The Survival of Grammatical Gender in Layamon's Brut, the Southern Legendary and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

DRAGINJA PERVAZ

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Department of English Language
University of Edinburgh

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# CONTENTS

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**INTRODUCTION** ................................................. 1

**PART I: CRITERIA FOR GENDER** .................................. 11
  
  a) The Brut ................................................. 11
  b) The Legendary ........................................... 101
  c) The Chronicle ........................................... 120

**PART II: RESULTS** ............................................... 134
  
  a) Nouns of Old English origin ............................ 136
  b) Nouns of Old French origin ............................ 188
  c) Nouns of Old Norse origin ............................ 195
  d) Conclusion ............................................... 196

**PART III: GLOSSARY** ........................................... 200

**APPENDIX I** ................................................ 280

**APPENDIX II** ................................................ 284

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** ................................................ 296
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a descriptive study of grammatical gender in early Middle English. It is intended also as a contribution towards some later historical study of grammatical gender in English, which will be possible only after the ground has been systematically covered in a sufficient number of descriptive studies.

The texts on which this investigation is based are:

Laȝamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, MS Cotton Caligula A ix;
The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 108;
The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, MS Cotton Caligula A xi. These texts have the advantage of all being written in the South West Midland dialect; the Brut as it stands may be dated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the Legendary at the very end of the century, and the Chronicle in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Any disparities are thus bound to be mainly a result of the difference in date between the texts, without any serious additional complicating factor of major dialectal contrasts. Furthermore, because of their length, these texts provide a sufficient quantity of fairly homogeneous material for an examination of the features by which grammatical gender was distinguished in each of them. In fact, the length of the Brut is such (32,341 lines) that it seemed unnecessary to examine the whole work to get an adequate
picture of its treatment of gender. Systematic analysis is confined, therefore, to volume one; the second and third volumes were consulted only when the first failed to yield enough information on a given problem.

No systematic attempt has been made to go beyond the descriptive study outlined above; such other matters as are touched upon are mentioned mainly to call attention to problems that seem to merit further investigation.

Similarly, no systematic examination is made of any other extant MSS of the texts under consideration than those mentioned above. But comparison is occasionally made with the MS Cotton Otho C xii (c.1300) of the Brut and the MS Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 4.26 (c.1400) of the Chronicle. For these two MSS, though of a later date than the respective MSS on which this study is based, often preserve archaic forms which are either not to be found in the earlier MSS, or else are dubiously attested.

The history of grammatical gender in English is that of a transitional process from an overt grammatical category to a covert one. In his paper outlining a general theory of grammatical categories, Benjamin Lee Whorf gives the following definitions of overt and covert categories:

(i) An overt category is a category having a formal mark which is present (with only infrequent exceptions) in every sentence containing a member of the category. The mark need not be part of the same word to which category may be said to be attached in a paradigmatic sense; ... it may be a detached word or a certain patterning of the whole sentence.

(ii) A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs. The class membership of the word is not apparent until there is a question of using it or referring to it in one of these special types of sentence, and then we find that this word belongs to a class requiring some sort of distinctive treatment, which may even be the negative treatment of excluding that type of sentence.

In Indo-European languages grammatical gender is usually overtly marked. It can be expressed:

(i) by the form of the noun itself, as for instance in Latin, where a noun is, normally, masculine, feminine or neuter, according, for example, to whether it ends in -us, -a or -um respectively, to mention only one kind of distinction;

(ii) by the form of words that stand in apposition to the noun, such as adjectives and adjectivally used pronouns;

(iii) by the pronouns (personal, relative) used with reference to the noun in question, without being in grammatical apposition to it in the narrower sense implied in (ii), but merely 'referential'.

Though the Indo-European system of gender is continued in OE, i.e. nouns may be classed as masculine, feminine or neuter
on a purely grammatical basis, it has been modified as regards
the actual methods or devices by which gender was expressed.
For in OE, only feminine nouns may be said to have a formal
mark distinguishing them as a class, the ending -e; in the majority of cases this ending distinguishes them from masculine and
neuter nouns. Gender continues to be expressed by indicators
which lie outside the noun itself, i.e. by the articles, adjectives, demonstratives and possessives, as well as by the 'referen-
tial' third singular personal pronoun; in addition one form
of the relative pronoun is still gender-distinctive in OE. This
is the type se (pe), seo (pe), be (pe) as distinct from the
"neutral" be alone.

In ME a number of phonological and morphological
processes caused an eventual elimination of the distinguishing
features of case and gender, first in the noun itself and then
in appositional words. Any overt designations of gender in the
noun become less and less significant; the ending -e, for example,
 ceases to be an unambiguous mark of feminine gender as soon as
OE final unaccented vowels fell together and were written as -e.
In early ME appositional words are already in the process of
being gradually reduced to one form only. In some texts of this
period a distinction is still made in the use of the relative
pronoun according to whether the antecedent is animate or in-
animate, or according to whether it is grammatically masculine
or feminine on the one hand and neuter on the other, by the use
(more or less regularly) of he and hat respectively.  

Modern English gender represents a special covert class, although English nouns bear no distinguishing mark of gender, nevertheless it is the gender of a noun that dictates the form of the personal pronoun used in reference to it. In the overwhelming majority of cases, of course, grammatical gender coincides with natural gender.

Grammatical gender in the traditional sense disappeared - as is usually agreed - with the disappearance of gender-distinctive forms of the noun, adjectives or adjectively used pronouns. An important part in the process was, undoubtedly, played by the appearance of natural gender. In fact, the two processes seem to have run simultaneously. For if the loss of grammatical gender were due only to changes of a formal nature, the personal pronoun could, in theory, have continued to mark the traditional gender distinctions as it did in OE. If, on the other hand, it were primarily due to the appearance of natural gender, as Classen seems to imply, it does not follow that case, and consequently many of the distinctive marks of the old gender system, should

1. See McIntosh, A. 'The Relative Pronouns he and hat in Early Middle English'. English and Germanic Studies, vol. i (1947), pp. 73-87.
have been abandoned. It is at least conceivable that, instead of the old system of gender, a new one could have developed in which nouns denoting males would have acquired the concomitant signs formerly appropriate to grammatically masculine nouns, and so with nouns denoting females and things.

What we find in Middle English is a situation which is the result of a combination of inherited grammatical processes and tendencies, and new psychological attitudes. After the disappearance of overt signs of grammatical gender in the noun and the forms standing in apposition to it, it seems obvious that the personal pronouns would be unlikely to continue for long to mark it by themselves. They could only be expected to do so for a limited time after gender had ceased to be marked (and thus held firmly in memory) in other ways. We may say this with more confidence because it so happens that the personal pronouns had begun already in OE to perform a new function (beside the old one) of marking natural gender; this new (and at first rare) function gradually prevailed over the old one of marking grammatical gender in the course of Middle English. Thus occurrences of hit with reference to nouns denoting things (whatever their grammatical gender) became more and more frequent in that period.

With regard to the designation of grammatical gender the Brut occupies a position still not very far from that of OE, but it shows symptoms of the disintegration of case and gender systems; a further stage of this disintegration can be seen in the Legendary and the Chronicle. The difference between the two latter texts is not considerable; the Chronicle, being slightly later, has a rather smaller number of nouns of which the gender is still distinguishable.

In this investigation it has been felt that a detailed analysis of appositional and referential criteria for gender is necessary in order to examine their value as criteria in each of the works examined. The first part of this study is therefore devoted to an examination of the forms relevant to these criteria (third singular personal pronoun; definite and indefinite article; demonstrative and possessive pronouns; adjectives) as they appear in the four cases of the singular; their plural forms are not gender-distinctive either in OE or ME. This study reveals in an incidental fashion the degree to which the case system as such has been preserved, both in non-prepositional and prepositional use.

1. In these texts there is no tendency to make any distinctions in the use of the relative pronoun; the Brut, however, differs from the others in having, mainly, the old form he or a form ha and less frequently the form hat (variously spelt), which is the only form in both the Legendary and the Chronicle.
The second part is devoted to an examination of OE, OF and ON nouns, with a view to comparing the treatment of gender in nouns of native and of foreign origin. Although in the first part of this work forms are examined regardless of whether they accompany or refer to nouns denoting animates or inanimates, in this second part and in the Glossary only such nouns are considered as may be said truly to possess grammatical gender, i.e. only nouns whose grammatical gender was not in accordance with their natural gender. These nouns are treated in separate sections according to whether they retain their original gender, show a change in gender or loss of gender. Although the thesis is mainly concerned with the survival of grammatical gender, cases in which loss of gender is evidenced are treated here as part of one and the same process whereby grammatical gender as an overt category was brought to an end.

The third part consists of a Glossary of nouns with relevant citations illustrating their gender or genders in each of the texts examined. Examples of hit with reference to historically masculine or feminine nouns are also included to show the way this newer fashion of marking natural gender gradually asserted itself.

Two appendices are attached to the work; Appendix I contains paradigms of gender-distinctive forms in each text; Appendix II consists of lists of all nouns that have been dealt with in the main body of the thesis.
Finally, it should be pointed out that although the problem of grammatical gender in these works has been the subject of earlier investigations, the results of the present work are in no way derived therefrom. A re-examination of the subjects of these studies was felt necessary because of the inadequate treatment given in them to the problem of grammatical gender in general and in these texts in particular.

Of those who have investigated the problem of grammatical gender in these works, Hoffmann\(^1\) alone strictly limits his study to one work only, viz. La3amon's Brut; Körner\(^2\) examines the Brut, part of the Legendary (St. Michael) and the Chronicle, along with a number of other South-West Midland works dating from the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth; Ausbüttel\(^3\) considers the Chronicle together with a great number of other ME works. All the above works are short and none is by any means exhaustive.

Only Hoffmann attempts to examine the devices by which grammatical gender was distinguished in La3amon, and his approach is unsystematic; he is chiefly concerned with the appositional kind of criteria for gender, and the personal pronoun,

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for example, is only mentioned in passing. Körner takes into account the forms he, heo, hit and their inflections, but makes no mention of the asgf. as (L) and is (C). Ausbüttel bases his investigation of gender only on the evidence of the personal pronouns he and heo and their forms in the oblique cases, disregarding the asgf. is, as well as the evidence of the asgm. hen of the definite article.

None of these writers achieves an exhaustive catalogue of nouns still possessing gender, either because this is not attempted, as seems to be the case with Hoffmann, or because full use has not been made of the evidence available, as in the case of Hoffmann, Körner and Ausbüttel. Their works do not, therefore, give satisfactory information about the real position of grammatical gender in the texts examined.

A certain amount of repetition, and the arriving at some conclusions already reached by others, is inevitable in a study of this kind. Where I agree with statements in the above mentioned works, I normally do not make any reference to them; wherever a new interpretation seems necessary, differences of opinion are either discussed in the body of the thesis or pointed out in the footnotes.
Part I

Criteria for gender
Lazamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, MS Cotton Caligula A ix.
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

A distinction between the three grammatical genders is made only in the third person singular, and therefore only the personal pronouns in this category will be treated here.

Nominative singular masculine.

The prevalent form is _he_ as in 1/3.¹ There are, however, a number of quite evidently masculine nouns, such as 'king', 'man' or personal names referred to by heo. The following have been noted: 11/1. 40/11. 44/10. 45/11. 64/12, 13. 111/3, 7. 129/22. 176/16. 181/22. 183/16. 186/19. 194/19. 271/20, 21. 322/6. 328/21. 385/12 and 400/9. Heo, normally feminine, cannot therefore be regarded as an absolutely certain indication of the feminine gender of common nouns. In addition to these two forms _e_ is used in: erw₁ ewas on herten 147/3. Diehn² cites a passage (ii.104/20) where the pronoun appears as _he_. Madden points out that in 6/22 the pronoun seems to be incorporated in the adjective:

- be king wes ihoten Latin
- be on pan londe wes.
- hey wes and riche
- & he wes redesful.

In 284/21 _he_ occurs instead of _he_.

---

1. References are to page and verse.
2. Read _erm_.
Nominative singular feminine.

The regular form is *heo* as in 7/11. Once it appears as *ho: ho iber Belin 212/21*. In two places it has the form *he*, which is normally to be regarded as masculine: 107/2 (used of Guendoleine) and 86/9 (used of 'burh', which is otherwise usually referred to by the feminine forms of the personal pronoun; cf. *hire 86/11*). The occasional use of *heo* for the nsgm. has therefore its counterpart here. The scribal confusion of *e* and *eo* may be due to the falling together of OE *e* and *eo* in some areas.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The regular form for both cases is *hit* as in 13/23. Only once is *he* used instead of a general *hit* in the nominative: 350/4. In the accusative, again instead of a general *hit*, *heo* occurs in 87/4 and *hine* in 152/17.

Neuter nouns denoting persons, such as 'child', are referred to by *he* if the natural gender prevails. This form is used in reference to the noun 'child' denoting a grown up person in: 11/23. 12/3. In 14/1, 2 it refers in fact to Brut,

1. Madden, vol. iii, p. 466, suggests since *æo* is feminine, we must read *heo* for *he* in: and paæe he wraedēe 195/11 or else substitute *iwraedēe* for *he wraedēe*. But *he* here refers to wind from the preceding line rather than to *æo*.


3. The noun 'child', however, seems to have been used only to denote a male child. There are no occurrences of *heo* in reference to it.
who was fifteen at the time, though the antecedent is the word 'child'. In 297/1 it seems to be the idea of 'king' that prevailed over that of 'child':

\[
\text{Urrian \ wæhte \ ðæt \ childe} \\
\text{be \ iweard \ ðisse \ leodes \ king.} \\
\text{a \ 3er \ he \ lecuede.}
\]

In 66/11, 15 he refers to bearn, which represents OE beorn, m. 'man, warrior', and not OE bearn, n. 'child'.

It is used in the same way in 326/21, 23 and 327/1.

Nouns of neuter grammatical gender and feminine natural gender, such as 'maiden' and 'wif', are always referred to by the feminine form of the personal pronoun.

**Accusative singular masculine.**

The most frequently used form in La3amon A is still hine as in 4/4. Occasionally different spellings are also to be found, such as: hín : 287/24, hin : 31/21, hit : 293/14, hene : 180/13, hune : 285/15, inne : 323/19, (hat)ine : 151/9.

Besides these old accusative forms, original dative forms, as Diehn \(^2\) observes, were also used as the accusative. This he illustrates with the line: to ðare \wve \ him drōh 5/13. There are two other examples of the same kind: \wve \ drōh \ him \ rites \ norh 112/20 and: scilde him mid his scelde 359/24 - in

---

1. cf. the definite article below, p. 22, footnote 1.  
2. op. cit. p. 49.
which the subject is at the same time the object of the sentence.

With the exception of 'Dunwale him bi-pohte' in 178/10, the verb 'bi-penchen' is in A followed by the accusative, as in: be king hine bi-poute 44/18. The above example in A seems to have escaped the notice of Funke who says: 'bi-penchen ... wird in A und B mit dem Akkusativ konstruiert ... In v. 30575 scheint B die Konstruktion zu vermisschen: A ofte he hine bi-lohte; B Brian him bi-pohte ... Während die bei Lazamon A so beliebte Phrase: he hine bi-lohte, what he don mihte - doch immer den Akkusativ hat'. It would be difficult to say whether or not this is a case of the mixing of two constructions, or merely of two forms; if the latter is the case, it provides another example of the syncretism of the dative and the accusative.

That such syncretism is taking place in Lazamon is shown by the following examples, where a dative form is used as the direct object with the verbs governing the accusative:

a) & him grimliche heaf (Geomagog) 81/14

b) pat swiken he him wolde (broder) 168/12


3. Madden, commenting on the form him in 81/14 says that it is apparently an error for the accusative hine, adding that in this text him is only used for the dative singular. Later, however, he admits that the form him, as in 288/18, can sometimes be used in the early text for the accusative hine. See vol. iii, pp. 454 and 473.
c) pat if he him wolde leoðien (Gudlac) 203/19
   of laðe his benden

d) þe oðer wolde him habben dæd (Euelin) 348/17

e) & nom erendrake godne
   & sende him to Æres 354/14

f) & sehtnien him wið Cesare (king) 377/3

g) þe while þe ich mai him freoien (Cassibelaune)
   379/19.

In: he his kinehelm on-feng/ and sette hī on his
broðer þæft 288/18, hī probably stands for him, though it
could possibly stand for hin.

Accusative singular feminine.

The asgf. of the third person is heo as in 7/14,
though there are occasional occurrences of different spellings,
such as: hoe : 3/6, ha : 135/10. In 187/5 it appears as he:
' he þe þeueð þe forð riht', where the B text reads: he wole
þe hire ȝifue forþ riht.

Of originally dative forms used as accusative, I have
noted only one example: and nemnede hire æfter him seoluen
(burh) 303/4.¹ This is followed in the next line by: & hehten
heo Kær-Lud.

¹. Cf. Funke, op. cit. p. 30: 'Akkusativ in A ist heo'. Yet
on p. 22 he wrongly cites: 'men heold hire for hehne god'.
The correct reading of A is: men heold heo for hehne god
(49/15).
Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Both for masculine and neuter, the regular form is his as in 1/12. It is spelt hiis in 128/7, 132/21 and 137/9; is in 130/6; hes in 125/15; hus in 136/13. In all these cases it is used in reference to masculine nouns.

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Apart from the common hire (e.g. 54/12), other forms are to be found in the gsgf., such as: hira in 146/5, ire: 216/15, hiire: 128/3, heore: 126/5, 404/24, hir: 10/24, her: 418/15, hires: 216/16; all with the exception of 404/24 (Rome), are used of nouns denoting female persons. - As the dsgf. appears the common hire as in 170/19, heore: 170/17, here: 170/18 and hir: 304/13.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

In most cases the form is him as in 1/8. Used with reference to masculine nouns, it is occasionally spelt as hī, e.g. 7/7 and once as hā in 57/21. Diehn¹ lists also hin in II.50/1, as well as im, which is in fact part of the reflexive pronoun used after a preposition: vorð mid im seoluen 415/4. The accusative form hine is once used with the verb sæden (63/4),

¹ op. cit. p. 49.
which in Layamon regularly governs the dative of person. Another\(^1\) accusative form occurs in:

\[
\text{and þus elkene forms gult}
\]

\[
\text{þe king suf hine for-gef 182/14}\]

where - according to the OE usage - the dative of person would also have been required.\(^3\) Funke,\(^4\) however, takes this to represent a double accusative.\(^5\)

**THE DEFINITE ARTICLE**

**Nominative singular masculine.**

The nsgrm. has the following forms, given in order of frequency: pe : 6/20 etc. (423 times); ba : 75/1 etc. (14); bem : 262/17. 349/18. 382/10; bon : 234/2. 380/17.\(^6\)

Diehn does not list the two examples of bon in the nsgrm.:

- of alle þeo londe
- þon keiser hêfde an honde 234/2

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1. Diehn makes no reference to either of these two examples.
2. Read sufþ.
3. Cf. Hie forgeafon þêm Cæsere þa fehþe þþ his wæg hêfde wîd hie ðer geworht, ond he forgeaf him þ unryht and þ facn þ hi him don pohton ... Ors. 6, 4. S. 258, 27-29 (cited by Bosworth-Toller), s. v. forþefan.
4. op. cit. p. 40.
5. For a general discussion on the personal pronouns as criteria for gender, see p. 32 ff.
6. For occurrences of þat with historically masculine nouns in the nominative singular, see p. 23.
where the B text has: pat pan kayser stod an honde. The A
scribe must here have changed the verb of the original, but
retained the dative form of the article.¹

There is nothing in the B text corresponding to the
second example:

for pa hefde swiðe muchel care
Juli' pon kæiser 380/17.

The explanation may be similar as above, or perhaps bon is
merely a scribal error.²

What seems to be a third example of the same kind,
is in fact quite different and conforms to the rule:

pa longede swiðe
Luces pon kinge 431/23.

for the verb longen governs the dative in Layamon.³

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2. It is doubtful whether we can take these two cases of bon
in the nsgm. as mistakes for ðæ, as suggested by Hoffmann
(op. cit. p. 51), in view of the disagreement in the vowel.
This disagreement, however, is not manifest in the example
occurring in 234/2 as cited by him (pan kaiser hefde an honde)
and he makes no mention of the other.
fordert im Althälschen Akkusativrektion. Layamon konstruiert
mit Dativ: pa longede swiðe Luces pon kinge 10125 (B. pan);
me longeð 18721; pa ifunde Mørčlin under ane treo standen and
søere him gon longen A, B. (him kann in A, nur Dativ sein).'
I am more inclined to accept this as a dative when dealing
with a case of the definite article than of the personal
pronoun, as the personal pronoun shows the syncretism to a
greater extent than the definite article does. For incorrect-
ness of the statement about the form him, see pp. 14-15.
Nominative singular feminine.

The order of frequency of the forms of the definite article in the nsgf. suggests that there is still some distinction between the masculine and feminine forms. For the most frequently used form is \textit{ba} as in 6/17 etc. (56 times); then comes \textit{be} as in 4/11 etc. (26); \textit{peo} occurs six times: 12/13, 21, 13/2, 160/17, 171/7 and 268/21; \textit{be} is recorded in 418/19.

Nominative singular neuter.

The prevalent form is \textit{bat} as in 13/21 etc.; then comes \textit{p}\textsuperscript{\textdagger} as in 8/4 etc.; \textit{bet}: 76/3 etc.; \textit{bdt} appears only once: 335/5 and so does \textit{p}\textsuperscript{t}: 7/20; \textit{be} and \textit{ba} also occur, six and four times respectively.

In order to test the validity of the criteria for establishing the existence of grammatical gender, it is essential

1. Madden evidently regarded these occurrences of \textit{be} with feminine nouns as irregularities, since - commenting on \textit{be burh} in 86/8 - he says: 'Here and in several other instances \textit{be} is used before a feminine noun'; see vol. iii, p. 455.

2. Here \textit{beo} by the first hand was substituted for \textit{be} by the second (Madden). On the form \textit{beo} see Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.} p. 9. It should be pointed out, however, that although this form of the definite article is found only with feminine nouns, \textit{beo} is also one of the forms in which the relative pronoun appears, irrespective of gender of the antecedent; cf. 12/4 (n.), 127/11 (m.).

3. For \textit{bat} form of the definite article in the nominative singular with historically feminine nouns see p. 24.

4. With a stroke through the upper part of the letter.

5. Diehn does not list the abbreviated forms, nor \textit{ba}. Hoffmann omits \textit{p}\textsuperscript{t}. 
to examine and be fully aware of the cases where the system seems to be breaking down. As can be seen from the above, there are a few instances where the non-neuter form of the definite article is used with a neuter noun.¹

Diehn² illustrates the use of be in such circumstances by the following line: be child wes iboren isund (B: be) 13/18. Apart from this, be or ba appear also with other nouns which are firmly established as neuter on other criteria. Such are:

- deor: bat be deor feol abac (B hit) 277/4. The use of be here may be due, as Hoffmann suggests,³ to the plural being often taken by scribes as singular. Or, it may be due to a triumph of the feeling for animate gender. It could also be that the scribe tried occasionally to avoid the repetition of the word bat in the same line. Cf. sweord below.

- faht: be faht was unimete (B falle) 247/3. The scribe A probably changed the original noun but kept the form of the definite article belonging to it, as falle (OE fiell, m.) in B suggests.

- folk: be folk of Burguine (B pat) 236/7 ferde agan mid Brenne. The alliteration suggests that there has been no change in the original noun folk. There

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¹ For a possible evidence of a similar tendency in the asgn. see p. 26.
² op. cit. p. 68.
³ op. cit. p. 21.
seem to be two possible explanations for this.
First, it might have been felt as a plural by the
scribe, though in that case we should expect the
verb to be *ferden*. Numerous examples of *pat folk*
followed by the plural pronoun would also seem to
be against this supposition. Alternatively, the
non-neuter form of the definite article may be due
to the noun being felt as having animate gender.

*gersume:* muchel wes *pa gersume* 112/3, but: & alle heo nom
*pat garsume* 194/19. The noun had both masculine
and neuter gender in OE, both of which may there¬
fore be preserved in these examples.

*maiden:* *pus seide pe maiden* Cordoille (B *pat*) 130/2. Apart
from the natural gender, the name itself may well
account for the form of the definite article here.

*sweord:* *pat pa sweord wes i-cleoped* (B *hit*) 326/11 inne Rome
*Crocia Mors*. A comparison with: *pa pet sweord in
deer* 277/16 in A and: *pat be swerd in* held in B,
suggests the possibility of occasional avoidance
on the part of the scribe of the repetition of *pat*
in the same line. Cf. *deor* above.

*tidende:* This word appears several times with non-neuter
forms of the definite article. It is often difficult,
however, to decide whether the noun is in the singular
or plural, unless it is used with the verb *to be.*
Other verbs do not show clearly in which number
the noun stands. Cf.:

a) þa tíð ende com to Corineum 59/1
b) þa come þa tíð ende 159/1
c) Sædæ him comen þæ tíð ende 391/17

Once, however, it is preceded by þat:

þæ þuhte Ælæþerie
þæ tíð ende swiðe murie (B þeoæ) 432/21

wriht: meaning 'letter', is otherwise always treated as neuter. It is used with þæ only once; al swa þæ wriht þæ seid 21/8, where B reads: al so þat wriht speket. þæ in A is apparently a mistake, or is perhaps due to subconscious association with wriht 'smith', as spelling might suggest.¹

This use of the non-neuter forms of the definite article with neuter nouns is paralleled with the use of the neuter form þæt with historically masculine and feminine nouns in the nominative singular.² It is very difficult to decide whether in such cases we are dealing with a genuine change in gender, complete or partial, or simply with mistakes. There seems to be a third possibility, that of þæt being not a form

¹ To these, examples with the noun bearn seem to belong. But þæ(a)rn in Ælæmon represents both OE beorn, m. 'man, warrior' and OE bearn, n. 'child'. The distinction between these two forms is strictly maintained in this text by a distinction in gender. When it means 'man', the noun is preceded by non-neuter þæ or þæ; e.g. 66/12 and 326/17. When it means 'child', the accompanying definite article has the neuter form þæt, as in 15/21. The same distinction is made in the use of the personal pronoun; see p. 13.

² The same thing happens in the accusative singular; see pp. 26 ff.
of the definite article at all, but a form with demonstrative force, used irrespective of gender of the noun it accompanies.\textsuperscript{1}

Examples are:

A. OE masculines:

\textit{hired}: Ford\, i-wende \textit{pat} hired 262/16 and: \textit{pa} answere \textit{p} hired 330/20. If there had been a change in gender, it might have been brought about by association with the neuter noun \textit{folic}.

\textit{seil-clæs}: sulken wes \textit{pat} seil-clæs 194/7. The use of \textit{bat} in this case may be due to the neuter gender of OE \textit{segl}, n. m., whereas a masculine gender corresponding to that of OE \textit{clab} would be expected. Cf. \textit{vifmon} below.

\textit{tur}: and of castles ner \textit{per} na \textit{ping}/ bute \textit{pat} tur \textit{be} makede Belin king 302/8. This noun was masculine in OE, but in L\textit{am}on is mostly feminine under the influence of OF \textit{tur}, f.

\textit{vifmon}: Ouer soh seiden \textit{pat} 3un3e \textit{vifmon} 147/16. The reason here may be similar to that suggested for \textit{seil-clæs} above, or \textit{bat} is perhaps due to an association with the neuter \textit{weiden}. The noun is usually feminine in L\textit{am}on.

\textit{weal}: al \textit{pat} \textit{weal} \& al \textit{pat} gold 346/12. \textit{bat} is used here probably under the influence of \textit{bat} \textit{gold} in the same line.

\textsuperscript{1} See also the section on changes in gender, pp. 182-83.
B. OE feminines:

ferde: ȝevere was pat ferde 212/14. If this is a case of a change in gender, it may have been caused by an association with the neuter noun folc. The noun is still normally treated as feminine.

forward: Al pat forward wes ilet 47/2. Other evidence shows that this may be a genuine change in gender.

niht: A pet pustere niht 418/6. This appears to be no more than a scribal error.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: bene : 9/11 etc. (61 times); bane : 196/6 etc. (10); bæne : 205/5, 208/12, 283/3; bæne : 379/3, 425/6; b'ne : 134/5; bonne : 188/19; bonne : 196/4; benne : 242/3;

1. Cf. ȝeord pat ferde 75/14.

2. See p. 181.

3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 10, takes this form, of which he gives only the example in 208/12, to be a mistake. He also alleges that the most frequent form is bæne, then bene, bæne, b'ne and bæe. My own analysis of the various forms of the asgm. does not confirm this, as can be seen above. (I have not been able to trace bæe; neither does Madden give it with other asgm. forms of the definite article in his Glossary).

4. Bieneh, op. cit. p. 66, also cites bonne in: bi bonne toppe he hine nom 30/1. Other evidence, however, shows that the preposition bi governed the dative, not the accusative (see p. 74). His alleged example of bene as the asgm. in 19/3 (wide ȝeord pane londe) is wrong, since it is used with a noun which all other evidence shows clearly to be neuter.
hen : 7/3. 48/3; he¹ : 38/21. 235/11? 338/11.²

Except for: & grete we þen alde king 7/3 and : þen oðer dai heo comen liðen 48/3 (in both of which the omission of the final -e in the article may be due to the following vowel),³ no other occurrences of an asgm. form without -e seem to appear in volume one. Hoffmann⁴ gives some more examples from volumes two and three; one of these, however, is erroneous since it is a dative after the preposition to: þer to weoren ilaðede/ to þezne þæn king ii. 414/18.

Accusative singular feminine

Forms: þa : 54/23 etc. (54 times); he : 14/21 etc. (25); hæ : 196/19, 21. 303/1. 399/18; þea : 86/1; þeo : 364/5.⁵

1. Both Diehn and Hoffmann have missed the example of þe as the asgm. in 38/21 (þeue us þe king & al his gold). The example in 338/11 (& awalde we þe keiser) is noted by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 21, and he gives further examples from vols. ii and iii. The example in 235/11 (þa haueden heo þa mere mie) is doubtful, since this noun might have undergone a change in gender.

2. For occurrences of þat with historically masculine nouns in the accusative singular, see p. 27.

3. Cf. þane pridda dai hii come 48/3 in B.

4. op. cit. p. 12.

5. Madden suspects that to is a mistake for þa in line 197/21 which reads: And þe cnites heom ledden/ Godlac and to quene. Diehn, op. cit. p. 68, lists this form as asgf. In 281/8 a form þan occurs with the originally feminine noun leode; this, however, seems to be a mistake for þa (cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54.), unless the verb fondian governs the dative here; cf. p. 61, footnote 1. For occurrences of þat with historically feminine nouns in the accusative, see p. 26 ff.
Accusative singular neuter.

Forms: bat: 28/6; dæ/6/17; bet: 7/26; bed: 161/8; 
ba: 159/10, 352/21, 367/10, be: 312/4, 316/1; ben: 128/8.

There is no question of a possible change in gender in the first two examples of ba and the second of be, as they are used with lond (159/10), lond-gaueil (352/21), and tale (316/1). All these nouns are well established as neuter in Laȝamon on other evidence. Of ba ref in 367/10 and be erende in 312/4 it is difficult to say much, as these are my only references of these two nouns; one can merely note that reaf and erende were neuter in OE and that all these examples suggest a spread of nsgn. and n/asgf. forms into the asgn.

There are, however, some otherwise masculine or feminine nouns which appear with bat in the accusative singular and which require special discussion. They are:

anlicnes: heo wurðeden þanlicnes 50/1. The noun was feminine in OE, but on this and other evidence appears to have become neuter.

1. We should perhaps add the following to the examples of ba: Ænoñ þa heluen dale 302/19. It is impossible, however, to decide whether the noun dale as it appears here originates from the OE dæl, m. or the OE geadal, n. Because of the numnation in Laȝamon, the form of the adjective cannot be taken as evidence for masculine gender. The same, of course, applies to the example in 128/8 (pea bridde del of mine londe), although the absence of ð in the adjective might suggest the neuter as original gender of the noun.

2. For a possible similar tendency in the nsgn. see p. 21 ff.

clerscipes: þa setten heo biscopes
þan folken to dihten.
per ouer ærchebiscopes
þat clerscipe to rihten 435/7 (B þane)

Other evidence shows that OE masculine nouns in
-scipe are treated as feminine in Laȝamon A. This
is the only case where such a noun is preceded by
hat.

hauen: þat hauen of Douere he haude inumæn 316/19. The
noun is otherwise feminine; cf. and þa hauene at
Doure hafde inumæn 365/12; Brutus i þære hauene
leþ 60/5.

Regau: Scoal habbe Regau þ þcone 131/18. This, of course,
may just be a mistake,¹ but no doubt due to asso-
ciation with the neuter meiden.

winter: al þ winter heo wuneden here 382/17 (B þon); al
þat winter wuneden here 421/21 (B þat). The old
masculine gender is kept in: Arður wes i Cornwale/
al þene winter þere iij.510/23.

worlde: and halde þat worlde in his hond 307/16; the noun
is normally treated as feminine in Laȝamon; cf.
at þære worlde ende 313/13, unless the genitive
in -e in this line and in: þan weordes scone
20/3 is the sign of a change in gender.

¹. Cf. P. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54.
These examples cannot lightly be dismissed as mere scribal mistakes for $\textit{ba}$,\(^1\) especially since additions to the original form would have been contrary to the tendency to reduce the use of flexions. Besides, such an explanation would apply only to feminine nouns, $\textit{ba}$ being an asgf. form, and leave the use of $\textit{bat}$ instead of $\textit{baine}$ with masculine nouns unexplained. A certain amount of confusion of gender must be allowed for; this may be in evidence in the case of $\textit{olmescipe}$, where the original (as we infer from the B reading) probably had the masculine $\textit{baine}$. For those nouns which were feminine in OE, despite the impossibility of being sure whether they have demonstrative force, I am inclined to take these $\textit{bat}$ forms as being in some way connected with the asgf. form $\textit{bas}$ of the demonstrative pronoun.\(^2\)

Rather than being scribal errors for $\textit{bas}$, they may well be early examples of the use of the form $\textit{bat}$ of the demonstrative pronoun for all genders.\(^3\) Further evidence for

\begin{enumerate}
\item P. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 54-55.
\item Cf. and halde $\textit{bat}$ worlde in his hond/ Ah he ne mihte hit don/ al $\textit{bas}$ worlde under fote 307/18-20 (Madden:under-fon?).
\item Two clear cases where the historically singular form of the neuter is used in a plural sense might be held to confirm the possibility of $\textit{bat}$ being extended from its original nsg. function to other genders and numbers. They are: $\textit{bat}$ d\textit{a}lden $\textit{bat}$ bro\textit{d}eran 161/5 al pis drihtliche lond; whet $\textit{bat}$ scipen weoren 264/7. T. Heltveit in his Studies in English Demonstrative Pronouns (Oslo, 1953, p. 80) draws attention to "some stray instances of that before plural nouns" in the texts he had examined. For the use of $\textit{that}$ for $\textit{those}$ see also OED.
\end{enumerate}
this is found in the use of the definite article after prepositions. 1

A different problem is presented by:

Ful soue gere  
mid pon kinge he wunede þere.  
þat king he haued iquemed  
& al swa þere quene. 169/8-11

Madden 2 and Hoffmann 3 take this as another example of þat used instead of þan, since they claim that iquemed governed the dative. Though it is clear that the dative is used in line 11, cases of the passive construction of the same verb show that it could govern the accusative as well. This is noted by Funke 4 who gives the following examples:

a) for he nes þeo noht iquemed A 130/5 5  
b) þe we been iquemed 40/17. 6

Discussing the example in line 169/10, however, he reads:

þat (Relat.) king he hauede iquemed. 7

I do not see how this can be a relative, in view of the sense of the whole passage. It may well be another example

1. See p. 97.  
2. vol. iii, p. 463.  
3. op. cit. p. 54.  
4. op. cit. p. 33.  
5. Wrongly cited as þe nes noht iquemed 3063 A.B. The correct reading of A is given above; the B text reads: þor he nes noht iow... The line is also wrongly cited as 3063 instead of 3062.  
6. The line is wrongly given as 940 instead of 938.  
7. O. Funke, op. cit. p. 33.
of a possible demonstrative, since bat could then take up the sense of bon kinge, i.e. that king (just mentioned).  

