–61rb line 22; 67rb line 17–68ra line 2; 69ra line 2 –70ra line 1.
Prose. L1: ME.

titussk
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 6. C13a2. NL.
St. Katherine, fols. 133v–147v.
Prose. L1: ME.

titussw
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 3. C13a2. NL.
Sawles Warde, fols. 105v–112v.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituswoh
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 5. C13a2. NL.
Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, fols. 127r–133r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tr323a
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous, fols. 19r, 25r last 4 lines, 25v, 27r col. 2, 28r–29v, 32r–33v, 36r–46r, 47r–v, 83v–84r.
Prose and verse. L1: OTHER.

tr323b
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous prose and verse, fols. 20r–25r, 26r–27r col. 1, 27v, 34r, 35r–v.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

tr323d
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 4. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 81v–82r, 85r–87v.
Verse. L1: ME.

trhom34c
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 4. C12b. SC.
Sermon, fol. 91.
Prose. L1: ME.

trhomA
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 2. C12b2. ESX.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 1–24; 27; 53/15–53 end; 58/6 (3rd word)–58 end; 114/13–118/11; 121–123; 128/1–133; 137;139; 142–143/1 (first 5 words);151/1–end.
Prose. L1: ME.

trhomB
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 3. C12b2. EM.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 25–26; 28–53/15; 54–58/6 ... *hem clensen*; 59–114/13; 118/11–120; 124–128/1; 134–136; 138; 140–141; 143/1–151/1; 152–153.

Prose. L1: ME.

trincleoD
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 3. C13b1. EM.
Miscellaneous. fols. 22v, 23r, 57v, 199r.
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME.

trinpm
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 1. C12b2. ESX.
Poema Morale, fols. 2r–9v.
Verse. L1: ME.

vva
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 1. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, pp. 1–74 (2r–38v) line 17; p. 74 (38v) line 22–75 (39r) line 3.
Prose. L1: ME.

vvb
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 2. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, p. 74 (38v) line 17–line 22; p. 75 (39r) line 3 – p. 95 (49r).
Prose. L1: ME.

vvcorr
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 4. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, corrections on pp. 1–95 (fols. 2r–49r).
Prose. L1: ME.

wellsa
MS Wells Cathedral Library, *Liber Albus* I, entry 1. C13a2. SW.
Cartulary, fol 14r.
Prose. L1: ME.

wellsb
MS Wells Cathedral Library, *Liber Albus* I, entry 2. C13a2. SW.
Cartulary, fols. 17v–18r.
Prose. L1: OE.

winchester
London, British Library, Additonal 15340. C12b2. SE.
Codex Wintoniensis, fols. 116v–117r.
Prose. L1: OE.

wintney
MS London, British Library, Cotton Claudius D iii. C13a1. SE.
Benedictine Rule, fols. 52r–54v, 55r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

worcthcreed
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. C13a. SWM.
Nicene Creed, fol. vi.

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Prose. L1: ME.

worcthfrags
MS Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library F 174, entry 2. C13a. SWM.
Miscellaneous, fol. 63r, lines 14–28; 63v–66v
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME

worcthgrgl
MS Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library F 174, entry 1. C13a. SWM.
Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, fols. 1r–63r.
Prose. L1: OE.

PPCME2
Kroch, A. and Taylor, A. 2000. *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition.
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-3/index.html.

cmaelr3
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.l. (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum: Two English versions. EETS *O.S. 287.* pp. 26–60.
Prose. L1:L.

cmaelr4
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 423. C15a2. NL.
Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum: Two English versions. EETS *O.S. 287,* pp. 1–25.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmbenrule
MS London, British Library, Lansdowne 378. C15a1. N.
The Northern prose version of the Rule of St. Benet in Ernst A. Kock (ed.), *Three Middle–English versions of the Rule of St. Benet and two contemporary rituals for the ordination of nuns.* EETS O.S. 120. pp. 1–47.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmcapchr
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, University Library Gg.IV.12. C15b1. EM.
John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a sermon. EETS *O.S. 140*, pp. 32–160, 209–217, 238–249.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmcloud
MS London, British Library, Harley 674. C15a1. EM.
The Cloud of Unknowing in *The cloud of unknowing and The book of privy counselling.* EETS O.S. 218, pp. 13–133.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmctmeli
MS San Marino, Huntington Library, Ellesmere 26 C 9.C14b2–C15a1. ESX.

247

Tale of Melibee in Benson, L. D. 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Third edition, pp. 217–239.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmctpars
MS San Marino, Huntington Library, Ellesmere 26 C 9. C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
Parson's Tale in Benson, L. D. 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Third edition, pp. 288–327.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmedmund
MS London, British Library, Additional 35298.C15a2. EM.
The life of St. Edmund in Blake, N. F. (ed). 1972. *Middle English religious prose.* York Medieval Texts. London: Arnold, pp. 163–173.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmedthor
MS Lincoln Cathedral Library 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
The Mirror of St. Edmund in Perry, G.G. (ed.), *Religious pieces in prose and verse.* EETS O.S. 26, pp. 16–50.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmedvern
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. poet. a.l. (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
The Mirror of St. Edmund in Horstman, C. 1895-1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., pp. 240–261.
Verse. L1: ME.

cmhorses
MS London, British Library, Sloane 2584. C15a1. SC.
Svinhufvud, A. C. 1978. *A Late Middle English treatise on horses.* Stockholm Studies in English 47. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 85–129.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmkempe
MS London, British Library, Additional 61823. C15a2. EM.
The Book of Margery Kempe, Vol. 1. EETS O.S. 212, pp. 1–154, 221–232.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmmalory
MS London, British Library Add. MS 59678 (Winchester). C15b1. CM.
La morte d'Arthur in Vinaver, E. 1954. *The works of Thomas Malory.* London: Oxford University Press, pp. 2–71, 180–209, 626–670.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmmandev
MS London, British Library Cotton Titus C 16. C15a1. ESX.
Mandeville's travels, translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse. EETS O.S. 153, 154, pp. 1–132, 140–145.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmmirkA1
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Eccl. Top. 4. C15a2–b1. NWM.
Mirk's Festial: A collection of homilies, by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk). Part I. EETS E.S. 96, pp. 1.4–5.36, 82.9–85.10.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmpolych
MS Cambridge, St. John's College H.1 (204). C14b2. SW.
John of Trevisa's *Polychronicon* in Lumby, J. R. 1876, 1882. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, monachi cestrensis, Vols. VI, VIII, English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century.* Rolls Series 41. London: [publisher unknown], pp 3–477; 83–111; 347–352
Prose. L1:L.

cmpurvey1666
MS London, British Library, Harley 1666. C15a1. NL.
Purvey's General Prologue to the Bible in Forshall, J. and Madden, F.. 1850. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the apocraphal books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, Vol. 1.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprinted 1982 (New York: AMS Press), pp. 1–57.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmrenaryt
Printed book, Westminster, 1481 (STC 20919). C15b2. ESX.
The History of Reynard the fox. Translated from the Dutch original by William Caxton. EETS O.S. 263, pp. 6.1–14.19, 51.20–62.26.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

cmreynes
MS Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner 407. C15b2. EM.
Cameron, L. 1980. *The commonplace book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An edition of Tanner Ms. 407.* Garland Medieval Texts 1. New York: Garland, pp. 36.343–138.402, 143.1–144.25, 145.1–146.16, 154.1 162.18, 165.1–167.8, 169.1–173.54, 174.1–175.7, 194.1–195.22, 237.1–238.33, 240.1–242.35, 243.1 245.32, 247.1–247.21, 255.1–256.13, 260.1–262.35, 264.1–268.93, 289.1–295.13; 307.1–307.14, 312.1–314.45, 315.1–320.12, 322.1–323.15, 327.77–328.111, 329.132–330.151
Prose. L1: ME.

cmrollep
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Dd. v. 64. C15a. NL.
Allen, H. E. 1931. *English writings of Richard Rolle, hermit of Hampole.* Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 61–119.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmrolletr
MS Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
English prose treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole. EETS O.S. 20, pp 1–47.
Prose. L1:L.

cmsiege
MS Aberystwyth, National Libary of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 (Porkington). C15b2. SWM.
Kurvinen, A. 1969. *The siege of Jerusalem in prose.* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 34. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, pp. 70.1–93.709.
Verse. L1: ME.

cmthorn
MS Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
The `Liber de diversis medicinis' in the Thornton Manuscript. EETS O.S. 207, pp. 6–73.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

cmwycserA
MS London, British Library, Additional 40672.
Hand A in Hudson, A. 1983. *English Wycliffite sermons.* Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 223–425, 475–480, 521–524, 588–592.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmwycserB
MS London, British Library, Additional 40672.
Hand B in Hudson, A. 1983. *English Wycliffite sermons.* Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 643–647.
Prose. L1: ME.

__Printed Editions__

cleoarax
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS 267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

clearabx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS 267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Commandments
MS Oxford, St. John's College 94. C15a2. SWM.
A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments, J.F. Royster, SP 6 (1910). pp. 9–35.
Prose. L1: ME.

corparx
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene wisse: the English text of the Ancrene riwle, EETS OS 249. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Acts
MS. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Dd.xii.39. C14b2. NCM.

Acts in Paues, A. C. 1904. *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123–149.3.
Prose. L1: L.

AlexisV
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng.poet.a.1 (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69, l. 1–612.
Verse. L1: OF.

Alexis108
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 108, part 2. C13b2–C14a1. NL.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69, l. 1–612.
Verse. L1: OF.

Alexis622
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 622. C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69. l. 1–1153.
Verse. L1: OF.

Audelay
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 302. C15a2. NWM.
The Poems of John Audelay, EETS 184. pp. 1–81.
Verse. L1: ME.

Beryn
MS Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Duke of Northumberland MS 55. C15b1. ESX.
The Tale of Beryn, EETSES 105 (1909; reprint 1973). l. 733–4024.
Prose. L1: ME.

Bod34x
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
The Liflade ant te Passiun of Seint Iulienne, EETS OS 248. l. 1–789.
Prose. L1: ME.

BokenhamA
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen, EETS 206. l. 241–1400.
Prose: L1: OTHER.

BokenhamB
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen, EETS 206. l. 1401–2099.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

BokenhamC
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
*Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen,*EETS 206. l. 2100–4034.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

Brut1419
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Kk.1.12. C15a2–b1. SWM.
The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS 136. pp. 335–391.
Prose. L1: ME.

Canticum
MS. Oxford, Trinity College, 57. C14b2–C15a1. SE.
Canticum de Creatione, in Horstmann, C. 1878. *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden,* Heilbronn:
Verlag von Gebr. Henninger. l. 1–1200.
Verse. L1: ME.

Cely
MS London, PRO SC 1.53/1–53/2. C15b2. NL.
The Cely Letters, 1472–1488, EETS 273. pp. 3–53.
Prose. L1: ME.

Charter89
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 89. C14b2–C15a1. CM.
Spalding, M.C. 1914. *The Middle English Charters of Christ*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr. l. 1–234.
Verse. L1: ME.

ChroniclesRB171
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.171. C14b2–C15a1. SWM.
The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS 131. pp 35.20–96.19.
Prose. L1: ME.

Confessio
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 3. C14b2. NL.
Confession Amantis in *The English Works of John Gower,* EETSES 81. Book 1, l. 1–3446.
Verse. L1: ME.

Credencium
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 201. C15b. SWM.
Kengen, J.H.L. *Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay
People*. Nijmegen : Katholicke Universiteit te Nijmegen. pp. 52.8–116.5.
Prose. L1: ME.

Erkenwald
MS London, British Library, Harley 2250. C15b2. NWM.
Gollancz, I. 1922. *St. Erkenwald (Bishop of London 675-693) : an alliterative poem, written
about 1386, narrating a miracle wrought by the bishop in St. Paul's cathedral*. London: Oxford
University Press. l. 1–352.
Prose. L1: ME.

Fistula
MS London, British Library, Sloane 6. C15a2. CM.
Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters by John Arderne, EETS 139. pp. 1–16.11, 23.33–26.24, 29.22–49.14.
Prose. L1: L.

Floris4.27
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg.4.27. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Floris and Blauncheflur in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. l. 1–824.
Verse. L1: OF.

FlorisCO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellus D.iii. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
*Floris and Blauncheflur i*n *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. pp. 74–78, 84–91, 98–105.
Verse. L1: OF.

Gawain
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.10. C14b2. NWM.
Tolkien, J.R.R. and Gordon, E.V. 2nd ed., rev. N. Davis (1967). *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* Oxford : Clarendon Press. l. 1–1997.
Verse. L1: ME.

Gregory
MS London, British Library, Egerton 1995. C15b1. SE.
Gairdner, J. 1876. *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the fifteenth century.* London : Printed for the Camden Society. pp. 57–102.
Prose. L1: ME.

HarleyAAugustine
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Pseudo–Augustine in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 377–380.
Prose. L1:L.

HarleyABattle
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Treatise of Ghostly Battle in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2.* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 421–436.
Prose. L1: ME.

HarleyADirige
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Lessons of the Dirige in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 381–389.
Verse. L1: ME.

HarleyDIsidore
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Counsels of St. Isidore in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 367–374.
Prose. L1: L.

HarleyLyrics
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
Brook, G.L. 1968. *The Harley Lyrics: The Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253*, Manchester : Manchester University Press. pp. 29–72 (all lyrics)
Verse. L1: ME.

Harmony
MS Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498.C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
The Pepysian Gospel Harmony, EETS 157. pp. 1–50.
Prose. L1: OF.

Herebert
MS London, British Library, Additional 46919. C14a1. SWM.
Poems by Herebert in Brown, C. 1924. *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 15–29.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

Horn2253
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
King Horn in in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. pp. 2–88.
Verse. L1: OF.

Jerusalem
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 656. C15b. SC.
The Siege of Jerusalem. EETS 320. l. 1-1340.
Verse. L1: ME.

Lanfranck
MS London, British Library, Additional 12056. C15a. SWM.
Lanfrank's 'Science of Cirurgie', EETS 102. pp. 7–62.35.
Prose. L1:L.

LayamonAbx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laʒamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1: ME.

LayamonBOx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.13. C13b1. SW.
Laʒamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1:ME.

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Mandeville1982
MS London, British Library, Egerton 1982. C14b2–C15a1. N.
The Egerton Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS 336. pp. 3–57.
Prose. L1: ME.

Meditations
MS London, British Library, Additional 11307. C15a. CM.
Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, EETS 158. l. 1–2254.
Verse. L1: ME.

Merlin
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ff. 3.11. C15b1. SE.
Merlin, EETS 10. pp. 1–60.
Prose. L1: OF.

Misericordie
MS Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya 32 (Delamere). C15b1. SE.
Robbins, R.H. 1939. "The Speculum Misericordie," *PMLA* 54. pp. 935–966.
Verse. L1:ME.

Mother
MS London, British Library, Egerton 826. C14b2–C15a1. CM.
"Book to a Mother" in Wright, T. and Halliwell, J.O. (eds). 1845. *Reliquiæ antiquæ.: Scraps
from ancient manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English literature and the English language,
vol. 1.* London: J. R. Smith . pp. 38–42.
Prose. L1: ME.

neroarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, EETS OS 225. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Nicodemus
MS London, British Library, Additional 32578. C15a1. N.
The Gospel of Nicodemus in *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus,*
EETSES 100. l. 1–1813.
Verse. L1:L.

Prologue
MS Cambridge, Selwyn College 108 L.1. C14b2–C15a1. SMW.
Prologue in in Paues, A. C. 1904. *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version,* Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press. pp. 1–18.
Prose. L1: ME.

Psalter
MS London, British Library, Additional 17376. C14b1. ESX.
The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, EETS 97. pp. 1–55.
Prose. L1:L.

Gloucester
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.11. C14a. SWM.
Wright, W.A. 1887. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, Rolls Series* 86. l. 1–3000.
Verse. L1: ME.

SagesMid
MS Cambridge, University Library Dd.1.17. C13b2–C14a1. NL.
The Seven Sages of Rome (Midland Version), EETS 324. l. 1–3454.
Verse. L1L ME.