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

The most common form for both genders is bes; e.g. 15/8 (m.), 10/3 (n.); beon: 189/1. 206/15, 18. 346/2, 13. 422/4 with masculines; 136/3. 207/22. 323/3 with neuters; bis: 41/15. 285/7. 304/15 (m.); 315/15 (n.). In addition: bess: 35/4. 259/11. 397/1 and has: 31/6. 34/14 are recorded; all these cases, as it happens, are masculine. For the neuter, bus occurs in 53/16. Diehn lists this as a genitive, though Madden took it to be a mistake for has. The line reads:

& scal pin mere kun
walden bus londes (B: wel pat londe witie).

The OE wealdan could, according to Delbrück, be followed by the accusative, dative or genitive; according to Funke, it

1. It is possible that bat may have here the quite different meaning of so that or until. It is used in La3amcn in both these senses; e.g. & resden to pan castle/ bat com to pere nihte/ bat lengre heo ne mihte 71/20-22. In that case, the definite article before the noun 'king' must have been lost, and we should read: bat pen king ...

2. op. cit. p. 65.

3. See vol. iii, p. 450. He says that it does not appear, from numerous other passages, that wealdan governs the genitive in La3amon as in OE. In support of this he cites the same phrase occurring in v. 32233, where - according to him - londes is accusative plural: walden pas londes (iii.297/1).


could also be used with a preposition. The reading of the
B text suggests that the phrase *bus longes* is in the singular
here, and therefore genitive, rather than the accusative plural.

**Genitive and dative singular feminine.**

The most frequently used form for the gsgf. and dsgf.
is *bera* as in 15/7 etc.; *bare* : 7/10 etc.; *bera* occurs twice in
the genitive : 79/10 and 309/6; *bera* is recorded only once :
71/17. Diehn¹ also lists *ber* in 104/20, which is used after
a preposition (of *bon kinge* & of *ber quene*).²

**Dative singular masculine and neuter.**

The common form of the dative singular for both
genders is *ben* : 15/24 etc.; *bon* : 207/5 etc.; *ben* : 69/15 etc.;
for the masculine we also have *beren* : 395/9, 408/24; *beon* :
373/10; *bon* : 340/19;³ *boe* : 312/22; *bone* : 115/8; *bene* : 66/22;⁴
for the neuter *be* occurs in 166/15.

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¹. *op. cit.* p. 67.
². The uninflected forms are dealt with in the section on
prepositions; see pp. 95-96.
³. The use of *bæ* in : he droh in ane havelue/ & toc pæ herberwe
340/19 (B: tock to here bore 33) presents a difficulty, for
the word 'herberwe' does not occur in any other context
in which gender can be established with certainty. The
noun was feminine in OE; the reading *bæ* is a mistake for
*be*, provided the verb here is a transitive one, and requires
the accusative. If it is a dative, a change in gender is
to be supposed.
⁴. See Madden, vol. iii, p. 452.
Diehn does not include in his list either of the examples of an apparently accusative form used where we should expect a dative. Hoffmann¹ lists both:

a) leouest þone kinge (B: leuest þan kinge) 115/8
b) wa wrèe auer þene smið (B: wo worpe þe smip) 66/22.

He also lists: wa wea þone unstronge 172/14 and: þene keisere he eode near 379/1. Whether the former should be included or not, depends on whether it is singular or plural. The latter is dealt with in the section on prepositions.²

From this survey of personal pronouns and the definite article, the criteria they furnish for establishing the grammatical gender of nouns seem to fall into three categories:

I. Those by which a clear distinction is made between all three genders of a given case, such as the accusative singular, except in a few doubtful and problematical instances:

   hine : heo : hit
   þene : ba : bat³

II. Those by which a clear distinction (with the same qualifications about exceptional cases) is made between mascul-

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1. *op. cit.* p. 11.
2. See p. 90.
3. Sub-variety within any one gender (e.g. asgr. ba, be, bæ, bea, beo) is irrelevant so long as any of these forms is in contrast with all forms of the other two genders.
ine and neuter nouns on the one hand and feminine nouns on the other. This is the case with the genitive and dative singular:

\[ \text{his} : \text{hire} \quad \text{him} : \text{hire} \]
\[ \text{bes} : \text{here} \quad \text{ban} : \text{here} \]

III. Those by which a similar distinction is made between masculine and feminine nouns on the one hand and neuter nouns on the other. Such is the case with the nominative singular:

\[ \text{he}, \text{heo} : \text{hit} \]
\[ \text{be}, \text{ba} : \text{ban} \]

The criteria of category I are somewhat weakened in practice by the occasional use with nouns which are normally masculine or neuter of a form of the article \text{ba}, \text{be}, which is otherwise to be regarded as specifically accusative singular feminine. Similarly, \text{ban} need not necessarily establish the neuter gender of the noun it accompanies, since, apart from occasional cases of scribal error, it may, as we have suggested, sometimes have a legitimate non-neuter function as a demonstrative.

The criteria of category II offer the most reliable evidence for feminine gender on account of the very marked regularity of the \text{-re} ending of both pronoun and article. As for the masculine and neuter forms, the gsg. \text{his} : \text{bes} etc. and the dsg. \text{him} : \text{ban} etc. are useful for establishing that the noun is not feminine in gender.
The criteria of category III are the least reliable, and for two reasons. First, because the extended use of the 'uninflected' forms he, ha with neuter nouns weakens their value as a mark of non-neuter nouns. Secondly, the occasional use of heo in reference to masculine nouns alongside its normal use in reference to feminine, weakens the value of heo as an indicator of feminine gender.

On the whole, the gender of a noun can be established with a fair deal of certainty even in the case of single occurrences, if the noun in question occurs in one of the following situations:

1. In the g/dsg. accompanied by a pronoun or article in -re (f.)
2. In the asg. accompanied by a pronoun or article in -ne (m.)
3. In the n/asg. referred to by the personal pronoun hit (n.)
4. In the n/asg. referred to by the personal pronoun heo (f.)

However reliable such types of evidence may be, the establishing of the gender of a noun must be made only on the basis of all evidence available. In this way possible mistakes based on evidence from one or two instances can often be eliminated. Thus, when a noun which a considerable body of evidence shows to be regularly feminine in gender is found once preceded by a form bat or is referred to by he, we need not be disturbed by these two apparently anomalous cases and our conviction that the gender of the noun is feminine may even teach us something about the use of bat and he which we had not suspected hitherto.
THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular.

There are two forms of the indefinite article: an and a, both used with all three genders. An usually precedes words beginning with a vowel (e.g. an eotan 58/24), or h (e.g. an heh king 86/23), though there are a few cases of it being used before consonants (e.g. an preost 1/1). These two forms are used in the asgn. as well. On has been recorded once in volume one: on arwe 105/4.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: ene : 9/8 etc. (54 times); enne : 9/21 etc. (11); anne : 5/8 etc. (8); ëne : 149/8. 276/5. 395/7; ëne : 165/17. 268/21; aane : 86/2. 186/12; an : 30/21.

There seem to be three possible explanations for the form ane. It could be a) a mistake for enne; b) the result

1. Other examples are: Achalon heihte an flum 24/3; swiæc hit an leon weora 62/18; þæ wes an leodisc king 91/5; þat an muchel ern spec 120/6; swa me is pin an lime 127/23; sulch hit an liun were 174/13; þæ com an gume ërne 364/14; þer is iboren an luttel child 389/8; an swiæc selcud gumme 411/16; an king þæ heihte Rodric 423/5. It could be suggested here as a possibility that an before consonants might mean something stronger than the indefinite article a. It has been pointed out by Madden (vol. i, p. xliii) that 'an or on is also a numeral one, and equivalent both to an and sum in Anglo-Saxon'. It would appear from these examples that in such functions it was formally distinguished from the indefinite article.
of the falling together of the accusative and the dative; or 
c) one could see in it, as Hoffmann suggests, the influence 
of the definite article pane.

What appears to be an uninflected form, i.e. an, 
occurs only twice, and in both cases the following word begins 
with a vowel:

a) Brutus him swar an ø 30/21
b) to þifuen us an ende 266/3
i þine kine-londe.

We may therefore presume that it was originally a mistake for 
enne, a form both nouns would have required, since they are 
masculine in gender, and that later -e was dropped in this 
kind of context for phonetic reasons.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: 
en : 7/12 (46 times); enne : 95/15, 209/6;
ana : 50/19, 67/3;² enne : 184/21, 401/13, 408/18, 409/16;
anne : 256/3; an : 2/21, 206/5, 296/15, 394/22.

The five occurrences in this function of enne and 
anne, otherwise associated with the asgm., weaken the evidence 
of these two forms for masculine gender. Of the above examples, 
enne feire wimman in 409/16 may be a survival of the OE form,

1. op. cit. p. 13.
2. Another example is to be found in: ana dala of his londa 
83/14, which suggests a change in gender of the noun dal 
from neuter to feminine.
the noun having been masculine in gender in OE, though it is feminine elsewhere in La3«raon; enne moder in 184/21, might have been influenced by enne in the preceding line, where it is used correctly with the masculine noun fader:

Nefde 3e ba enne fader
and beie enne moder.

Examples with burh are somewhat more difficult to explain, since this noun, though normally feminine, sometimes appears to be masculine.¹ This, however, is not the case with the example in 256/3, since in the following line the noun is referred to by the feminine pronoun heo:

& anne burh makede.
he heo makeda æele.

Nor does it seem to be the case with the other example:

heo arærden enne bur3« e 408/18
since the noun is preceded by the asgf. form ha of the definite article in: ha burh yef Armiragus 408/23. All that can be said about fifth example:

Nes he þer buten enne niht 401/13
is that it leaves us uncertain as to the gender of the noun niht in this particular case, since the noun, although on other evidence established as feminine, appears to have changed its gender in: he aras to þan mid-nihte 324/3.²

1. Cf. he ferden to þan bur3«en 263/5; & well hine wusten 416/12.
2. For a further discussion on changes in gender see pp. 163-164.
The fact that the asgm. of the definite article, normally found with -n-, sometimes has -nn-, together with the fact that the same thing happens in the case of the indefinite article, suggests that the contrast -n- / -nn- in these words might have 'grammatical' significance, but of case, not of gender. For that reason we may be justified in supposing that the asg. enne is not necessarily an evidence for masculine gender.

An is used several times before words beginning with a vowel. For instance: an oðer (booj he nom on Latin 2/21; an oðer strete he makede swile hendi 206/5; gederede an oðer (uerde) 394/22. Once it precedes a consonant: alch of heom an stunde 296/15 wes king in pissen londe.


Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Forms: anes : 94/7 etc.; with the double consonant:
onnes : 67/2; ennes : 370/13; (moni)enes : 322/20.

Occasionally the indefinite article appears to be uninflected, as in the following:

2. Cf. the gsgm/n. below.
3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 22, wrongly lists the last two among masculines.
a) *a wifmonnes liche* 49/5

b) *an eorles wif* 299/23.

But in these cases the indefinite article can be taken to relate to the second noun, not the first, in which case the noun in the genitive performs the function of an adjective. When, on the other hand, the adjective agrees with the first noun, i.e. with the noun in the genitive, it also appears in the inflected form, as in: *anes habhes kinges dohter* 94/7.¹

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The common form for both cases in non-prepositional use is *are*,² as in 49/7. Instead of *are*, *hare* appears twice (151/10 and 153/16), along with the preposition *to*.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The common form for both genders is *ane*; e.g. 317/10. Instead of *ane*, *āne* is used once, together with *moni*: & moni-āne he dude some 322/21.

In conclusion we may say that, with certain reservations, it is possible to establish the gender of a noun on

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² With prepositions, however, *ane*, normally associated with the asgf. (or dsgm/n.), occurs several times in the dsgf.; see p. 92.
the evidence of the form of an accompanying indefinite article, particularly in the accusative singular, where a distinction is usually made between all three genders.

As for the genitive singular, the distinction is made between masculine and neuter nouns on the one hand by the use of the contrastive inflectional forms -es and -re respectively. The ending -re is also an indicator of a feminine noun in the dative singular, while ane accompanies both masculine and neuter nouns in this case.

1. Since the adjective na behaves in a similar manner to the indefinite article, I give here only an illustration of its forms as they occur without discussing them.

nsg.: na : 56/23; re : 298/5; no : 149/4; nan : 85/4;
    na : 354/24; nan : 152/22.
asgm.: na : 144/7.
gm/n.: nanes : 427/22.
g/dagf.: naner.
dswnn.: nan ; nanne : 152/9.
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.


Diehn lists also beos : ii.399/3 and bes : iii.297/6.

It appears that the form bes < OE bes was still felt, to a certain extent, to be the proper masculine form. The other forms of the demonstrative pronoun in the nsgm. concern us here only in so far as they coincide with forms associated with the other two genders, thus giving rise to ambiguity as to gender.

Nominative singular feminine.

Forms: beos : 12/8 etc.; bas : 87/18 etc.; bes : 302/9. A few examples of bis have been noted by Hoffmann:

ii.245/6. ii.411/19. ii.577/7. iii.158/11.

1. op. cit. p. 70.

2. For an explanation of the possible development of these variously spelt forms, see A. Luhmann, 'Die Überlieferung von Lajamons Brut', Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xxii, pp. 86-7.

3. op. cit. p. 19. These examples, however, require some comment. The close connection with the OE tacen, n. may account for the use of bis with taoninge, f. in ii.245/6. Though it is not always possible to decide whether tidende is in the singular or plural, there are examples where it is clearly neuter (see the Glossary). This would seem to justify the use of bis with that noun in ii.411/19. Both ferde and weorlde, though normally feminine, are also sometimes found with the neuter form of the definite article (see pp. 24 and 27), so that the use of bis with them in ii.577/7 and iii.158/11, respectively, may be legitimate.
Hoffmann\(^1\) alleges that the form *beos* is not a descendant of the OE *ègeos*, but an alternative spelling of *bes*. This he claims on the grounds that *beos* is also used as the asg., as well as the nominative and accusative plural. The fact that some other words with *eo* and *ēo* in OE have kept the same spelling in Layamon\(^2\) weakens his argument considerably.\(^3\)

**Nominative and accusative singular neuter.**

Forms: *bis* : 12/2 etc. (49 times); *bes* : 123/8.
197/9; *bes* : 312/18;\(^4\) *beos* : 156/10; *bisse* : 66/2.\(^5\)

From the foregoing it will be seen that in the nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun those very forms by which a distinction of gender was made in OE, namely *bes* - *beos* - *bis*, are still, though to a small degree, gender-distinctive in Layamon.

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2. cf. *weofed* (OE *weofed*); *beod* (OE *bēod*).
3. For a possible explanation of the development of forms other than *beos*, see Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 10 and 19.
4. Diehn, *op. cit.* p. 72, also lists *bes* in: *bes wurse* taken 157/2, probably misguided by Madden's translation, although Madden himself has pointed out the mistake in the interpretation of this line, saying that it is to be taken as the gsgm. of the definite article, accompanying the noun *wurse*; see vol. iii, p. 451.
5. For other spellings than *bis*, see Diehn, *op. cit.* p. 72 and Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8. On the form *bisse*, see Hoffmann, *ibid.* p. 27.
But we have also seen that other spellings occur side by side with these. The result of this is to make an unambiguous distinction of gender impossible, for a form which in OE expressed one gender and one only, came to be used - at least occasionally - with other genders as well. As a result, we have a situation in which *bes - beos - bis* may stand for:

a) nsgm. - nsgf. - nsgn. respectively

b) nominative singular irrespective of gender.

The order of frequency with which the nominative singular forms occur, as given above, clearly shows that although the form *bis* was occasionally used with masculine and feminine nouns, it is extremely likely to mean that the noun it accompanies is neuter.1

In conclusion we may say that the demonstrative pronoun in the nominative singular has lost to some extent the capacity for expressing a distinction in gender. It cannot, therefore, be fully relied on as evidence when we are seeking to establish the gender of a noun. At best, the form in question can do no more than strongly suggest some conclusion which we must then seek to confirm on the basis of other kind of evidence.

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1. It should also be noted that *bes*, originally an asgf. form, sometimes stands as the nominative singular for all genders, showing at one at the same time a confusion of genders and cases. It is doubtful whether such a usage could have developed, if the gender system had not by this time begun to disintegrate.
Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: besne : 35/25 etc.; bisne : 228/17. 384/5;
bisne¹ : 174/9; besne² : ii. 113/13.

From the point of view of gender, and probably of case, it is noteworthy that, though the instances of the asgm. of the demonstrative pronoun are admittedly rare, they always occur with the distinctive inflectional form -ne. We should observe in particular that there are no cases of bis in the accusative singular with masculine nouns.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: bas : 87/1 etc. (16 times); beos : 275/9 (5);³

beos : 119/6, 9.

Whether beos is originally a nominative form or not, is a point which need not be discussed here.⁴ One fact of

1. According to Luhmann, op. cit. p. 92, u in huene, as well as in hune (see p. 13), probably represents the OE y, since in late OE and early ME y often stands for i in such cases; cf. also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 17.
3. Diehn, ibid. p. 72, cites beos in 136/3 as an illustration of the asgm. The noun with which it is used, however, is maide, which, though referred to by the feminine form heo of the personal pronoun, is otherwise treated as neuter. Besides, beos in this case is in fact the gsgn. of the definite article, governed by the verb wilnede: wilnede beos meidenes.
4. This is discussed by Luhmann, op. cit. pp. 86-87.
great importance, however, is that except for a single occurrence of *bis* with a historically feminine noun, viz. *answare* in 188/13, no other cases of *bis* have been noted in the *asgf.* any more than in the *asgm.*, so that we may accept it almost as certain that *bis* in the accusative singular is used only with neuter nouns. It therefore constitutes a very valuable criterion for the establishment of the gender of such nouns.

**Genitive singular masculine and neuter.**

Forms: *pisses* : 35/21 etc.; (for neuter only) *pisse* : 156/25, 292/14, 383/10.

Though the occurrences of the genitive singular forms are not numerous, because of the fact that the function of that case came more and more to be taken over by the preposition *of*, they present a problem that requires some comment. In what appears to be one and the same situation, we find two alternative forms of the genitive. For instance:

a) *wees pisse* londes quene ii.36/11

b) *& him sulp pisse* londes king ii.131/13

as compared with:

c) *pa is pisse* londes quene 156/25

d) *he wes pisse* londes king 292/14

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1: In this case we must assume that there has been a change in gender of the noun *answare* from feminine to neuter.

2. Examples from vol. ii are cited by Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 27.
Disagreeing with Madden who regards all such examples without _s as scribal omissions, Hoffmann suggests that it is a genuine alternative form which is in fact common to all genders in the oblique cases.

Genitive singular feminine.

Forms: *bissere: 404/18; *bisse: 104/16.

Hoffmann maintains that *bisse does not correspond to the OE *bisse. He holds that the gsgf., as well as the dsgf., appears exclusively as *bissere, a form modelled on the pattern of the definite article and that of the strong adjective, and that the single instance of *bisse in 104/16 (pe wes *bisse leod-ene king) is to be otherwise explained. This he regards as being of the same order as the gsgn. *bisse, a common oblique case form.

But we may consider the problem from another point of view than that of asking whether *bisse is a descendant of OE *bisse or not. For it is important from the standpoint of the present descriptive investigation to establish whether *bisse is used with feminine nouns in non-prepositional cases at all.

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1. See vol. iii, p. 470.
2. op. cit., p. 27.
3. ibid., p. 6.
5. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 27.
The above examples, both of bisse and the -re form, are used with the noun leode. This noun is treated in Lazamon as both singular and plural; if singular, it can be feminine and neuter in gender. It is therefore difficult to decide whether bisse stands for the gsgf. or gsgn. or for the genitive plural, and there is nothing about the form of the noun itself which makes it possible to establish its gender. The following examples show the confusion not only of forms associated with different genders, but also of singular and plural forms:

- a) for he wes heore lauerd and al bisseres leodene 306/15
- b) na bisseres leodes folke 404/18 for lauerd me halden.
- c) þa iseh bissee ledes king 412/2
- d) þa iwerde bisse leodes king 296/24
- e) þe wes bisse leodene king 104/16

As all evidence about bisse in the gsgf. is based on this noun, no conclusion can be reached as to its use with feminine nouns in the genitive singular. The answer to the question whether or not it was used with feminine nouns at all, must therefore depend on its use in the dative singular.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Dative singular feminine.


Because of the scarcity of examples in the dative singular in non-prepositional use, no occurrences of bisse or bissere have been noted. The problem of bisse with feminine nouns must therefore be considered in the light of the above example in 300/9, which reads: & redden bissen &ode. The verb redden governs the dative and the noun &ode is treated as feminine in Layamon, as in OE. The ending -n may be due to nunnation in Layamon or to a confusion of genders; alternatively, &ode is perhaps to be taken as plural. Even though the noun &ode is normally feminine in Layamon, we cannot claim with any certainty that bissen really stands for an expected form bisse.

That bisse was used with feminine nouns must be illustrated by the following example, in which the noun laze, always feminine in the A text, is used after the preposition for:

For bisse uniwmste1 laze 300/4
his leode hine hateden.

From the present point of view it matters very little whether we say that bisse is a survival of OE bisse as the g/dsgf. or

1. uniwmste? (Madden).
whether it is a new form common to all genders: the fact is that as an indication of the gender it has no value to us.  

By way of concluding what has been said so far, we may note that demonstrative pronoun can be relied on as an indication of grammatical gender only in the asgm. by a form in -ne, in the asgn. by the form his; also in the gsgm/n. if it has the distinctive inflectional form -s, and in the g/dsgf. if it has the gender-distinctive form -re.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Nominative singular.

Two forms: min and mi are used in the nominative singular irrespective of gender, min being used before a vowel (e.g. min eam 376/18) or H (e.g. min herte 311/9), mi before a consonant (e.g. mi fede 129/12). There are a few examples, however, in which min precedes a consonant (e.g. min riche 404/9). The same forms are used in the asgn.

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: mine : 30/8 etc. (11 times); minne : 34/11. 356/20; minn : 377/20. 379/15; min : 127/10.

1. An other example, that of pas in: & hurnes dude pas leoden 163/10, whether it be in the singular or plural, also has no value, as it is an uninflected form of the demonstrative pronoun.
As can be seen from the above, apart from the exclusively masculine form minne, another form which is identical with the asgf. is frequently used for the asgm., thus invalidating mine as evidence for the feminine gender. The omission of -e in 127/10 is probably due to the following vowel: min' alre beste þein.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: mine : 40/1 etc. (16 times); mîe : 375/11; min : 30/10; mi : 379/7; mîne: 403/5.

OE nouns in -scipe are treated as feminine in Lament. The solitary example given above of mîne in the accusative is used with such a noun: her to biwine/ wurðascipe mîne 403/5, and may therefore be regarded as a survival of the original masculine gender of this word.¹


Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Examples of the genitive singular are very rare and those that occur are mostly used with nouns denoting persons. But, as Hoffmann² also observes, we may presume that the form

¹. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, suggests that this is a scribal error.
². ibid. p. 16.
**mine** is used with all masculine and neuter nouns. There is, however, one instance of the possessive pronoun being used without the distinctive inflectional ending -s:

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  al bridden dale mi lond 45/17
  ich wolde setten Brut an hond.
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The only possible explanation of this form seems to be that the whole phrase was regarded as the direct object, hence the asgm. form preceding the noun lond.¹

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Examples of these two cases in non-prepositional use are not numerous and, as might be expected from a comparison with the g/dsgf. of the indefinite article, the only form for both cases is mine, as in 358/25.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The only form that occurs in non-prepositional use is mine, as in 30/15.

The foregoing survey of the forms of the possessive pronoun of the first person singular shows that owing to the frequent use of the form mine for the asgm., a useful form by

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¹ The form bine occurs twice in the gsgm. (see the note overleaf). These, together with the examples of the demonstrative pronoun without -š in the gsm/n. (see p. 45), show that this ending was also beginning to die out.
which earlier the feminine gender was unequivocally distinguished from the masculine and neuter, can now no longer serve as a criterion for establishing gender. The accusative singular therefore no longer provides reliable evidence for distinguishing the three genders; it is still useful, however, in providing contrast between masculine and feminine nouns on the one hand and neuter on the other, so long as the former are preceded by a possessive form ending in -e and not (as in rare cases) by the type min.¹

A distinction between masculine and neuter nouns on the one hand and feminine nouns on the other is made in the genitive singular by the contrastive inflectional forms in -a and -re respectively, and in the dative singular by mine as against mire.

1. Since the second person is of the same morphological structure as the first person, I have thought it unnecessary to discuss it separately. For that reason only a list of forms is given here:

nsg.: bin : 184/17; bi : 127/23; bi : 97/12; pine : 156/24; 388/19.
asgm.: bine : 141/15; binne : 216/14; pine : 216/10; bin : 381/2.
asgf.: line : 30/14; Lin : 283/13; pie : 162/6; pin : 265/23.
asgn.: bi : 419/20; bi : 216/2; pine : 162/15.
gsgm/n.: bines : 149/20; pine : 21/1. 185/12.
g/dsgf.: bire : 216/13.
dsgm/n.: ?bine.
ADJECTIVES

An examination of the text shows that La3amon uses what we may still describe as strong and weak adjective forms, but that his usage differs somewhat from that in OE. For forms which clearly can only descend from OE strong forms appear where (historically) we should have expected weak ones, and vice versa. In La3amon, only what we may continue to call the "strong" adjective still has distinctive forms for various genders, more or less on the same pattern as in OE. The weak adjective is no longer so declined as to be capable of indicating the gender of the following noun; endings which were formerly gender-distinctive have been levelled to an invariable \( -e \), or (very occasionally) \( -en \). Along with forms which we may identify and label as "strong" and "weak", "neutral" uninflected forms appear in contexts where we should have expected either distinctively strong or weak forms. Like those in \( -e \) and \( -en \), these uninflected forms are, of course, of no use as positive evidence for gender. They are nevertheless worth some consideration, since they play an essential part in the process which resulted in the eventual disappearance of grammatical gender.

In order to see in what ways La3amon's usage of the two main declensional categories of the adjective differs from that of OE, it seems best to examine them in situations which,
historically speaking, would seem to demand specifically one or the other type of adjective forms. The following survey is therefore divided into two parts. In the first, an examination is made of the adjective used attributively without any preceding demonstrative element, and predicatively, that is to say in situations in which the strong form is to be expected. The second part deals with the adjective used after demonstratives, in which case the weak form is to be expected.  

I. ADJECTIVES USED WITHOUT PRECEDING DEMONSTRATIVE ELEMENT

**Nominative singular masculine.**

In an overwhelming majority of cases, 96 out of 119, the nsgm. adjective is uninflected; e.g.: Inne Griolone wes a *jung mon* 17/3. It is interesting to note that without a single exception all these adjectives ended in a consonant in OE.

In only 23 cases does the adjective appear with the ending *-e*; e.g.: he wes a *zenge* king 132/19. In 17 cases, however, this *-e* descends directly from the OE nsg. form of adjectives such as: *riche* (OE *rice*), *hende* (OE *(ge)hende*), *kene* (OE *cène*), *wilde* (OE *wilde*), *scone* (OE *scène*) and *wreche* (cf. OE *wreccas*).

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1. A statistical survey of forms in which adjectives appear in this text is given in tabular form at the end of this section.
The uninflected form is presumably a descendant of the OE strong form; that with -e may represent an intrusion of the weak form in cases where it is not historically justifiable. However, since -as will be seen - the other two genders also appear with the same adjectival forms in the nominative singular, this case is not indicative of the gender of the noun and is therefore without relevance to the present investigation.

Nominate singular feminine.

In 13 out of 18 instances, the adjective appears without an ending in the nsgf.; e.g.: (bi-tweonen heom arns walc & win) fleght & muchel seorwa 107/22. This high proportion of cases of the uninflected form may be due primarily to the kind of the adjectives themselves. For the short-stemmed polysyllabic adjectives in -ig, -el, -en, -er, -ol and -or generally formed the nsgf. and n/apln. without ending in OE itself.¹ In this way we can explain seven instances of the uninflected adjective in the nsgf., all of which are with muchel. Similarly, the long-stemmed monosyllabic wis is uninflected here as it was in OE;² the example reads: be ȝet lcouede be alde quene/ a wifmon wis and kene 212/19.

² Ibid. p. 32.
In one instance OE eâcel appears without -e in the nsgf. : heo wes swiðe eâel burh 124/1, no doubt for metrical reasons.

Of the remaining four examples, one is with a historically masculine noun in -scipe (p is monscipe steor 16/1), which - together with other nouns with the same ending - is normally treated as feminine in Laȝamon A, but might have retained a masculine form in this case. The rest consist of one example each of whulc, swulc and al.

There are only five examples with adjectives ending in-e, of which only one can be regarded as inflectional -e : me þucohæ1 mucho scome 404/20; the rest are with adjectives which had -e in the stem.

_Nominative singular neuter._

In the nsgn. too, the majority of adjectives, 33 examples out of 45, are uninflected; e.g.: Muchel folk þer was of-solawen 24/15.

There are only 12 examples with the adjective ending in -e; e.g.: redde blod scade 221/7. Of these, however, three are with riue (OE rýfe), two with unimete (OE ungemête) and two with knæ (OE cêne).

1. punched? (Madden).
Accusative singular masculine.

In the majority of cases, 45 out of 68, the adjective has the gender-distinctive ending -ne; e.g.: & swar muchelne cað 28/17; Aeuer alone godne mon 119/18 he æðeledæ mid gode.¹

Less frequently (16 times),² forms in -e are also used; e.g.: Nu bidded Laʒamon/ alone læðle mon (B: echne godne mon) 3/20; he makenes enne stronge castel 9/8. From the majority of such cases it appears that the principle of economy is at work in such examples and therefore the accusative (as well as the masculine gender) is indicated only once, namely by alone and enne in the above two examples.³ Only in three cases is the

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1. I have not included in the above number the following example: monigne seorhfulne pleize 97/2, since it is not possible to decide whether it is a solitary survival of the OE asgm. monigne or a contraction of moni and enne, a combination which is otherwise very frequent in this text.

2. There are six more examples, all with alche or alle in temporal phrases, qualifying masculine nouns dei and winter; e.g.: peo alche dei hine larden 184/6, peo alle dei þus cleopeden 372/21. The question here is whether or not they are examples of the accusative of time or remains of the old instrumental, which is sometimes found in other functions; e.g.: hehten heom mucle eige 414/1 ut of his æh seone. If the latter is the case, then these six examples should be included in the number of occurrences of the dative forms.

3. It may be worth noting that in six instances the adjectives discarding the inflectional ending -ne are those ending in -e in the nsg. in OE; therefore they should have been included among the examples of the uninflected adjective, if this had been a historical rather than a descriptive study. - The other three examples are of adjectives ending in -en in the nsg., namely stelen and stwen. It is possible that the ending -e of these adjectives in the asgm. is only a matter of not doubling the n. For the example of leofue in: enne leofue sune 430/14 there seem to be four possible explanations; a) it may be a genuine case of the asgm. without the ending -ne; b) it may have been misspelt for leofne by the scribe; c) or misread by the editor; d) it may also be a misprint.
adjective the sole qualifying word: he sommede vnmete here
337/3, per of we habbed sceome/ & at oure herte muche grame
162/10, peos habbed swa murie song 56/22.¹

With originally masculine nouns the adjective appears
six times without an ending, but for the lack of other evidence
it is not possible to establish in every case whether they are
still masculine in Layamon. Three of these, however, are
eamples with nouns established as masculine. They are: Ne
nomen heo nonne cniht quic 241/8, enne swuðe swælkūd stan 424/22,

Only one single occurrence of the adjective with the
ending -en has been recorded (he hefde feiren ende 292/8) and
that may be due to the initial vowel of the following noun.

Accusative singular feminine.

The most common form, 39 examples out of 61, ends
in -e, as in: ah he hefde muchele strengpe 18/11.² This may,
of course, be derived directly from the -e of the asgf. of the
strong adjective; but it may in part represent the spread of
a more general adjectival -e ending, such as we have already
noticed above.

¹. That these are to be regarded as examples of the accusative
masculine is confirmed by the regularity with which the nouns
in question - with the exception of song, for which there is
no other evidence - behave as masculine in other contexts.

². Here are also included three instances of adjectives ending
in -e with nouns in -scipe, which on other evidence show a
change from masculine to feminine. See p. 174.
Less often, 21 times, an uninflected form is to be found, as in: igadered his ferde/ muchel ferd and riche 64/10.

Here, again, we find only one instance of the adjective ending in -en and in the same sort of situation as in the asgm., namely before a following vowel. The example is: makian ich wille on pine nome/ mereen ane stowe. 51/24.

Accusative singular neuter.

The majority of examples, 70 out of 77, appear without an ending; e.g.: he 3ef heo his stepmoder/ ... & muchel lond per to 10/20. This form probably represents the OE strong form, but once more, since it coincides with the "neutral" uninflected form, it may in part represent an encroachment of this, which can stand with all nouns regardless of gender.

1. Two of these are with the noun scome, which otherwise shows a change from f. to m. Two examples with the same noun appear with the ending -e in the asg.; since both forms may be remains, full or partial, of the asgf. form, it seems more appropriate to list them here. - Included in the above number is also one example with the noun care, which on some evidence appears to have become masculine, but on other evidence is shown to be still feminine as in OE.

2. It should be noted that, again, a high proportion of these examples consists of disyllabic adjectives ending in -el (8), and -or (6), which, apparently, resist inflexion even in the accusative singular.

3. Sometimes the ending -e may be dropped before a vowel; cf. : bute luteal ane wile 15/20, ane lute while 248/9.
Forms in -e occur very rarely. Only five instances have been recorded; e.g.: mucho lond be him 3ef 7/6. Of these, however, two examples are with the adjective hende, which had -e in the nominative singular in OE.¹

A curious intrusion of the asgm. ending -ne occurs in two cases where a change in gender seems unlikely, though not impossible.² They are: muchelne wundre 320/4 and: alone gere 332/23. It may be that -ne, being the only distinct accusative ending, was used here to mark the case unambiguously, and without regard to gender.³

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

As might be expected, the genitive ending is -es, as in: anes habhes kinges dohter 94/7, and for neuter: per wes monies kunnes folc 73/5. The uninflected form of the adjective does not appear to be used here at all.⁴

1. The temporal phrase telche gere is regarded here as dative (instr.) and included in the number of dsgn. adjective in -e.
2. See p. 170 f.
3. It is noteworthy that with masculine nouns in the same situation as example 2, i.e. in temporal phrases, the adjective occurs mostly with the ending -e, presumably as the dative (instr.) rather than as the accusative with -e; cf. p. 57, note 2.
4. One possible example of the adjective ending in -e in the genitive singular neuter occurs in: alle þa madmes/ þe weoren monie kunnes 253/5, provided this is singular and not plural.
Genitive and dative singular feminine.