SagesS
MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1 (Auchinleck). C14a2. ESX.
The Seven Sages of Rome (Southern Version), EETS 191. l. 120-2770.
Verse. L1: OF.

SELMidland
MS Cambridge, University Library, Additional 3039. HAND A OR B?? C14b2. N.
St. Andrew the Apostle and *Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* in Görlach, M. 1976. *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary: A Selection from MS C.U.L. Add 3039,* Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag. pp. 51–62.
Verse. L1: ME.

SermonsA
MS London, British Library, Royal 18.B.23. C14b2–C15a1. SC.
Hand A in *Middle English Sermons: edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B.xxiii,* EETS 209. pp. 1–45.
Prose. L1: ME.

SermonsB
MS London, British Library, Royal 18.B.23. C14b2–C15a1. SC.
Hand B in *Middle English Sermons: edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B.xxiii,* EETS 209. pp. 45–63.32.
Prose. L1: ME.

Stanzaic
MS London, British Library, Harley 3909. C15b. NWM.
Hand A in *A Stanzaic Life of Christ,* EETS 166. l. 67–1608, 1693–1872.
Verse. L1:L.

Thebes
MS London, British Library, Arundel 119. C15a2. ESX.
Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, EETSES 108. l. 1–3304.
Verse. L1: OF.

titusarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, British Museum MS. Cotton Titus D. xviii, EETS OS 252. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Tour–Landry
MS London, British Library, Harley 1764. C15a2–b1. SE.
The Book of the Knight of La Tour–Landry, EETS 33. pp. 1–52.
Prose. L1:OF.

Tribulacion
MS London, British Library, Arundel 286. C15a1. CM.
Barratt, A. 1983. *The Book of Tribulation,* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. pp. 134–43.
Prose. L1: OF.

Trinity432
MS Dublin, Trinity College 432. C15b1. CM.
The Battle of Northampton and *Twelve Letters Save England* in Brotanek, R. 1940.
Mittelenglische Dichtungen aus der Handschrift 432 des Trinity College in Dublin. Halle/Saale:
M. Niemeyer. pp. 116–121 and 152–159.
Verse. L1: ME.

WandW
MS London, British Library, Additional 31042. C15b1. N.
Wynnere and Wastoure, ed. S. Trigg, EETS 297 (1990). pp. 3–16.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyA
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Psalms, Hand A in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon
Press. l. 9–568.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyB
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Psalms, Hand B in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon
Press. l. 569–952.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyBAdam
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Adam, Hand B in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon
Press. pp. 76–99.
Verse. L1: ME.

Chapters 3 & 4 Corpus: all texts which contain at least one modifier of an inflected genitive noun

LAEME
A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325 (LAEME 2.1). Compiled by Margaret Laing. Electronic text corpus with accompanying software, index of sources and theoretical introduction (with Roger Lass). [http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html] (Edinburgh: © 2008– The University of Edinburgh).

<u>**Text samples**</u>

aberdeen
MS Aberdeen University Library 154. C13b2–C14a1. SW.
Miscellaneous verse texts. fol. 368v.
Verse, L1: ME.

adde6b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional E.6, entry 2. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse. roll of four membranes; Hand B on verso.
Verse. L1: ME.

adde6c
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional E.6, entry 3. C13b2–C14a1. ESX.
Miscellaneous verse. roll of four membranes; Hand C.
Verse. L1: ME.

arundel292vvt
MS London, British Library, Arundel 292, entry 1. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
Miscellaneous verse texts. fol. 3r–v
Verse, L1: OTHER.

ayenbite
London, British Library, Arundel 57. C14a2. SE.
Ayenbite of Inwit, fols. 2r–4r, 13r–32v, 79v–81v, 91r–96v.
Prose, L1: OF.

bestiary
MS London, British Library, Arundel 292, entry 2. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
The Bestiary, fols. 4r–10v.
Verse, L1: ME.

beverley
MS London, British Library, Cotton Charter iv 18. C14a. N.
Middle English rhyming version of King Athelstan's grant of privileges to St John's, Beverley
Verse. L1: ME.

blickling
MS Private: Blickling Hall, Norfolk 6864. C13a1. ESX.
Creed. fol. 35r.
Prose. L1: ME.

bod34
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
Hali Meiðhad, 52v–71v; *Sawles Warde,* fols. 72r–80v.
Prose, L1: ME

bodley26
MS Oxford Bodleian Library, Bodley 26. C13b2. N.
Sermon. fols. 107r–108r.
Prose. L1: ME.

buryFf
MS Cambridge University Library Ff.II.33. C13b2. EM
Sacrist's Register of Bury St Edmunds, 20r–v; 22r–24r; 27v–28r; 45r–47r; 48r–50r.
Prose, L1: OE.

candet8
MS Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 97. C13a2-b1. NL.
Candet Nudatum Pectus. fol. 111r.
Prose. L1:L.

caiusar
MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 234/120. C13b2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, pp. 1–59.
Prose, L1: ME.

ccco59
MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 59. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse. fols. 66r–v, 113v, 116v.
Verse. L1: ME.

chertsey
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A xiii. C13. SE.
Chertsey Cartulary, fols. 50r–51v, 53v.
Prose. L1: OE.

cleoara
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

cleoarb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle. parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

corp145sel
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145. C14a1. SC.
South English Legendary, fols. 63r–77r line 8; 82r line 11–92v line 18; 122r line 35–133r line 8.
Verse. L1: ME.

corpar
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME

cotcleoBvi
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B vi. C13a2-b1. N.
Miscellaneous. fol. 204v.
Verse and Prose. L1: ME.

cotdoomsday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 6. C13b2. NL.
Doomsday, fols. 246v–247r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotdwc
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 3. C13b2. NL.
Death's Wither-Clench. fol. 246r–v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotlastday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 7. C13b2. NL.
The Latemest Day, fols. 247r–248v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotorison
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 4. C13b2. NL.
An Orison to Our Lady. fol. 246v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotlastday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 7. C13b2. NL.
The Latemest Day, fols. 247r–248v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowla
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 233r–239v line 13; 240r line 6–241v line 15.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowlb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 2. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 239v line 14–240r line 5; 241v line 16–246r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotvespcma
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.iii. C14. N.
Cursor Mundi, fols. 2ra–10vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

creditona
MS London, British Library, Cotton Roll ii.11, entry 1. C13b2. SW.
Miscellaneous. roll.
Prose. L1: ME.

creditonb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Roll ii.11, entry 2. C13b2. SW.
Prose. roll.
Prose. L1: OE.

culhh
MS Cambridge University Library Hh.6.11. C13. EM.
Miscellaneous verse. fols. 67r, 70v..
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby2b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 2, entry 3. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fol. 15r.
Verse. L1: ME.

digby86hending
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 3. C13b2. NL.
Proverbs of Hending, fols. 140v–143r.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby86map
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 119r–143r, 163v–164r, 165r–168v, 195v–200r, 206r.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby86pains
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 2. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 132r–134v.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digby86sirith
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 4. C13b2. NL.
Dame Siriz, fols. 132r–134v.
Verse. L1: ME.

digpm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Libary, Digby 4. C13a1. SE.
Poema Morale. fols. 97r–110v.
Verse. L1: ME.

dulwich
MS London, Dulwich College MS XXII. C12b2–C13a1. EM.
La Estorie del Euangelie, fols. 81v–85v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincma
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 1. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 1r–15v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincmb
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 2. C14a. N.
Northern Homily Collection, fols. 16r–36v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincmc
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 3. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 37r–50v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egblessed
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 3. C13a2–b1. NL.
Verse, fol. 2r–v
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm1
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 6. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 64r–70v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm2
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 5. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 7r–12v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egsomer
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 1. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Lyric, fol. 1v.
Verse. L1: ME.

emmanuel27
MS Cambridge, Emmanuel College 27 (I.2.6). C14a1. SW.
Miscellaneous. fols. 111v and 162r–163r.
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME.

fmcpm
MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 115r–120r.
Verse. L1: ME.

genexod
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 444. C14a1. EM.
Genesis and Exodus, fols. 1r–41r line 2.
Verse. L1: ME.

hat26tc
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 26. C13a2. NWM.
Miscellaneous. fol. 211r.
Verse and Prose. L1: ME.

havelok
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 108, entry 3. C14a1. EM.
Havelok, fols. 204r–219va.
Verse. L1: ME.

iacob
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652. C13b1. SWM.
Iacob and Iosep, fols.1r–10v.
Verse. L1: ME.

jes29
MS Oxford, Jesus College 29, part II. C13b2. SWM.
The Owl and the Nightingale, *Poema Morale*, *Death's Wither Clench*, *Orison to Our Lady*, *Doomsday*, *The Latemest Day*, *Ten Abuses*, *Lutel Soth Sermun*, *A Luue Ron*, fols. 156r–168v, 169r 174v, 179v–180v, 182r–185v, 187r–188v.
Verse. L1: ME.

lam499
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 499. C13b2. NWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 64v–68v, 69r, 124r, 125v.
Verse. L1: ME.

lamhomA1
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies I–V, IX–XIII., fols 1r–21v, 30v–51v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lamhomA2
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies VI– VIII, XIV–XVII, fols. 21v–30v, 51v–59v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lampm
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 3. C13a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 59v–65r.
Verse. L1: ME.

lamursn
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 4. C13a1. SWM.
On Ureisun of Ure Loverde, Fols. 65v–67r.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud108a
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc 108, entry 1. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Life of Christ, *Infancy of Christ*, *SS. Barnabe*, *John the Baptist*, *James the Great*, *Oswald* and

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Edward, fols. 1r–22r, 31v–41v.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud108b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc 108, entry 2. C13b2–C14a1. EM.
Debate between the Body and the Soul, Fol. 200v–203v.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud471dwc
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 1. C13b2. NL.
Memento Mori. fol. 65r.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud471ks
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 471, entry 1. C13b2. SE.
Kentish Sermons. fols.128v–133v
Prose. L1: OF.

layamonAa
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 3ra–17rb (foot); 17va line 5–18vb line 6 (*mahte*); 27ra lines 1–6 (*wes bli! e*); 88ra–89rb line 3 (*þan kinge*)
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonAb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 17va lines 1–4; 18vb line 7 (*of his*)–26vb (foot); 27ra line 6 (*þat mæiden*)–87vb (foot); 89rb line 4 (*to ani)* –194vb (end).
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonBO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C xiii. C13b1. SW.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 1r–19rb.
Verse. L1: ME.

maidsdwc
MS Maidstone Museum A.13, entry 1. C13a. SE.
Death's Wither-Clench. fol. 93v.
Verse. L1: ME.

maidspa
MS Maidstone Museum A.13, entry 1. C13a. CM.
Proverbs of Alfred, fol. 93r.
Verse. L1: ME.

merton248
MS Oxford, Merton College 248. C14a2. EM.
Miscellaneous. fols. 166r–167r
Verse and Prose. L1: OTHER.

neroar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

nerowg
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
Miscellaneous prose, fols. 120v–131v.
Prose. L1: ME.

newcoll88
MS Oxford, New College 88. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fol. 31r, 179r, 179v, 488v.
Verse. L1: ME.

orm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 1. C12b2. EM.
Ormulum, fols. 3r–5ra; 9r–16vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

petchron
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 636. C12b1. EM.
Peterborough Chronicle, Final Continuation (1132-1154).
Prose. L1: ME.

ramseya
MS London, Kew, The National Archives, E 164/28, entry 1. C14a. EM.
Register of Ramsey Abbey, fols. 52v, 52v–53r, 165v–166r, 59v–60r and 166r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

ramseyb
MS London, Kew, The National Archives, E 164/28, entry 2. C14a. EM.
Register of Ramsey Abbey, fol. 229v.
Prose. L1: OE.

ramseycott
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho B xiv. C14a. EM.
Register of Ramsey Abbey, fols. 263r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

royal12e1a
MS London, British Library, Royal 12 E i, entry 1. C13b2-C14a1. EM.
Lyric. fols. 193r–194v.
Verse. L1: ME.

royalkga
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME.

royalkgb
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME

royalkgc
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Juliana, Oreisun of Seinte Marie, fols. 9r–10v; 58v–70r, 70r–v.
Prose. L1: ME.

sherborne
MS London, British Library, Additonal 46487. C13a2. SW.
Sherborne Cartulary. fols. 24v–25r.
Prose. L1: ME.

swinfield
MS Herefordshire Record Office AL 19/2. C14a1. SWM.
Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield. fol. 152r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tanner169
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169*. C13b2. NWM.
Stabat iuxta Christi, p. 175.
Verse. L1: ME.

thorneyk
MS Cambridge University Library, Additonal 3021. C14a. EM.
The Red Book of Thorney Abbey, fol. 372r.
Prose. L1: ME.

thorneym
MS Cambridge University Library, Additonal 3020. C14a. EM.
The Red Book of Thorney Abbey, fol. 18r.
Prose. L1: ME.

titusar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
Ancrene Riwle, fols. 14r–40r.
Prose. L1: ME.

titushm
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 4. C13a2. NL.
Hali MeiDhad, fols. 112v–127r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituslang2
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 2. C13a2. NL.
Ancrene Riwle, fols. 40ra line 1 word 7–40vb line 6; 44vb line 22–46rb line 26; 52va line 17–54ra line 25; 56va line 7–61rb line 22; 67rb line 17–68ra line 2; 69ra line 2 –70ra line 1.
Prose. L1: ME.

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titussk
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 6. C13a2. NL.
St. Katherine, fols. 133v–147v.
Prose. L1: ME.

titussw
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 3. C13a2. NL.
Sawles Warde, fols. 105v–112v.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituswoh
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 5. C13a2. NL.
Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, fols. 127r–133r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tr323a
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous, fols. 19r, 25r last 4 lines, 25v, 27r col. 2, 28r–29v, 32r–33v, 36r–46r, 47r–v, 83v–84r.
Prose and verse. L1: OTHER.

tr323b
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous prose and verse, fols. 20r–25r, 26r–27r col. 1, 27v, 34r, 35r–v.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

tr323c
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 3. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 30r–31v, 81v.
Verse. L1: ME.

tr323d
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 4. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 81v–82r, 85r–87v.
Verse. L1: ME.

trhom34c
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 4. C12b. SC.
Sermon, fol. 91.
Prose. L1: ME.

trhomA
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 2. C12b2. ESX.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 1–24; 27; 53/15–53 end; 58/6 (3rd word)–58 end; 114/13–118/11; 121–123; 128/1–133; 137;139; 142–143/1 (first 5 words);151/1–end.
Prose. L1: ME.

trhomB
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 3. C12b2. EM.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 25–26; 28–53/15; 54–58/6 ... *hem clensen*; 59–114/13; 118/11–120; 124–

128/1; 134–136; 138; 140–141; 143/1–151/1; 152–153.
Prose. L1: ME.

trinpm
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 1. C12b2. ESX.
Poema Morale, fols. 2r–9v.
Verse. L1: ME.

vva
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 1. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, pp. 1–74 (2r–38v) line 17; p. 74 (38v) line 22–75 (39r) line 3.
Prose. L1: ME.

vvb
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 2. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, p. 74 (38v) line 17–line 22; p. 75 (39r) line 3 – p. 95 (49r).
Prose. L1: ME.

wellsa
MS Wells Cathedral Library, *Liber Albus* I, entry 1. C13a2. SW.
Cartulary, fol 14r.
Prose. L1: ME.

wellsb
MS Wells Cathedral Library, *Liber Albus* I, entry 2. C13a2. SW.
Cartulary, fols. 17v–18r.
Prose. L1: OE.

westminster
MS London, Westminster Abbey Library MS 34/3. C13b2-C14a1. NL.
Verse. fol. 36v.
Verse. L1: ME.

winchester
London, British Library, Additonal 15340. C12b2. SE.
Codex Wintoniensis, fols. 116v–117r.
Prose. L1: OE.

wintney
MS London, British Library, Cotton Claudius D iii. C13a1. SE.
Benedictine Rule, fols. 52r–54v, 55r–v.
Prose. L1: OE.

worcdoc
MS Worcester, Herefordshire and Worcestershire Record Office, BA 3814. C12b2-C13a1. SWM.
Prose. fol.38v.
Prose. L1: ME.

worcthcreed

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. C13a. SWM.
Nicene Creed, fol. vi.
Prose. L1: ME.

worcthfrags
MS Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library F 174, entry 2. C13a. SWM.
Miscellaneous, fol. 63r, lines 14–28; 63v–66v
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME

worcthgrgl
MS Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library F 174, entry 1. C13a. SWM.
Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*, fols. 1r–63r.
Prose. L1: OE.