Examples are not numerous; those that have been noted show the characteristic feminine ending -re; e.g.: alre worulde wunne 387/6 and: ba quað Membrici / ludere stefne 40/7.1

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Besides inflected forms, as in: alle folk he dude riht 292/3, uninflected forms are also used; e.g.: & al folk hit wes leof 102/12.2

Vocative singular.

All examples, with both masculine and feminine nouns (none has been found with neuters), end in -e, in spite of the fact that all descend either from OE long-stemmed monosyllables,

1. Two examples in -re, however, require some comment. The first is: seolcud him pohute / swulchere speche (B: selcub him pohute / solchere speche) 21/18. In both texts the form -re appears to be a loose genitive of respect, dependent ultimately on seolcud. In the second example: Ac erst ich wille fondien / whulchere beo mi beste freond 125/9, the form whulchere is dictated by the verb fondian which in OE could take gen. and dat. as well as acc. In this text the verb clearly takes gen. or dat. (a comparison with: he fondede þan leoden 281/8 would suggest that in Laȝamon A it governs the dative, leod having changed from feminine to neuter here), but no longer in the B text where the corresponding line reads: Ac erst ich wolle fondi / woch me mest louie (which referring to daughter).

2. In one instance the a sg. -ne occurs with a masculine noun in the dsg.: aucrelçon onihte 329/7 he ʒef ʒeoue britohte. Since the noun is obviously masculine, there seems to be no other explanation than that it is a scribal error.
like lǣ, lēof, hēah or from OE disyllabic fēgēr and therefore should be uninflected, showing the same resistance to inflexions in this case as they mostly do in others. \(^1\) These forms in -g, however, must all correspond to OE weak forms, since, in OE, weak forms were used more often than strong ones in all phrases containing a vocative (irrespective of whether they were preceded by min, bīn or not). Examples, however, are not numerous; only eight are noted altogether; e.g.: saie me leode mon 96/14, Leafdi Diana; leowe Diana/heæe Diana, help me to neode 51/13-14. \(^2\)

Uninflected forms and forms in -e are also used predicatively. E.g.:

**masculine:**

a) for cnihē he was swīpe god 15/23

b) jif he were swa priēte 16/8

also once  
c) abōlēn he wes on mode 315/7.

**feminine:**

a) Guendoleine wes swīde strong 106/11

b) ā brude deade iwearð 13/17

**neuter:**

a) āt feēht wes swuē strong 178/4

b) ā swuē stēr & swuē longe 178/5

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1. Cf. the behaviour of the adjective when used predicatively.
2. In the example: Seie me nupe leo swein 150/20, leo is probably an error for lēofē.
The situation with regard to the predicative adjective is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>uninflected</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-en</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This, however, needs some explanation. The difference between uninflected forms and those in -e is not that between genders, for instance between masculine and neuter on the one hand and feminine on the other (in which case the table would have reflected the mixing up of such forms); it is rather a continuation of OE forms preserved to a remarkable degree.

Adjectives descending from OE adjectives with -e as an integral part of the stem, retain this -e whatever the gender, as in OE, and the majority of those adjectives with no inflexion in the nsgf. in OE, also appear without one here.

So, out of 35 instances of adjectives in -e with masculine nouns, 33 had -e in OE, and 12 out of 14 with neuter nouns, leaving thus only a total of 4 for adjectives where this -e is a new development, two for each gender. Similarly, out of 20 occurrences of the adjectives ending in -e with feminine nouns, 18 are of adjectives with -e in OE, and 2 have developed

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1. Such are: æleð, blīðe, feie, hende, imete, iqueme, kene, liðe, milde, riche, riue, stille, sturne, vn-fere, unimete, wilde.
2. They are: dead, deop, lað, leof, reod, swr, wis; feiger, muchel.
it later, deade and sare, both of which are normally uninflected, as in OE.

Of the uninflected adjectives used with feminine nouns, 20 out of 34 belong to that class of adjectives which had no inflexion in the nsgf. in OE.

II. ADJECTIVES USED AFTER DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS

Nominative singular.

The formal distinction of m./f. n. weak adjectives, which was made in OE, is now absent. A form in -e is used for all three genders; e.g.: & peus apac pe alde king 125/18; pis understod pe geonge quene 191/14; pat Trowniaca folc 18/19. The alternative use of an uninflected adjective is quite rare; e.g.: And Belin pe amel king 237/13 wes in Alemainne; peo

1. Adjectives that were always strong in OE, as for instance eall, oðer, are not treated here since the absence of weak forms in the case of such adjectives is not significant as it would be in the case of adjectives which, historically, could be declined both strong and weak. Furthermore, to include such forms would undoubtedly create a false picture of the degree to which strong forms encroach upon the territory of weak ones. - Ordinal numerals, comparatives and superlatives are also disregarded here, since they (by being always or for the most part weak) make no real contribution towards our understanding of the behavior of adjectives capable of taking both types of inflexion.

2. For details see the table at the end of this section.

3. Note that the OE form of this adjective was oðele, a form which is normally found unchanged in Lagamon.
Accusative singular masculine.

The most frequently used forms are those with -e; e.g.: & grette pen alde king 7/3, though examples with the strong ending -ne are also occasionally found, as in: pene muchelne drem 368/16. Examples in -en, contrary to what we might expect historically, are rare or non-existent.  

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form ends in -e; e.g.: pa hefde heo isclawen pene king/ pa neowe quene & heora child 106/8. Forms in -en are rare (I have noted only one example in vol. i. in

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1. This and similar cases may be due to the adjective ending in a vowel, although we often find such adjectives, i.e. with -ig in OE, with the inflectional ending -e; e.g.: þæ wes þe bisie king 136/5, þæ uniseli moder 171/11, þæ tidende swide murie 432/21. OE monig, however, is reduced to one form, viz. moni, in all cases except in the genitive singular, where it sometimes appears as monies (e.g. 73/5). Cf. also p. 57, note 1.

2. The example: & falden pene elden nomen 304/6 is problematic since it is uncertain from the context whether it is in the singular or in the plural; cf. Madden, vol. iii, p. 474, and Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54. - The other possible example is: nome þæ hefluþ dæle 302/19, provided þæ here is an uninflected form and not the asgf. In any case, the survival of -en in this phrase is very common in ME (see OED s.v. halfendeal), going back to the OE weak masc. bone healfan deel, and presumably retained mechanically, owing to the fact that the adjective and the noun were often written together and regarded as a compound.
non-prepositional use) and, as Hoffmann observes,\(^1\) occur mostly before vowels or \(\text{h}\), as in: And he to-clippede/ muchelen his ferde 169/23.\(^2\) The agreement of the asgm. and asgf. in using \(-e\) would suggest that it chiefly derives in each case from OE \(-an\).

**Accusative singular neuter.**

As might be expected, a form in \(-e\) is most frequently used; e.g.: Ascanius heold \(\text{bis drichlic} \)h\(\text{lond} 10/11.\) Only one example has been recorded of the uninflected form: \(\text{pat hea[h]}\) der 14/13.

**Genitive singular masculine and neuter.**

The regular form ends in \(-e\), on the analogy of the strong adjective; e.g.: \(\text{pes he}3\text{es kinges} 3/8.\) Though very rarely, forms in \(-e\) are also to be found, as in: \(\text{pe Leil sune pes r}i\text{che kinges wes 123/10.}\) No forms ending in \(-en\) have been noted in the first volume;\(^3\) this would confirm our hypothesis that the OE \(-an\) of adjectival endings leads regularly to La3amon's \(-e\), except where analogical influences are at work.

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1. op. cit. p. 44.
2. One cannot, however, be sure whether this is a weak form or a strong form + \(\text{n}\) before \(\text{h}\), since - as in OE - La3amon sometimes treats as strong the adjective when it precedes his; e.g.: \(\text{mid muchelere his ferde 65/11 as against: mid muchelen his ferde 328/11.}\)
3. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 45, cites a single occurrence of the gsgm. ending in \(-en\) in: \(\text{pas a}3\text{elen kinges 21146.}\)
Genitive and dative singular feminine.

No examples have been noted of the gsgf.; in the single occurrence of the dsgf., the adjective has the very rare ending -en: & he hoe 3af þare Æl/en/ Ællenor þe wes Henries quene 3/6.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Examples are very rare and none has been recorded of the dsgn.; all three examples of the dsgm. have the -e form; e.g.: pa com hit to mode/ Ebrauc þon gode 112/16.

Vocative singular.

Only one single occurrence of the vocative singular has been noted in vol. i. and this ends in -e: Androge' mi lcofue mon 380/24 al ðine wille ic wulle don.

It remains to consider which adjectival forms can be regarded as useful for the establishment of grammatical gender in Layamon. There still remain certain distinctive forms which constitute valuable evidence. Of these the most important are three endings of the strong declension:

a) -ne denoting the asg. of masculine nouns;

1. We must, of course, bear in mind the possibility of at least occasional examples of f. and n. nouns (like those listed on p. 60) sometimes being preceded by adjectives with this ending; in such cases (as we have already suggested) -ne can simply imply "accusative case" rather than anything concerning gender.
b) -re denoting the g/dsg. of feminine nouns;

c) -es denoting the gsg. of nouns which are either masculine or neuter, but not feminine in gender.

It should be noted that if an adjective, in the combination 'adjective + noun' is uninflected in the accusative singular, the probability is that that the noun in question is neuter. For the occurrences of the uninflected adjective with neuter nouns are much more frequent here than in the case of masculine or feminine nouns. This evidence, however, is not reliable in itself to establish the gender of a noun; but it should be taken into account where it supports evidence of other kinds.

In the combination 'pronominal word + adjective + noun' - unless the adjective happens to have a strong ending - it is only the pronominal word that can tell us anything about the gender of the noun.

1. It will be clear from what has been said earlier that -ne and -re do not invariably occur in the appropriate situations since they are sometimes replaced by -e and zero forms. This, however, does not destroy the validity of the evidence of -ne and -re where they do occur.
In the above table there are certain places where it is perhaps of interest to record the degree of similarity between the Brut and the OE usage with respect to the presence or absence of -e. The facts are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>attributive adjective</th>
<th>predicative adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brut -e</td>
<td>OE -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsgm. 23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsgn. 12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brut</td>
<td>OE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsgf. 13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asgf. 21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CRITERIA FOR GENDER AFTER PREPOSITIONS

From what we have seen in the discussion of forms not governed by prepositions, it is evident that although both the case and gender systems are still fairly well preserved, they also show some signs of breaking down. It remains now to be seen to what extent Lajamon distinguishes between the case forms of the three genders when they are governed by prepositions.

An examination of the text shows that three types of situation must be distinguished:

1. in which the OE system as such is followed, though not, of course, without orthographic (and presumably phonetic) modifications;

2. in which there are signs of some syncretism, so that the forms originally proper to the several oblique cases are no longer always distinguished;

3. in which certain 'uninflected' forms are used, i.e. forms in which no morphological difference occurs according to 'case' in the traditional sense.

According to the pattern of the OE system, we might expect a regular linguistic scheme in which (to take only the singular definite article as illustration) *pane* would stand

1. Non-systematic variations in spelling (i.e. variations not affecting the morphological distinctions between e.g. asgm. and asgf.) are immaterial here and therefore omitted.
for the asgm.; ba for the asgf.; bat for the asgn.; ban for the dsgm/n.; and bare for the g/dsgf.

This scheme does indeed occur, but along with it we also find conventions which exemplify situations 2 and 3. So, exemplifying situation 2, we find for example:

- bane used for a) asgm. and b) dsgm/n.;
- ban used for a) dsgm/n.; b) ?asgm. and c) dsgf.

and exemplifying situation 3:

- be used for a) asgf. and b) all genders and cases;
- bat used for a) asgn. and b) all genders and cases in the singular and plural (with demonstrative force).

In the following discussion I shall order the prepositions according to their OE usage, i.e. according to case or cases they governed in OE. In section I, I shall deal with prepositions which governed the accusative; in section II - prepositions which governed the dative (with a subsection dealing with prepositions which governed the genitive); in section III - prepositions which governed both the accusative and the dative.

Illustrations are given of pronominal words, but do not include the personal pronouns, for these show a somewhat different development and will be discussed more fully later.¹

As for adjectives, only those examples with unambiguous gender forms are given, i.e. examples with strong adjectival endings.

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¹ See p. 94.
I. Prepositions which govern the accusative in OE.

*seon* is used in *Lāsamon* A both with the accusative and the dative with no apparent distinction in its meaning.

A. With the accusative:

m. : *ah eouere heo wenden/ zeond þene norh enden* ii.150/5.  

f. : *zeond þa weorld beon ihææd 53/17; Lāsamon gon liðen/ wide zeond þæs leode* 2/16.

n. : *Wide he sende zeond þat lond 22/4; þet word wes ðuā/ zeond þis lond 285/5.*

B. With the dative:

m. : *we swulled beon al fuse/ to fœren zeon þan eorðe 188/2.*

f. : *þa scipen fœren wide/ zeon þære wintreþe se 5/20; he hit letten cuðen wide/ zeonde þissere þeode 316/13.

n. : *þat ne mihte hine bi-halden/ wide zeon þeon londe 259/21; Senhēe mine sonden/ zeond alle mine londe 176/15.*

*umben*, as in OE, is used in *Lāsamon* only with the accusative:

m. : *þa umben longne first 13/10 mid wrǣscipe cœmen liðen.

f. : *vmben ane stunde 111/17 þa scipen þaru weoren.*

II. Prepositions which govern the dative in OE.

*after* (OE prep. with dat. instr. and rarely acc.)

m. : *þa Englene londe/ ærest æhten/ after þan flode 2/7.*

The only inflected example which seems not to conform to the rule is the following:

hehte heo nennen Kerlud
after bone kinge 87/7

but other instances with the same verb and with feminine nouns, such as above in 115/4 and also:

Bruttes nemneden pa lagen
after bare lafiuedi 269/11

strongly suggest that bone is to be taken as a dative rather than as an accusative.¹ This is also confirmed by the fact that bone never precedes a noun when used as the direct object.²

One is probably justified therefore in taking bone as a definite dative form, despite Hoffmann³ who takes it as an accusative form which is used only after prepositions.

at (OE prep. with dat. and rarely acc.)

m. : at bon from reasen 369/14 he feolde of bon folke/
feowerti hundred; Alle pe weren at hisse reade 17/1.

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¹ Madden seems to take this form as a dative, since he remarks that bone in: wa wrê te smid. 66/22 "appears to be an error for the dat. bon, bone"; see vol. iii, p. 452.

² For forms in such a situation see pp. 24-25.

³ op. cit. pp. 10-12; cf. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, who also lists it as an accusative.
f.: þer wes muchel folc/ at þere wrestlinge 79/19;
he wonede at Ernl«3e/ at ædelen ære chirechen 1/6;
ich wes at Gornoille/ mire god-fulle dohter 145/18;
et hezere neode 374/6 nu þu must me rede
n.: & Nenni' was ilexed/ at þon nord yste i Lundene 325/17.

at-foren (OE prep. with dat. and rarely acc.)
m.: ispeken of þan mœidene/ at-foren þan Frensce kinge
  133/9.
n.: Wes at-foren þan wæfde 345/14.

bi (OE prep. with dat. and instr.)
m.: þpar laien bi þan brimme 191/2; bi þone toppe he hine
  nom 30/1; 1 & þer inne bi-burizede/ bi ðane stan walle
  73/24; þe bi þisse walle ligged 178/19.
f.: þa brac þat sweord in his hond/ riht bi þere hilte
  66/19; bi ðære halue heo riden 403/20; þe bi mire side
  336/18 isund sæze riden; þa wæfde he þeo sunen/
  bi hezere his quene 296/10.
n.: He makede bi þon weofede 51/1 a swide wunsum fur;
  and leiden þene king bi ðane yste 304/19; bi wilde
  þisse wære 265/22.

bi-zende (OE begaondan, 2 prep. with dat.). The only example
occurring in vol. i. is the following:

f.: bi-zende þere Humbre 183/15.

1. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, cites this as an accusative.
2. No examples have been noted of the OE bi-zende which governed
the accusative.
from (OE prep. with dat.)

m. : 

n. : 

nih² (OE prep. with dat.)

f. :

of (OE prep. with dat.)

m. :

f. :

n. :

Of those prepositions which in OE governed the genitive, two occur in volume one. They are:

an long (OE prep. with gen.) of which the only example is used with a feminine noun:

Muche lond he him 3ef/ an long bare sea 7/8.

1. Read Ah or Ac (Madden).
2. Cf. necor on p. 90.
It is therefore not possible to say, since the two forms are identical, whether it still followed the OE usage or whether, as is more likely, the dative took the place of the genitive.

toward (OE prep. with gen. and dat.)

m.: and forð he gon wenden/ to-warde ban ende 276/11;
     wunderliche a-wei heo riden/ toeward ane muchele
     wude 399/7.

f.: and mid his folke he fleh/ al toward bare se 202/15.

m.: piðerward wende pe king/ to-ward bon deore 275/18;
     heo ferden from stronde/ toward bissë londe 316/5.

The absence of any examples of genitive forms (at least in volume one and probably in the whole of the work) after prepositions which in OE governed the genitive, suggests that the syncretism of the genitive and the dative in such situations had been completed by the time of Laȝamon, or, perhaps, that this usage did not apply to this dialect area.

III. Prepositions which governed the accusative and the dative in OE.

A seems to be of twofold origin, incorporating the OE a and on, the former governing the accusative, the latter the accusative, dative and instrumental. It expresses both local and temporal relations and is used with the accusative and the dative.

I. Expressing local relations:

A. With the accusative:

m.: For his luee moni eotend/ ic leide dead a bene grund 97/16.
f. : pa þe a ðæs weoreld ibær 214/14.

n. : swa heo come a þet lond 60/1.

B. With the dative:

m. : a bon castle þer he set 120/7; bi-bëncæd a Belin bone king 337/10.

f. : æ ðere hilte wæs igrauen 326/10; for nuste he a nare halue 372/13 helpen þ him mahte; bi-bëncæ a mire lare 214/9.

n. : a bon londe he fund mete 6/12; Nes he nœuere ifunde/ a nœuere nane londe ii.582/6; ¹ a bisse londe he heold grid 422/23.

It would seem from the preceding that the use of the case depends on the nature of the verb. If the verb denotes motion, it governs the accusative. If it implies rest, it is followed by the dative. The verb smiten, however, does not justify this assumption. OE smitan (which only in later OE acquired the sense of strike ² ) in its earlier meanings governed the accusative.³ In Laȝamon it is used with both the accusative and the dative.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Þer Herigal smat AEuelin/ swiçe vuele a bene chin 348/2.⁴

3. ibid.: smite mon a sealfe ærest on ðæt heafod.
B. With the dative:

m. : and swat\(^1\) hit a \textit{pan} sweore 277/3.

f. : a \textit{hare} side he smat Herigal 359/12.

The meaning of \textit{smite}, however, seems to explain the change. It is a sort of verb of motion, but only in a rather special sense. The subject of it does not \textit{move} as a whole as with 'go', 'run' etc.; it is thus more like 'kick' and similar verbs signifying \textit{rest} after the completion of action.

II. Expressing \textit{temporal relations}. In this function, whether marking a point or a period of time, OE could use both the accusative and the dative. The same usage is continued in \textit{La3amon}.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Beiv a \textit{hene} mægen 241/22 letten blawen his bemen;

\textit{A hene oðrne} deai 261/7 he com to Denemarke.

f. : a \textit{ha} midniht heo nomen read 72/1.

B. With the dative:

m. : a \textit{pane} time bið best 31/3 bonne men gæd to bedde.

f. : alse ha wolden a \textit{hare} niht faren 238/19.

\textit{an} is presumably a form of \textit{on}. It expresses both local and temporal relations and is used with the dative.\(^2\) \textit{E.g.}

m. : An \textit{pan} ilke time 165/23 heer com a selkeð taken;

hit wes an \textit{ane} time 309/2.

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1. \textit{Read: smat.}

2. The only example of what looks like an accusative occurs in: heo aervarden enne bur3e/ an \textit{en}e feire stude 406/19; cf. p. 91.
f. : Alle heom hizeden to/ an elcher halfe 98/14.

n. : heo seiden pat he sculde beon anhongen/ an one he3e treowe 44/7.

bi-fore (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found only with the dative in Læameron.

m. : ah we bi-foren þon kinge 376/7 fuhte ful swide.

f. : Seie þu bi-fore mire du3den 127/17.

n. : bi-foren þan wefede he heo spradde 52/6.

for (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) is used in Læameron with the accusative and the dative, according to its meaning.

A. If it is used in the sense of as, instead of, in place of, for governs the accusative. E.g.:

m. : me heold heo for hehne godd 49/15; & halden þe for herre/ for hehne mine lauerd 362/5.

And also if it means for the sake of:

m. : Nu bidded Læameron/ alone môle mon/ for þene almiten god 3/21.

B. If it means on account of, because of or in spite of, for governs the dative. E.g.:

m. : Sedœn hit is icleped Wales ... for þan duke Gualun 90/8; & for þon kinge heo nolden holden grind 118/17.

f. : Sedœn hit is icleped Wales/ for þere quen Caloes 90/7; For nare ʒitsunge/ for nare ʒiernesse 405/2-3 ne com ich to þissen londe; Ic eam for mire ældde 127/1 swe þe vnbalde; pat heo duden for muchelere luue 259/22.
n. : ne for alle ᵇen fuhte 243/4 ne mihnten heo Rome-wal/ 
    nawiht onwalden; for mine londe & for mine feo 
147/20 mine eorles fulle to mine cneo.

i, I, in (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) governs both the 
    accusative and the dative, according to the nature of the verb. 
Verbs of motion are generally followed by the accusative, whereas 
verbs denoting rest are followed by the dative.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Nennius wende ibane felde 322/14; and smat in anne 
    muchele stane 98/9; midelichen farden/ in annan 
    bradne feld 217/3.

f. : þer Laire falled i þe þe 60/3; he droh in anne heþue 
    340/18.

n. : he halde þa milc in bat fur 51/11; seodðen Gurmund 
    com in bis lond 84/2.

B. With the dative:

m. : I þon castle weoren monie men 28/20; i þissen hulle 
    he lið 377/22.

f. : þe king ibere burh wonede 87/2; In are lutle stunde 
    78/10 heo slowen fif hundred; þa weoren i bissere 
    leode 205/3 lazen swiðe gode; Mine þrales i mire 
    þeode 22/2 me suluen þretiað; Leouede Belin þe king/ 
    in alre blisse 258/22.

n. : Nes Brutus i þon londe 15/19 bute lutel ane wile; 
    & scenden ha þe in anne scipe 135/10; woned in þisse 
    londe 20/7; to þifuen us an ende/ i þine kine-londe 
    266/4.
There are, however, a number of cases in which the verb implies motion, but is followed by the dative. Such are:

m.: In bon castle he dude hende 26/23 six hundred of his onhiten; pe he leide in ane walle stream 121/6.

f.: heo to-goedere comen/ ipere burh of Rome 393/15; at Cristes chirche heo falled i bare see 106/10; In are swiðe stronge tur 290/18 heo duden pene king Elidur; & setten hit in bire hond 331/8.

n.: & lette heom worpen/ in ane deope watere 105/17.

Inne (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found in vol. i. only with the dative. This may be due to the fact that all, or almost all, examples contain verbs denoting state or rest.

f.: þer is iborn an luttel child/ inne bire leoden 389/9;
& scal beo eouwer lauerd/ inne bißere leoden 155/14;
& 3if he bi-leœuen wolden/ inne mire peoden 45/16.

n.: Ane dohter hefe Æstrild/ inne bon eorð-huse 102/2;
Ah Cherin leouede longe/ inne biße londe 295/9.

Into (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) governs both the accusative and the dative, with no apparent regard as to the nature of the verb.

1. The same thing happens with some other prepositions used with verbs of motion; all will therefore be dealt with more fully later; see pp. 92-93.

2. The only example with a verb of motion is: heo turneden to hauene/ inne bare ëmese 316/7, but the dative after inne suggests that the whole phrase is qualifying hauene rather than depending on the verb turneden.

3. The same was in OE. Cf. Bosworth-Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, s.v. in-to; Ic gange into ëere byrig in urbem vado.
A. With the accusative:

m.: Brutus hine funde dead/ and into bæne castle dude 73/22; driuen heom in to bæne bæhne wude 426/15.

B. With the dative:

m.: Brutun and his kempan/ heo driuen in to bæn castle 71/16; and lette hine leoden...in to ane castle 283/25.

f.: and in to bære burh senden 286/23; & forð riht heo wenden in to bære Temese 333/16; and draf me to pisse londe/ in to bire leode 199/20.

n.: heo commen in to bæn lond 219/19; ferde into ane watere 93/18; færren pat he wolde/ into pisse londe 169/15.

mid (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.). In OE in all its meanings mid was used with the accusative and the dative, although the use of the accusative seems to have been a characteristic of the Anglian dialect.1 In Layamon, beside numerous examples of its use with the dative, the following seem to be survivals of the use with the accusative:

m.: pe pider weren icumene/ mid Leir bærne kinge 142/15;
and mid bæne kæsere spec 309/16.2

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2. Cf. Be.518,5. Paulinus se B' sumre tide com mid ðone cyning & ðære swene on ðone cnælican tun; Be.492,16. hafa ðu mid ðone ilcan bisceop spresche & gebeahete hwest to donne si; see Wülffing, J.E. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfrds des Grossen, Bonn, 1894-1901, pp. 415 -16. These examples are from the OE Beode, which, though 'Alfredian', is of Anglian authorship and preserves many Anglian forms.
The following is somewhat uncertain:

f. : _pus līðden_ to Lundene/... _mid alle_ _he_ wurð-scoipe 358/3.

Though _he_ may be an accusative, since the noun is treated as feminine in Latin, it seems more likely that it is to be taken as an uninflected form of the article, as it occupies an un-stressed position in the line.

No occurrences of the asgn. _bat_ have been noted with the preposition _mid_.

_B. With the dative:_

m. : _förð a3ein_ _mid_ _ban_ winde 11/7; _pet_ _peo_ _wimon_ was _mid_ _ane_ _sune_ 13/2.

f. : _pat_ _lond_ is _bi-urnan_ _mid_ _bære_ _see_ 52/24; _help_ _mine_ _lauerd_ & _me/ mid_ _alle_ _mire_ _mihten_ 30/16; _se_ _me_ _sulen_ _woren_ _mid/ mid_ _muchelere_ _strengde_ 330/9.

n. : & _he_ _mid_ _ban_ _folke_ 50/15 _fleh_ _ut_ _of_ Troye.

_ouer_ (OE prep. with acc. and dat.). The use of the case in OE depended on whether _ouer_ was used with the idea of motion, in which case it governed the accusative, or with the idea of rest, when it governed the dative. But already in OE _ouer_ was occasionally followed by the dative in contexts where the accusative

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1. There are, however, two cases of _bat_ with nouns in the plural. They are: _weoren_ _pa_ _hulles_ and _pa_ _deales/ iwrigen_ _mid_ _h_ _deoden_ 221/12; _pa_ _woren_ _grund_ _ladene/ mid_ _bat_ _beste_ _wepnen_ 47/18. Both are taken by Hoffmann, _op. cit._ p. 54, to be mistakes for _ban_. For other instances of _bat_ with plural nouns see 28, footnote 3.
might have been expected; this usage is continued in Laȝamon.

A. With the accusative:

m.: & fram þan londe hwelde/ ofer þane saltne strem
261/5; ouer þene wal heo clumen 402/3.

f.: he ferde ouer þe Humber 163/1; ouer al þas leode
67/11.

B. With the dative:

m.: & euer heo drowen west & norð/ ouer þen lac of
Silúius & ouer þen lac of Philisteus 54/21-22;
heo senden ouer al þen erde 116/22 to biȝsten
muchele ferde.

n.: wes eft iwurðen leod-king/ ouer þisse londe 290/1.

On (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) expresses local and
temporal relations and governs both the accusative and the dative.

I. Expressing local relations. On governed the accusative when
used with verbs of motion, but already in OE, the dative was
occasionally used where the accusative might have been expected. 2

A. With the accusative:

m.: þe king feol on þene rof 123/3; þat he on enne hul
bi-com 70/10.

1. Cf. Or. 172, 19. þær he ofer þone munt faran sceolde (Wulfing,
op. cit. p. 451) and Or. 208, 2. þa was Donna seo ea swa
swipe oferfroren, þæt hie ofer hie ofer þem iðe faran mehten
(Wulfing, ibid. p. 458).

f. : þu þenchest to setten o þin hond 313/10 al middel-
ældes lond.¹
n. : he gurde Suard on þat hœfd 68/9.

B. With the dative:

m. : heo funden on þen crefte 12/24 carefule leœdes.
f. : (makede) þa oder on are dune 112/25; biðenc o þire
monschipe, biðenc o þire moder 214/7; 8; & wenden
to þen walle/ on ðuer alchere halue 251/5.
n. : þe king was ihoten Latin/ þe on þan londe wes 6/21;
þa wes ich bliðe/ on mine quike liue 199/14.

II. Expressing temporal relations, on governed the accusative
and the dative in OE with no apparent distinction in meaning.²
I have noted only one example of its use in this function and
this happens to be in the accusative:

m. : pat on þene dáþe amarwen 37/4 come his drihtliche folc.
to (OE prep. with acc. dat. instr. and gen.)³ governs the dative
in all except the two following cases:

a) pat heo come mid him/ to þane castle of Sparatin
26/10;

b) þirne we to þane kinge 40/8.

1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 35, takes this example as one of the
uninflected possessive pronoun. The omission of -o may also
be due to the following h.

2. Cf. Or.97,7. þa on ðamm ilcan dáþe (Wülfing, op. cit. pp. 491-2)
and Be.645,3. on ðone forman Easterdæg (Wülfing, ibid. p. 467).

3. Wülfing has found no examples with the accusative in Alfred.
These, again, like those examples with mid, may be genuine remains of the OE usage with the accusative; in this case absence of examples with feminine and neuter nouns need not necessarily work against this assumption.

With the dative:

m. : be king to ban castle 27/4 forð mid his ferde;
& iwenden in to Kent/ to his ane castle 351/23.

f. : be he to bare se brouhte 5/17; 3ef Lauine his
douter/ Ensam to are brute 8/8; sende to bissere
peoden 413/20; omen to hire neade 231/4; bat heo
him solde helpen/ to muchelere neode 281/16.

n. : To ban londe heo ferden 58/3; he ferde to bisse
londe 96/5.

burh (OE prep. with acc. and dat.2) governs both the accusative and the dative in Lâjamon.

A. With the accusative:

m. : liamun burh bene wude flesh 399/12; ne burh nenne leche-
creft 325/12 ne mihte he hit habben; burh bisne ilke
sâele mon 431/4 vnder-feng bis lond oristindom; ich
hit wulle trouwen/ purh mine tirisulfne godd 355/6; 3
ladliche inipered/ niðfulne craft 435/23.

1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 12, lists both as examples of the agsm. used instead of the dsgm.

2. No examples of burh + dative have been found by Wûlfing in Alfred, but several in AElfric; see op. cit. p. 512.

3. Following this line we have: burh mine lauerd Appolin 355/7 in which mine could be interpreted either as an acc. since it follows an acc. construction and is more common of the two forms (see p. 49) or as a dative. Cf. note 1 overleaf.
f. : purh ha luue of pan feo 329/17 freond-sciye aleggenn.
m. : purh hat lond he ernde 423/21; pur out al hat ulke
3er 156/6 heo duden al tus þer.

B. With the dative:

m. : nulle ich nauere mare/ purh nane dome 413/1 heren
into Rome.
f. : ë ihitte his ægene fader/ purh ut bere broste 14/14.
No examples have been noted in which the determinative word is clearly in the dsgn. ¹

under (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) is found in vol. i: only
with the dative, but in contexts which would have required that
case also in OE.

m. : vnnder þan wude of Kalatere 202/3 þer heo heom imetten.
f. : vnnder þissere þisse 104/13 þer comen muchole burstes.

upper(n) (OE prep. with acc. and dat.) governs the accusative and
the dative, according to whether it is used with the idea of
motion or with the idea of rest. As already in OE, ² direction
is also sometimes expressed by the dative.

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1. In the light of the example in note 3 on p. 82 (Be. 518,5)
and similar occurrences in OE, we may assume that mine in
355/24 is a dsgn., though the line in which it occurs imme-
diately follows an accusative: al hit wes þurh me seolfe/
& purh sele mine folke. Another possibility would be that
mine here is an asgn. Cf. delest þine lond wið þine með
162/15.

A. With the accusative:

m. : vppen bene helm he hine smat 321/1.

n. : he iwende uppe bat lond 261/9 after his iwille.

B. With the dative:

m. : uppen ben ilke stude 424/19 he lette a-remen ...

f. : heolde mine þeinen/ vppe høre muchele luſt 34/5;

Brutus hit demde/ uppen ære dune 79/9.

n. : he heo madea æddéle/ uppen Uske ben westere 256/5;

pat ich wullen swerien/ uppen mine sweorden 380/5.

wîð (OE prep. with acc. dat. gen.). As in OE, wîð is found in Lazamon in same situations governing both the accusative and the dative.

A. With the accusative:

m. : wîð bene enihte he spec þus 374/21; ñeætniæn me

wîð bene kæisere 374/8; þe þu sulf quiddest wîp

Claudian minne fader 419/6.

n. : Fehten wih bat Romanisce folc 235/17.

1. In the following example one would have expected an accusative:

& a-stiæn uppe þen hul 370/17. Beside the possibility of its being a dative, þen may also be an accusative minus e in front of the h, since we have seen this phonetic law operating in Lazamon; cf. pp. 25 and 38. The right interpretation of this form, as well as the case, depend ultimately on whether the verb is a durative or perfective one, in other words it depends on whether a- has any semantic function or not; it could, as in OE, be merely an intensifier.

2. Wulfling, op. cit. p. 601, adds also the instrumental.

3. cf. ibid. p. 615.

4. In the example: þeo fihten wîð þone duke 273/10, it is difficult to decide whether þone is an accusative or a dative form. It may be a survival of OE asgm. ðone, as well as a new form þone (þon + e), which seems to be a genuine dative form in Lazamon; cf. p. 73.
With the dative:

m. : to feahen wid bon keisere 235/21; sehtnien me
    wid bene keisere/ & wid bon Romanisce here 374/9. ¹
n. : wid bon folke he spec pus 302/10.

Before going any further, it may be useful to point out three or four things that are worthy of comment.

Firstly, it should be noted that the majority of prepositions still govern the case or cases that they governed in OE in semantically similar situations.

Secondly, no examples have been found of prepositions either with the genitive or the instrumental, both of which seem to have given way to, or fallen together with, the dative in such circumstances. ²

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that no prepositions which in OE governed the dative show any tendency to go over to a systematic government of the accusative proper. On the other hand, at least one of the prepositions which governed only the accusative in OE, viz. geond, governs also the dative in Lazamon. Similarly, verbs of motion, which as a rule governed the accusative in OE, show a marked tendency to use the dative as well as the accusative even in such cases in which OE used only the latter.

¹. Here too we have an example of two different case forms in two successive lines; see p. 86, note 3 and p. 87, note 1.
². But not when governed by verbs; at least not to such an extent.
It would therefore seem that the dative was coming into increased prominence as a 'prepositional' case. But as a criterion for gender it is important that the accusative is nevertheless still used after prepositions, since it has, or should have, distinctive forms for all genders.¹

We must now consider those forms after prepositions which do not conform to the pattern of the OE system.