Printed Editions

cleoarax
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS
267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

clearabx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS
267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

corparx
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene wisse : the English text of the Ancrene riwle, EETS OS 249. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Alexis108
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 108, part 2. C13b2–C14a1. NL.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St.
Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation
of souls.* EETS 69, l. 1–612.
Verse. L1: OF.

Bod34x
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
The Liflade ant te Passiun of Seint Iulienne, EETS OS 248. l. 1–789.
Prose. L1: ME.

Floris4.27
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg.4.27. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Floris and Blauncheflur in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,*
EETS 14. l. 1–824.

Verse. L1: OF.

FlorisCO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellus D.iii. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
*Floris and Blauncheflur i*n *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,*
EETS 14. pp. 74–78, 84–91, 98–105.
Verse. L1: OF.

HarleyLyrics
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
Brook, G.L. 1968. *The Harley Lyrics: The Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253*,
Manchester : Manchester University Press. pp. 29–72 (all lyrics)
Verse. L1: ME.

Horn2253
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
King Horn in in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. pp.
2–88.
Verse. L1: OF.

Horn4.27
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg.4.27. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
King Horn in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. l. 1–
824.
Verse. L1: OF.

LayamonAbx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1: ME.

LayamonBOx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.13. C13b1. SW.
Laȝamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1:ME.

neroarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, EETS OS 225. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Psalter
MS London, British Library, Additional 17376. C14b1. ESX.
The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, EETS 97. pp. 1–55.
Prose. L1:L.

Gloucester
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.11. C14a. SWM.
Wright, W.A. 1887. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, Rolls Series* 86. l. 1–3000.
Verse. L1: ME.

SagesS
MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1 (Auchinleck). C14a2. ESX.
The Seven Sages of Rome (Southern Version), EETS 191. l. 120-2770.
Verse. L1: OF.

titusarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, British Museum MS. Cotton Titus D. xviii, EETS OS
252. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Chapter 5 Corpus: all texts which contain at least one inflected plural GNP and at least one periphrastic plural GNP

LAEME

<u>**Text samples**</u>

ayenbite
London, British Library, Arundel 57. C14a2. SE.
Ayenbite of Inwit, fols. 2r–4r, 13r–32v, 79v–81v, 91r–96v.
Prose, L1: OF.

bod34
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
Hali Meiðhad, 52v–71v; *Sawles Warde,* fols. 72r–80v.
Prose, L1: ME

buryFf
MS Cambridge University Library Ff.II.33. C13b2. EM
Sacrist's Register of Bury St Edmunds, 20r–v; 22r–24r; 27v–28r; 45r–47r; 48r–50r.
Prose, L1: OE.

caiusar
MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 234/120. C13b2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, pp. 1–59.
Prose, L1: ME.

ccco59
MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 59. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse. fols. 66r–v, 113v, 116v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cleoara
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

cleoarb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle. parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

corp145sel
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145. C14a1. SC.
South English Legendary, fols. 63r–77r line 8; 82r line 11–92v line 18; 122r line 35–133r line 8.
Verse. L1: ME.

corpar
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.

Prose. L1: ME

cotlastday
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 7. C13b2. NL.
The Latemest Day, fols. 247r–248v.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowla
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 233r–239v line 13; 240r line 6–241v line 15.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotowlb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part II, entry 2. C13b2. SWM.
Owl and the Nightingale, fols. 239v line 14–240r line 5; 241v line 16–246r.
Verse. L1: ME.

cotvespcma
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.iii. C14. N.
Cursor Mundi, fols. 2ra–10vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

digby2b
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 2, entry 3. C13b2. NL.
Miscellaneous verse, fol. 15r.
Verse. L1: ME.

digby86map
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86, entry 1. C13b2. SWM.
Miscellaneous verse, fols. 119r–143r, 163v–164r, 165r–168v, 195v–200r, 206r.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

digpm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Libary, Digby 4. C13a1. SE.
Poema Morale. fols. 97r–110v.
Verse. L1: ME.

dulwich
MS London, Dulwich College MS XXII. C12b2–C13a1. EM.
La Estorie del Euangelie, fols. 81v–85v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincma
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 1. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 1r–15v.
Verse. L1: ME.

edincmb
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 2. C14a. N.
Northern Homily Collection, fols. 16r–36v.

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Verse. L1: ME.

edincmc
MS Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, MS of *Cursor Mundi*, entry 3. C14a. N.
Cursor Mundi, Fols. 37r–50v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm1
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 6. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 64r–70v.
Verse. L1: ME.

egpm2
MS London, British Library, Egerton 613, entry 5. C13a2–b1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 7r–12v.
Verse. L1: ME.

emmanuel27
MS Cambridge, Emmanuel College 27 (I.2.6). C14a1. SW.
Miscellaneous. fols. 111v and 162r–163r.
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME.

fmcpm
MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 123. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 115r–120r.
Verse. L1: ME.

genexod
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 444. C14a1. EM.
Genesis and Exodus, fols. 1r–41r line 2.
Verse. L1: ME.

havelok
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 108, entry 3. C14a1. EM.
Havelok, fols. 204r–219va.
Verse. L1: ME.

iacob
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652. C13b1. SWM.
Iacob and Iosep, fols.1r–10v.
Verse. L1: ME.

jes29
MS Oxford, Jesus College 29, part II. C13b2. SWM.
The Owl and the Nightingale, Poema Morale, Death's Wither Clench, Orison to Our Lady, Doomsday, The Latemest Day, Ten Abuses, Lutel Soth Sermun, A Luue Ron, fols. 156r–168v, 169r 174v, 179v–180v, 182r–185v, 187r–188v.
Verse. L1: ME.

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lamhomA1
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies I–V, IX–XIII., fols 1r–21v, 30v–51v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lamhomA2
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Lambeth Homilies VI– VIII, XIV–XVII, fols. 21v–30v, 51v–59v.
Prose. L1: ME.

lampm
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 3. C13a1. SWM.
Poema Morale, fols. 59v–65r.
Verse. L1: ME.

lamursn
MS London, Lambeth Palace Library 487, entry 4. C13a1. SWM.
On Ureisun of Ure Loverde, Fols. 65v–67r.
Verse. L1: ME.

laud108a
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc 108, entry 1. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Life of Christ, *Infancy of Christ*, *SS. Barnabe*, *John the Baptist*, *James the Great*, *Oswald* and
Edward, fols. 1r–22r, 31v–41v.
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonAa
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 3ra–17rb (foot); 17va line 5–18vb line 6 (*mahte*); 27ra lines 1–6 (*wes bli!
e*); 88ra–89rb line 3 (*þan kinge*)
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonAb
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 17va lines 1–4; 18vb line 7 (*of his*)–26vb (foot); 27ra line 6 (*þat
mæiden*)–87vb (foot); 89rb line 4 (*to ani*) –194vb (end).
Verse. L1: ME.

layamonBO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C xiii. C13b1. SW.
Laȝamon's *Brut*, fols. 1r–19rb.
Verse. L1: ME.

neroar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
Ancrene Riwle, parts I and II.
Prose. L1: ME.

nerowg
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.