First, there are occurrences of the accusative forms in contexts where a dative might have been expected, such as the following:

a) *pene keisere he eode neor* 379/1 (the preposition *neor* governs the dative, like *neh*). It is, however, conceivable that *eode* as a verb of motion, as well as the comparative form *neor* also implying motion here, might have been responsible for the use of the accusative, in which case there are no occurrences of *pene* in vol. i. used after prepositions instead of the dsgm.²

Examples with *pene* seem to belong here, but they have been discussed elsewhere.³

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1. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 33, regards all the instances of the accusative forms with the prepositions *mid* and *wìd* as examples of the use of the accusative instead of the dative. The examples are admittedly rare, but they can equally be regarded as survivals of the OE (Anglian) usage with the accusative, as *-nn* in *pene* 142/15 and *minne* 419/6 with the prepositions *mid* and *wìd* respectively seem to indicate.

2. In non-prepositional use it occurs only once: *wa wrìe auer pene smìd* 66/22.

3. See p. 73.
b) Different from the above given example of *bæne* with the preposition *neor*, and from those with the prepositions *mid* and *wið*, are its occurrences in the following passages:
- inne *bæne* fehte 10/9 his yeon heo him binomen.
- heo hine flemden/ out of *bæne* londe 14/24
- þe heoem wolde leaden/ out of *bæne* leoden 16/11
- He sende his sonde/ wide 3end *bæne* londe 19/3
- cleplen hit *Auern*/ for *bæne* *mæidan* Abren 106/2
- beine of *anne* cunne 184/22
- and of *anne* kunne we beôd icumen 314/5

These examples show that *bæne* after prepositions is not always an indication either of the masculine gender or of the accusative case. All the nouns involved above are established on other evidence as neuter and, of the prepositions, *of* as governing only the dative.

c) *bêne* *hul* makede þe *king*/ to *strongge* *enne* castle 371/9

and:
- heo æræden *enne* *burgeo*/ a *enne* *swide* feire stude 408/19.

In both of these instances *enne* may be due to a real confusion of cases, since both the prepositions *to* and *a* could govern the accusative in OE. It could, perhaps, be a mistake for the dative,

1. The noun meant is probably *lond* as the B text has it: vt of *pan* londe. The spelling is obviously influenced by the verb *leaden* in the previous line.

2. There is one more instance: þat he mibte riden/ 3eond alle *bæne* beoden 138/15. The noun *beode* is normally treated as singular feminine, but occasionally also as plural. It is therefore difficult to say whether this example illustrates the possible use of *bæne* with feminine nouns in the singular or with nouns in the plural, as Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 33, suggests.
though this seems less likely in view of the fact that the regular dative form in non-prepositional use is *ane*, with only one exception when it appears as *ane*.

Moreover, there are no occurrences of the dsg. *ane* after prepositions either.

\[d\) Brutus wes on *ane* half 74/17. This is the only example of the use of the asgf. *ane* instead of the dsgf. *are* in volume one.\]

Rather than being a result of a confusion of cases or genders, *ane* may well be regarded here as form leading to *one* (as the B text often has it), a form which was later on to become common to all genders and cases.

Occasionally, apparently dative forms are used where the accusative would be expected. Here, again, examples are not numerous, but I have noted the following:

\[a) \text{in *bon* castle he dude hende 26/23} \]
\[\text{six hundred of his cnihten.} \]

\[b) \text{he leide in *ane* walle stream 121/6} \]

\[c) \text{In *are* suide stronge tur 290/19} \]
\[\text{heo duden *pene* king Elidur.} \]

\[d) \text{lette heom worpen} \]
\[\text{in *ane* depe watere 105/17.} \]

It will be noted that all these examples contain verbs of motion.

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2. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 32, cites three more examples: Hit wes in *ane* nihte ii.368/10; buten *anes* an *ane* tides iii.175/5; pa wes it in *ane* stunden iii.180/13.

3. Unlike Hoffmann, *ibid.* p. 32, I do not regard occurrences of *mine* as necessarily dative, since this is the more common of the two forms that are used in the asgm.; see p. 49.

But in all of them the dative rests on the notion of final position at rest after motion is over.

However, if we compare examples like:

\[\text{per Herigal smat A\text{\textunderscore}Euelin} \]
\[\text{swi\text{\textunderscore}d\text{\textunderscore}vele a } \text{bane} \text{ chin 348/2} \]
\[\text{And awat}^1 \text{ hit a ban sweore 277/3} \]

or

\[\text{per Leir falled i } \text{ba} \text{ see 60/3} \]
\[\text{at Cristes chirche heo falled i bare see 106/10} \]

we cannot help asking whether we are not also dealing with beginnings of a system in which the form \text{bane} = \text{ban} (and vice versa), i.e. accusative or dative masculine, as against -re, i.e. dative or accusative feminine, with \text{ba} and \text{bat} having double functions as indicated earlier.\(^2\) Such a situation is not inconceivable, especially in a period of disintegration of both gender and case system. But such a situation would be possible only if the feeling for gender was stronger than that for case and this would be very difficult to prove.

In connection with dsgm/n. forms it should be pointed out that such a form is used twice with nouns otherwise firmly established as feminine.\(^3\) They are:

\(^{1}\) Read: smat.
\(^{2}\) See p. 71.
\(^{3}\) A third example, viz. he ferde to \text{ban burzen} 263/5 may be due to an occasional treatment of the noun \text{burz} as masculine; cf. p. 160.
a) he ßef heo his stepmoder
for bon lofe of his broper 10/18

b) he aras to ban mid-nihte 324/3 (B pare)

Hoffmann, while regarding both as examples of uninflected article + hiatus n, alleges that these ban forms after prepositions no longer imply the dsgm/n. It could also, however, be argued that these in fact are early signs of uncertainty concerning the gender of the two nouns in question.

The third singular personal pronoun shows the syncretism of the accusative and the dative to a greater extent than any other criteria we have considered in this work. It has almost discarded the accusative after prepositions. In only one instance is a preposition followed by the asgm. 

\[ \text{be king was gled of his kime} \]
\[ \text{& for pen cnihtes pet come mid hine 169/5} \]

where it is obviously due to the rhyme. I have noted in this text no examples of either preposition + heo (i.e. asgf.) or preposition + hit (i.e. asgn.), but whether because they were not used at all, or because occasion did not arise for such use, I am not able to say.

1. op. cit. pp. 34, 36, 54.
2. Since there is no hiatus in the above cases, n may be ascribed to nunnation. But cf. to ßan euening 30419.
3. But not in non-prepositional use; see pp. 12, 13 and 15.
Having examined cases in which, despite some confusions, a fairly consistent inflectional system is still maintained, we must now consider those cases in which this can no longer be said to exist. For, we find that certain uninflected forms are used with nouns after prepositions irrespective of case or gender.

These forms are sufficiently numerous not to be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the scribe; they show rather that uninflected forms were at the stage of coming to be regarded as permissible, at least in certain circumstances, though it is extremely difficult to say in which.

There are two kinds of these "uninflected" forms: on the one hand be and ba and on the other bat. We shall first examine the cases in which be, ba appear.

a) Used with OE masculine nouns: for be wrake-dome 4/17; fel to be grunde 66/3; aduneward ba clude 81/19; ba munte bi-values 240/18; all of be smal enden 250/12; be strengest of be tune 258/14; felled hine to be grunde 278/8; be wes mid Cassibellaune be king 317/4; to Cassibellaune ba kinge 331/4; bat hit to be mete com 345/23; at be latere cherre 356/22; sende to ba papen 432/8.

b) Used with OE neuter nouns: after ba feourðer zere he was dead 9/16; He makede an temple onfost be baðe 121/9.
The above examples could be explained as mistakes on the part of the scribe; for it would be enough for the scribe to omit to put the sign (for n) above the vowel and so make the definite article look uninflected. But examples with feminine nouns after prepositions which governed only the dative, strongly suggest that such an explanation is invalid, for in these cases scribal error is highly unlikely. The following should be regarded as genuinely uninflected forms:

c) **Used with feminine nouns**: bi _be_ montaine of Azare 54/24; and _be_ ðer healue an hond-sæx 276/9; Lud king lette legge ðane wal/ abuten _be_ burh of Lundene 302/12; of _al_ _be_ worulde riche 308/6; _he_ ferde ut of Doure/ _bi_ _be_ see ounre 366/6.²

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1. The possibility for mistaking an asgf. _be_, _he_ for the uninflected form, arises only with prepositions which could govern the accusative as well as the dative. In such cases as: _in_ teonfulle _se/_ torneden smi1es 195/19-20, much depends on the circumstances in which the preposition is used, i.e. whether it is used with the idea of motion or rest; even then one cannot be absolutely sure, since, as we have seen, the two cases were occasionally interchangeable. Similarly, one cannot be sure about the form _be_ _in_/ _pa_ wises Julius bliðe/ for _be_ tiðende leofue 366/4. According to the meaning of the preposition _for_ here, the definite article should have been here in the dative. But whether it should have had a feminine form _ber_ or neuter _ben_, we cannot say since this noun seems to be of two genders. Cf. also the discussion on p. 83 of: _mid_ alle _be_ wyrсид-sipe 358/3.

2. The reason for which other appositional words appear occasionally in an uninflected form seem to be of a different order. Examples are: _wé_ swiðe mucle _an_ here 93/23; _eorne_ after an ðer _eorde_ 286/3; _heo_ driven bine of _bis_ _mrd_(de) 293/17; _pene_ wiæste mon of _al_ _bis_ _erde_ 317/6; _flig_ ut of _min_ _eh-sene_ 131/12; _ut_ of _min_ _eh_ senen 351/14. All the nouns with which they are associated begin with a vowel or _h_, and it would seem that the absence of inflection (which is mostly a question of _e_) is due to a special phonetic situation.
The other uninflected form is *bat*, of which there
are three examples after the preposition *of*:

a) Immetten heo faren Numbert
    pes kinges sonde of *bat* eard 61/5 (B pan)

b) pa kinges *steward* of *bat* eard 62/6

c) and seide *bat* heo wolden
    halden hustinge
    of allen *bat* londen (B of alle pan folke) 223/5
    pe heore læuen leoueden.

A comparison with B readings might suggest that A was in error. 2
But it is difficult to accept such a possibility. As an essentially
neuter form, one would not have expected the misuse of *bat*
with a non-neuter noun, such as *eard*, which is treated in La3amon
as masculine and feminine. Nor would one expected the misuse of an unambiguous accusative form after a preposition
which governed only the dative.

Beside these, there are three more examples of *bat*
after the preposition *seond*. They are:

a) Heo letten lude clepian
    & außen *seond* *bat* ferde 75/14

b) pa makede heo ana læge
    and læide *seon* *bat* leode 269/7

c) pa wes pe muchele speche
    *seond* *bat* kineriche 171/16

Of the nouns with which it is used, *ferde* is otherwise
almost always treated as feminine. 3 As has already been pointed

1. For *bat* with *mid* and nouns in the plural, see p. 83, note 1.
out, leode, beside being feminine, is occasionally treated as neuter, so that the above may be a legitimate use of the asgn. after the preposition second. The same may be true of the third example, since cynerice was neuter in OE, although rice shows a change in gender in La3amon, from neuter to feminine.

Whether we accept these examples or not, there is, in any case sufficient evidence to make it seem probable that these occurrences of but are examples of its use with full demonstrative force, such as was common with that form later, irrespective of gender and case. Since, however, these occurrences are not numerous, we can say that La3amon A merely shows first tentative beginnings of this important morphological change.

A special problem is presented by constructions of the type: preposition + noun + noun. In such circumstances we may distinguish two situations.

First, where we have two nouns with two distinct meanings, and the first noun is in the genitive. E.g.:

m. of onnes monnes honde 67/2
f. at bere worldes ende 313/13
n. for bisses londes monnen 283/10

In such cases the article or the accompanying word agrees

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usually with the noun in the genitive. ¹

Second, where two nouns are treated as a compound. ²

bi bon see rime 274/24
bi ban see flode 46/16.

In these cases the genitive is either no longer felt as such or never was; in each case the article agrees with the second noun.

This being so, it is difficult to see why the following are not treated in the same way:

ferde bi _here_ see brimme 272/16
uppen _here_ see stronde 323/12

The only possible explanation seems to be that in such cases the two nouns were not felt as compounds at all. We are not to suppose therefore that they offer evidence for a change of gender in _brimme_ and _stronde_.

Sometimes even in the case of obvious compounds, the determinative word agrees with the first word. E.g.:

ne wiθ inne _bon_ castel-buri 286/12 (m.-f.)
heo duden heo in quarterne
in _ane_ quale-huse 160/14 (f.-n.)

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1. Cf. to _pisse_ londes kinge 316/11; _pa_ kinges stiward 62/6; an eorles wif 299/23. There seem to be two possible explanations for these forms; the determinative words may belong to: a) the second noun; b) the first, in which case they are to be regarded as the uninflected genitive. Cf. Hoffmann, _op. cit._ pp. 27 and 34.

Hoffmann contends that in these and similar cases the article agrees with the word on which the stress falls.

The material presented in this section enables us to say that of forms used after prepositions, only the adjectival ending -ne of the asgm. and -re of the dsgf. have real value in establishing the gender of a noun. All other forms, since their gender and case distinctions are to a lesser or greater extent blurred, can be accepted as evidence only if what they suggest about the gender of a noun is corroborated by other evidence.

2. Cf. *pat jung e vif-mon 147/16; pat seil-cled 194/7.*
The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 106.
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form is he as in 1/4 etc.¹ In seven instances, however, the MS had the form heo referring to male persons or to their names; all these occurrences have been emended to he by the editor. They are: 3/60. 90/111. 115/294. 196/78. 259/99. 339/535. 466/138. There is therefore a possibility that the form heo may have been used with reference to some other common nouns which are elsewhere treated as masculine. One example where this may be the case occurs in the following:

\[ A^2 \text{nam up is croiz wel mildeliche:and smat pe point per-on} \]
\[ \text{be staf wende into pe marbreston:ase it were in nesche sonde.} \]
\[ \text{And po heo was inne decope i-nou3:pe guode Man hine let stonde.} \]
\[ 75/142. \]

It is possible that heo here is due to a confusion with croiz, which is feminine, although the second half of the line points rather to a confusion of the two forms, i.e. he and heo, since staf is otherwise always treated as masculine. Such occurrences of heo instead of he are not very numerous, so that we may, except in a very few cases, accept heo as an indication of feminine gender.

The form hee is recorded in 402/10, huy in 259/97 and he (emended to he) in 309/341.

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1. References are to page and line.
2. Read: and.
Nominative singular feminine.

The normal form is heo as in 1/6 etc. Occurrences of he instead of heo are more frequent than those of heo for he. Of those referring to females, the following have been noted: 2/50. 9/295. 39/196. 47/33. 51/162. 94/88. 101/5. 111/175. 181/5. 261/8. 264/105. 326/113. 352/249. 385/308. 399/228. 432/33. 435/122. 441/354. 355. 453/163. 457/29. 464/84, 87. 466/157. 477/541.

In addition, there are a few instances of he referring to some common nouns established as feminine; e.g. 314/521 (sonne), 314/508. 322/792. 366/55 (saule). In such cases we need not necessarily suppose a change in gender, but such forms may leave us uncertain about gender when they refer to nouns which occur less frequently than the above two nouns do.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The predominant form in both cases is it as in 7/204 etc.; the form hit as in 8/264 etc. occurs less frequently.

Of neuter nouns child is more often than not referred to by the masculine forms of the pronoun; e.g. he in 20/25. There are no examples of a feminine pronoun referring to it, partly because of the nature of the text and partly because the noun maide is normally used for a female child.

An other neuter noun which is often referred to by the non-neuter forms of the pronoun is bodi. But in all such
cases the noun seems to be personified and is used of a saint rather than his (or her) corpse; e.g.:

|>is Men ladden |>is holie bodi: with gret honur and pruyte
To pe Abbeye of Schaftesburi: pare ase he lijth 3uyte 52/176
A ny3t at Matines, |>is holie bodi: a-ros hire up allone 91/156

The noun best, normally treated as neuter, is sometimes referred to as he, but in all such cases it is used either of decuel (e.g. 372/192) or of a specific animal, as for instance of heort in 256/14.

The same thing happens in other cases as well, but there is no need to discuss them further, since they are not to be regarded as signs or results of a change in gender, but are occasional forms due to psychological associations.

Accusative singular masculine.

The regular form is him as in 2/51 etc., but the form hine (sometimes spelt as hyne) is found in the following: 66/446 (deth); 75/142 (staf); 235/578 (ston); 250/343 (staf); 300/16 (bull); 304/176 (toum); 306/238 (caumberley); 326/130 (Barnabe); 339/534 (son); 377/37 (mesager); 389/430 (Thomas); 417/507 (ring); 427/244 (man); 454/203 (curtel). In ten of these instances hine is in an inverted position, which suggests that this form has something to do more with the stress than with either the case or the gender, although it is significant that all the nouns it is associated with were masculine in OE and are treated as such.
in this text. It is also noteworthy that not all of them are names of persons; in fact the majority are names of things.

The form *hom* has been recorded in 413/371 with reference to *man*; *heom* has been emended to *him* in 285/268.

Accusative singular feminine.

The common form is *hire* as in 18/597 etc.; occasionally the variant forms also appear, as for instance *hure* in 19/608 and *ire* in 80/84. Once the regularly feminine noun *boc* is referred to as *hine* (58/158); this is probably a mistake for *hire*, unless there has been a change in gender in this particular case.¹

Another form of the asgf. in this text is *as* as in 14/464 etc.; this form, however, occasionally also refers to nouns in the plural, as for instance in 37/107 (*bokes*).

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

The common form to both genders is *in* (e.g. 1/5 m., 246/192 n.); it occurs more often than *his* (e.g. 5/147 m., 20/21 n.)

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The normal form is *hire* as in 1/7 etc.; forms with a variation in spelling are also occasionally found, as for instance *hore* (2/45), *hure* (39/192), *ire* (81/132).

¹. See p. 159.
Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The form common to both genders is *him* as in 1/4 (m.), but occurrences of *him* in reference to neuter nouns are rare, except for those referring to child. The following have been noted: 197/130 (fuyr), 61/253 (flesch), and 37/132 (schip).

On the basis of the above it may be said that the gender of a noun can still often be determined with a considerable amount of accuracy on the basis of the personal pronoun used to refer to it. With the reservations mentioned, a distinction is made between all the three genders in the nominative singular by *he* : *heo* : *(h)it* forms and in the accusative singular by *him* or *hine* : *hire* or as : *(h)it* forms. A distinction between masculine and neuter nouns as against feminine is made in the genitive singular by the form *(h)is* on the one hand and *(h)ire* on the other. The same distinction is made in the dative singular by *him* as against *hire*.

It will be observed that although the syncretism of the accusative and dative singular of masculine and feminine forms,¹ i.e. *hine* : *him* and *heo* : *hire*, has been completed (except for a few cases of *hine* still occurring), the third person singular pronoun as a criterion for gender has not been substantially affected.

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¹ The two cases in question are occasionally still distinguishable in the neuter. Cf. 20/21-23:
po pis child was i-bore : his freond nomen per-to hede,
Huy leten hit do (sic) to Glastingburisti norischi and to fade,
And to techen him his bileue al-so:his pater noster and crede.
THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular masculine and feminine.

The common form for both genders is *be*; e.g. *be Aumpersour* 1/2; *be quene* 1/13. *be* occurs occasionally with feminine nouns; e.g. *be holie croyz* 3/78. *beo* occurs with *womman* in 102/34.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

The regular form is *bat* as in 10/308. Occasionally variant spellings are found, as for instance *bet* (472/359) and *but* (143/1275). With rare exceptions, *be* is not used in the nominative or accusative with neuter nouns; cf. *be yate* 200/13, *be seuenpe zer* 158/1815.

With the noun *zer*, normally treated as neuter, the masculine form *bene* has been recorded in 190/27; *pis* was *pene fourteope zer*. 1

Accusative singular masculine.

The normal form is *bane* or *bene*; e.g.: *pene dez* 1/18, *pane deuel* 5/131. Before an initial vowel in the following word, *ben* has been recorded twice: 56/95 and 144/1332. The form *panne* has been recorded in 360/42.

The form *pere*; however, displaces *bane, bene* quite often.

1. See p. 170.
An examination of passages in which nouns mainly denoting male persons are preceded by *he* in the accusative singular, shows that the situations in which this occurs fall into two categories. They are:

a) **inversions; e.g.:**

*he* Aungel *pov* schalt *pare* finde 6/173; *he* preost of *pe* churche he fond *pare* 55/61; and *he* deuel doute *de* *pe* more 45/379.

b) **apposition; e.g.:**

And *Iosie* *he* quellare he was bitake 37/116; And bi-tok him Ypolite, *he* knyzt: In strong prisone to caste 341/35.

This, of course, does not mean that *pane, bene* are not met with in such situations as well. But it is necessary to call attention to situations in which there is a tendency to use *he* with masculine nouns in the accusative singular. We can thus avoid the error of assuming that *he* in the accusative can only signify feminine gender and of consequently attributing a change in gender to nouns in which it never occurred.

**Accusative singular feminine.**

The regular form is *he* as in 1/24 etc. Very rarely *heo* occurs; e.g.: *heo* 3wile 278/5.

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1. It is also found in temporal phrases, especially if such a phrase occurs in the second half-line; e.g.: *bus* was *pe* holie node 1-founde: *pe* pridde day of May 4/127. But in such cases it may be an old instrumental rather than the accusative of time.

2. With the historically feminine noun *ny3ht*, or rather its compounds, the asgm. form *pane* is occasionally found; e.g.: *pane* Wodnes-ni3t 130/1225, *pe* sonen *ny3ht* 416/458. But here we may be dealing with a change in gender. See. pp. 163-164.
Genitive singular.

The genitive singular is no longer inflected and has one invariable form he; e.g. he kingues sone 47/31, he sonne leom 85/82, he childes depe 183/88.

Dative singular.

The definite article in the dative singular is mostly he for all three genders, whether the noun is or is not preceded by a preposition; e.g. the tormentores tolden he kingue 187/75; And pouȝte to don he rode schame 16/524; For no dede pat men depe he bodie 104/100; of he pope 11/356; bi-fore he quyene 2/41; in he londe 2/32.

There are, however, a few cases where the dative has another form. This is especially the case with the phrase atpenende (e.g. 5/160) which is variously spelt. With one solitary exception, that in ben eize 234/529, no other noun beginning with e or any other vowel is regularly preceded by this form. For that reason we should almost certainly regard these as relics of the OE usage in which both nouns, being masculine and neuter respectively, would have required that form, and not as examples of hiatus ben as suggested by Körner.

1. Cf. atpon ende 77/223; atenende 310/381; at-phemende 376/308.
2. op. cit. p. 37.
Beside these, there are a few examples of *bane* occurring in contexts where either the accusative or the masculine form is out of place, or both; e.g.: at *bane* ende 199/51; of *bane* heie manne 272/60; bi *pone* side 231/427; to *bane* ymage 253/452; at *bane* forewarde 470/294. The prepositions *at*, *bi* and *of* govern only the dative in La3amon and so does *to*, there being only two cases where it appears to govern the accusative.\(^1\) Of the nouns, *side* is feminine in OE, La3amon and also in this text; *ymage* is feminine in OF and appears to be so in this text too. Although feminine in OE, *forewarde* is neuter in La3amon. The form *bane* in these cases is probably the longer variant of a generalized dative form, viz. *bān + e*, such as we have seen in La3amon after some prepositions.\(^2\)

It is clear from the above that the definite article is of no value as a criterion for gender in certain cases, viz. the genitive and dative singular. At the same time it can still differentiate between the genders in certain other situations; in the nominative singular, between masculine and feminine on the one hand and neuter on the other; and in the accusative between all the three genders.

We have seen, however, that although the accusative *be* precedes feminine nouns in the majority of instances, it is

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1. See p. 85.
2. See p. 91.
also found sometimes with masculine and neuter nouns; as a
criterion for gender it has therefore little value; at best
it must be treated with utmost caution.

Another problem is presented by the form pat. For
beside its use as the neuter form of the definite article in
the nominative and accusative singular, it is used without
distinction of gender in certain other situations.

In the first place, pat is used in the nominative,
accusative and dative singular with masculine and feminine nouns
as a deictic. E.g.:

m.: a) *pat wrechohe gost quakede þo 236/604.*
b) *for-to leden to helle þat sorri gost 235/583.*
c) *ware-of seruest þou þat heiʒe Man 378/60.*

f.: Ake eoh of heom a-dræd was sore þe þo he þat creoiz
i-seiʒ 18/590.

The example with the noun man in 378/60 clearly shows
that in such cases we are not necessarily dealing with a change
in gender and so do the nouns gost and creoiz which are on other
evidence firmly established as masculine and feminine respectively.

The form pat is also used regardless of gender after
prepositions. Since the normal dative form in such situations
is he, it is highly probable that pat in such cases is to be
regarded as having demonstrative force. E.g.:

a) *And leide op-on þat dede man 3/84*
b) *of þat womman 107/46*
c) *of þat treo 10/306.*
The only possibility of its not being demonstrative arises with neuter nouns and those prepositions which, historically speaking, could govern the accusative. In such cases it is difficult to determine whether *bat* is to be regarded as the definite article or the demonstrative pronoun since the two are formally identical.

In the combination with *ilke*, *bat* is used with all nouns, irrespective of case and gender. It is especially frequent in temporal phrases, such as: *bat ilke day 37/123; bat ilke ny3ht 470/302; bat ilke stounde 290/92; bat ilke zer 117/373*. In these instances *bat ilke* seems to be a sort of demonstrative, meaning something like "that same", but whether there is a difference between these cases and those in which the definite article *be* is contracted with *ilke* (e.g.: *pulke time 2/49; pulke stounde 4/118; to pulke treo 7/217*), I am unable to say.

*Bat* is also used before *o, on* and *ober*, regardless of case and gender. E.g.: *bat o seriaunt 46/19; bat o yweol 250/360; bat on (king) 346/43; bat on (ping) 212/422; bat opur (woman) 276/169; bat opur (ping) 212/224 - all these in the nominative.

In the accusative: *bat o rode 3/83; bat on (son) 399/23; bat opur (rode) 3/83*. After the prepositions: in *bat opur stude 233/502; on bat on half 98/223; in bat opere 3ere 230/374.¹

¹ In such cases *bat* may have been used to prevent hiatus, but it may also be the demonstrative proper, which seems to be the case especially in such pairs as: *bat on ... bat opur (e.g. 322/5)*. It should be pointed out that *bat* does not invariably precede these words; e.g.: *be o partie 123/577; be on (son) 5/150; of be on ende 45/1.*
In seeking to establish grammatical gender, therefore, all occurrences of bat in such situations are to be disregarded as of no value, since they do not prove anything as regards gender.

THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular.

The rule for the indefinite article in the nominative singular is that _a is used before consonants and _an before vowels or _h, irrespective of gender; e.g.: a man 9/297; an sungel 6/189, an holi man 19/602. _A is occasionally written together with a noun; e.g.: Aman 7/198, astok 34/31, apiler 50/108.

Accusative singular masculine.

The form of the indefinite article in the accusative depends on its context; when not accompanied by an adjective it is _ane; e.g.: ane man 34/32, an appel 7/217, ane fot 39/180. Only occasionally is this form used when there is an intervening adjective; e.g.: huy senden him ane holie man 45/9.

When the noun is qualified by an adjective (or adjectives), the indefinite article is normally _a; e.g.: (brinque) a ded jong man 3/82; a grene wei pov schalt wende 6/179; a strong wal he liet a-rere 8/259. This form is also used in phrases of the type: many _a man(e.g. 39/177). It also occurs in temporal phrases, such as: puderward wende _aday 19/602; in fact, in such circumstances
a is more frequent than ane (e.g. so pat huy comen ane day 299/770), probably due to the analogy of a yer (e.g. pare-inne he lay al a yer 30/42). Otherwise, occurrences of a with asg. masculine nouns when these are not accompanied by an adjective are very rare; of nouns firmly established as masculine, only the following two have been noted in the first 53 pages: a fot of pat stude gon 34/28 and: he smot a knijf 49/78.

The form ane occurs seven times: 37/100. 40/221. 104/109. 262/58 (fot); 281/135 (fellawe); 426/219 (man); 454/202 (cuyltel). The form ane has been recorded in the following: 6/177. 108/54 (wei); 249/328 (boru3); 265/147 (man); 452/113 (freond).

Accusative singular feminine.

Ane and a are used in the same way with feminine nouns as with masculine, but there seem to be more examples of a when the noun is unaccompanied by an adjective. Some of them appear to be due to inversion, as for instance: A croiz he heold on honde 15/481; A rode he hadde in is hous 17/548.

1. In the first 53 pages there are 6 occurrences of asg. a day and none of ane day.
2. The form ane occurs in 41/255; this may be a misspelling of ane as the editor suggests, but it could also be a form deriving from OE enigne. The example reads: pat ho-so an-hengue ane man; he scholde habbe al is guod.
3. In 453/143 nanne is used with the noun help which in OE was feminine and masculine.
Although the form *ane* is not usually affected by the following sound, there are a few examples where it appears as *an* before a vowel or *h*; e.g.: After *pi* fourme ichulle *be* make: An ymage, bri3t and schene 96/158; wurth an hawe 35/52.  

Accusative singular neuter.

The regular form is *a*, whether the noun is accompanied by an adjective (or adjectives) or not; e.g.: a child 5/160; a sweete word 46/26; a luyte song child 7/209. If the following word begins with a vowel, the indefinite article may appear as *an*; e.g.: an *oper* in 19/607. The form *ane* has been noted only in the following: to *fi3te ane* 3er al 171/2264; *pe* Aumperor let nimen ane spere 179/21; (leneth me) ane hondret quarters of pat corn 244/130. Otherwise it does not seem to have been used with nouns felt as neuter.  

Genitive singular.

The genitive appears to have only one form, i.e. *ane*; e.g.: ane mannes soule 314/505.

Dative singular.

The most frequent form with masculines and feminines and the only one allowed with neuters is *a* or *an*, depending on

1. The same thing happens occasionally also in the asgm.; e.g.: *pe* Aumperour after *pis* Haide sende an *oper* dai 98/197.  
2. The example with *spere* may indicate that the noun was, occasionally at least, masculine as in the Brut; cf. p. 171.
whether or not it is followed by a vowel or \( h \); e.g.: in a day 18/597; in a luyte stounde 11/347; ouer a great fuyr 12/373; to an herre Iustice 44/360; in an opur religion 52/192; in an old hous 18/374.

Less frequently, but significantly, the form *ane* is used with nouns felt as non-neuter; e.g.: ouer ane olde diche 9/287; ouer ane heize brugge 38/156; to ane hepene manne 101/21; bisides ane hauene 139/1150. This form with the originally masculine nouns is clearly a descendant of the dsgm. *ane*; the examples with feminine nouns show that the asgf. (or the dsgm.) *ane* was extended into the dsgf. replacing the earlier *are*. In the first two examples above *ane* may have been felt as an accusative form after the preposition *ouer*, but this would be difficult to establish.

**THE NUMERAL**

**Nominative singular.**

The numeral is usually *o* before consonants and *on* before vowels and \( h \), without any distinction in gender; e.g.: *o* god 8/258; on Almi\[3\]ti god 3/68.\(^2\)

\(^1\) With the possible exception of: with inne ane fewe 3eres 11/332, *ane* is not used with neuter nouns. Cf. in a fewe 3er 7/227.

\(^2\) When used by itself, *on* generally means 'one person'. Cf. *po seide on, pat hiet Iudas 1/11*, or merely 'one'; e.g.: in pe on and twentipe 3ere 53/221.
Accusative singular.

In the accusative singular there is a tendency to use one with non-neuter nouns (e.g. one stounde 14/466) and o with nouns felt as neuter (e.g. o word 216/574). I have noted only two instances of a neuter noun being preceded by one: 4/115 (schrine) and 273/77 (hole). But there are cases of masculine or feminine nouns being preceded by o in the accusative; e.g.: o sone 13/417; o fot 93/47; pat o rode 3/83.

As in the nominative singular, on is used before vowels and h, irrespective of gender; e.g.: on aunture 59/186.

In most situations the forms o, on, one are undoubtedly numerals, as in:

pare bi-neepe beoth seoue firmamenz : pat euerech of heom, i-wis
One steorre hath with-oute mo : pat planete i-cleoped is 311/418.

But in some other situations it appears that forms with a and o are freely interchangeable; e.g.: one stounde 71/18 - one stounde 14/466, a fot - o fot 93/47.

Dative singular.

What has been said about the accusative singular equally applies to the dative.

1. When not preceding a noun, one may mean 'alone'. Cf. for pou one wuyrpe were 15/501; pat pou pat tresor of al pe world : al one op on pe pou bere 16/502. It can also mean 'only' as in: ase 3e mouwen onne penche 64/359 or 'entirely' as in: pe king wes one glad 52/201.
The indefinite article and the numeral, therefore, are still of some value when establishing gender. For besides the asgm. form *anne*, the asg. and dsg. form *ane*, one used with a noun strongly suggest that the noun in question is not felt as neuter.

**DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN**

The demonstrative pronoun, with very rare exceptions, is reduced to one form only, viz. *pis*, whatever case or gender.

E.g.:

nsg.: *pis* Aumperour 12/370; *pis* false quene 31/51; *pis* treo 8/263.

asg.: *pis* dede man 4/109; *pis* bok 28/63; *pis* holie blod 17/567.

gsg.: al *pis* world guod 26/9.

dsg.: of *pis* bischop 71/7; to *pis* world 15/499; mid *pis* word 15/487.

Occasionally variant spellings are to be found, as for instance: *bes* 16/533, *beos* 144/1316, but they do not seem to be in any way connected with gender.

A few survivals of the asgm. form in *-me* have been recorded. They are: *besne* : 46/13. 179/45. 185/28. 212/428. 357/72. 380/145. 404/54; *bisne* : 461/172. 482/72; *busne* : 36/79; *beosne* : 341/31. 361/79. 417/511 — all except the last one (ring) being used with nouns denoting male persons.

Even less frequent is the form *busse*, which is found in the dative (e.g. at *busse* gate 15/483; in *busse* half 221/57).
and in the genitive (e.g. in pusse bestes mouth 278/9) apparently regardless of gender.

As a criterion for gender, therefore, the demonstrative pronoun is no longer of any value.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The form of the possessive pronoun depends on the initial sound of the following word; thus the forms mi, bi are used before consonants and the forms min, bin before vowels and h, irrespective of case or gender. E.g.:

nsg. : mi fader 1/16; bi moder 6/181; bi lijf 62/306.
dsg. : with bi sone 14/448; aftar mi lore 12/379; to bin ho 68/40.

There is, however, a tendency to use the forms mine, bine with historically masculine and feminine nouns in the accusative singular, as for instance in: mine wei 41/239; mine soule 42/275. But the short forms, viz. mi, bi occur more often even with such nouns.

These longer forms are to be found also in the dative singular, usually with historically masculine and feminine nouns (e.g. of bine weie 42/283, to mine churche 41/237), although there seem to be at least a few examples of neuter nouns being preceded by that form (e.g. of mine guode 12/366, in pine schipe
This is not surprising, since this form is clearly a survival of the dsgm/n. mine, which has been extended also to the dsgf. The form is, of course, identical with the asgf. mine and may therefore be an extension of that form into the dsgf.

The form pine occurs also in the genitive singular; e.g.: for pine fader sunnes 7/214.

The form minne (pinne)<OE asgm. minne is extremely rare; it has been recorded in: 128/775 (pinne dai), 327/155 (minne mete), and 333/353 (minne owene mouth).

It is clear from the above that the form mine or pine in the accusative singular can in most cases be taken as evidence of non-neuter gender.