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Miscellaneous prose, fols. 120v–131v.
Prose. L1: ME.

orm
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 1. C12b2. EM.
Ormulum, fols. 3r–5ra; 9r–16vb.
Verse. L1: ME.

royalkga
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME.

royalkgb
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 2. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Katherine, fols. 1r–8v; 11r–37r.
Prose. L1: ME

royalkgc
MS London, British Library, Royal 17 A xxvii, entry 1. C13a1. SWM.
Sawles Warde, St. Juliana, Oreisun of Seinte Marie, fols. 9r–10v; 58v–70r, 70r–v.
Prose. L1: ME.

titusar
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
Ancrene Riwle, fols. 14r–40r.
Prose. L1: ME.

titushm
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 4. C13a2. NL.
Hali MeiDhad, fols. 112v–127r.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituslang2
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 2. C13a2. NL.
Ancrene Riwle, fols. 40ra line 1 word 7–40vb line 6; 44vb line 22–46rb line 26; 52va line 17–54ra line 25; 56va line 7–61rb line 22; 67rb line 17–68ra line 2; 69ra line 2 –70ra line 1.
Prose. L1: ME.

titussk
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 6. C13a2. NL.
St. Katherine, fols. 133v–147v.
Prose. L1: ME.

tituswoh
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 5. C13a2. NL.
Þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, fols. 127r–133r.
Prose. L1: ME.

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tr323a
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 1. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous, fols. 19r, 25r last 4 lines, 25v, 27r col. 2, 28r–29v, 32r–33v, 36r–46r, 47r–v, 83v–84r.
Prose and verse. L1: OTHER.

tr323b
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (323), entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Miscellaneous prose and verse, fols. 20r–25r, 26r–27r col. 1, 27v, 34r, 35r–v.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

trhomA
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 2. C12b2. ESX.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 1–24; 27; 53/15–53 end; 58/6 (3rd word)–58 end; 114/13–118/11; 121–123; 128/1–133; 137;139; 142–143/1 (first 5 words);151/1–end.
Prose. L1: ME.

trhomB
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 3. C12b2. EM.
Trinity Homilies, pp. 25–26; 28–53/15; 54–58/6 ... *hem clensen*; 59–114/13; 118/11–120; 124–128/1; 134–136; 138; 140–141; 143/1–151/1; 152–153.
Prose. L1: ME.

trincleoD
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 3. C13b1. EM.
Miscellaneous. fols. 22v, 23r, 57v, 199r.
Mixed verse and prose. L1: ME.

trinpm
MS Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 (335), entry 1. C12b2. ESX.
Poema Morale, fols. 2r–9v.
Verse. L1: ME.

vva
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 1. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, pp. 1–74 (2r–38v) line 17; p. 74 (38v) line 22–75 (39r) line 3.
Prose. L1: ME.

vvb
MS London, British Library, Stowe 34, entry 2. C13a1. ESX.
Vices and Virtues, p. 74 (38v) line 17–line 22; p. 75 (39r) line 3 – p. 95 (49r).
Prose. L1: ME.

PPCME2

cmaelr3
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.l. (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum: Two English versions. EETS *O.S. 287*. pp. 26–60.

Prose. L1:L.

cmaelr4
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 423. C15a2. NL.
Aelred of Rievaulx's De institutione inclusarum: Two English versions. EETS *O.S. 287,* pp. 1–25.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmbenrule
MS London, British Library, Lansdowne 378. C15a1. N.
The Northern prose version of the Rule of St. Benet in Ernst A. Kock (ed.), *Three Middle–English versions of the Rule of St. Benet and two contemporary rituals for the ordination of nuns.* EETS O.S. 120. pp. 1–47.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmcapchr
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, University Library Gg.IV.12. C15b1. EM.
John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a sermon. EETS *O.S. 140*, pp. 32–160, 209–217, 238–249.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmcloud
MS London, British Library, Harley 674. C15a1. EM.
The Cloud of Unknowing in *The cloud of unknowing and The book of privy counselling.* EETS O.S. 218, pp. 13–133.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmctmeli
MS San Marino, Huntington Library, Ellesmere 26 C 9.C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
Tale of Melibee in Benson, L. D. 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Third edition, pp. 217–239.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmctpars
MS San Marino, Huntington Library, Ellesmere 26 C 9. C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
Parson's Tale in Benson, L. D. 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Third edition, pp. 288–327.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmedmund
MS London, British Library, Additional 35298.C15a2. EM.
The life of St. Edmund in Blake, N. F. (ed). 1972. *Middle English religious prose.* York Medieval Texts. London: Arnold, pp. 163–173.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmedthor
MS Lincoln Cathedral Library 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
The Mirror of St. Edmund in Perry, G.G. (ed.), *Religious pieces in prose and verse.* EETS O.S. 26, pp. 16–50.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmedvern

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. poet. a.l. (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
The Mirror of St. Edmund in Horstman, C. 1895-1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., pp. 240–261.
Verse. L1: ME.

cmhorses

MS London, British Library, Sloane 2584. C15a1. SC.
Svinhufvud, A. C. 1978. *A Late Middle English treatise on horses.* Stockholm Studies in English 47. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 85–129.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmkempe

MS London, British Library, Additional 61823. C15a2. EM.
The Book of Margery Kempe, Vol. 1. EETS O.S. 212, pp. 1–154, 221–232.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmmalory

MS London, British Library Add. MS 59678 (Winchester). C15b1. CM.
La morte d'Arthur in Vinaver, E. 1954. *The works of Thomas Malory.* London: Oxford University Press, pp. 2–71, 180–209, 626–670.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmmandev

MS London, British Library Cotton Titus C 16. C15a1. ESX.
Mandeville's travels, translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse. EETS O.S. 153, 154, pp. 1–132, 140–145.
Prose. L1: OF.

cmmirkA1

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Eccl. Top. 4. C15a2–b1. NWM.
Mirk's Festial: A collection of homilies, by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk). Part I. EETS E.S. 96, pp. 1.4–5.36, 82.9–85.10.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmpolych

MS Cambridge, St. John's College H.1 (204). C14b2. SW.
John of Trevisa's *Polychronicon* in Lumby, J. R. 1876, 1882. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, monachi cestrensis, Vols. VI, VIII, English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century.* Rolls Series 41. London: [publisher unknown], pp 3–477; 83–111; 347–352
Prose. L1:L.

cmpurvey1666

MS London, British Library, Harley 1666. C15a1. NL.
Purvey's General Prologue to the Bible in Forshall, J. and Madden, F.. 1850. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the apocraphal books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, Vol. 1.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprinted 1982 (New York: AMS Press), pp. 1–57.

Prose. L1: ME.

cmrenaryt
Printed book, Westminster, 1481 (STC 20919). C15b2. ESX.
The History of Reynard the fox. Translated from the Dutch original by William Caxton. EETS
O.S. 263, pp. 6.1–14.19, 51.20–62.26.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

cmreynes
MS Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner 407. C15b2. EM.
Cameron, L. 1980. *The commonplace book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An edition of Tanner Ms.
407.* Garland Medieval Texts 1. New York: Garland, pp. 36.343–138.402, 143.1–144.25, 145.1–
146.16, 154.1 162.18, 165.1–167.8, 169.1–173.54, 174.1–175.7, 194.1–195.22, 237.1–238.33,
240.1–242.35, 243.1 245.32, 247.1–247.21, 255.1–256.13, 260.1–262.35, 264.1–268.93, 289.1–
295.13; 307.1–307.14, 312.1–314.45, 315.1–320.12, 322.1–323.15, 327.77–328.111, 329.132–
330.151
Prose. L1: ME.

cmrollep
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Dd. v. 64. C15a. NL.
Allen, H. E. 1931. *English writings of Richard Rolle, hermit of Hampole.* Oxford: Clarendon,
pp. 61–119.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmrolletr
MS Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
English prose treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole. EETS O.S. 20, pp 1–47.
Prose. L1:L.

cmsiege
MS Aberystwyth, National Libary of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 (Porkington). C15b2. SWM.
Kurvinen, A. 1969. *The siege of Jerusalem in prose.* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique
de Helsinki 34. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, pp. 70.1–93.709.
Verse. L1: ME.

cmthorn
MS Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral 91 (Thornton). C15a2. EM.
The `Liber de diversis medicinis' in the Thornton Manuscript. EETS O.S. 207, pp. 6–73.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

cmwycserA
MS London, British Library, Additional 40672.
Hand A in Hudson, A. 1983. *English Wycliffite sermons.* Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 223–425, 475–
480, 521–524, 588–592.
Prose. L1: ME.

cmwycserB
MS London, British Library, Additional 40672.
Hand B in Hudson, A. 1983. *English Wycliffite sermons.* Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 643–647.
Prose. L1: ME.

cleoarax
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS 267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

clearabx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C vi, entry 2. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, EETS OS 267, parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Commandments
MS Oxford, St. John's College 94. C15a2. SWM.
A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments, J.F. Royster, SP 6 (1910). pp. 9–35.
Prose. L1: ME.

corparx
MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402. C13a2. SWM
Ancrene wisse : the English text of the Ancrene riwle, EETS OS 249. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Acts
MS. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Dd.xii.39. C14b2. NCM.
Acts in Paues, A. C. 1904. *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123–149.3.
Prose. L1: L.

AlexisV
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng.poet.a.1 (Vernon). C14b2. SWM.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69, l. 1–612.
Verse. L1: OF.

Alexis108
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 108, part 2. C13b2–C14a1. NL.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69, l. 1–612.
Verse. L1: OF.

Alexis622

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 622. C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
The Legend or Life of St. Alexius in *Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II: The life of St. Alexius. Solomon's Book of wisdom. St. Jeremie's 15 tokens before Doomsday. The lamentation of souls.* EETS 69. l. 1–1153.
Verse. L1: OF.

Audelay
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 302. C15a2. NWM.
The Poems of John Audelay, EETS 184. pp. 1–81.
Verse. L1: ME.

Beryn
MS Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Duke of Northumberland MS 55. C15b1. ESX.
The Tale of Beryn, EETSES 105 (1909; reprint 1973). l. 733–4024.
Prose. L1: ME.

Bod34x
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. C13a2. SWM.
The Liflade ant te Passiun of Seint Iulienne, EETS OS 248. l. 1–789.
Prose. L1: ME.

BokenhamA
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen, EETS 206. l. 241–1400.
Prose: L1: OTHER.

BokenhamB
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen, EETS 206. l. 1401–2099.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

BokenhamC
MS London, British Library, Arundel 327. C15a2. EM.
*Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen,*EETS 206. l. 2100–4034.
Prose. L1: OTHER.

Brut1419
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Kk.1.12. C15a2–b1. SWM.
The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS 136. pp. 335–391.
Prose. L1: ME.

Canticum
MS. Oxford, Trinity College, 57. C14b2–C15a1. SE.
Canticum de Creatione, in Horstmann, C. 1878. *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden,* Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger. l. 1–1200.
Verse. L1: ME.

Cely
MS London, PRO SC 1.53/1–53/2. C15b2. NL.
The Cely Letters, 1472–1488, EETS 273. pp. 3–53.
Prose. L1: ME.

Charter89
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 89. C14b2–C15a1. CM.
Spalding, M.C. 1914. *The Middle English Charters of Christ*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr. l. 1–234.
Verse. L1: ME.

ChroniclesRB171
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.171. C14b2–C15a1. SWM.
The Brut or the Chronicles of England, EETS 131. pp 35.20–96.19.
Prose. L1: ME.

Confessio
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 3. C14b2. NL.
Confession Amantis in *The English Works of John Gower,* EETSES 81. Book 1, l. 1–3446.
Verse. L1: ME.

Credencium
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 201. C15b. SWM.
Kengen, J.H.L. *Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People*. Nijmegen : Katholicke Universiteit te Nijmegen. pp. 52.8–116.5.
Prose. L1: ME.

Erkenwald
MS London, British Library, Harley 2250. C15b2. NWM.
Gollancz, I. 1922. *St. Erkenwald (Bishop of London 675-693) : an alliterative poem, written about 1386, narrating a miracle wrought by the bishop in St. Paul's cathedral*. London: Oxford University Press. l. 1–352.
Prose. L1: ME.

Fistula
MS London, British Library, Sloane 6. C15a2. CM.
Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters by John Arderne, EETS 139. pp. 1–16.11, 23.33–26.24, 29.22–49.14.
Prose. L1: L.

Floris4.27
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg.4.27. C13b2–C14a1. SC.
Floris and Blauncheflur in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. l. 1–824.
Verse. L1: OF.

FlorisCO
MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellus D.iii. C13b2–C14a1. SWM.
*Floris and Blauncheflur i*n *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. pp. 74–78, 84–91, 98–105.
Verse. L1: OF.

Gawain
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.10. C14b2. NWM.
Tolkien, J.R.R. and Gordon, E.V. 2nd ed., rev. N. Davis (1967). *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* Oxford : Clarendon Press. l. 1–1997.

283

Verse. L1: ME.

Gregory
MS London, British Library, Egerton 1995. C15b1. SE.
Gairdner, J. 1876. *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the fifteenth century.*
London: Printed for the Camden Society. pp. 57–102.
Prose. L1: ME.

HarleyAAugustine
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Pseudo–Augustine in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 377–380.
Prose. L1:L.

HarleyABattle
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Treatise of Ghostly Battle in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2.* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 421–436.
Prose. L1: ME.

HarleyADirige
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Lessons of the Dirige in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 381–389.
Verse. L1: ME.

HarleyDIsidore
MS London, British Library, Harley 1706. C15b2. CM.
Counsels of St. Isidore in Horstmann, C. 1896. *Yorkshire writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church, and his followers, vol. 2* London : S. Sonnenschein & Co ; New York : Macmillan & Co. pp. 367–374.
Prose. L1: L.

HarleyLyrics
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
Brook, G.L. 1968. *The Harley Lyrics: The Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253*, Manchester : Manchester University Press. pp. 29–72 (all lyrics)
Verse. L1: ME.

Harmony
MS Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498.C14b2–C15a1. ESX.
The Pepysian Gospel Harmony, EETS 157. pp. 1–50.
Prose. L1: OF.

Herebert
MS London, British Library, Additional 46919. C14a1. SWM.
Poems by Herebert in Brown, C. 1924. *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century,* Oxford:

Clarendon Press. pp. 15–29.
Verse. L1: OTHER.

Horn2253
MS London, British Library, Harley 2253. C14a1. SWM.
King Horn in in *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, the Assumption of Our Lady,* EETS 14. pp. 2–88.
Verse. L1: OF.

Jerusalem
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 656. C15b. SC.
The Siege of Jerusalem. EETS 320. l. 1-1340.
Verse. L1: ME.

Lanfranck
MS London, British Library, Additional 12056. C15a. SWM.
Lanfrank's 'Science of Cirurgie', EETS 102. pp. 7–62.35.
Prose. L1:L.

LayamonAbx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix, part I, entry 2. C13b1. SWM.
Laȝamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1: ME.

LayamonBOx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.13. C13b1. SW.
Laȝamon's Brut, EETS 250, 277. l. 3001–6000.
Verse. L1:ME.

Mandeville1982
MS London, British Library, Egerton 1982. C14b2–C15a1. N.
The Egerton Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS 336. pp. 3–57.
Prose. L1: ME.

Meditations
MS London, British Library, Additional 11307. C15a. CM.
Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, EETS 158. l. 1–2254.
Verse. L1: ME.

Merlin
MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ff. 3.11. C15b1. SE.
Merlin, EETS 10. pp. 1–60.
Prose. L1: OF.

Misericordie
MS Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya 32 (Delamere). C15b1. SE.
Robbins, R.H. 1939. "The Speculum Misericordie," *PMLA* 54. pp. 935–966.
Verse. L1:ME.

Mother

MS London, British Library, Egerton 826. C14b2–C15a1. CM.
"Book to a Mother" in Wright, T. and Halliwell, J.O. (eds). 1845. *Reliquiæ antiquæ.: Scraps from ancient manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English literature and the English language, vol. 1*. London: J. R. Smith . pp. 38–42.
Prose. L1: ME.

neroarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A xiv, entry 1. C13a2. SWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, EETS OS 225. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Nicodemus
MS London, British Library, Additional 32578. C15a1. N.
The Gospel of Nicodemus in *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus,* EETSES 100. l. 1–1813.
Verse. L1:L.

Prologue
MS Cambridge, Selwyn College 108 L.1. C14b2–C15a1. SMW.
Prologue in in Paues, A. C. 1904. *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1–18.
Prose. L1: ME.

Psalter
MS London, British Library, Additional 17376. C14b1. ESX.
The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, EETS 97. pp. 1–55.
Prose. L1:L.