ADJECTIVES

Except for one example of: alne wey 479/584, the adjective has either the ending -e or no ending at all. Thus it no longer indicates the gender of a noun, and is therefore without relevance to our purposes.
The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester

MS. British Museum Cotton Caligula A xi.
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form of the nsgm. is he, as in 95 etc. A form a is recorded in 3626:

King Arthure a3en pe brest . his felawe verst ahitte.
A3en pe brust pat a vul . & ne mi3te no leng sitte.

As pointed out by the editor, the form here in 10551 must be regarded as an error for he. No occurrences of heo for he with reference to persons have been noted in this text; we may assume, therefore, that the form heo is unequivocally a feminine form.

Nominative singular feminine.

The normal form is heo, as in 305 etc. Referring to female persons, the form he is recorded nine times: 768. 769. 4540. 5431. 6865. 8952. 9248. 11426. 11447. We may therefore expect to find occurrences of he instead of heo also with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things. This,

1. A full analysis of the accidence in the Chronicle can be found in Flexionsverhältnisse bei Robert von Gloucester, by Felix Pabst in Anglia, vol. xiii (1890-91), pp. 202-301. The discussion to follow is therefore bound to be repetitive in some respects. In spite of this, it is felt that a survey of forms occurring in the Chronicle is needed here; firstly - to consider these forms in relation to gender; secondly - to show the position of criteria for gender in this text in relation to those in the two earlier ones.

2. References are to line.

3. See his Glossary, s.v. here.
in fact, seems to be the case in 1931, where he is used of croiz and also in 11096, where it refers to brugge (both nouns are normally treated as feminine in the Legendary). Two more examples of this usage of he are possibly to be found in 1471, 1472, since the noun hauene (to which they seem to refer) was feminine in OE and is treated as such in Layamon. The examples are:

be hauene þer he was aslawe, after haym is name iwis.
Haymtone was icleped as he þut icleped is.
Vor souþhamtone he is icleped, & worp euere mo.

If, on the other hand, the above occurrences of he may be interpreted as referring to Haymtone, the form he is then to be regarded as nsgm. in these two cases, since the noun toun is normally treated as masculine in this text, as it is in the Brut and the Legendary.¹

In addition to these, a form 30 occurs twelve times:
635. 720. 737. 829. 2514. 2516. 4185, 86. 4538. 5433. 5476 and 5477. The following forms have also been recorded: 30 in 3349, 330 in 615 and 336 in 709.

Nominative and accusative singular neuter.

Neuter nouns are referred to by hit or it in both cases; e.g.: hit 241, it 334.

¹ Körner, op. cit. pp. 39-41, takes these to refer to hauene and attributes a change in gender to the meaning of the word itself, since - according to him - 'feste Bauwerke' came to be treated as masculine, regardless of the original gender of nouns denoting them.
Accusative singular masculine.

The prevalent form is him, as in 235 etc. Spelt as im it occurs in 2330, 2961, 4090, 9460. Two more forms are recorded; the form hin in 1944 and the form in in 6363.

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form is hire, as in 310 etc. It is also found spelt as ire (e.g. 2016) and is recorded twice as ir: 10119 and 11804.

The form is is also found and occurs eleven times; occasionally it is spelt together with the verb, as for instance in: Ich jivis pe to bi wif 282. It is noteworthy that, except for this example, in which the form is refers to the noun doster, and the one in 8535, where it refers to hen, in all other instances the form is is used with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things or abstracts. The examples are: 1608 (dede), 1616 (soule), 1924 (church), 2211 (hond), 4055, 56 (sumberye of Rome), 6596 (croune), 7778 (forewarde) and 10506 (chartre).

Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Both the form his and its variant is are used to refer to masculine nouns; e.g. his 114, is 266. Occurrences of the

1. This form is also occurs in the plural; e.g. vor he wan ek to pis londe/ pe six yles pat bep aboute & heoldis al an honde 4614.
gsgr. are extremely rare, however. The form is is recorded in 6576:

*pat water dude uorp is kunde. & wax euere faste.*

It occurs also in 1212:

*po pis feste gare was. pat folk verst in is wise. To hor godes as hii wolde. dude hor sacrifice.*

In this case, however, the use of the form is may be due to a feeling of animateness about folk.

Genitive and dative singular feminine.

The form common to both cases is hire; e.g. 306 (g.), 309 (d.). In the genitive the variant forms also occur, viz. ire in 630 etc., ir in 10223, 11803, hir in 6922, here in 311 and 732. In the dative the form her is recorded in 565.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The normal form referring to masculine nouns is him, as in 214 etc. The variant form im also occurs, e.g. 3153. After the preposition bi, the form hum has been noted in 8629; with the preposition mid occurs hím in 2653.

Occurrences of the dative form of the personal pronoun with reference to neuter nouns are seldom to be found. Apart

1. This may be a late survival of the asgm. hine after this preposition, though at this stage it can only be regarded as an archaism both in form and function.
from those referring to the noun child, only the following have been noted:

Vor per nas in al be world: suerd him iliche.
Vor per non wip him ioned: pat suere keueri mize. 1141-42.

It is highly likely, however, that the occurrences of him here are due to the personification of suerd, rather than to being part of the paradigm of hit.

As can be seen from the foregoing, a distinction between genders is fully maintained only in the accusative singular, by the forms (h)im, hin: (h)ir(e), is: (h)it for masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. Any such distinction is somewhat obscured in the nominative singular, owing to a number of occurrences of the originally masculine form he for the feminine heo; but the distinction is clearly marked between feminine and neuter by the form heo (as well as by 30, 3e, aso and sse) on the one hand and (h)it on the other.

Feminine gender is also distinguished from the masculine in the genitive and dative singular by the form (h)ir(e) as against (h)is and (h)im respectively.

---

1. In this text too, the noun child is used only to denote a male child, and is frequently referred to by he. Therefore we may regard occurrences of the dsg. him with reference to that noun as belonging to he rather than to hit.

2. It should be pointed out that (h)it has not yet replaced him after prepositions when referring to neuter nouns or nouns denoting things, irrespective of their original gender. In such situations the place of the pronoun is taken by the forms her and her; e.g.: Corineus herwip harde smot (ax) 390; moni wes pe gode bodi. pat he herwip slou (suerd) 9455.
Once again, the gsg. (h)is and dsg. (h)im are hardly ever used to refer to neuter nouns. This restriction in the use of these two forms for masculine only suggests that a separation was being brought about of animates from inanimates, especially since these forms are very rarely used even with reference to masculine nouns denoting things. Where they do occur, however, the nouns to which they refer, like: castel, stude of Rome, toun, sterre and deb can equally be regarded as personifications.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Nominative singular masculine and feminine.

The common form for both genders is be; e.g.: be cler 234, be quene 606. Occasionally it is shortened to b before the vowel e and written together with the noun beginning with it; e.g. perl 6790.

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1. Occurrences of bat with historically m. or f. nouns are comparatively rare. Only the following have been noted: brod (OE f.) 1595, conseil (OF m.) 2188, gost (OE m.) 3055, song (OE m.) 3940, 5685, ssrewe (OE m.) 4239, weie (OE m.) 5574, poer (OF f.) 5972, 11712, knif (OE m.) 6362, flod (OE m. n.) 8607, somer (OE m.) 10960. In the absence of other evidence we cannot be certain whether or not a change in gender has taken place in some of these nouns. In the case of knif and weie, however, other evidence shows that they are still masculine, so that the form bat with them can be explained as a deictic. So can the examples with gost and ssrewe. It should be noted, however, that even in this function bat is rather infrequent with nouns denoting persons, not counting, of course, occurrences with maide and wif, which, in any case, were grammatically neuter in OE. It would appear therefore that the form bat with nouns/
Nominative singular neuter.

In the overwhelming majority of instances, historically neuter nouns are preceded by the neuter form of the article. So *bat* occurs 109 times (e.g. 24), *het* 22 times (e.g. 23), *but* 9 times (e.g. 5354), as against 45 occurrences of *be* (e.g. 57).¹

Accusative singular masculine.

The most common form of the definite article in the asgm. is *be*. It occurs 171 times (e.g. 59). The form *ben* occurs 100 times (e.g. 419) and of its variants the following have been recorded: *bun* 17 times (e.g. 2690), *ban* 6 times (e.g. 2150) and *bon* once in 2184. A descendant of OE *bume* is found 3 times as *bene* in 299, 395 and 6121.²

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¹ Nouns may signify: a) the neuter gender; b) inanimateness of things denoted by nouns historically masculine or feminine; c) a demonstrative force. Because of the last two functions and in spite of the first, we cannot accept *bat* here, any more than we could in the Legendary, as a reliable criterion for neuter gender.

² There are two instances of *bat* with nouns denoting male persons: *travtour* 5624 and *Harald* 7441. In addition, five instances of *bat* with historically masculine nouns have also been noted: *deol* 304, *kinedom* 1857, *moter* 2766, *knif* 7435 and *bat ulke time* 7198. These, however, may be regarded as examples of the demonstrative *bat*, as is apparent in the case of nouns denoting persons. In the last example, *bat* may also have been used to avoid hiatus; cf. *bat on* (dragon) 3230. It also occurs with a noun of obscure origin, viz. *skull*: *but scolle* 4237.
Accusative singular feminine.

The normal form is *he* as in 850.  

Accusative singular neuter.

The most frequent asgn. form is *pat*, which has been recorded 156 times (e.g. 45). The form *but* occurs 16 times (e.g. 5077) and the form *hat* once in 5964. The form *he*, however, occurs only 30 times with originally neuter nouns, as for instance in 262.

Genitive singular.

The invariable form in the genitive singular is *he*; e.g.: *he* kinges wille 1227; *he* quene fader 608; *he* jere ende 768.

1. As with masculine nouns, occurrences of *hat* with feminine nouns are also infrequent. Only the following have been noted with feminine nouns of French origin: *pes* 1857, *companyer* 2127 and *poer* 4123. There are two examples of the asgn. *bun*, *ben* preceding originally feminine nouns: *bun ouer hond* 1840, *ben world* 2429. Since, however, there are reasons to suppose a change in gender, these cases will be dealt with later. See pp. 162-63, 167-8.

2. Since it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the neuter definite article from the demonstrative *hat*, it is quite possible that a number of the above occurrences of *hat* are not examples of the definite article at all. Whether we are dealing with the article or not, can be deduced only from the meaning of the noun, as for instance in:  & smot him anowerde *hat* heued 397, where *hat* is obviously used in its function of the definite article.

3. With the originally neuter noun *gospel* *ben* occurs in 1529, but it is probably due to a change in gender; see p. 170.
Dative singular.

The normal form in the dative singular for all three genders is the indeclinable *he*; e.g.: *he* king he sende word azen 1229; he sende *he* quene is do3terword 826. The dative is seldom found in non-prepositional use, since most of its functions came to be expressed by prepositional phrases.

After prepositions, however, all distinctions between the accusative and the dative have been obliterated, and the definite article in such situations is virtually reduced to the form *he*; e.g.: toward *he* king 553; aboue *he* se 523; in to *he* lond 246. Before the vowel *e*, *he* is sometimes shortened to *b* and written together with the noun; e.g.: wip *hemperour* 1314.

The form *ben* is also found occasionally preceding nouns which begin with a vowel, regardless of the original gender of such nouns. For instance; to *ben* erpe 673 (but compare: vp of *be* erpe 165); fram *ben* on se to *ben* oper 2173. Both *erpe* and *se* were feminine in OE and are treated as such in the Brut and the Legendary. Sometimes, however, it appears as if this form is not entirely due to phonetic circumstances, but may also have something to do with the original gender of the noun; e.g.: at *ben* ende (OE m.) 229, out of *ben* yre (OE n.) 2954. In such cases *ben* may be a genuine survival of the dsqm/n. form, but - in view of the occurrences of this form with feminine nouns - it can hardly be regarded as having either gender or case value/
value when used after prepositions.

To sum up, the definite article shows almost complete syncretism of the nominative, genitive and dative singular forms. With the exception of the n/asgn. *pat*, which - it should be remembered - need not necessarily be the definite article at all, the definite article is reduced to a single form, the indeclinable *be*, and as such, naturally carries no information regarding gender.

As for the form *pat* in the nominative and accusative singular, it may be said that in most instances it does indicate the neuter gender, although as a criterion for gender it is not altogether trustworthy because of its use as a deictic. The scarcity of examples in which *pat* occurs with nouns denoting persons, however, seems to point out to a differentiation of another kind, a differentiation in terms of animateness against inanimateness, rather than 'grammatical' masculine/feminine as against neuter.

The only form of the definite article which is still gender-distinctive is therefore the asgn. *pen* and its variants.

1. This becomes obvious especially in such cases where the ending *-n* is separated from the article and joined to the noun, as for instance: atte nende 763.

2. The form *pat* is also found in the dative singular, but whether referring to masculines, feminines or neuters, it can clearly be regarded only as a deictic in such situations (e.g. 0f *pat* daye 2651), unless it happens to precede a word beginning with a vowel, in which case it may have been used to prevent hiatus; e.g.: helpe pere *pat* oper (broper) 7017; azen *pat* op 9305.

3. For a similar tendency in the personal pronoun, see p. 125.
THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

The indefinite article is normally *a* before consonants, *an* before vowels and *h*, irrespective of case or gender. E.g.: vor be maistrie nis nost a kinges 1331; an ermes nest 3670; an hein man 213.

It has been noted, however, both by the editor¹ and Pabel² that *an* occurs sometimes before consonants. An examination of such instances shows that as a rule *an* is to be found in the accusative and dative singular and only occasionally in the genitive (e.g. an kinges do3ter 2727).³ It also shows that in 99 instances the form *an* is used in such situations with historically masculine or feminine nouns (regardless of their origin), and only 3 times with neuter nouns. For instance: & rerde per an castel (OE m.) 2501; per pou ssalt finde an place (OF f.) 331; bi an laddre (OE f.) 6830.

With neuter nouns, only the following have been noted:

a) An son he hadde, *an* wis child 8854.
   b) of *an* gode londe 1204.
   c) ouer an long dale 7466.

*An* with the noun *child* is probably due to an influence of *an* *son*, to which it is used in opposition. In any case, the noun *child*

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1. See the Glossary to the Chronicle, s.v. *an*.
3. In the nominative singular *an* has been noted only in: *an* naked man 11662.
is often treated as masculine, so that an with it could not have been strongly felt as inappropriate, or even at all so. Both examples of an after prepositions are apparently late survivals of the dsgn. ane.

It is apparent from the foregoing that the form an in the accusative and dative singular is a descendant of the asgm. ane, asgf. ane and dsgm/n. ane. Since - as we have seen in the Legendary - the dsgf. are became ane, probably on the analogy of asgf. ane, the form an is then legitimately used in the Chronicle for all three genders in the dative. In the accusative, however, it may still have been felt as non-neuter. Nevertheless, as a criterion for gender it has not much value, since, in the first place, it does not tell us whether the noun it precedes is masculine or feminine. Secondly, it must have declined in significance as an indication of gender and of case, since it came to be used regularly before vowels and h, no matter what gender or case. It would seem, therefore, that although the form an is found in the accusative singular exclusively with masculine or feminine nouns, it cannot be regarded as anything more than a vestige of once fully inflected asgm. and asgf. forms, viz. ane and ane respectively.

Preceding a noun, the asgm. ane has been recorded only once: ane stroc 4576. The asgf. ane is found with an OE f. noun in: ane wounde 373, and with an OF f. noun in: ane bataile 5312.

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1. The form ane has also been noted in: pen ane (son) 4601; and in: smot ane (stroc) 8266. - Two examples of nanne are to be found in: nanne fader 2723, nanne red 9121.
DEMOnSTRATIVE PRONOUN

The demonstrative pronoun, having been reduced to practically one form, viz. *bis*, has entirely ceased to mark gender distinctions. E.g.:

nsg.: *bis* king 99; *bis* gode Cordeile 865; *bis* lond 1292.

asg.: *bis* geant 522.

gsg.: *bis* oldemannes lond 755.

dsg.: after *bis* king 901; to *bis* boce 138; to *bis* londe 850.

There are only a few survivals of the dative singular form, but with no significance for gender; e.g.: in *bise* boce 56, in *bise* lond 1694; of *bisse* londe 1748; of *bisse* brutaine 3733.

In addition to *bis*, the form *bes* is also found in a few cases. The examples are: nsg.: *bes* king 9335; *bes* tydinge 4295; asg.: *bes* veiage 4112 and after prepositions: in *bes* cas 8539; poru *bes* signe 1902.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

The generalized forms for all genders and cases are *min*, *bin* before vowels and *h*, *mi*, *bi* before consonants; e.g.: (ido) *min* olde lif 699; *min* handax vp a drawe 584; part abbe of *mi* kinedom 723.

There are, however, a few instances of the form *min*, *bin* before consonants. Eleven of these occur in the accusative
singular: pin broper 6930; min dep 6737; pin del (doel) 4287; pin grace & pin love 6307; min mede 6366; pin mede 6369; pin seruage 3995; min soule 9772; min wille 10290. In the dative, however, min and pin are found with nouns of all three genders, but there are only twelve such examples; e.g.: to pin cruel luperhele (OE m.) 3992; in pin sijt (OE f.) 817; vpe min londe (OE n.) 425. There is also one example in the genitive singular: pin louverdes elopes 6573.

The form bine occurs even more rarely; it is found once in the asg.: pine cause 10352, and five times after prepositions: in pine londe 943; in pine seruise 2494; of pine reverye 3991; of pine wite brede 4917; in pine wayre wede 4918.

In spite of the fact that these longer forms occur in the asg. exclusively with historically m. and f. nouns, testifying thereby to a feeling for gender in general, they are of little use for our purposes since they do not distinguish between these two genders.

ADJECTIVES

Except for a single occurrence of the inflected asgm. form in: alne winter 1364, and three instances of the dsgf. -re form in: goderhele 7570, wroperhele 3420 and 7282, the adjective is either uninflected or has the ending -e. Thus the adjective has ceased to mark gender distinctions and as such no longer has any value for our purposes.

1. For the form haluendel, which survives in 100, 6037 and 8025, see p. 65, footnote 2.
Part II

Results
The material contained in the Glossary illustrates the history of individual nouns so far as gender is concerned and also provides a basis on which to follow the history of grammatical gender as it appears in the language of the three texts under examination.

In seeking to establish the position of gender in any early Middle English text it seems desirable to separate the native element from the foreign in order to get as clear a picture as possible of what can be regarded as a continuation of the OE tradition and of such new tendencies working against this as can be regarded as a result of outside influences. I propose, therefore, to deal with words of OE origin in the first part of this section and with words of foreign origin in the second.

Each part is further sub-divided into three sections; the first dealing with the survival of grammatical gender; the second with changes in the original gender and the third with the loss of grammatical gender.

The results obtained in this investigation are based on the evidence of those criteria which point unambiguously to one gender and to one only, with the single exception of the nsgm. and nsgf. of the personal pronoun, viz. forms he and heo, which - as we have seen - are often interchangeable in these texts. The criteria in question are as follows:
For masculine:

B: nsg. he : asg. hine - asg. bene, -ne
L: nsg. he : asg. him, hine - asg. ben(e), -ne
C: nsg. he : asg. him - asg. ben

For feminine:

B: nsg. heo : g/dsg. hire - g/dsg. -re
L: nsg. heo : a.g.dsg. hire : asg. as
C: nsg. heo : a.g.dsg. hire : asg. is

For neuter:

B: n/asg. : hit - n/asg. bat : asg. bis
L: n/asg. : hit
C: n/asg. : hit

It will be observed that in the Legendary and the Chronicle there are fewer gender-distinguishing forms than in the Brut. In fact, with the exception of the asgm. ben(e) and occasional anne, bisne, minne or adjectival -ne, almost the only other distinctive forms are those of the third singular personal pronoun. The use of a particular form of the personal pronoun as a criterion for grammatical gender is something essentially different, however, from the use of evidence provided by adjectives and pronominal adjectives qualifying nouns. For these, as well as the definite and indefinite article, are in closer and more

1. -ne being the characteristic asgm. ending of the indefinite article, pronominal adjectives and the strong adjective.
2. -re being the characteristic g/dsgf. ending of the definite and indefinite article, pronominal adjectives and the strong adjective.
immediate morphological (as distinct from syntactic) relationship with the noun they 'qualify'. The personal pronoun, on the other hand, is in somewhat remoter grammatical relationship with a noun because it is a substitute for that noun rather than a qualifier of it. And since he, heo / hit often had, by this time, a connotation relating to animacy / inanimacy it was more natural that this connotation should sometimes overrule certain kinds of grammatical concord, e.g. when heo and not hit is used as a substitute for wif. The first signs of this kind of breakdown in strictly grammatical agreement are to be found already in OE where, for instance, there are cases of hit referring to nouns which are not neuter in gender. ¹

NOUNS OF OLD ENGLISH ORIGIN

The situation as regards the gender of nouns of OE origin in our three texts is given in the tables below, the figures representing the numbers of nouns. The total for each text includes all relevant nouns therein, whether some of these are found in the other texts or not. The intention of these tables is simply to give a picture of the over-all relationship between the gender of all relevant nouns in each text and their OE equivalents. It should be noted that nouns having one gender or more will figure more than once in the totals given below.

¹ Cf. Wülfing, op. cit. § 238, p. 350. See also Moore, op. cit. p. 97 ff.
Masculines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OE m.</th>
<th>OE m.f.</th>
<th>OE m.n.</th>
<th>OE f.</th>
<th>OE n.</th>
<th>OE -</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>104</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Feminines:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OE f.</th>
<th>OE f.m.</th>
<th>OE nm.</th>
<th>OE m.</th>
<th>OE n.</th>
<th>OE -</th>
<th>total</th>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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Neuters:

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<th></th>
<th>OE n.</th>
<th>OE m.n.</th>
<th>OE f/n.</th>
<th>OE m.</th>
<th>OE f.</th>
<th>OE -</th>
<th>total</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It should be pointed out that because only the unequivocal evidence has been taken into account, the figures as given above are somewhat lower than the actual number of nouns possessing gender (whether masculine, feminine or neuter).

1. The evidence of the gsgm/n. and the dsgm/n. has been omitted for the very reason that they are used to express these two genders. The asgf. ha has not been included either, since it can be used as an uninflected form regardless of gender. The asg. mine B, L, as well as min C, have been disregarded, since they do not make any distinction between masculine and feminine nouns. The same applies to the asg. ane L (to a certain degree also in B) and an C (before consonants). Although such evidence has not been included in the above figures, it has been taken into account wherever it corroborates other kinds of evidence, and throws any light in doubtful cases, especially where a change in gender seems to have taken place. The form hat in L and C, as indeed to some extent also in B, is no longer an unambiguous indication of neuter gender and therefore disregarded in L and C.
I. RETENTION OF GENDER IN NATIVE NOUNS

Nouns denoting animates in which the natural gender agrees with the grammatical gender have been omitted; the above figures relate therefore to nouns denoting things, to abstract nouns and to those denoting animates where the natural gender was at variance with the grammatical one. Accordingly, most of them may be said to possess true grammatical gender and it is only in exceptional cases that such gender as they have may be due to personifications, e.g. deađ, gost.¹

Masculine nouns.

The language of Lazamon A is close enough to OE with regard to case and gender systems for it to be hardly necessary to do anything more than give a numerical account of nouns established as masculine, feminine and neuter, and to provide a full list of these; the former has been provided in the above tables and the latter is to be found in the Appendix ii.²

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¹ gost of course might be regarded as referring to an animate; cf. p. 145.

² On the evidence of the dag. ban, twelve additional nouns which were masculine in OE, may still possess that gender in the Brut. In three cases this evidence is corroborated by the neg. be, thus showing that the nouns in question are not neuter. They are: rug, stræf and time. On the same evidence it can be established that the origin of plihte is OE pliht, m. and not OE plihtæ, f.; also that OE wiella, m. in addition to OE wiella, f. survives in welle. This is supported by the gsg. form welles. For the remainder, see Appendix ii.
There is, however, a group of nouns in the *Brut* which merits some consideration. It consists of pairs of words which in OE had the same meaning but differed in gender according to a difference in the ending of the nominative singular; e.g. *swipa*, m.¹ against *swipe*, f. and *hilt*, m. as against *hilte*, f. Since this kind of morphological difference tended to disappear in ME with the weakening of \(-a\) to \(-e\) and the addition of an unhistorical \(-e\) to some of the nouns which originally ended in a consonant, there is often no longer anything about the form of the noun itself to show whether it derived from the OE masculine noun or the OE feminine noun. It is only the evidence provided by the relevant appositional words or by the relevant personal pronoun which can furnish us with clues about this.²

Among the nouns retaining their original masculine gender in the *Legendary*, a few have been included in spite of the regular or occasional occurrence of the form *heo* of the personal pronoun in reference to them. First, there are: *asse*, *hare* and *staf*. That these nouns are to be regarded as masculine is confirmed by the evidence of the *asg*. *is* of the personal pronoun in reference to *asse* and *hare* and in the case of *staf* by the *asgm. hine*, as well as by the *asgm. bane*. We have already

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1. Not in Sweet, but see Clark Hall, Bosworth-Toller, Holthausen.
2. Thus, on the evidence of *enne*, I have included the noun *swipe* among masculines in the *Brut*, in spite of the possibility that *enne* stands for the *asgf.* (see p. 36 ff.); that the noun is treated as masculine in this text is confirmed, however, by the *asgf. ban in: Mid pan formeste swipen iii.284/9 her oomen pree hundred scipen.*
noted that heo is not a sure indication of feminine gender. It is impossible, however, with the evidence available, to be certain about three other nouns which were masculine in OE, but which are here referred to by heo. They are: feuere, ouene and wude. It may possibly be that feuere changed its gender under the influence of Lat. febris or OF fievre and that ouene became feminine owing to its ending in -e; but there is no evidence to substantiate this view and neither of these nouns occurs in the Brut. All that can be said, therefore, is that these two nouns are either masculine or feminine, and not neuter. The fact that they are not neuter is, however, of some importance for our purpose, even if we cannot classify them as specifically masculine or feminine. In the absence of any other kind of evidence in L and C for either gender in such cases, I have assumed that heo is sometimes no more than a variant form of the masculine he, and that therefore there is insufficient evidence for us to claim that there has been any change in the above instances from the original masculine gender. A comparison with the Brut makes a change in the gender of wude seem in any case unlikely, since the noun is treated as masculine in


2. Cf. pat in ane ache of pe feuereas is 319/385. It may also be of some interest to note that feuere is referred to by the masculine pronoun in Langland's Piers the Plowman (text B) and in Gower's Confessio Amantis (see Ausbüttele, op. cit. pp. 53-54), but whether or not this should be regarded as a survival of the original gender would be difficult to prove. Ausbüttele, op. cit. p. 56, ascribes it to an alleged tendency to treat nouns as masculine in ME. There is also the possibility that in these cases we are dealing with personifications rather than grammatical gender.
La3amon. If, however, there had been a change in gender in the Legendary, it is much more likely to have been caused by some outside influence than by the ending -e of the noun. For this tendency of nouns in -e to become feminine seems to have been neither long-lived nor thorough-going; except for those nouns that had already changed their gender at some earlier stage, there seem to be no signs of it in the two later texts. I have felt justified, therefore, in regarding this noun as masculine in the Legendary as it is in the Brut.

No such ambiguity arises in connection with masculine nouns in the Chronicle; all originally masculine nouns that appear to be masculine in this text are used with or

1. Possibly under the influence of OF forest, f. - The Chronicle offers no help in this case, since the noun does not occur.

2. There are numerous masculine nouns in -e in the Brut; e.g. boze, cure, drake, drope, dune², gare, grome, here¹, hule, mete, nome, acute, stede, sterre, stude, sweore, swipe, wode. For some originally neuter nouns in -e in the Brut, see p.

3. The noun beig in L (he com and fond pane beig of gold : pat seint Nicholas hadde i-brought 241/38) presents a rather difficult problem. The form and the gender suggest that the noun derives from OE beag, m. 'ring', but this meaning does not seem to be in harmony with the context. The word 'bag' is what we seem to require, since the above is taken out of the legend of Saint Nicholas, whose symbol is sometimes three bags of gold, the dowry he is supposed to have given to three girls to save them from degradation. This example is cited by Kurath and Kuhn in the Middle English Dictionary to illustrate a general meaning of 'treasure' which developed from the original 'ring'. The reference however, is wrong since it is given as S.Leg. Mich. MS Harl.2277 reads here: He com and fond pe weg of gold 551/36. The word 'weg' descends presumably from OE wege, f. 'weight'.
referred to only by forms associated with this gender, viz. the asgm. **ben** of the definite article and the forms **he** : **him** of the personal pronoun.

We have seen that the form **ben** is the only survival of the gender-distinguishing forms of the definite article in this text. There can be little doubt that as such it is an indication that the noun it precedes is masculine in gender.

Considering the late date of the **Chronicle**, it may be useful to re-examine at this stage the validity of the

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1. See p. 126. MS Trinity Colledge Cambridge R. 4.26 (c.1400), however, contains a few survivals of the asgm. **bare, bere**, only one of which is with an OE noun (of pere boru 68/50). The rest are with OF nouns (in pare route 149/22, in pere companie 306/6, of pere seignorie 307/24). It is noteworthy that the asgm. form in this MS survives in most cases as **bane, bene**, and only in a few as **ban**.

2. Cf. Körner, op. cit. p. 37 ff; he gives the list of nouns preceded by **ben**, but says: "Die Verbindung **alte nende** zeigt recht deutlich, dass man sich Zusammensetzung nicht mehr bewusst war, geschweige, dass man durch **ben** den geschlechtig-en Charakter des Wortes hätte ausdrücken wollen." But the 'hiatus' **ben** (mainly found in the dative singular after prepositions, sometimes regardless of the original gender of the noun it precedes - see p. 128) does not invalidate **ben** as a criterion for masculine gender altogether, since in the accusative singular it is almost exclusively found with originally masculine nouns; in those cases where it is used with originally feminine nouns (**hond**, **world**) or a neuter noun (**gospel**), there are other reasons for believing that these nouns have become masculine. His second argument is still less acceptable. He maintains that from the form **ben** we cannot infer that grammatical gender has been retained, since words of similar meaning (sic) are at the same time referred to by the genderless **hit** (op. cit. pp. 45-46). As we have seen, **hit** is a different kind of criterion for gender than the definite article; consequently the evidence of one does not necessarily destroy the evidence of the other, even when we are dealing with one and the same word. - Ausbüttel does not consider the cases with **ben** at all.
personal pronoun as a criterion for grammatical gender. The question is: can we be certain in all cases where the personal pronoun refers to a noun not denoting persons or animals that we are dealing with grammatical gender and not something else? Is it not possible that sometimes what appears to be gender is, in fact, personification? Such, for instance, seems to be the case with the noun gost, for which there is no other evidence about gender except that of the personal pronoun. If we allow of the possibility, as we clearly should, that the personal pronoun can sometimes be an indication not of grammatical gender but of the noun it refers to being given a 'personified' gender, how are we to distinguish between the two uses of the personal pronoun? In such cases where the 'personified' gender is the same as the grammatical and the personal pronoun is the only evidence available, this is extremely difficult to do, although the meaning of the word itself and the context in which it occurs are often helpful.

But to decide with certainty whether a noun still possesses grammatical gender or not, we must also have the evidence of the asgm. ben of the definite article; for so long as the noun is preceded by ben, we can be sure that it is grammatically masculine, whether it is used as a personification.

1. This is necessary here, since it is generally assumed that grammatical gender came to an end in the South West Midland dialect about 1250 (cf. Körner, op. cit. pp. 35-36; Moresbach, op. cit. p. 8; Glahn, op. cit. p. 25). Our text of the Chronicle comes from a MS dated c.1325, at least twenty five years later than the text of the Legendary (c.1300).
or not. So from the examples with the noun *dep* we may suspect
from the context that it is sometimes personified and sometimes
not. For instance:

a) *pen dep vor to fle 1554* (probably personified);

b) *king henri pen dep nom 9128* (probably not).

What is important is that in both cases the noun is masculine
in gender.¹

There are, however, some cases for which there is no
other evidence except the personal pronoun, but in which personi-

fication as an explanation for the use of *he* etc. may safely be
ruled out; e.g. *appel, knif, kingdom*. Since all these nouns
were masculine in OE, it seems reasonable to regard the evidence
of the personal pronoun as indicating a survival of the OE gender.
Attempts, however, have been made to attribute the gender in such
cases to foreign influences, namely Latin or French.² This,

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1. Körner, op. cit. p. 46, holds the view that where *hit* refers
to nouns occasionally used with the gender-distinguishing
forms *he* and *heo*, it is a sign that these nouns (e.g. *toun,
cite, castel; chirche and brugge*) are not used as personi-
fications in these particular cases. In other words, where
they are referred to by *he* and *heo* they are to be regarded
as personifications, and not as having grammatical gender.
Admittedly, there is no way of proving that nouns referred
to by the feminine pronoun are grammatically feminine, but
on the evidence of the asgm. *hen* it is possible to establish
that *castel, atude and toune* are masculine in gender. The
occurrences of *hit* in such cases need not disturb us, since
it is to be expected at this date that natural gender will
occasionally prevail over grammatical.

2. Ausbüttel in almost all instances attributes the gender to
Latin or OF. Thus he explains *he* with reference to *appel*
as due to associative influence of *pomum* (p. 45). But the
noun was *m.* in Lat. and *f.* in OE (possibly because the plural
poma came to be used as singular). According to him, *castel, m.*
is due to OF *chasteau* (p. 30), *pouit : animus* (p. 52), *kingdom :
le pays* (p. 26), *ch : le sacrement* (p. 99), *wal : le mur* (p. 32),
*weil : le cemin* (p. 35).
however, is quite impossible to prove in cases where one gender is common to both OE Latin or OF, and the more reasonable course would be to accept such cases as a continuation of the OE tradition, admitting at most that the influence of Latin or OF may possibly have helped to preserve the old gender. One argument in favour of this proposition is the fact that there are nouns that survive as masculine in spite of the feminine gender of their equivalents in Latin and OF. They are: *deb* (*mors, la mort*), *sterre* (*stella, etoile*); to these could be added *toun* (*la cite*), and possibly *appel*.

**Feminine nouns.**

Little need be said about those feminine nouns that retain their original gender in the *Brut*, except that *hilte* appears to be a descendant of OE *hilte*, f. and not OE *hilt*, m.n. and that *teone* appears to descend from OE *teone*, f. and not OE *teona*, m. With feminine nouns, however, one cannot be very sure on this point since their gender may possibly be due solely to the ending *-e* of these nouns regardless of its origin and consequently of the original gender of such nouns. The case

2. Cf. Ausbüttel, *op. cit.* p. 20; but the noun is also feminine in this text.
3. Note that the noun *cite* is masculine in the *Chronicle*.
4. Provided *heo* is not a variant of *heo* here. The noun is, however, firmly established as masculine in the *Legendary*.
5. But see p. 141, footnote 2.
of welle is somewhat different from those mentioned above, since both genders are preserved in the Brut, masculine (OE welle, wielle) and feminine (OE wielle), the latter being more often used, perhaps owing to the ending -e.¹

According to the evidence of heo, welle appears to be only feminine in the Legendary.² Two occurrences of he in reference to coluere and cow have been disregarded, since other evidence, viz. hire, shows that these two nouns remained feminine, and since (as we have already seen) he is not a certain indication of masculine gender. In these two latter cases we are, of course, probably dealing with natural rather than grammatical gender.

There are no occurrences in the Chronicle of the form heo of the personal pronoun with reference to historically feminine nouns denoting things and the establishing of gender on the evidence of the nominative singular is thus made somewhat diffi-

¹ There is one occurrence of enne with the noun dic, which I have accepted as evidence for the masculine gender, although in the following lines the noun is treated as feminine, i.e. as descending from OE dic, f. 'ditch' and not OE dic, m. 'dike'. The two seem to have been occasionally confused in OE itself, although the word was more frequently masculine when it meant the same as OE weall, m.; cf. R.v. Fleischhacker, 'On the Old English nouns of more than one gender', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1888-90, p. 253.

² Ausbittel, op. cit. p. 35, commenting on the genders of welle in Ywaine and Gawain, 2091-93, says that the feminine gender is due to la fontaine and the masculine is to be explained as due to the peculiarities of the Anglo-French dialects or else to a tendency to treat nouns as masculine in ME.
cult. Of nouns originally feminine, *brugge*, *halle*, *hauene* and *churche* are referred to by *he*. For the first three there is no other evidence in C to show whether they have changed their gender or not. In the Brut, however, *brugge* and *hauene* are treated as feminine. We may therefore assume that — unless a change in the gender of these nouns occurred after the time of the Brut — the form *he* is no more than a variant of *heo* in these cases. It is always evidence of non-neuter gender and it need never be accepted as evidence against feminine gender. A different problem is presented by the noun *churche*, which — on other grounds — appears to be both feminine and masculine in C. It is therefore impossible to say whether *he* referring to it in 10307 is only a variant of *heo* and so goes together with the other evidence for the feminine gender or whether it is to be regarded as the nsgm. *he* and so corroborating the evidence of the asgm. *him*.

1. The form *heo* is otherwise normally used with reference to nouns denoting persons, but the form *he* also occurs in such circumstances.

2. Körner, *op. cit.* p. 40, insists on a change in gender in the noun *hauene*, conforming to an alleged tendency to treat nouns denoting 'feste Bauwerke' as masculines; in this disagreement with the original gender of the noun, he finds confirmation to his theory that in such cases we are not dealing with grammatical gender at all, but with what he calls 'rhetorische Geschlecht'. For *brugge*, however, he admits the possibility of *he* being used as a feminine form (*op. cit.* p. 41). Ausbüttel, *op. cit.* p. 32, also points out that *he* in Robert of Gloucester is not decisive for masculine gender.


4. Having missed the example of *him* with reference to church, Ausbüttel, *op. cit.* p. 32, comes to the conclusion that *he* is to be regarded as a variant of *heo*, i.e. as evidence for the feminine gender.
Neuter nouns.

It will be observed that the evidence for the neuter gender in L and C, and occasionally also in B, rests exclusively on that of the personal pronoun *hit*. More will be said later about *hit* when used with reference to historically non-neuter nouns. In connection with historically neuter nouns, however, a few points of interest may be mentioned here.

A question of whether we are dealing with the survival of neuter gender or not arises with the nouns *riche, rihte* and *temple*. Some of the evidence indicates that these nouns are feminine in the *Brut*, but other evidence (not necessarily of a different kind) suggests that they are sometimes neuter. That *riche* and *rihte* are neuter in the *Brut* is testified not only by *hit* in both cases, but also by the asgn. *bat* and the dsgn/n. *nane* for *riche* and *rihte* respectively. There seem to be two possible explanations for this; neuter forms in these cases are either a) remains of the old neuter gender or b) signs of a new neuter gender, to which these two nouns reverted after a period of having the feminine gender. Although the first alternative is a more likely one, the second is not impossible, since both noun – unlike *temple* – are treated as neuter in the *Legendary*. The case of *temple* is different, since apart from

1. See p. 184 ff.
2. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 60, contends that those cases in which *riche* is neuter are not due to the old neuter gender, but to the analogy with *lond*. No such analogy is easy to suggest for *rihte*, however.
a single reference to it by hit, all other evidence shows that the noun has undergone a change in gender and become feminine, which is the gender it has in the Legendary also. This would suggest that the solitary occurrence of hit in reference to temple is no more than a trace of the old neuter gender.1

The noun brimme as we have it in the Brut appears to have the meaning of OE brymme, m. 'border; sea-shore' and the gender of OE brim, n. 'sea'. A confusion in such cases is very likely, but it should be pointed out that the evidence for the neuter rests on a single occurrence of hit, the remaining examples occurring with the dsg. forms which serve no more than to indicate either masculine or neuter.

Finally, it must be specially emphasized that the figures for neuter nouns as given in the tables clearly present an imperfect picture of the position of the neuter gender in L and C. This is due to the fact that the establishing of gender in these two texts depends solely on the evidence of the personal pronoun, and therefore on the accident of whether it is present in the context. One finds, however, that very often the noun itself is repeated in preference to the pronoun.

1. Körner, op. cit. p. 33, takes this example of hit in reference to temple as a sign of the loss of gender. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, disagrees with him on the grounds that grammatical gender is well preserved in Layamon, and that therefore it could only be due to a change in gender, not to the loss of it. He also seems reluctant, without giving any explanation, to accept it as a survival of the old neuter. But as the comparison with L shows, there is no evidence either for the change or the loss of gender, and the only remaining possibility is as suggested above; cf. N.v. Glahn, op. cit. p. 15.
There is also another group of nouns that should be considered here. It consists of nouns which have more than one gender in OE but usually retain one of these in our texts. They are:

**Masculine nouns:**

- **B**: m. and n. in OE: flode, holt
  - m. and f. in OE: help, hul
- **L**: m. and n. in OE: dew
  - m. and f. in OE: help, hul
- **C**: m. and n. in OE: box
  - m. and f. in OE: hul

The most important thing to be noticed above is that some nouns are only clearly identifiable as masculine in our texts, although they could also, so far as the evidence goes, be neuter as well. It has been suggested that the masculine gender of the originally neuter noun holt developed by analogy with wude, weald in OE. This would mean that the masculine is the later of the two genders and that as such it, rather than the earlier neuter, survived in the Brut. For our purposes, however, the more interesting are those nouns which

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1. Of. also Appendix II for twelve additional nouns which were neuter in OE and - on the evidence of the dative singular - seem to have remained so in Layamon.

2. The gender of help is usually given as f. m.; for a discussion see p. 151.

3. Sweet does not give neuter as a gender of box; but cf. Clark Hall and Holthausen.

retain the masculine gender in cases where it was the older of the two, such as box for instance, and probably dew and flode.¹

Equally important is the fact that each of the three texts treats hul as masculine² and that B and L agree in treating the noun help as masculine and not feminine;³ the feminine gender is much the more common in OE. This agreement seems to offer good evidence for a dialectal affinity between these works and therefore indicates the occasional relevance of characteristics of gender in the study of early ME dialects.⁴

1. On the evidence contained in vol. i. flode appears to be only masculine in the Brut. Hoffmann, however, cites the example in 20171 (wrongly cited as 20271): no bat lond no bat flot, to show that the noun (if indeed flot is not another word altogether) could also be neuter (op. cit. p.64). Madden in his Glossary lists the word as neuter.

2. Ausbüttel makes no mention of hul as being masculine in C. For hille in Trevisa's Polychronicon: bat hille ... he is cleped Mons Caucasus he finds in the Latin text (mons) Caucasus dicitur and comes to the conclusion that the masculine gender of hille is due to the gender of mons. Cf. op. cit. pp. 34-35.

3. This statement is based primarily on the evidence of nenne B and nanne L; less trustworthy is the evidence of the gsg. helpers B, since this ending occurs in the paradigm of some feminine nouns which do not appear to have changed their gender; e.g. sawles in Sawles Warde; cf. d'Ardenne, The Liflade ant te Passion of Seinte Juliene, Liege, 1936, p. 209. Some other originally feminine nouns, like burh, world seem to have adopted the masculine gender, however.

4. On the evidence of the dative singular OE luft, f.m.n. is either masculine or neuter in the Brut, but not feminine. On the same evidence the noun breste (OE brœost, n.m.f.) which is normally feminine in the Brut, appears occasionally to have retained its original neuter gender or else its masculine one.
Feminine nouns:

B : f. and m. in OE : see
n. m. f. in OE : breoste
L : f. and m. in OE : canele, sea

As can be seen from the above, both B and L treat
the noun sea as feminine, the gender which it is supposed to
have developed on the analogy of se, f. in OE. ¹ The noun
breoste seems to be mainly feminine in Laȝamon A; although the
word occurs in all three genders in OE, there is little doubt
that it was originally neuter and that therefore there had
been a change in its gender. For this reason it seems more
appropriate to discuss it together with the other nouns which
have undergone a change in gender. ² As regards canele, it
is most likely that it owes its feminine gender to Lat. candel. ³

Neuter nouns:

B : m. and n. in OE : ægel, garsume
f. and n. in OE : feht; biheste

The neuter gender of ægel may be due, as Hoffmann ⁴

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¹ Cf. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 245.
² See p. 177.
³ R.v. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 248, cites Pogatcher, Laut-
lehre des Lehnworte in ae. (§ 256), as saying that OE condel,
f. could not have been a popular word. For in that case one
ought to expect a masculine condel or a feminine condele.
⁴ op. cit. p. 62.
suggests, to an association with the synonymous lond. As regards garusme, it appears to have preserved both genders, if we can accept the nsg. ba garusme as a survival of the masculine gender rather than an uninflected form of the definite article. All the evidence shows the noun feht to be a descendant of OE feoht, n. and not of OE feohte, f. The noun biheste, however, could historically speaking only be feminine and neuter so far as its components were feminine (bihēs) and neuter (behēt). In Lazamon it is referred to by hit and therefore appears to be neuter.

II. CHANGES IN GENDER IN NATIVE NOUNS

After all the peculiarities of the texts have been taken into account and possible scribal mistakes disregarded, a number of nouns show that the gender they have in the Brut, the Legendary and the Chronicle is not the same as the one they had in OE. Some of these nouns show a complete change in gender, i.e. they appear in our texts only with forms characteristic of their new gender; others are found also with forms associated with their old gender. There seem to be two possible explanations for the duality in gender of the latter group of nouns. First, the change might not have been completed, so that for a time both genders co-existed. The other possibility is

1. It is immaterial here what had been the cause of the change; whether it is a result of tendencies working within the native system of gender or of developments due to the influence of a foreign gender-system.
that no change in the proper sense of the term had taken place, in which case what we have is no more than a result of a confusion in a decaying system of gender, the beginning, in other words, of a noun having no gender in particular. However, if both types of evidence are available, namely the evidence of the third singular personal pronoun and that of the definite article and other appositional words, it may be safely assumed that there had been a genuine change in gender, whatever its cause, and regardless of whether or not the old gender survives.

Changes from the original gender appear to have a variety of causes, sometimes more than one being at work. In any discussion of this problem, however, one thing must be made clear at the outset: that - with the possible exception of translations where changes may be attributed to a direct influence of the original - one cannot be absolutely certain of the actual cause for the change in any particular case. The whole problem can therefore be dealt with only in terms of probabilities.

Factors that determine changes in gender seem to be, basically, of two kinds; those connected with the form of a given noun and those connected with its meaning.

It is to be expected that after a number of morphological changes had taken place in early ME, which eliminated most of the distinguishing features of gender in the noun and its qualifiers, an uncertainty as to gender should have arisen
on purely morphological grounds. It is also clear that this uncertainty should have resulted in a confusion and shifting of genders, the analogy of form playing an important part in the process.

The workings of this analogy of form are to be found in a tendency of nouns ending in a consonant to become masculine\(^1\) and of those ending in \(-e\) to become feminine.\(^2\) Such changes, more or less mechanical, seem never to have been very extensive,\(^3\) and the tendency which was causing them appears to have died out, so far as our texts are concerned, after the time of the Brut.\(^4\) It would follow therefore that changes for reasons of form are not to be expected either in the Legendary or in the Chronicle.

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1. A great majority of nouns ending in a consonant were masculine already in OE. By analogy to those, some originally f. or n. nouns which ended in a consonant, as well as those which lost their original vowel ending, became masculine in early ME; cf. Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.} p. 56, Morsbach, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 9-10, Glahn, \textit{op. cit.} p. 16.

2. The ending \(-e\), whether a result of the weakening of the inflectional vowel of the nominative singular, or borrowed into the nsg. from the oblique cases, became a characteristic ending of feminine nouns in late OE by analogy to those feminine nouns that originally had \(-e\) in the nominative singular. As a result, nouns ending in \(-e\), regardless of its origin and, consequently, regardless of their original gender, are frequently treated as feminine; cf. Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.} p. 56, Morsbach, \textit{op. cit.} p. 10, Glahn, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 15-16.

3. In addition to masculine nouns ending in \(-e\) in the Brut (see p. 141, note 2), there are also some neuter nouns which have not changed their gender, despite their ending in \(-e\); e.g. \textit{bate}, \textit{tace}.

4. At this point one cannot help wondering what would have happened to the gender system in English, if the influence of French had made itself felt earlier than it actually did. Would this tendency of nouns ending in a consonant to become masculine and of those ending in \(-e\) to become feminine have been strengthened by/
A change in gender can also occur on account of a similarity of meaning of one noun to another. This tendency for words of related meaning to have the same gender is present already in OE; what happens in ME is therefore only a continuation of an old practice.  

As will be shown in the discussion to follow, a change in gender may have occurred as a result of an association with synonymous words irrespective of their origin; native words can influence one another with regard to gender or be influenced by corresponding words of foreign origin, mainly Latin and French. But while the influence of Latin and French nouns needs little explanation in translations, it affords a problem of considerable interest when it is suspected in original works. For it is to be assumed that the word more often used would be the one to influence that which is used less frequently. How then, for

by analogy with the similar state of affairs in French? If this had been the case, English of today might have possessed a two-gender system, masculine and feminine, at the expense of neuter, which was rapidly loosing its morphological distinctions, and which in any case may to some extent be regarded, in the words of Jespersen, as a "subdivision of masculine".

1. These changes due to the meaning of words are not restricted only to OE or ME; they are known, for example, to have taken place also in French and German. Jespersen gives the example of F. été which changed from f. to m. on account of the other names of the seasons, hiver, printemps, automne. In the same way G. die Mittwoche became der Mittwoch after der Tag and the names of the other days of the week; see The Philosophy of Grammar, London, (1924) 1951, p. 229.

2. Since Latin and French mostly agree with regard to gender, it is not always possible to distinguish the influence of the one from that of the other upon the gender of English nouns.

instance, are we to explain the alleged influence of the gender of a French noun on the gender of a native noun, if the French noun itself (which is supposed to have caused the change) has not been borrowed into English at all? The fact, however, remains that the change in gender of some native nouns can best be explained as due to an associative influence of the corresponding nouns in Latin or French even in cases where these nouns have not been borrowed into English. This influence is more noticeable in the Legendary and the Chronicle than in the Brut; it seems not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the influence of Latin or French with regard to gender could operate upon English only after the gender system in the latter had suffered a sufficient degree of attrition and the old gender of a given noun was in process of being forgotten.

The gender of one noun can cause a change in the gender of another, if they happen to be coupled in frequently recurring phrases. In such instances a similarity in meaning does not seem to be a prerequisite; in some cases the noun in question may indeed have a contrary signification. ¹ A noun can also

¹ Thus R.v.Fleischhacker, op. cit. pp. 251 and 254, suggests that OE heofon, m. became heofone, f. following the analogy of OE eorðe, f. as to its gender and partly as to its declension. Cf. also Glahn, op. cit. p. 18, who explains the feminine gender of French la mer from Latin mare, n. as due to an analogy of terre (par terre et par mer). For English he gives no certain examples, but offers tentatively mone, f. from OE mona, m. by analogy with OE sunna, f.
take the gender of another if together they form a rhyme.
In such cases a similarity in sound, regardless of meaning,
appears to be sufficient to cause a change.

Finally, in connection with meaning, it remains to
consider the influence of natural gender on grammatical gender.
As already in OE, there is a tendency to bring about conformity
between grammatical gender and sex; thus the neuter nouns meide
and wif are referred to by heo, hire and so is the OE masculine
wifman. But while the influence of natural gender is felt on
meide and wif only so far as the personal pronoun goes, in the
Brut we find examples like: bi bare wimman 271/10, showing that
the noun was, occasionally at least, treated as grammatically
feminine. The noun child is neuter in all three texts, but can
be (and often is) referred to by the masculine forms of the per¬
sonal pronoun; this has already been pointed out in the discussion
of forms in each of the three texts under examination.

We shall now examine the nouns which show a change
in gender, whether complete or sporadic, and consider possible

1. Hoffmann and Glahn disagree on this point. The former,
op. cit. pp. 56, 61, recognizes the influence of rhyme,
but takes it to be conditioned by a similarity in meaning.
Glahn, op. cit. pp. 16-17, claims that the similarity need
not go beyond that of sound, as is often the case in Ger¬
man (according to Polzin) and in French (according to Meyer
- Lübbe). In support of this view he gives the example of
shame which changed its gender probably under the influence
of grame or name.
reasons for the change in each case. In the discussion which follows, the actual citations of examples illustrating that change will not, except in very few cases, be repeated here, since they are given in the Glossary.

NEW MASCULINES

From feminine nouns.

I. Complete change:

B: blase, chin, scome
L: pors, Sonnen-nyght, Wodnesnyght, world
C: rode, world

II. Sporadic change:

B: burh, care, modcare, niht, siht, ?world
L: boc, heouene, sonne, soule
C: church, hond

blase B on the evidence of the asg. enne appears to have changed its gender under the influence of the synonymous blysa, m.; cf. also blōs, blōst, both masculine.

boc L is usually feminine in this text as it is in the Brut. Once, however, hine is used in reference to it; this may merely be a mistake for hire, although other explanations are not only possible, but more likely. For it is apparent from the context that the 'book' in question is 'gospel'; the noun gospel, however, is masculine in C and not neuter as in OE. The influence of le livre may also have something to do with this change.
burh B is normally feminine in the A text, but there are also examples showing it to be sometimes masculine.¹ This change may have been caused by the consonantal ending of the word. On the other hand, the influence of castel, m. seems to be a possible reason for the change. For one finds examples in which burh is subsequently named castel; e.g. ane neowe burh makede 113/11 ... Meidene castel he wes ileoped 113/14.² There is also one example in which the two nouns make a compound: ne wið inne pon castel-buri 286/12, which is probably masculine in gender.³
care B has retained the feminine gender, but side by side with examples illustrating this gender one finds examples of a new masculine gender. There do not seem to be any reasons to suppose that the change occurred on any formal grounds, since the gender changes in spite of the noun ending in -e. The change is therefore probably due to an association with a synonymous noun.⁴ The single example of the noun mod-care is used with a masculine form; a comparison with care clearly shows that the noun has undergone no complete change in gender.

¹ In the B text burh is more frequently masculine; cf. Körner, op. cit. pp. 24-25.
² Cf. also the example cited by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 59: Lane-castel hine hehten ii.171/20.
³ Cf. p. 99.
chin B has probably changed its gender owing to its ending in a consonant.¹

Church C is usually feminine, as it is in B and L. There are, however, a few examples in which the noun is treated as masculine. In one case the noun probably has this gender because of an identification of the Church with the Pope, since the example reads: (clanliche to restore) holi churche pat pou hast. him binome mid wronge 10268.² Apart from this, there is another example in which the noun church is referred to by him: pei seinte Peter him sulfe. ihalwed him adde er 7158.³ The context clearly shows that the meaning applies to the building. The only possible reason for this change, if it really is one, and not a scribal error, seems to be the influence of French temple, m. In a similar context, however, the noun is feminine: An churche of seint Ion pe baptist. Constantin let rere/ & cluped is Constantiniane 1924. It is therefore impossible to decide whether he in: pat he ihalwed was 8592, supports the evidence for the masculine, or whether it is just a variant of heo, in which case it is not to be regarded as evidence for masculine at all. The same applies to the example of he in 10307.

¹. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 59; also N.v.Glaun, op. cit. p. 16.
³. MSS Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 4. 26 and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Digby 205 read hure here; MS Lord Mostyn's Library, Mostyn, Flintshire, No. 259 has hir.
heouene L is feminine in this text as it is in B. Occasionally, however, it appears as masculine; e.g. pe heouene geth ene a-boute
... pe None and pe steorrene with him heo berth 311/402. In OE the noun was a strong masculine; in late OE it appears as a weak feminine heofone (after eorde in heofonan and eordan1 or possibly by analogy with OE hell, f.) According to OED, Southern ME had usually hevene, which probably derives from heofone, f., while the more northern form was heven, perhaps from OE heofon, m. It seems therefore that him in the above example cannot be explained as a survival of the OE masculine heofon. The alternative explanation is that the change is due to the influence of corresponding words in Latin or French, oolum and le ciel respectively.2

hond C is referred to by the asg. is, thus showing that it still has the feminine gender.3 Once, however, it appears in the accusative singular as pun ouer hond 1640, i.e. as masculine.4 There is little doubt that the feminine gender is carried over from OE; about the masculine, however, we cannot be very sure.

1. Cf. OED s.v. heaven. See also Fleischhacker, op. cit. p.251.
2. According to Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 18, oolum was masculine in medieval Latin.
3. No examples for the feminine gender of hond in C are given by Ausbüttel. For the masculine he queries the example in 3635: four hondred men ... is owen hond be slou. We can, however, disregard this occurrence of he, for it is almost certain that it refers to the doer of the action.
4. Köerner, op. cit. p. 38, suggests that haben pun ouer hond must have been a fixed phrase.
The possibilities are that the noun changed to masculine owing to its ending in a consonant, or because of the influence of *le bras*, or a combination of these things. In any case, the noun is both feminine or masculine in C, but never neutral.

**niht B, Sonen-nyght L, Wodnesnyght L.** The noun *niht* is normally feminine in B, but the asg. *enne niht* 401/13, strengthened by the evidence of *pan mid-nihtes* 324/3, suggests that the noun can also occasionally be masculine. As Platt points out, the change in gender occurred here as a result of this word being coupled with the masculine *dreg* in phrases like *dreges and nihtes*. At all events, the change in B is only a sporadic one. It is difficult, however, to know whether the same is true about *Sonen-nyght* and *Wodnesnyght* in L, since the only evidence available is that of the temporal phrases *bene Sonen-nyght* and *bene Wodnesnyght*, which are clearly influenced by the noun *day* and

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3. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 54, takes this example of *ban with mid-nihte* to be an error for *hare*, which is what the B text has.

4. J. Platt, 'Zur Kentnisse der asg. Geschlechter', *Anglia*, vol. vi, 1883, p. 174. The ending *-es*, however, need not necessarily signify a change in gender (cf. p. 151, footnote 3), but it could, as it obviously did, give rise to a confusion as to gender of this and similar historically feminine nouns, whose paradigms show an intrusion of the genitive *-es*, proper to masculine and neuter nouns.
its compounds in the same function; e.g. bene Soneday. In view of the fact that the masculine gender is in such cases contrary both to the original OE gender and the gender of Latin and French equivalents (nox, la nuit), it may be doubted whether there was a real change in gender of this noun at all. For bene in such constructions may well have acquired a new function of merely denoting time, ceasing in such cases to mark gender at all. On the other hand, it is possible that a similarity in meaning did cause this noun to change its gender, on the analogy of other masculine nouns denoting time, such as day, monah, time.

pore L shows the influence of OE posa, m. both in gender and the vowel, since otherwise it should have been something like OE pura, f.; cf. Lat. bursa.

rode C is referred to by he, which alone is no reliable evidence for the masculine gender, as has been pointed out earlier. There is, however, the evidence of the gsg. i.e. to confirm that the noun was masculine in C. But it should be noted that in both contexts the masculine gender can be attributed to an identification of the Crucifix with Christ.

2. See pp. 120-21, 146-7.
scome B is taken by Hoffmann¹ as an example of a change in gender owing to an association with some word of similar meaning, but he offers no suggestions; Glahn, however, suggests a rhyme-association of grame or name as the cause of the change in the case of schame.² This may be the case, since we actually find scome and grame forming a rhyme in Laamon; e.g.

& menden to him heore see
& heore sork-siṣes
& pan vnitete scome
& penne muche grame 11.38/20-23.

siht B, on the evidence of the asg. nenne, appears to have the masculine gender in addition to its original feminine gender. If there had been a change, it was probably caused by the noun ending in a consonant.

soule L is established as feminine in this text as it is in B.³ In several cases, however, the noun is referred to by he. Such occurrences lend themselves to at least two possible interpretations. He may be no more than a variant of heo, in which case there is no change in gender. But a number of occurrences of he at least suggest evidence for the masculine gender; in

¹ op. cit. p. 62.
³ The preservation of the feminine gender of this noun is usually attributed to the influence of Lat. anima; cf. Ausbütte, op. cit. p. 65; also Morsbach, op. cit. p. 19.
such cases it might be attributed to an identification or association of *soule* with *man*, e.g.: his soule, so he was ded: to heouene he gan i-wende 366/55. Only in such cases he can no longer be regarded as evidence for grammatical gender. The *ges* occurs in a context where it is not easy to decide whether it refers to *soule* or *maister*; the line reads: Mid riȝte pi soule pi Maister is: and pi bodi is hyne schal beo 93/59. If it can be taken to refer without doubt to the former, this would help to establish that the noun could sometimes be masculine in this text. If it refers to the noun *maister*, it provides no evidence for grammatical gender. It might also be argued that the preservation of the feminine gender, as well as the development of a masculine gender, is primarily due to the noun being used in a personified sense from the earliest times, the gender in this case perhaps depending to some extent on the natural gender of the 'owner'.

*sunne* B, *sonne* L. Of OE *sunne*, f. and *sunna*, m. only the feminine *sunne* survives in B. There is only one example where

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2. Ausbüttel, *op. cit.* p. 65, cites a few examples of *him* in reference to the noun *soule* occurring in some other ME works and contends that: "Soul als Maskulinum ... ist z.T. durch *animus*, z.T. durch die Identität mit der betr. zugehörigen Person ... beeinflusst."
3. The word is usually feminine in the Teutonic dialects, as for instance in OE, although the masculine *sunna* also occurs; e.g.: Sona eode sunna, Gn. 32, 31 (see Bosworth-Toller).
the noun appears as masculine, but in this case it is used in a personified sense: Saturnus heo ʒuon sættardæi, hene Sunne he ʒuon sonedæi 11.158/14. In L the noun sonne is usually feminine, although there are a few examples of he and him used in reference to it. Here too, as in the case of heouene, it is difficult to know whether the occasional occurrences of the masculine forms are due to the survival of the OE masculine noun, or whether they are due to foreign influences. We may note, however, that the noun is mainly feminine, in contrast with Lat. sol and F le soleil.

weord B, world L, C. The word is usually feminine in B. In some cases, however, it appears to be neuter. It is not certain therefore whether weorldes in: for ðan weorldes some 20/3 constitutes evidence for the masculine or for the neuter gender. If there had been a change in La3amon, it could have been caused by the consonantonal ending of the word. As for

1. OED cites this example to illustrate the following definition of the word: "As an object of worship in various religions, and thus (and hence generally) personified as a male being, sometimes identified with various gods, esp. Apollo".

2. Cf. Worsbach, op. cit. p. 15. He maintains, however, that: "Dass kann nur auf englischer literarische Tradition beruhen, nicht aber auf sprachlicher Erhaltung des asg. Genus".


4. Körner, op. cit. p. 24, says that the evidence of the masculine inflexion and the adjectivally used masculine pronominal forms is contradicted in the Ancene Riwele by the subsequent use of the feminine forms in reference to world. It appears therefore that the change is still not complete in the thirteenth century.
the Legendary and the Chronicle, the noun appears in the asg. as pene world and ben world respectively. On this evidence (and no other is available), we may assume that there had been a change to the masculine by the end of the thirteenth century, though we cannot be certain about its cause. The masculine gender in these cases may be a continuation of the new masculine gender which might have developed because of the final consonant of the noun, but it may be due to the influence of Lat. mundus or F. le mond.¹

From neuter nouns.

I. Complete change:

C : Engelond, gospel, Yreldon

II. Sporadic change:

B : balu, child, grid, 3er, spere, wunder
L : child, 3er, ?water
C : child, suerd

balu B, as suggested by Hoffmann,² may owe its change of gender to an association with a word of similar meaning; it would be

1. This becomes apparent in the texts where a comparison with the French texts is possible; cf. ffor whom pe world was furst wrou3t/ He haf him vnder brou3t - Celui pur ki le mund fu fet/ En son poer cuit atteit - The Castle of Love, MS Vernon, 1315 -16, EETS, 98, p. 388. According to Ausbättel, op. cit. p. 17, who cites this example, towards the end of ME the feminine gender submerges again, and is standard in MnE, in Shakespeare and B. Jonson, for instance.

2. op. cit. p. 62.
difficult to say which word this is, but one at least seems possible, viz. *herm*, which is still masculine in La3amon.

Child B, L, C is referred to by the masculine forms of the third singular personal pronoun in cases where natural gender prevails. Otherwise the neuter gender is preserved.

*Engelond C, Yrlond C* are clearly treated as masculine in this text; the evidence of the dsg. *him* is corroborated by the evidence of the nsg. *he*. But the reason for this change is by no means easy to find. The influence of *le pays*, suggested by AusbütTEL, is hardly a satisfactory explanation, in view of the fact that the noun *lond* remains neuter. The only other possible explanation may be found in personification, but this also is not very convincing, since all these examples occur in pure topographical descriptions.

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1. Morsbach, *op. cit.* p. 35, note 20, alleges that *he* here is equivalent to *heo*, i.e. feminine, and that *him* is probably neuter. The only other occurrences of *him* with reference to a neuter noun are those used of *sweord*. For further discussion of this form, see s.v. *suerd* below. The feminine gender he explains (p. 15) as due to an association of *lond* with *la contrée, la région*.


3. Cf. Körner, *op. cit.* p. 45. The other two suggestions put forward by him do not seem to be applicable in this case. One is that the change occurred owing to the noun *lond* ending in a consonant, the other that the masculine gender of *lond* may be due to an attempt to contrast it with the feminine *sea*. These cannot be accepted for reasons given earlier; the second suggestion is ruled out because there is no evidence that the noun *sea* is feminine in the *Chronicle*. 
gospel C has probably changed its gender under the influence of Lat. evangelium, there having been a tendency to treat Latinneuters as masculine in ME; in addition it may have been influenced by F evangile, which was masculine. Noteworthy is the fact that - while undergoing a change in gender - the native word has survived in spite of the highly competitive Latin and French equivalents.

gré B is occasionally treated as masculine, probably under the influence of frið, with which it often forms a rhyme and is related in meaning; cf. a pisser londe he heold grið/ a pisser londe he hulde frið 422/23-24.

zer B, L appears to be masculine in: mid pan sio sculden farren/ mau er alcne zere 332/23, that is to say if we can accept the evidence of -ne as an unequivocal indication of the masculine gender. In this case, the change is probably due to the influence of the masculine nouns winter or summer; an example of words with a similarity in meaning affecting one another as regards gender. We may also argue that there has been no


3. Cf. p. 60.

4. Cf. also nicht, pp. 163-64.
change in gender at all, but a transference of function of
the ending -ne, which (as we have noted earlier) may have
ceased to mark gender in constructions of time. The same
applies to the example occurring in the Legendary: pis was
bene fourteope 3ere 190/27. But cf. to fiȝte ane 3er al
171/2264 (the asg. ane is normally used with nouns felt as
non-neuter in this text).

spere B is once referred to by hine (ii.106/17), probably
under the influence of the synonymous gare. 2

suerd C is neuter in this text, as well as in B and L. Twice,
however, it is referred to by the dsg. him (1141-42). In the
absence of any other occurrences of the dsg. him with reference
to neuter nouns in C (except those referring to child), we may
assume that suerd is here used in a personified sense; hence
the dsgm. him.

watur L. This is a somewhat doubtful case, since it is not
quite clear whether him in the following passage refers to
watur or St. Alban:

For po pis holi Man to water cum : pat watur him with-drouȝ
And ouer broke made ane wei : druyȝe and clene i-nouȝ 69/65-66.

1. See pp. 163, 164, 170.
Whether *him* is a reflexive dative here or the accusative singular, we would not, normally, expect this form with a neuter noun. If it does refer to *watur*, the masculine gender in this single instance can only be due to personification; this is not surprising, since the context shows the water in action. But *him* here might possibly mean 'drew away from him', i.e. it may refer to St. Alban.

*wunder* B might have changed its gender owing to its final consonant, but the influence of Lat. *miraculum* or F *miracle* is not altogether impossible.

NEW FEMININES

From masculine nouns.

I. Complete change:
   
   B : biȝete, bringe, freondisce, monscipe
   L : mone, stede, steorre, wimmon
   C : wimman

II. Sporadic change:
   
   B : ñerde, sweore, wifmon, wurdoscope
   L : bowe
   C : sterre

*ñerde* B, which is still probably masculine in *Laȝamon*,¹ seems in the following example to be feminine: *heo com to þere ferde/*

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¹ Unless it changed to neuter; see the Glossary and p.183, note 5.
ße icumen wes to *bissere earde* 213/9. The most likely reason for this apparent change is the influence of the feminine *ferde* in the preceding line. For although the scribe A often mis-spells *d* for *ä*,¹ this does not seem to be the case here, since an error of that kind would have involved a change in meaning of the word. The context makes it clear that the word meant is 'country, land', i.e. OE *eard*, m. and not 'earth, soil', i.e. OE *eorð(e)*, f. The confusion of genders, however, might have been facilitated by the existence of the feminine *eorðe.²*

*bisse* B became feminine presumably on account of the ending *-æ* of the nominative singular, which, however, is a new development; cf. OE *be-gæt.³*

*bouwe* L appears to be both masculine and feminine, if one accepts the evidence of *he* as an indication of the masculine gender. The evidence of *heo*, however, corroborated by that of *hire*, makes it clear beyond doubt that there has been a

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1. Cf. Hit *iwerd þere/* swa hit deð iwere/ ð þeos þunge wiman/ iwerd hire mid childe 12/6-9; also: seddon 15/14; quad 30/17; beod 38/2 etc.
2. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 52, maintains that there has been no change either in this case or in the asg. *ba arde* 12370, since *d* is only a misspelling for *ä*.
3. Körner, *op. cit.* p. 23, takes the etymology of the noun to be OE *"biset*, n. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 61, takes the same view and says that the plural of this noun, as well as of *breoste* and *bread* came to be used as singular, thereby causing a change in gender.
change to the feminine gender, although the reason for the change is not clear. In view of the fact that the noun is still masculine in B, the change is presumably of a later date, and therefore hardly due to the ending -e. A comparison with Latin and French is also unfruitful in this case, the corresponding nouns being masculine in both (arcus, arc). There is, however, one more possibility; the noun might have become feminine on the analogy of the feminine arcwise L with which it must often have been found together in the same context. 1

bring B probably became feminine for phonetic reasons, viz. owing to its ending in -e.

Freondscipe B, monscipe B, wurdscape B and possibly other nouns in -scape are treated as feminine in the Brut, except for a few survivals of masculine forms in the case of wurdscape. 2 It is usually assumed that the change occurred owing to a final -e of such words; but it may also have been helped by an association with French feminine abstracts. 3

1. It may be noted that OE fla, f. was also feminine in B.
2. These survivals cannot be dismissed as oversights of the scribe as Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 60, suggests, since apart from mine wurh.scipe there is also one example of bene wurh.scipe. See the Glossary.
mone L with its change from masculine to feminine presents
a problem of much interest, mainly because there seem to be
more than one possible explanations for this change. It may
have occurred merely on account of its ending in -e,\(^1\) in
which case we should expect the change to have taken place
before the time of the Brut. Another possible reason for
the change may be in the analogy of sunne, f.\(^2\) with which
it must have often been used in the same context. In this
case too one would expect that the change should have been
in evidence in Lawamon;\(^3\) for in the Legendary the noun sonne
shows an uncertainty as to its gender and is sometimes treat-
ed as feminine as in OE, sometimes as masculine under French
influence. If mone is still masculine in B, as Madden lists
it, the change is then of a later date and probably due to
the influence of Latin and French corresponding nouns, luna
and la lune respectively.\(^4\)

stede (steed) L is referred to by hir in this text; in the
Brut it is treated as masculine. The change may be nothing
more than an instance of natural gender.