Gloucester
MS London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.11. C14a. SWM.
Wright, W.A. 1887. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, Rolls Series* 86. l. 1–3000.
Verse. L1: ME.

SagesMid
MS Cambridge, University Library Dd.1.17. C13b2–C14a1. NL.
The Seven Sages of Rome (Midland Version), EETS 324. l. 1–3454.
Verse. L1L ME.

SagesS
MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1 (Auchinleck). C14a2. ESX.
The Seven Sages of Rome (Southern Version), EETS 191. l. 120-2770.
Verse. L1: OF.

SELMidland
MS Cambridge, University Library, Additional 3039. HAND A OR B?? C14b2. N.
St. Andrew the Apostle and *Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins* in Görlach, M. 1976. *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary: A Selection from MS C.U.L. Add 3039,* Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag. pp. 51–62.
Verse. L1: ME.

SermonsA

MS London, British Library, Royal 18.B.23. C14b2–C15a1. SC.
Hand A in *Middle English Sermons: edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B.xxiii,* EETS
209. pp. 1–45.
Prose. L1: ME.

SermonsB
MS London, British Library, Royal 18.B.23. C14b2–C15a1. SC.
Hand B in *Middle English Sermons: edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B.xxiii,* EETS
209. pp. 45–63.32.
Prose. L1: ME.

Stanzaic
MS London, British Library, Harley 3909. C15b. NWM.
Hand A in *A Stanzaic Life of Christ,* EETS 166. l. 67–1608, 1693–1872.
Verse. L1:L.

Thebes
MS London, British Library, Arundel 119. C15a2. ESX.
Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, EETSES 108. l. 1–3304.
Verse. L1: OF.

titusarx
MS London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xviii, entry 1. C13a2. NWM.
The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, British Museum MS. Cotton Titus D. xviii, EETS OS
252. parts VI, VII, VIII.
Prose. L1: ME.

Tour–Landry
MS London, British Library, Harley 1764. C15a2–b1. SE.
The Book of the Knight of La Tour–Landry, EETS 33. pp. 1–52.
Prose. L1:OF.

Tribulacion
MS London, British Library, Arundel 286. C15a1. CM.
Barratt, A. 1983. *The Book of Tribulation,* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. pp. 134–
43.
Prose. L1: OF.

Trinity432
MS Dublin, Trinity College 432. C15b1. CM.
The Battle of Northampton and *Twelve Letters Save England* in Brotanek, R. 1940.
Mittelenglische Dichtungen aus der Handschrift 432 des Trinity College in Dublin. Halle/Saale:
M. Niemeyer. pp. 116–121 and 152–159.
Verse. L1: ME.

WandW
MS London, British Library, Additional 31042. C15b1. N.
Wynnere and Wastoure, ed. S. Trigg, EETS 297 (1990). pp. 3–16.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyA
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Psalms, Hand A in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. l. 9–568.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyB
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Psalms, Hand B in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. l. 569–952.
Verse. L1: ME.

WheatleyBAdam
MS London, British Library, Additional 39574 (Wheatley). C15a1. EM.
Adam, Hand B in Brown, C. 1939. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 76–99.
Verse. L1: ME.

Chapter 2

eME form	OE etymon	gloss	Attested in OE	eME form	OE etymon	gloss	Attested in OE
eldrene	ieldra	ancestor	yes	kempene	cempa	warrior	yes
wyrhtene	wyrhta	wright	yes	otene	ate	oat	yes
welene	weola	wealth	yes	cwenene	cwena*	woman	yes
witene	wita	advisor	yes	reuene	gerefa	reeve	yes
bemene	bieme	trumpet	yes	lemene	leoma	light	yes
ancrene	ancra	anchorite	yes	tungene	tunga	tongue	yes
muðene	muða	mouth	yes	horene	hore	whore	yes
widewene	wuduwe	widow	yes	culurene	culfra	dove	yes
halehene	halga	saint	yes	prudene	pryte	pride	-----
frankene	francan**	Frank	yes				

Table 1: Nouns which were weak in OE, and whether the weak genitive plural form is attested in the *DOE* corpus

*OE weak *cwena* attested alongside strong *cwen*

** OE *Francan*, gen.pl. *Francena*

eME form	OE etymon	OE gloss	Attested in OE	eME form	OE etymon	OE gloss	Attested in OE
clerkene	cleric	clerk	-----	cnihtene	cniht	knight	no
scotene	scot	Scot	no	þornene	þorn	thorn	no
hundene	hund	hound	no	blissene	bliss	bliss	no
englene	engel	Angle	no	fuglene	fugol	fowl	no
apostlene	apostol	apostle	no	wormene	wyrm	serpent	no
eorlene	eorl	earl	no	þeawene	þeaw	servant	no
alþeodene	ælþeod	foreigner	no	lechene	læce	physician	no
frendene	freond	friend	no	estene	este	grace	no
harmene	hearm	harm	no	mihtene	miht	power	no
kingene	cyning	king	rare	herdene	hierd	shepherd	no
saulene	sawol	soul	no	sustrene	sweoster*	sister	no
leodene	leod	people	rare	mynecene	munuc	monk	no
treowene	treo	tree	rare	bruttene	bryt(t)	Briton	rare
deuelene	deofol	devil	rare	englene	engel	angel	rare
limene	lim	limb	rare	dagene	dæg	day	yes

Table 2: Nouns which are strong in OE, and whether the weak genitive plural is attested in the *DOE* corpus

* Although OE *sweoster* was not a member of the strong noun class, it is included here because the genitive plural in OE was formed with -*a* rather than -*ena*.

	Inflected	Periphrastic
12b2	93	77
13a1	160	121
13a2	238	280
13b1	135	141
13b2	105	49
13-14	24	62
14a1	41	89
14a2	6	129
14b1	12	95
14b2	43	448
14-15	81	832
15a1	43	848
15a2	75	563
15a-b	28	378
15b1	45	526
15b2	33	171
TOTAL	1162	4809

Table 3: Inflected and periphrastic GNP tokens, C12b2-C15b2

	inflected	periphrastic	TOTAL
12b2	30	2	32
13a1	48	5	53
13a2	75	8	83
13b1	30	7	37
13b2	51	0	51
13-14	11	2	13
14a1	19	3	22
14a2	3	23	26
14b1	12	23	35
14b2	30	96	126
14-15	62	177	239
15a1	36	162	198
15a2	65	100	165
15a-b	20	53	73
15b1	28	83	111
15b2	26	30	56
TOTAL	546	774	1320

Table 4: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for poss_anim NPs

	inflected	periphrastic	TOTAL
12b2	23	31	54
13a1	59	22	81
13a2	95	67	162
13b1	75	81	156
13b2	15	15	30
13-14	4	27	31
14a1	16	39	55
14a2	3	29	32
14b1	0	11	11
14b2	9	160	169
14-15	13	274	287
15a1	5	262	267
15a2	5	107	112
15a-b	6	169	175
15b1	16	228	244
15b2	7	44	51
TOTAL	351	1566	1917

Table 5: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for nonposs_anim NPs

	inflected	periphrastic	TOTAL
12b2	4	9	13
13a1	7	12	19
13a2	8	29	37
13b1	1	1	2
13b2	0	5	5
13-14	0	7	7
14a1	1	3	4
14a2	0	12	12
14b1	0	22	22
14b2	0	52	52
14-15	2	122	124
15a1	1	95	96
15a2	3	143	146
15a-b	0	23	23
15b1	0	37	37
15b2	0	26	26
TOTAL	27	598	625

Table 6: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for poss_inan NPs

	inflected	periphrastic	TOTAL
12b2	36	35	71
13a1	46	82	128
13a2	60	176	236
13b1	29	52	81
13b2	39	29	68
13-14	9	26	35
14a1	5	44	49
14a2	0	66	66
14b1	0	39	39
14b2	4	139	143
14-15	4	259	263
15a1	1	329	330
15a2	2	212	214
15a-b	2	133	135
15b1	1	177	178
15b2	0	70	70
TOTAL	238	1868	2106

Table 7: Inflected and periphrastic genitives for poss_inan NPs