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2. ibid.
3. Madden, however, gives its gender as masculine. No examples
   of this noun where the gender is identifiable occur in vol. i.
sterre L, C probably owes its feminine gender to the influence of Lat. *stella* or F *étoile*. The change is apparently late, since the noun is still masculine in the *Brut* and more often masculine than feminine in the *Chronicle*. In the Legendary it appears to be only feminine.

sweore B is normally masculine and only occasionally appears to be feminine, probably owing to the ending *-e*.

wifmon B, L, C has changed from masculine to feminine under the influence of natural gender.

From neuter nouns.

I. Complete change:

B: bihoue, breoste, genge, maine, temple, weolcne

L: maide, temple, wif

C: mayde

II. Sporadic change:

B: husting, inne, maiden, (kine)riche, rihte, wif, witte.


3. There is only one exception with the indefinite article: *enne feire wimman* 409/16, in which the noun appears to have retained its OE masculine gender.
It is noteworthy that the majority of these nouns which appear to have changed their gender from the neuter to the feminine end in -e. This fact alone may account for the change, especially because this -e is in most cases unhistorical. But other factors may in some cases have played a part in the process.

bihouse B may have become feminine on the analogy of the more or less synonymous noun neode.

breoste B probably changed its gender because its plural came to be regarded as singular.¹ Glahn suggests that:

"Als Ausgangspunkt für diesen Übertritt zum. Fem., sind jedenfalls die Kasus anzusehen, in denen im Frühmittelenglischen bei Verbindung mit dem Artikel usw. Formengleichheit mit einigen Kasus des Singularg des Fem. eintrat, wie z. B. gen. pl. ae. bara bréosta me. bare breoste."²

The change seems to have started already in OE since some dictionaries give n. f. and m. as possible genders for this noun.³ The feminine gender therefore might have been inherited from OE, although the example occurring in vol. iii.98/13; forn a ban breoste⁴ suggests that the change has not been completed by the time of the Brut.

1. See Körner, op. cit. p. 24; also Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 61.
3. See Bosworth-Toller, Clark Hall, Holthausen. Sweet gives only n. and m.
genre B changed to the feminine probably on account of the final -e.

Busting B, according to Hoffmann, became feminine under the influence of nouns with which it formed a rhyme. It is, however, possible that it became feminine by analogy with -ing (OE -ung) nouns, independently of any rhyme influence. For OE -ung nouns are feminine in gender.

inne B is a somewhat doubtful case. For the example: to bare cinhtene (sic) inne 142/9, may perhaps be interpreted as the genitive plural, i.e. bare cinhtene or as the dsgf., i.e. to bare ... inne as Körner interprets it. Cf. to han inne ii. 149/5.

maiden B, maide L, mayde C. Maiden is still grammatically neuter in B, that is to say, the words in apposition to it follow the neuter declension; e.g. Oft wes han mæiden wa 131/23; pa luuede he a maide 12/3. The high frequency of bat with this noun in L and C, even in circumstances where there seems to be no need for a demonstrative, suggests that it may have remained neuter in these texts also. But in each of the three texts it is always referred to by the feminine forms of the third singular personal pronoun.

1. op. cit. 61.
2. op. cit. p. 23.
main B, on the evidence of bina, appears to have changed its
gender to feminine. This being the only example in vol. i.,
we cannot be sure that the change really occurred. The form
bina may have been used under the influence of bine with the
noun stremg in the preceding line. On the other hand, the
example: mid machelere maine B 62/20 (where the A text reads;
mid muchele stremge), may suggest that there was some con-
fusion as to the gender of this noun. 1

(kine)riche B, rihte B on more than one line of evidence show
the change to be sporadic only; side by side with the forms
characteristic of the new feminine gender, distinctive neuter
forms are also found with these nouns. 2 The change seems to
be due to the final -e. 3

temple B, L has undergone a complete change of gender except
for one single occurrence where hit is used with reference to
it in the Brut. 4 This change might have occurred on purely
formal grounds, viz. owing to the ending -e (from the plural
-u), 5 but it could also be due to an association with church.

1. Since the asg. bine is not an altogether unambiguous indi-
cation of the feminine gender, this noun has not been includ-
ed in the figures given in the tables on p. 137.
2. See p. 148.
The form *tempel* (cf. OE *tempel*) may also result from French influence, though the masculine gender of OE *tempel* has not been adopted.

*weolcne* B probably became feminine on account of its final *-e*, which developed from the plural *-u*.¹

*wif* remains grammatically neuter in B and probably in L,² but under the influence of natural gender it is always referred to by the feminine forms of the third singular personal pronoun.

*witte* B may have become feminine because of its ending in *-e*, though the change may have occurred as a result of an association with Lat. *sciencia*.³

**NEW NEUTERS**

A certain number of originally masculine and feminine nouns used in the *Brut* appear to have changed their gender to neuter. This is not to say that they have lost their gender, since a feeling for grammatical gender is undoubtedly alive in Lajamon. It seems reasonable therefore to regard such cases as

2. The use of *bat* with this noun is very frequent even in contexts where there seems to be no reason for the use of a deictic.
examples of changes in gender rather than of loss of it.¹

This, however, should be said with certain reservations, for there are difficulties in interpreting the criteria for neuter gender. Unless the noun in question is both referred to by hit and occurs with the relevant neuter forms of the definite article and other appositional words, we cannot be sure that we are dealing with a genuine change in gender.

There are only a few nouns for which there is more than one line of evidence for neuter gender available. They are:

anlicness (OE f.). It is preceded by the asg. b and referred to by hit, thus providing adequate evidence for neuter gender. The suggestion that hit in 49/6 may have been influenced by the gender of liche in the preceding line,² need not be taken seriously.

foreward (OE f.) occurs with the nsg. bat, asg. bis and dsg. bon. There is therefore little doubt that there has been a change in gender, though the reason is not clear. A vague association with the neuter word may perhaps be the explanation for this change.

leode (OE f.) is preceded by the asg. bat, dsg. bon, gsg. hisse and is referred to by hit. But whether or not we should regard these as indications of a change in gender,

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depends on whether we should read leode as the A text has or as lond, which is the reading of the B text in most of these cases. E.g. A: that he hom wolde leaden/ out of pane leoden (B vt of pan londe) 16/11; pa isah pis lisses ledes king (B: pa isah pis londes king) 412/2; Peowerti wintra he walde pes leode/ a blisse hit stod on his hand (Frouth ser he held pis lond/ ine blisse in his hond) 182/19-20. It may be safe to assume, therefore, that even if there had been a change in the gender of leode (which is still normally treated as feminine), the probable reason for it was an analogy with the neuter lond.

A correct interpretation of the significance of hit in reference to an originally non-neuter noun is difficult, even impossible, when other evidence is not available. As we have seen, we may in such cases be dealing with early examples of inanimate gender; sporadic cases appear of course already in OE where nouns which in all other respects are clearly masculine or feminine are sometimes referred to by hit. It may be advisable, therefore, to treat all such cases as at least possible examples of the loss of grammatical gender.¹

Difficulties also arise with those historically non-neuter nouns which occur with the form þat. For this form, though normally the neuter of the definite article, can by this date sometimes be a deictic, used regardless of the gender of the noun.

¹. See p. 184 ff.
In view of these uncertainties, there is little ground for deducing neuter gender from evidence suggested by an accompanying datum unless it is supplied on other grounds. I shall therefore merely call attention here to a number of historically non-neuter nouns which are accompanied once or more times by datum in what at least may be its definite article function. The nouns in question are: cleriscop (once), comp (once), hired (twice), sell-cleæ (once), war (once); all these are originally masculine nouns, but aside from accompaniment by datum, and in some cases by the dative singular bon (comp, hired), there is no evidence for their gender in Lazamon.

In addition there are a few nouns which, on other evidence, are still clearly non-neuter, at least some of the time, but which are recorded with datum. They are: ferde, f. (once), hauene, f. (once), niht, f. (once), tur, m. f. (once), wifmon, f. (once), winter, m. (twice) and word, f. (once). It may ultimately turn out that evidence from other texts will suggest whether such accompaniment by datum is in any of these cases to be considered as likely evidence for neuter gender.

1. This is not to say that we cannot use datum alone, if it is used as an article, as offering some evidence for the survival of the neuter gender of a historically neuter noun.
2. For a discussion of the form datum in these cases see also pp. 23-24 and 26 ff., where citations are also given.
3. Note that other OE masculine nouns in -scipe are normally feminine in the Brut.
4. Cf. for pan wordes scome 20/3. But this may be also gsgm.
5. On the evidence of the asg. bis (which is normally found only with neuter nouns), ferde (OE m.) and ensware (OE f.) seem to have changed into neuter.
It remains to consider cases where a loss of grammatical gender seems to be in evidence; it has already been pointed out that the loss of grammatical gender is not the same thing as a change to neuter grammatical gender.\(^1\) In the period with which we are concerned all distinguishing forms of neuter grammatical gender are ceasing to mark this gender unambiguously because they are acquiring new functions. For example, although possibly still marking neuter grammatical gender when used as the definite article with historically neuter nouns, the form \textit{hat} is also used as a deictic irrespective of gender. Moreover, a form like the demonstrative \textit{his} is a generalized form used in all cases; it no longer distinguishes gender. The same is true of the form \textit{a(an)} of the indefinite article.

The third singular personal pronoun \textit{hit} continues in some measure to mark grammatical neuter gender, but it is more and more frequently used in its new function of indicating the inanimateness of objects denoted by the noun to which it refers. Occurrences of \textit{hit} with reference to historically masculine or feminine inanimates should therefore be regarded as signs of the appearance of overtly marked natural gender;

\(^1\) Cf. p. 180.
such occurrences do not necessarily signify a complete loss of grammatical gender in a given noun. The replacement of grammatical gender by natural gender is a gradual process; in the period of transition a noun may sometimes appear with the forms characteristic of its grammatical gender and sometimes with forms characteristic of natural gender.

In cases where natural gender replaces grammatical gender, in other words where historically non-neuter nouns are referred to by hit, the following three situations may be distinguished:

a) where the evidence of hit conflicts with the evidence about gender provided by the appositional kind of criteria;

b) where the evidence of hit is in conflict with the evidence of he or heo with reference to nouns not denoting persons;

c) where the evidence of hit in reference to historically masculine and feminine nouns denoting things is the only evidence available. This, of course, may merely be due to an accidental absence of any other kind of criteria for gender.

The following are the cases where hit refers to nouns that on the evidence of the appositional criteria for gender are established as masculine or feminine:

1. Such cases where the evidence of hit is in conflict with the historical gender of a noun but is corroborated by other forms characteristic of neuter gender are not considered here, but are dealt with in the section on changes in gender; cf. p. 181.
In the Brut:

m.: eæ (pene, -ne); 1 cristendom (-ne); feond (enne);
    gare (pene,ænne); mete (pene); stude (-ne); wille (asg. pine). 2
f.: æhte (asg. pa); Bruttene (-re); sibbe (-re); speke (-re); temple (asg. ane, -re); 3 Troye (asg. ane).

In the Legendary:

m.: beir (pene, asg. ane); bowe (asg. ane); breth (pane);
    dead (pene); feld (asg. ane); gost (pene); mete (pene, minne); mist (pene); put (pane, asg. ane); staf (pane);
    stan (pane, asg. ane); tun (pane); wei (pane, nanne, alne); worm (asg. ane).

In the Chronicle:

m.: stude (pen); tun (pene).

In the following instances the evidence of hit conflicts with the evidence of masculine and feminine forms of the personal pronoun. 4

1. The occurrence of the asg. en in 30/21, together with hit in 30/22 may indicate a change in gender. But the form an may have a purely phonetic explanation.

2. No numerical account of occurrences of forms is attempted here. For references see the Glossary.

3. The form hit with reference to templeoccurs only once; the noun is feminine in Lajamon but neuter in OE; cf. pp. 148-49.

4. For tables showing the number of gender-distinctive forms that are in conflict with natural gender, see Moore, S. op. cit. pp. 97-98.
In the Brut:

\textit{hite} (he); \textit{mete} (hine); \textit{Rome} (heore, hire).

In the Legendary:

\textit{bawe} (he, heo, hire); \textit{coppe} (heo, hire); \textit{dead} (hine);
\textit{eorpe} (heo); \textit{fisc} (he, him); \textit{fost} (he); \textit{zeorde} (heo, hire);
\textit{heuene} (hire; him); \textit{put} (he); \textit{rym-forst} (he);
\textit{staf} (hine, he); \textit{stan} (his, hyne); \textit{sunne} \textsuperscript{1} (heo, hire; him);
\textit{werm} (is, him).

In the Chronicle:

\textit{chirche} (asg. is; ir; him, he); \textit{stude} (him); \textit{tun} (he).

No other evidence is available for the following nouns except the evidence of \textit{hit}: 

In the Brut:

\textit{axe} (OE f.); \textit{biheste} (OE hehès, f.; cf. behāt, n.)

In the Legendary:

\textit{song}, \textit{sak}, \textit{thought}.

OE f.: *\textit{anletnesse}, \textit{blessingue}, *\textit{childingue}, \textit{gistningue},
*\textit{leitunge}, \textit{lesingue}, \textit{lightingue}, \textit{love}, \textit{reste}, \textit{sihte}.

In the Chronicle:

OE m.: \textit{cristendom}, \textit{ofspreng}, \textit{sceld}, \textit{wind}.

OE f.: \textit{eax}, \textit{vorewarde}, \textit{hehenesse}, \textit{mansingue}.

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\textsuperscript{1} Hit in 232/462 refers to fish when cooked.
NOUNS OF OLD FRENCH ORIGIN

We have already seen that the gender of a native noun can sometimes be changed under the influence of the gender of the corresponding French noun. It remains now to examine how nouns of OF origin are treated in our texts with respect to gender. In the tables given below all the relevant nouns of OF origin are included whose gender is identifiable. The criteria on which the following results are based are the same as those used with nouns of OE origin. The situation as regards the gender of OF nouns is as follows:

Masculine nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>OF m.</th>
<th>OF f.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminine nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>OF f.</th>
<th>OF m.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Neuter nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>OF m.</th>
<th>OF f.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1?</td>
<td>1?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See p. 156 ff.
2. See p. 135.
1. RETENTION OF GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

Masculine nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalendar</td>
<td>maumet</td>
<td>dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahum</td>
<td>membre</td>
<td>ordre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantel</td>
<td>poynt</td>
<td>ost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sauter</td>
<td>truage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tempest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above three nouns in the Brut occur with the unequivocal masculine forms of the definite and indefinite article.¹ In addition to these three, the following more doubtful cases might also be added: flum, ginne and lac. They are all found with what appear to be dative singular forms of the definite and indefinite article. There is little doubt that the example with ginne (of pan ufele gin- nen 57/7) is in the dative; on this evidence the noun could be either masculine or neuter. In the examples of flum and lac, however, we may be dealing with a shorter variant of the asgm. form of the definite and indefinite article. For in both cases the seemingly dative form follows the preposition ouer and may therefore in fact be accusative; the examples are: ouer Maluan ane flum (B: ouer Maluan pane flom) 55/17, and: ouer ben lac 54/21-22.

In the Legendary the noun tempest is referred to by the third singular pronoun he in 316/580. It appears therefore to have masculine gender. This had already in OF replaced the original feminine gender of the noun. Cf. OED.

¹ For the examples illustrating the gender or genders of all nouns discussed here, see the Glossary.
On the evidence of *he*, 9085 in the *Chronicle*, *ordre* seems to have retained its original masculine gender;¹ on the same evidence (i.e. *he* 8322) the noun *ost* appears to be masculine; it was either masculine or feminine in OF. We should not perhaps make too much of this because, as already pointed out, the form *he* is not a certain indication of gender.² It shows anyhow that the noun is either masculine or feminine, and strongly suggests that it is masculine.

**Feminine nouns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B arche</th>
<th>L abbeise</th>
<th>C chartre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tur</td>
<td>chartre</td>
<td>court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>croce</td>
<td>crois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>croiz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feste</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lettre</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>penaunce</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toumbe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ymage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite a possible descent in some cases from the OE word,³ *arche* is almost certainly of French origin. There is always the possibility, however, that the feminine gender it has descends from OE *earc(e)*, from Latin *area*. There is no doubt that the noun *tur* has two genders in the *Brut*; the masculine is a continuation of the OE gender, and the feminine, which is the more frequent of the two, is from OF.⁴

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2. See pp. 120, 124, 146.
4. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* p. 63, alleges that the noun is only feminine in the *Brut*. 
All the above nouns of OF origin which appear to have retained their original feminine gender in the **Legendary** are established as feminine on the evidence of the form *heo*. In the case of some this is corroborated by examples of the oblique cases of the same pronoun and the form *as* in the accusative singular.

In the **Chronicle**, unless a noun is also referred to by the third singular personal pronoun in some case other than the nominative (e.g. *chartre* - by the asg. *is* in l. 10506), the establishing of its gender is difficult, because the form *he* is used in reference both to originally masculine and originally feminine nouns.¹ *Croiz* is normally feminine in the **Legendary**; the form *he* by which it is referred to at one point in the **Chronicle** (l. 1931) may be taken as a variant of *heo*; it does not seriously call in question the feminine gender of the noun.² The same may be true of *court* and of *ymage* which are referred to by *he* in 1223³ and 329⁴.

1. See p. 120 f.
2. Körner, *op. cit.* p. 42, attributes the retention of grammatical gender in this case to personification and for the same reason alleges that there has been a change to masculine, *croiz* being vaguely associated with Christ. The example reads: *so pat he was per i-founde.*
3. According to Körner, *ibid.* p. 43, the use of *he* referring to *court* is again due to personification, the poet seeing in *court* a company of (male) advisers to the king.
4. The noun *ymage* is feminine in the **Legendary**; but cf. to *banc *ymage* 253/452.
II. CHANGES IN GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

New masculines.

There seem to be no changes from the original gender in OF nouns occurring in the Brut, not at least on the evidence contained in the first volume.

In the Legendary there are a few cases where a change in the original gender seems to have taken place; e.g. beste is otherwise treated as neuter, but in one instance a gsg. is, which is normally used only of masculine nouns, refers to it (278/8); in any case the noun is apparently not feminine as it was in OF; prison is used with the aasm. bane in 460/133, otherwise with bat (which may be a deictic) as in 38/152; robe is used with the aasm. ban in 116/324; roche is referred to by he in 234/522, the change, if it is one, occurring perhaps by analogy with stone; tourn is referred to by hine in 304/176; ymage, which is otherwise established as feminine, is once referred to by he and in the same line preceded by the dsg. bane. The example reads: to bane ymage he wende a-non: ase he bi þe walle stod, 253/452.

In the Chronicle the noun site is referred to by he and him in 1. 8477, thus showing that there has been a genuine change in gender, probably under the influence of OE masculine nouns tun and castel. The noun launce is referred to by him
in l. 3618, probably because of personification. The example reads:

In is ri3t hond is launce he nom. bat was icleuped Ron long & gret & strong ynow. him ne mi3te at sitte non.

MS Trinity Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26, however, has hure here.

New feminine nouns.

Here, again, there are no changes in gender in the nouns occurring in the Brut.

In the Legendary the noun saume is referred to by heo in 355/341. This may only be a variant form of he, especially since the noun is masculine in Ancren Riwle (besne psalm 30 - OED), retaining there the same gender that it had in OF and also as OE sealm. The noun ordre, on the other hand, has undoubtedly changed to feminine, since the evidence of heo in 59/177 is confirmed by the asgf. form as in 60/235.

In the Chronicle the noun aumperie is twice referred to by the asg. form as in 4055-6, possibly under the influence of Rome, since it is used in the sense of the Empire of Rome.

III. LOSS OF GENDER IN OLD FRENCH NOUNS

Only one noun seems to have lost its gender, or become neuter, in the Brut. This is the OF feminine noun male
which in the accusative singular is used with the form a of
the indefinite article ( a male riche 150/23 ). This, of
course, may merely be an uninflected form, but in any case
it would signify a loss of gender.

In the Legendary and the Chronicle 33 and 14 nouns
respectively are referred to by hit. Some of them, for instance
abbeize and lettre, are also referred to by the gender-distinctive
forms of the third singular personal pronoun.1

The results obtained in the preceding analysis of
nouns of OF origin testify to a linguistic feeling for gender
in the texts under consideration, for - to a greater or smaller
extent - these nouns are used with, or are referred to, by gender-
distinctive forms in each of them.2

At the same time these results show that the gender
system is no longer in full operation. Many nouns are not used
in connection with distinctively masculine or feminine forms,
but are referred to by the form hit, which in such cases marks
natural gender.

1. For a list of these nouns see Appendix II.
2. Interesting for the linguistic feeling for gender is the
fact that a number of OF nouns are used with the asg. form
ane in the Legendary. This form in practically all cases
is used only with nouns felt as non-neuter (see pp. 112-114).
Such nouns are not, however, included in the tables, since
the form does not enable us to distinguish between mascu-
line and feminine gender, but they may be listed here: OF
masculines: cofre, ensaumple, ginne, mantel, peire, sege,
signe; OF feminines: chaiere, folie, fourme, goute, grace,
partie, perche, place, rente, somme, table and yle. Cf.
batayle in C. For actual citations see the Glossary.
NOUNS OF OLD NORSE ORIGIN

I have noted only five nouns of ON origin for which there is evidence about gender in these texts. They are: bole (ON m.), bone (ON f.), croune (ON f.), leg (ON m.) and tīsende (OE n. pl.). They all seem to retain their original gender. Boles occurs in the Legendary and is referred to by the masculine forms of the personal pronoun hine and him, and is used with the form ane in the accusative singular. Bone occurs with the form ane in the accusative singular and is therefore probably feminine and certainly not neuter in the Legendary. The noun crune occurs in all three texts; in the Brut it is referred to by heo; in the Legendary it is preceded in the accusative by the form ane; in the Chronicle it is referred to by is in the accusative singular (where MS Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26 reads bure). In 6599 it is referred to by he which—as we have seen—is probably only a variant of heo and which is what MS Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 4. 26 reads. The gender of the ON noun corresponds to the gender the noun has in OF (corone) and Latin (corona), and its survival may have been helped by this circumstance. The noun leg occurs in the Legendary preceded by the asgm. forms banne and banne. The noun tīsende which in ON was only plural, appears to be singular and neuter in the Brut, since it occurs with the form het in the singular. As in early ME in general, this noun can be either singular or plural in the Brut; cf. OED.
CONCLUSION

The conclusions reached from this investigation have been presented at appropriate points in the thesis. It may be worth while, however, to present here some of the main points which have emerged.

The results obtained in this investigation of grammatical gender in early Middle English clearly show the extent to which the preservation of gender depended on the preservation of case.

In the Brut the case system is almost the same as in OE, except for nouns. As a result of a phonological falling together of all end vowels to -e, the distinction between the cases of a noun is no longer clearly marked. Strong adjectives and adjectivally used pronouns, as well as the third singular personal pronoun, have in non-prepositional use, with very few exceptions, the same declensional system as in OE. After prepositions, the syncretism of the oblique cases is noticeable in adjectives, articles, demonstratives and possessives. The third singular personal pronouns show a complete syncretism of the dative and the accusative case in such circumstances. These case forms, whether syncretised or not, at the same time preserve gender distinctions.

Apart from these forms, an 'uninflected' form (used regardless of both case and gender) is occasionally also to be
found; e.g. he, a(n), bi(n) and his (in cases other than the asg. where it appears still to mark neuter gender).

In addition, some forms are beginning to perform a double function. The form hat in its definite article function continues to mark neuter gender in the nominative and the accusative singular; sometimes, however, it appears to be used as a deictic regardless of case and gender. The third singular pronoun hit in addition to its old function of indicating neuter grammatical gender, is sometimes used with reference to originally masculine or feminine nouns to indicate natural gender. This, however, is not a completely new function, since even in OE personal pronouns were sometimes used in conflict with grammatical gender of the antecedent, owing to the operation of natural gender.

In spite of these new tendencies, grammatical gender continues to be marked in much the same way as in OE and the gender of a great number of nouns is still unambiguously indicated. In some nouns, however, the gender they have in the Brut is not the same as the gender they had in OE. It is only to be expected that there would be some changes and confusions in gender in a transitional period. But these changes should not be taken as an argument against grammatical gender in the Brut, since - as we have seen - changes in gender often take place even in languages which continue to possess grammatical gender.
In the **Legendary** and the **Chronicle**, the processes which started in the *Brut* are almost completed. Except for the *asgn.* forms *pan(e)* and occasional adjectival *-ne*, nearly all other case forms are reduced to one form only; another exception in the **Legendary** is the accusative *ane* which is normally used with originally masculine or feminine nouns, but the form no longer implies distinctions of gender. Apart from the above mentioned overt signs of masculine gender, since the form *bat* is more and more used in its function of a deictic, there is no longer anything about the form of the noun or its qualifiers to help the transmission of gender from one generation to another.

Except for the overt designations of the masculine in the accusative singular, the indication of gender falls completely on the third singular personal pronouns *he : heo : hit* and their forms in the oblique cases. In the majority of cases where *he* or *heo* are used in conflict with the natural gender of the antecedent, we may assume that it is an indication of grammatical gender; in some cases it may be due to personification. The frequency of the cases in which *hit* conflicts with the original gender of the antecedent points to the fact that its function of marking natural gender by this time prevails over its function of marking grammatical gender.
The loss of grammatical gender is clearly due to a combination of processes. The causes of this loss are primarily to be sought in the same forces which caused phonological and, consequently, morphological changes. It is also due to a transition from a notion of grammatical (masculine, feminine, neuter) gender, to a notion of animacy (male, female) as against inanimacy. The present day 'neuter' gender in English, is therefore not a descendant of the OE and early ME neuter grammatical gender. If that had been the case, we should expect to have today two forms of the definite article, viz. the for animates and that for inanimates.

It is usually assumed that grammatical gender died out about 1250. Evidence contained in our texts shows that, at least in the South West Midland area represented by these texts, grammatical gender lingered on until the first quarter of the fourteenth century.
Part III

Glossary
This Glossary is intended to give all the nouns occurring with gender-distinctive forms in the three texts under consideration. It does not aim at being exhaustive as regards the actual number of occurrences of such forms; its purpose is rather to give a picture of the gender of a given noun on the evidence (wherever that is possible) of examples illustrative of various criteria whose validity has been attested in Part I of this work. For only on the basis of such cumulative evidence can the gender of a noun be established beyond doubt.

On the whole, doubtful and uncommon forms (which have been discussed in Part I) are not included here. But an exception is made of cases in which a particular form is firmly established as a criterion for one gender and one only, though appearing occasionally with a noun otherwise established as having a different gender. Such cases are marked by ?, since we cannot be sure whether such a form indicates the gender it would seem to or is used erroneously (cf. erde, f?). If two sets of forms appear more or less regularly with a noun, it is assumed that the noun has two genders. Citations containing examples with the dsgm/n. forms in the Brut are given in order to show that the noun in question is not feminine in gender. Occurrences of the asg. ane and mine in the Legendary are included to show that the noun they are used with is felt as non-neuter.
Examples of *bat* in the *Legendary* and the *Chronicle* are not included because of the possibility of its being used as a deictic rather than the definite article. Occurrences of *hit* (where they conflict with the original gender or the other kinds of evidence) are bracketed since they do not necessarily imply neuter grammatical gender.

Since we are concerned here with grammatical gender, nouns denoting persons have been omitted, except in a few cases, such as *bearn*, *maide*, *wif* and *wimman*, whose grammatical gender was at variance with their natural gender.

The source of forms and examples is marked by:

- B for *Laȝamon's Brut*;
- L for *The Early South-English Legendary*;
- C for *The Metrical Chronicle of Bobert Gloucester*.

Examples from B and L are cited by page and verse; those from C by verse only. If not otherwise marked, examples from B are from vol. i, which alone has been examined extensively. Examples have been taken from vols ii and iii only in cases where vol. i did not provide unequivocal or sufficient evidence.
abbeizg L (OF abeie, f.) abbey
  f. : for heore souene he as liet a-rere 73/99; heore
       yat 264/122; ane Abbeize he liet a-rere 73/97.
acord L (OF acorde, f.) agreement
  [n.]: to speken more of be a-cordizif he it misste a-mende
       156/1738.
æ B (OE Æa, f.) river, stream
  f. : at Cristes chirche heo falle3 i þare æe 106/10;
       in ære swide feire æ 60/2.
æhte B (OE Æht, f.) treasure; possessions, property
  f. : & þu þas æhte on-fo/... and yef þu heo þus далe3
       153/2; for to habben al ha æhte 94/18.
  [n.]: ne of his æhte 3erne/ buten he hit 3euen him wulle
       254/2.
æie B (OE ege, m.) awe, dread
  m. : purh bone muchelne æie ii.252/10; & summe heo flugen
       to Irlonde/ for ban æie of Gurmunde iii.162/20. [Cf.
       pa hauaden heo pa mere æie 235/11].
æit-lond, eit-lond B (cf. OE Æglan, n.) island
  n. : hit 48/11; Logice batæ eit-lond 48/5; heo funden
       i bon eit-londe 48/21; we beeð in ane eit-londe 313/20.
ælde, halde B (OE Ældu, f.) age, old age
  f. : io eam for mire ælde 127/1 swpe vnbalded; for mire
       halde 134/20.
ænsware B (OE and-swaru, f.) answer
erde, earda B (OE eard, m.) native soil, country
m?: heo senden ouer al pan earde 166/22; of moni ane
erde 218/24.
n?: pe king he bi-tahte his ard ii.138/22.
f?: heo com to berde/ be icumen wes to bissere
erde 213/9. [cf. and sende zeond bæs earde 273/4].

ern B, ern L (OE earn, m.) eagle
B: m.: pat an muchel earn spec/ a pon castle ber he set 120/7.
L: m.: And zuyt he mot mede, to resten him: a-zein to
grounde teo 412/348; is wyngene 407/164.

œæ, ad, oad B, oh L, C (OE æp, m.) oath
B: m.: bi-lef bene æad 185/10; & swar muchelne oad 28/17;
cane ad per he swor ii.415/6.
[n.]: Brutus him swar an æad 30/21; breken pat hit melde 30/22.
C: m.: pe op pat to king aureli . hii suore biuore.
Hii þohte þo he was ded . pat he were al uor lore. 3238;
ben op to holde echon 9153.

ǣgel B (OE ēgel, m. n.) country, land
n.: heo weoren swide ohte men/ bat ēgel heo bi-wunnen
(B þane felde) 202/13; and nomen eft Elidur/ & duden
hine to his adøelen/ heuen hine to kinge/ mid hægere
blisse/ and hit ane stunde 289/18 stod on him seolue.

ægelan B (OE Ægelu, Ægelu, f. n.) nobility
f.: pe þa ægelan sulden habben 159/18.
anletnesse L (from anlet + nes; cf. ON andlit, n.) likeness

[n.]: For swane men peynitiez an Anletnesse: 3e ne seoth it nouyt bi-leued 167/2127 pat pere nis depeint a Roundel.

anlicnes B (OE onliones, f.) likeness, image

n. : per inne was an onlionesse/ a wifmonnes liche /
Feier hit wes & swide heih 49/6; heo wurouden b anlicnes 501.

appel L, C (OE eppel, mpl, m.) apple

L : m. : bane Appel of nam 5/139; Ane Appel bare-of he nam 7/217.

C : m. : & pe bowes of pe on appel . smite pe oper vaste.
So harde pat he vel adoun . in pe water atte laste.
5749; pat pe ones bou smit . ben oper adoun...5758.

arm C (OE earm, m.) arm

m. : Oper he smot of ben arm . oper hond oper heued. 402.

arche B (OF arche, f.; cf. OE earc(e) f.; arc, m.) ark

f. : of bere arche weoren icumen 38213.

arewe, arewe L (OE arewe, arwe, f.) arrow

f. : heo 229/338; Ake bis Arewe tornede euene a-3ein :
to him pat hire schet 300/21.

asse L (OE assa, m.) donkey, he-ass cf. asse(m), f. she-ass

m. : Nabe heo neuere so luyte mete : is travaill nis no
pe lasse 61/247.

aumpere C (OF empire, m.) empire (of Rome)

f. : Wanne hii vorsoke is & vorslewede... 4055.
do we poru chiualerie.out of hor poer is nome 4056.
axe B (cf. ësce, f.) demand
[n.]: Eouer axe ich eou leue/ loð þeh hit me were 45/14.
bach B (v. Kurath: OE bec, bece, m.; bece cannot be the direct ancestor, and it is the only form Sweet gives) valley
m/n?: ferde æfter ane bache 33/2.
bær B, bera, bor C (OE bær, m.) boar
B : m. : swa bið þa wilde bær/ wenne hundes hine bistondë
72/16.
C : m. : Vor þe bær of cornewaile . ssal helpe þis londe.
& þe saxons newen . vnder is fet to trade 2804.
Many yles winne he ssal . lond & oper stude 2805.
Ac þe dragon velde pulke bere . & to grounde him caste 4145.
bale, balu B (OE bealo, n.) bale, woe, harm, evil
n. : & bat balu meinde ii.320/1; muchel balu habben 314/11.
m. : þe bane balew meinde 184/12; & besne balu meinde ii.316/16.
bær C (OE bearg, bearh, m.) pig
m. : ... & adde . an vatte barn (sic) ynome.
& yapited him poru out.mid an yrëne.spite 4213.
bataille L, C (OF bataille, f.) battle
L: [n.]: A wonder bataille þit was on : hadde þit longe i-last 426/188.
C : f? : & mette hom & ane batayle smite vpe assessedoune 5312;
þii smite þer an bataile 269.
bearn B (OE bearn, n.) child
n. : bat bearn nas nowit feie 13/21.
beiʒ L (OE bēag, m.) ring; a piece of jewelry, a treasure
m.: Oftis fader guode a nyʒt ane beiʒ of gold he nam
241/33; he com and fond þæne beiʒ of gold; þat
seint Nicholas hadde i-brouȝt 241/38.
[n.]: þar-of he was glad i-nouȝþe he nuste ho ðit brouȝt
241/39.

best L (OF beste, f.) beast, animal
[n.]: for ðit spak a-ȝein kuynde 256/15.
m.: For þat wilde best so spack: and for wordes þat
he sede (him bi-gan wondri) 256/14; And þat best
bar riȝt in is Mouth ... 278/8.

biȝete B (OE be-gēat, m. [Clark Hall], n. [Sweet]) gain
f.: for þære muchele biȝete 26/20; mid baldere biȝete
iii.78/20.

biȝeste B (OE biȝes, f.; cf. OE behāt, n.) promise
[n.]: He bi-heihte hire biȝeste/ & he hit wel laste 54/6.

bihoue B (OE behōf, n.) behoof, need, use v. Clark Hall
f.: bide heo to hire bi-houe 187/2; he þohte heo habben
to his awere bihoue 194/23.

blase B (OE blase, blase, f.; cf. OE blysa, m.; also OE þlēs,
þlēst, both m.) blaze, flame
m.: in þære temple he lette beornen/ enne blase of fure
121/16.

blessingue L (OE þlētsung, f.) blessing
[n.]: ech Monek scholde ðoperes blesingue aþongue: and
euerech to opur ðit giue 264/126.
blisse B, L (OE bliss, f.) bliss, joy

B : f. : for bере muchele blisse 408/17; vnder bissere blisse 104/13; mid muchelere blisse 89/10.
L : f? : And sethpe mine blisse of heouene : with-outer ende a-fongue 363/34.

blod L (OE blöd, n.) blood

n. : it 18/569.

boc B, L (OE böc, f.) book

B : f. : hoe 3/6; he nom pa Englisca boc 2/19; & a bере AEnglisce boc ii.27/10 he is ihaten Wale-broc; & pa pre boc/ prumde to are 3/18.
L : f. : with him he hadde as per 28/59;(bi-tok) ane bok 281/105.

m. : òe bok was i-closed faste to : seint Frauncels hine gan vndo 58/158.

bodi L (OE bodig, n.) body

n. : it 31/67.

bold L (OE bold, n.) building, house, mansion

n. : it 378/64.

bole L (ON boli, m.) bull

m. : hine 300/16; atpe late he him fond 300/18; ane bole pov schalt pare finde 303/115.

bone L (ON bôn, f.) boon, request

f? : graunti him ane bone 357/40.

bord B, L (OE bord; n.) board, table

B : n. : bat beord ii.540/12; to ban borde forð rihtes ii.540/20; at hine borde gunnen fihte ii.539/9.
boruʒ L (OE borg, born, m.) loan, borrowed money
   m.: he ne miȝte finden him nanne boruʒ 249/328.

boʒ, bovʒ L (OE bɔg, bɔh, m.) arm, bough
   [n.]: and nam par-of a bovʒ/...and toward him it drovʒ 59/187.

boze, bowe B, bouwe L (OE boga, m.) bow
   B: m.: & bene bowe igreap 62/19; he leadde an his bonde/
       enne bowe stronge 62/8.
   L: m?: "Biend þine bowe"..."to loke þwat he can do 412/329;
       Ane bowe ich bere 412/327.
   f.: "For, þif ich hite bere longue i-bend : þe feblore
       heo wolle beo 412/335.
   [n.]: þis ȝongue ȝan nam and bende is bowe : and bar it
       longue so 412/330.

box C (OE box, m. n.) box
   m.: þe box þat heng ek ouer þe weued. ȝiþ godes fless
       & is blod. ȝe streng brac & he vel adoun. ȝiþ signe nas noȝt
       god 9353.

brand B, brond B, L (OE brand, m.) brand, sword
   B: m.: Euelin þene brond igreap/ mid grimliche lechen/
       & þraid hine of þere sceðe 349/6-8; þe þunge mon
       heold on his bonde/ enne stelene brond 349/5.
   L: m?: And þat best bar in is Mouth: ane berninde brond 278/8.

bred L (OE brǣad, n.) bread

breste, breoste, broste B (OE brǣost, n.m.f.) breast
   f.: and for-bat him þa breste 277/8; & ihitte his azene
breoste (cont.)

f.: fader/ pur ut hehe broste 14/15; vt of hire breoste

ii.239/6.

n?: and amat hehe eorl Beduer/ form a han breoste

iii.98/13.

breth L (OE breáþ, m.) breath

m.: and draumth op so bane breth 316/597.

[n.]: pe breth of pe watere pat pe sonne:draumth op a3ein eue,

zwane pe sonne is to grounde i-go:it ne may nou3t bi-leue,

317/612.

brimme B (OE brymme, m.) shore

cf. OE brimm, n. 'sea'

n?: par laien bi ban brimme/ and bisilichen hit wisten

191/2,3; A schip funde Brennes/ bi bon brimme 202/23.

bringe B (OE bring, m.) offering

f.: wel bi3 him hehe bringe 32/12.

brugge B, L, C (OE brycg, f.) bridge

B: f.: makien ane brugge ii.457/19.

L: f.: preo pinguus vuele i-nowe: on bis brugge were:

pat on was, for heo was so he³ ... 212/422; Ane

brugge ... huy maden parof ate laste 9/287.

C: f?: and pe brugge brende/ Vor he was al of tre 11096.

Brutlond B (OE Bryt-land, n.) Britain

n.: hit 162/8; of hen Brutlonde 208/10.

Bruttene B, Brutayne C (OE Bryten, f.) Britain

B: f.: swa pat nis her burh nan/ in bissere Bruttene 304/11.

[n.]: seodôen Bruttes hit ieode 181/17.

C:[f?]: ze abbep ymad leuned. brutayne youre owe lond 4365.
bur B (OE būr, m. n.) bower  

m. : Gurmund makede enne tur/ per inne he bulde enne 
    bur ii.170/16; bee bure s dure he warp adun iii. 
    27/15; weoren in ane bure 285/11.

burh B (OE burg, burh, f.) fort, castle

f. : pa burh wes wel izarwed/ binnen lute zearen/ he zeft 
    heo his stepmoder 10/17; & he hire sette name on 
    86/11; pa Brutus hefde imaked pa hehje burh 88/4; 
    in here burhe 13/16; & he makede ane hehje burh 10/13; 
    in to are burje 182/5; pe i bisere burh wuned 227/1.

m. : & pu ei bōhne burhse ii.169/18 heōene monne habbe 
    bītesht; enne burh makede 256/3; & wel hine wusten 
    416/12; he ferden to ban burzen 263/5.

burh-folc B (cf. OE folc, n.)

n. : Ah hit burh-folc was war 416/11.

burne B (OE byrne, f.) coat of mail

f. : of mid bere burne 216/24; mid fōire are burne iii.24/15.

burst B (OE byrst, m.) loss, defeat

m. : per he poledē muchelne burst 372/1.

candele L (OE candel, f. n.) candle  

cf. Lat. candela

f. : Ase 3if pov heolde ane clere candele ... heo wolde 
    3iuen hire lijst 311/411, 412.

care B (OE caru, f.) care; sorrow, grief

f. : and mid muchelure care 5/24 heo to londe bicomen; 
    & of mīre unimete care iii.294/22.

m. : ̓neuede he care monne ii.12/4; her uore heōden muchelne 
    care ii.141/2.
caroyne C (OF caroigne, f.) carrion, carcass
[n.]: & pere as is vnclle ded lay. is foule caroyne he bro3te.
& rí3t per bi pecemele. hakked it al to n03te 4422.

castel, B, C (OE castel, m.) castle cf. OE castel, n. 'village'
B: m.: pa ðe castel vp-stod/ he wes strong & swiðe god 70/16;
& he híne strongede wel 351/24; þene castel he cle-
pede Lauinion 9/11; he made he he enne stronge castel 9/8;
Ich wulle bitachen þe ful iwï/ minne castel inne
Paris iii. 68/12; þe he gon bulde/ castel swiðe
stronge 272/23.

C: m.: Hii asaylede þen castel. rí3t as he ssolde adoun anon.
3339; þat hii ssolde him þe castel yelde. ar he wip
stregpe him nome 3366.
[n.]: Vor þe castel is so strong. þat þe leuedi is Inne.
þat ich wene al þis lond. mid strengpe ne ssolde
it winne 3310.

castel-buri B (*OE castel-burh, f.) = burh?
m?: ne wið inne þon castel-buri 286/12.

caudron L (OF caudron, m.) cauldron
[n.]: heore caudron heo founden þere/ Ase heo it bi-lete
opon is rugge: in þat opere þere 230/374.

chaiere L (OF chaiere, f.) chair
f?: one chaiere with him huy bere 18/580.

chartre L, C (OF chartre, f.) charter
L: f.: þis chartre ichulle so faste bi-louke: In helle,
þwanne ich hom come/ þat I ne drede me nou3t þat
heo worpe: þoru3 Marie me bi-nome 290/68; þe chartre
chartre (cont.)

L : f. : he wrouȝte sone/ And a-selede hire with is ryng
290/64; And brouȝte pe chartre and bi-teȝte as
him 292/156.

C : f. : þat he made of þe olde lawes. is chartre atte laste.
to holde uor him & uor is eirs. & aselede is vaste
inou 10506.

child B, L, C (OE cild, n.) child

B : n. : hit 13/23; þat child was ihaten Brutus 13/20.
m. : þis child hefde his eames nome/ ah lut 3er he leomede 11/23.
L : n. : it 5/16; hit 20/22.
m. : he 20/25; (nam) þat child bi is seli þrote: and a-strang-
ledle him a-non 254/496.

C : n. : hit 238; it 985.
m. : þat. þat child ssolde verst.. fader & moder quelle.
& suppe he ssulde mani lond. over passi & wende 228.

childingue L (*OE childung, f.) child-bearing

[n.]: 3if heo þe betere miȝte for solas : ouer-come hire
childingue/ þo he was in travaile : heo ne miȝhte
ouer-come it nouȝht 457/29.

chin B (OE cin(n), f.) chin

m. : þer Herigal smat AEuelin/ swiðe vuela a bane chin
348/2; Herigal smat Euelin/ swiðe vfele ipene chin
359/9; and ben chin him of-swipte iii.34/20.

chireche B, churche L, C (OE cirice, f.) church

B : f. : He lette þer areren sone/ ane chireche swiðe saire
iii.38/12; In þere chireche I þere soð halue ii.607/22
chireche (cont.)

B : f. : he wonede at Ernlege/ at selen aro chirechen 1/6.

L : f. : a fair churche he liet a-rere/ In pritti dawes
heo was arerd 79/69; for his Martyrs pat zwyleneweren: for hire to stronge depe i-do 125/651;
pat so deore as hadde a-boug 446/538; Neo liet
arere ane noble churche 39/196.

C : f. : An churche of seint Ion pe baptist . Constantin
let rere/ & cluped is constantiniane 1923-24;
& holichurche al olene/ lete abbe ir franchise 10223.
m. : pei seinte Peter him sulf.ihalwed him adde er 7158;
(clenliche to restore) holi churche pat pow hast .
him binome mid wronge 10288.

m/f. : pe ref of pe chirche . of salesburi.it bro3te.
Right euene pe fifte day. pat he ihalwed was 8592;
Holi churche quap pandulf.so ri3tuol is & was.
pat he ne seal no prelat sette adoun.wipoute apert
trespas 10307.

[n.]: Ac vor pe chirche vn halewed was.peruore him was wo.
He po3t lette it halwy.to Midewinter anon po 7157.

cite C (OF cite, f.) city

m. : pe cite hii asailede . mid strengpe & mid ginne.
Ac so strong he was.pat hii ne mi3te.so li3tliche
him winne 8477.

[n.]: Vpe pe water of soure . an cite of gret fame.
He rerede & cluped it Leicestre.after is owe name 683.
clerescipe B (*OE clær-scipe, m.) clergy

n?: pa setten heo biscopes/ pan folken to dihten/
    per ouer ærchebiscopes/ bat clerescipe to rihten
    (B hene clerescipe to rihte) 435/7.

clif B (*OE clif, n.) cliff, rock

n?: bat clif 62/2.

clop L (*OE cláp, m.) cloth

[n.]: A-boue him was a cloth i-tild:with tweie tonguene
    faste/ to is chin tilde be neoper ende-: pe wind
    it wide caste 234/527.

cnif B, knif C (*OE cnif, m.) knife

B: m.: heo nom enne longne cnif 160/19.

C: m.: A long knif it was à smal ynou.as me may 3ut yse.
    Atte churche of kaueresham.as he ap 3are ybe 5867.

cofre L (*OF cofre, m.) box

m?: huy founden ane cofre:of seluer and of golde 338/503.

coluere L (*OE culufre, culfre, f.) dove

f.: A coluere pare cam, ... fram heouene fleo on heiʒ.
    A crowne of guold heo bar a-doun 85/81; heouene
    openede a-3eines hire:pe Coluere gan in fleo 199/59.
    Cf. he 352/249.

comp B (*OE camp, m.) battle, combat, fight

n?: bat comp to bihalden ii.581/7; & sturede i bon comp
    398/9.

compaynie C (*OF compagnie, f.) company

[n.]: po was pe compaynie strong.& strengore pan it was er 354.
coppe L (OE cuppe, f.; OF cope, f.) cup

f. : pis Coppe heo amot azen a ston : pat heo to-brak
    abre 193/53; A seluerne coppe heo /heom/ 3af : and
    gladliche heo hire nome 193/50.
    [n.]: ... ichulle it euene di3te 193/52.

corn B, L (OE corn, n.) corn

    B : n. : hit 85/19; bet corn 166/14.
    L : n. : it 98/230.

court C (OF cort, court, f.) court

    m? : ßo was al ße court anuyd . as he moste nede 1223.

cow, kov L (OE cu, f.) cow

    f. : heo 351/221; and muche milk of hire heo nam 193/33;
        For a wydewe hadde ane ßwite kov 351/217. Cf. he 453/163.

craft B (OE cræft, m.) craft

    m. : he cuðe bene vuele craft 120/20; ßeo quene leornede
        anne craft 268/21; purh his wit-fulne crafte 388/2.

cristall(OF cristal, m.) cristal

    [n.]: for 3wanne ße sonne schynez on cristal:opur in watere cler,
        A gret leome it 3if out a-3ein:and schynez feor and ner:
        312/458.

cristindom B, L, C (OE cristen-dōm, m.) christendom

    B : m. : ßat luueden bene cristindom ii.188/12; & wullec
        bene cristindom ii.104/13 al for-faren & for-don.
        [n.]: ße king 3eorne cristindom/ & alle his du3ede cnihetes/
        hit 3eorde forð rihtes 433/17.

    L :[n.]: 3if him cristindom in mine name : and he it wole
        oder-fonge 190/36.
cristindom (cont.)

C : [n.]: pus com lo verst here . in to pis lond cristendom.
Bote it were eny holi mon . pat stilleliche arst it
nom 1657.

croce L (OF croce, f.) crutch, crozier

f. : pat folk stod as it were i-nome:and bi-heolden
pe croce wel ofte/ hou heo stod in pe Marbre-ston
75/149; To gelden hire up ase 3e me hotez : ich
habbe as here i-brouȝt 74/134.

croiz L, croiz, croys C (OF crois, f.) cross cf. ON kross, m.

L : f. : bi-seche we pe holie croiz .../ And seint Quiriac
and seinte heleyne : ȝorȝ ȝwam heo was i-founde
5/132; Muche was pe Ioye of pe croiz : pat men maden
po pere/ With gret song and with processioun : to
pe Quiene huy hire here 4/112; pe holie croiz pat
he fond pere .../ A-doun he as nam with gret honour
14/464.

[n.]: pe croiz ... under eorpe huy caste/ ... and bureden
it wel faste 10/316.

C : f? : po sende he seint eleine ys moder ... To ierusalem
to seche pe croiz ... So pat he was per yfounde 1931.
[n.]: & saladin nom pe holy croys . & to pe hepenesse it
ber 9874.

crune B, croune L, C (ON krúna, f.; cf. OF corone, f.) crown

B : f. : pe crune he nom an honden/ he setten heo vppe
Constance ii.129/19.

L : f? : he sette ane Croune op-on is heued 173/2311.
crune (cont.)

C : f. : & mid mek herte pitoslicche. is kinges crune nom.
& sette is vpe pe rode heued 6596. Cf. & péper after
vp is heued. ne com he nammore 6599.

cun, kun B (OE cynn, n.) kin; kind

n. : péper wes monies kunnes folc 73/5; pa nes péper noht
of ben kunne 172/1; beiene of ane cunne 164/22.

cure B (OE cyre, m.) choice

m. : hefde he bene cure 404/3; & nom him oðerne cure ii.45/1.
curcal B, cuyrtel L (OE cyrtel, m.) kirtle

B : m. : heo nom hire on ane curtel 213/2.
L : m. : Seint Martin bote ane Cuyrtel ... To pé pouere Manne
he hine 3af ... 454/202-3; nim mine cuyrtel 409/235.
dai B, dal B, L, day L, C (OE deg, m.) day

B : m. : bene daie heo vnder-nomen 344/16; & swa he nom enne
dal 108/5; a bene oðerne dai 261/7he com to Denemarke.
L : m. : Aftur heruest he comez i-lome 12/393; pare-fore he
liet bane day tuyrne : ase we him holdez 3uyte 419/43;
pat pov binne dai ne breke 128/775.
C : m. : péper uore vr eldore him bitoc.of pée vouke ben verpe day
2431.
dal, dal B, del B, L (OE dål, m.; cf. OE gedål, n.) part

B : m. : Belin 3ef his leue broper/ ane dal of his londe 183/14.

f? : pea pridde del of mine londe 128/8 ich bi-take péan
honde; Brutus 3ef Corineum/ ... anl dala of his londa
83/14.

n. : & sette hit him an honda 83/15; and heo scal habe
bat beste del 125/10.
deel (cont.)

L: [n.]: And al pat opur del with-Inne :swipe blak as a rauon it is 312/453.

dead B, deth, dez L, deþ C (OE deþ, m.) death

B: m. : & bene dead polien 13/7; his leode hine hateden/
in to ben bare deade 300/6.

L: m. : Atpe laste, þo he bene dethp i-sai3 : and i-felde hine ful strongue 66/446; ðweþur scholde bene dethp a-fongue 42/285.

[n.]: And mi deth ich a-bide here : swane god it wolde sende 238/657.

C: m. : Suete wolte ek my dep be . 3if ich im auonge 4090;
ben dep vor to fle 1554; king henri ben dep nom 9128.

dede B, C (OE død, f.) deed, action

B: f. : Belin hine bi-pohte/ of swulchere dede 190/3; for mire gode dede iii.462/3.

C: f. : vor woch dede a man ssolde . þat is adde iwro3t 1608 lese is on eye ...

deel L (OF doel, m.) sorrow, grief

[n.]: pat deol pat heo made /po/ : no tongue it telle may 325/101.

deor, der B (OE dør, n.) animal

n. : hit 275/3; þat heah der 14/13; (wende) to-ward ben deore 275/18.

dette L (OF dette, m.) debt

[n.]: huy golden, þo he it creuede 465/122.
dev L (OE dēaw, m. n.) dew
m.: And þe Dev freose a-doneward: ðwane he is a-doun a-liht 317/618.
dic, dich B (OE dic, f.; cf. OE dic, m. 'dike') ditch
m?: He lette makien enne dic/ þe wes wunderliche deop/
f.: abouten his færde/ & feiede heo mid pornen 28/10-13;
he lette maken ane dich 274/8; wih innen are muchele
dic 248/3.
discs L (OE disc, m.) dish, plate, bowl
m?: Ano Discs of seluer he nam also 46/23.
[n.]: And to-brak it al to smale peces 46/24.
dom B, C (OE dōm, m.) doom, judgement
B: m.: ich wulle makien hene dom ii.272/8; halde him seolf
bisne dom ii.44/4; he halde for nane dome 392/11...
C: m.: And þe heyemen come echon, þen dom to hure sone.
And þe king þen dom uor to 3iue, an hey sat on is trone.
6920-21.
dream B (OE drēam, m.) joy, mirth; noise
m.: to ihœren hene muche drem 286/8; ih'ede he hene
muchelne drem 368/16.
dragon C' (OF dragon, m.) dragon
m.: [Tueye grete dragons. out of þis stones come.
þe on was red þe oper wyt. hii gone to fiȝte vaste.]
So þat þe wite was aboue. as al pat folc ysey.
& Drof þen rede al abac. out of þe putte ney. 2789.
þe rede as vor sorinesse, bi turnede him attenende. 2790.
drake B, L (OE draca, m.) dragon

B: m.: AErest wes þe white buuen/ & secðen he wes bi-neðen/
& þe drake rede/ for-wundede hine to deðe/ and æider
wende to his hole ii.245/10-14; þer heo iseʒen bene
Drake ii.339/9.

L: m.: Swipe ferliche he blaste fuyr 39/176; and al þe
centreie of him e-gæte 39/177.

drinc B, drink, drunc L, drench C (OE drinc, m., drinca, m.)
cf. OE drince, f.) drink

B: m.: þene drink & þene mete 55/21 ... to heora scipe
heo hit fusden; ah he ðurh atterne drench ii.249/22
død scal ipolien.

L:[n.]: For he ne blessedede nouȝt is drinke: and with-outes
leue it nam 283/200.

C:[n.]: He þæt him a luper drench . & þo he adde ydronke so.
He bad him ligge & slepe wel . þat it miȝte þe bet do.
3169. Cf. he þeue him an quointe drench 1555.

drope B (OE dropæ, m.) drop

m. lette enne drope blod 326/22.

dune¹ B (OE dúm, f.) down, hill

f.: Brutus hit demdæ/ uppen ere dune 79/9.

dune² B (OE dyne, m.) din, noise

m.: (iherde) ... & þene dune muchelne 368/17.

dunt B, L (OE dynt, m.) dint, blow

B: m.: dunt he him þæt þe bide 349/16; moni greatne
dunt 97/4.

L: m.: Are þøw scholdest þene dunt i-hepré 315/542.
dure B (OE duru, f.) door

f. : þees bures dure he warp adun/ þat heó to-barst a-
uiuen iii.27/16; at þere dure werpen vt 434/8.
duzede B (OE dugup, f.) body of retainers, folk

f. : Siie þu bi-fore mire duzuþen 127/17; bi-foren
bissere duzede ii.378/1.

eæh-sene B (OE ège + sien, f.) eyesight

m/n. : fliʒ ut of min eæh-sene 131/12.

æax, ãx B, C (OE æcs, f.) axe

B : f. : mid soearpe mire eaxe 98/6.

C : f? : Mid him he adde an strong ax. þat maniman broȝte to depe.

[n.]: So strong & gret þat an ðep. hit ssolde hebbe unnepe 389.
ende B, L (OE ende, m.) end

B : m. : þeue us æmne ende 39/2; al þesne süd ende 291/2 heo
heold in his heconde; bi þan ende of Ocanai 265/20.

L : m. : And þo he i-seiʒ al pen ende 56/95; aþenende 5/160.

Enguelond L, Engelond C (OE Engla-land, m.) England

L : n. : Al enguelond scholde beo i liéʒt : bet þane hit euer
er were 20/20.

C : m. : þe see geþ him al aboute. he stond as in an yle ʒ;
Fram souþe to norþ þe is long eʒte hondred Mile 6;
Wateres he hap ek inouʒ 19.

ensaumple L (OF ensample, m.) example

m? : þarof ichulle one ensample segge 424/126.
eorðe B, eorþe L (OE eorp(e), f.) earth, soil

B : f. : pa tilden ba eorðen iii.456/8; and feol a bere
eorðe iii.119/20.

L : f. : And geot ase gret ase þe eorþe þinchez : and ase
luyte ase heo is 318/656.

[n.]: So luyte wolde þe eorþe þinchez : þat vnneþe he
scholde it out i-seo 311/400.

eorþ-hus B (OE eorp-hús, n.) earth-house, den

n. : Ane dohter hefde Æstrild/ inne þon eorþ-huse 102/2;
makian an eorþ-hus 100/9.

eoyle L (OF oile, f.) oil

[n.]: Wide in londe it is i-lad : þat ho-so it habbe mote,
Noble relike it is al-so:sike Men to don bote 100/298-9.

ernde, ernde B, erinde L (OE ærende, n.) errand, message

B : f. : þe wel þar þe ernde 312/4; þam þa ernde hafde ibrohte
ii.640/2; þe sculde þam ernde don 60/23.

L :[n.]: And seiden heore ernde hou it was 443/440.

fat L (OE fæt, n.) vessel, vat

n. : it 17/558.

feht, fiht, feiht B (OE (ge)feoht, n.; cf. OE feohte, f.) fight

n. : þat feht 65/16; þemen þeþe fehtes 367/7; vt of þen
fehte 5/4; wið Eneam he nom an feiht 8/16.

feld B, L, C (OE feld, m.) field

B : m. : Menius wende ipane felde 322/14; mildelichen ferden/
in ðenne bradne feld 217/3.

L : m? : Of lond he hadde ane grete feld 26/7.

[n.]: and he it solde wel faste 26/7.
feld (cont.)

C : m. : ben feld made bar 4334.

feng B (OE feng, m.) booty cf. OE gefeng, n. 'taking, capture'

feoh, feo B (OE feoh, n.) tribute, fee
n. : hit 207/10; purh pa luue of ben feo 329/17.

feond, ueond B (OE fiend, m.) fiend, monster
m. : enne ueond fusen iiii.103/11.

[n.]: heer he herde sugen/ pat pe feond wonede/ Swa longe
he ferde/ pat he hit ifunde 276/15.

ferde B (OE fierd, f.) army
f. : pe ferde wes swa muchel/ pat heo wes vniemete 211/20;
al pe ferde 181/4 heo falden to grunde; pe king him
lend ane ferd 169/16; heo com to pere ferde 213/8;
mid bire ferde 67/12; mid muchelere ferde 23/1.
n? : zeerwe wes bat ferde 212/14; zeond bat ferde 75/14.

feste L, C (OF feste, f.) feast, festival
L : f. : So pat men holdeth pulke feste/ herre pane heo
er were 421/30.

C [:n.]: & made so noble feste/ pat of alle pat me wuste
it was. pe richoste & pe mestte 10977.

feuere L (OE féfer, féfor, m.) fever cf. Lat. febris
m/f? : Ac heo made is bodi melte a-wei 76/198.

finguer, fyngur L (OE finger, m.) finger
m. : No fuyr ne mighte pat finguer brenne ... Ake he
bi-lefde hol, and guyt is 32/91; And pane fyngur
huy founden al-so 32/107.
first B (OE first; m.) space of time
m.: & umben longe first 13/10 mid wrêscipe comen lîden.

fisc B, fisch L (OE fisc; m.) fish
B: m.: and ælo fisc an his ende/ þer he his cun findeþ
11.500/13.
L: m.: A gret fisch huy seigen and grislich: after þe
schipe he drö3 231/408; þe fisch bi-gan to meouen
him 238/674; and smot to him faste 231/417; ech
fisch wende in is ende 232/462.
[n.]: ich makede me fuyr faste/ And sêth me fisch a-godes
name - þre dayes it i-laste 237/646.

fia, flo B (OE fla, f.; flân, m. f.) arrow
f.: þat he þe flo heuede idrawen 14/21; On he sette
ane fla 62/11.

flesch L (OE flēsc, n.) flesh, body
n.: He seruede so is owene flesch: and cleopede it
"frere Asse" 61/252; Mete he ʒaf him luyte i-nov
61/253.

flie L (OE flēoge, flīge, f.) fly
f.: For þe flie ne doth non oþur guod: bote fleoth
feor and neor/ ... A-non so þe Disch is i-set a-doun:
heo wole beo ope þe þrerde 61/260.

flode B (OE flôd, m. n.) flood, deluge
m.: æfter ban flode/ þe from drihtene com/ þe al her
a-qâlde/ quic þat he funde 2/7-10; bi þan se
flode 46/16.
flum B (OF flum, m.) river
m? : (ferden) ouer Maluan one flum suide long 55/17.
folc B, C, folk B, L, C (OE folc, n.) folk, people
B : n. : hit 278/11; bat Troy尼斯c folc 18/19; from socne
bes folkes 100/14; ban folke to queme 15/24; bisses
folks king 35/21.
L : n. : it 19/14; to lede bat folk of Israel 8/232.
C : n. : it 5199.
folie L (OF folie, f.) folly
f? : he dude er one folie 43/320.
fore, uore B (OE för, f.) voyage, onset, expedition
f. : in bera ilke uore 71/17; mid starkere fore 237/11
ferde toward Rome.
for(e)ward B, voreward C (OE foreweard, f.) agreement
B : n. : & al bat forward wes ilest 47/2; his feorward ich
him halde 200/21; mid ban ilke forward 233/9.
C : f. : Nere þe vorerarde no so strong. me bo3te i3 out wip
wou.7778.
[n.]: & bed him vor is trywenesse.þe vorerarde abbe in po3t.
pat bituene hom was ymad.þat he breke it no3t.8039.
forneis L (OF forneis, m.) furnace
[n.]: A forneis he let maken of bras : and fullen it ful
of led 295/61.
fot L, vot C (OE fôt, m.) foot
L : m. : þat I-ne dar one fot fram þe go 37/100; þat hit
ne mighte one fot forþere passe 39/180.
fot (cont.)

C: m.: So pat he smot of ban vot 10057; he ne moste an vot go 5887.

foul L (OE fugol, m.) fowl, bird

m.: pe foul pat spac with /heom/ er:a-sein hem sone he drouy3/ pe drem of is winguene murie was 230/387-8.

fourme L (OF forme, f.) form

f?: So pat huy nomen ane fourme of pays 354/304.
[n.]: wiend out a-non mid pulke fourme: and brec hit al-to nou3te 371/155.

France L (OF France, f.) France

[n.]: And bi-tei3te al Fraunce Ihesu crist: and blessed on wel faste 158/1793.

freondscipe B (OE frond-scipe, m.) friendship

f.: mid mine freondscipen cumen a3en 330/15; & mine freond-scipe habben 330/19.

Friday L (OE frigedeg, m.) Friday

m.: bus departede pe court po:amorewe, bune friday 128/777.
Seint thomas wende pudere a-3en ...

fulluht B (OE fulluht, fulwiht, m.f.n.) baptism

v. Clark Hall f?: & pa fulluht nulden vnder-fen 433/22.

fur B, fuwr L, C (OE fyr, n.) fire

B: n.: bat fur 121/19; (makede) a swide wunsum fur 51/2;
he halde pa milc in bat fur 51/11.

L: n.: it 65/84; hit 197/123; for-barnde al bat him cam
to 197/130.

C: n.: pat me clupep bat holi fur 185.
gare B (OE gār, m.) dart, javelin, spear
   m. : bune gare he worð strahhte iii.98/10; he bar an
      his honde/ cæne gare swiðe stronge iii.24/9.
   [n.]: let gliden his gare/ þat hit grund sochte 216/20.
gauel B (OE gafol, n.) tax, tribute, rent
   n. : ð gauel 378/14; ne na gauel' heom senden 392/13.
genge B (OE genge, n.) troop, gang, retinue
   f. : mid muchelere genge 262/21; mid richere genge
      ii.40/23.
gersume B (OE gersum, m. n.) treasure
   m?: muchel wes þa gersume 112/3.
   n. : þat gersume 194/19; to leden þis gersume 151/5.
ginne B, gynne L (OF engin, m.) trick
   B : m?: Brutus iherde siggen/ of þan ufele ginnen 57/7.
   L : m?: Ake þis false cristine maþþete op þe feolle
       gynne 250/340.
gleo B (OE gleo(w), n.) glee, mirth
   n. : þat gleo 298/22.
god B, goud B, L (OE gōd, n.) good; possessions
   B : n. : hit 140/13; al þat goud 140/12; na god heo ne
      bi-zeted 144/7.
   L : n. : hit 102/59; it 102/63.
godnesse B (OE gōdnes, f.) goodness
   f. : of alre godnesse 294/7 þe gume wes ílædred.
godd-spel B, godspel L, gospel C (OE gōd-spell, n.) gospel
   B : n. : he seide him þat godd-spel iii.183/15.
godd-spel (cont.)

L: n.: Seint Iohan oudde pis godspel sone: and prechede it caste al-so 407/169.

C: m.: (vor to preche) ben gospel pat he adde imaked 1529.

gold B, L (OE gold, n.) gold

B: n.: bat gold 346/12.

L: n.: it 250/336.

gost B, L, C (OE gäst, m.) breath; ghost, spirit

B: m.: bene gast he wel daled 387/13.

L: m.: A zeomerore gost pane he was: ne mirte no man finde 234/531; heo yaf bene gost 106/175.

[n.]: (bi-gan) pe Massene for pis selie gost: to bringuen it out of soruwe 424/144.

C: m.: Sone frau me he wolde wende: pat gost pat deþ me lere 3055.

goute L (OF goute, f.) gout

f?: Seint Tebaud pe bischop hadde: in his fot ane hote goute 424/127.

grace L, C (OF grace, f.) grace

L: f?: siend us bine grace 3/61.

[n.]: Ake a-bide betere grace of pe king: jif god it wolde sende 147/1434.

C: [n.]: pat hii adde iwonne grace, & wy hii it adde vor lore 8365. Cf. bine grace 6307.

grass B (OE gærs, gress, n.) grass

n.: pat gress 166/14.
grece L (OF gresse, graise, f.) grease, fat
   [n.]: pat grece of him orn a-brod: ase pei it frijnge were 187/86.

gretinge B (OE grēting, f.) greeting
   f.: and seie him pat ich hine gret/ godere gretinge 151/8; for bira gretinge 126/23.

grið B (OE grip, n.) peace, truce
   n.: hit 205/2; bat grið 108/11; & nulle me zeuen na grið 361/20; King Androge' zeorne hé grið 352/11.
   m.: ouer al me brac bene grið 172/8.

grome B (OE grama, m.) anger, rage
   m.: & bene mucho grome ii.38/23; for ban muchole grome 20/4.
grund B, ground L (OE grund, m.) ground, earth; bottom; cause
   B: m.: For his luue moni eotend/ ic leide dead a bene grund 97/16; iseid ich habbe bene grund 135/15.
   L: m.: ho-so sou3te bene ground 318/655.

gult B (OE gylt, m.) guilt, sin
   m.: hit wule pe suggen minne gult 356/20.

gurdel B (OE gyrdel, m.) girdle, belt
   m?: bi-neoðe bon gurdele hit puncheð fisc 56/20.

yet B, sat B, L, C (OE geat, n.) gate
   B: n.: hit 258/17; a yet per vnder makede 258/16; at bon nord yate i Lundene 325/17; bi ane gate 304/19.
   L: n.: hit 15/492.
   C: n.: it 11201.
zeorde L (OE gierd, f.) rod, twig

f. : pis maister nam pe zeorde : and sette hire on pe grounde/ And heo bi-gan to leui pare ... 350/167-8;

For seint Eadmund hadde ane smarte zeorde 434/113.

[n.]: Seint Daui a-boute pis holie zeorde : a strong wal

he liet a-rere/ And nam guode ȝeme hov longus it

woxe : fram zere to zere 8/260.

zer B, L (OE gēar, n.) year

B : n. : swa al þet halue zer 143/17 mid al his hirede he

wes þer; i bon ilka zeore 225/6.

m. : mid pan feo sculden faren/ euer alone ʒere 332/23.

L : m. : pis was bene fourteope ʒere 190/27.

3eue B (OE giefu, f.) gift


zitsunge B (OE gitsung, f.) greediness, covetousness

f. : for nare zitsunge 405/2 ... ne com ich to þissen londe.

3iuernesse B (OE giferne, f.) greediness, gluttony

f. : for nare 3iuernesse 405/3.

3weol L (OE hwêol, n.) wheel

n. : bare-Inne he i-saiʒ a grislich ʒweol ... Ful it

was of hokes and pikes 208/260.

3wuchche L (OE hwicce, f.) chest

f. : A nyȝht cam þis holie man : And þe ʒwuchche he fond

þere/ Sone he ʒwelude hire op pe doun ... 460/138

heofd, heued B, heued L, C (OE hêafod, n.) head

B : n. : he gurde Suard on þat heofd 68/9.
haft (cont.)

L: n.: it 30/46; ... swanne bat heued hath to godes grace.

C: n.: it 4244; & smot him anowarde bat heued 397.

håle B, hele C (OE hâlo, hâl, f.) health, safety

B: f.: to godere hire hele 153/3.

E: f.: pat goderhele al engelond was heo euere ybore 7570;
    to wrotherhele 3420. 7282.

half, half B (OE half, f.) half

f.: for nuste he a nare halue 372/13 helpen þm mahte;
    alle heo hizeden to/ an elcher halfe 98/14.

hengest B (OE hengest, m.) horse, steed

m.: Ich bi-tache þe anne hengest/ godna & strongna 151/3-4.

hearm B (OE hearm, m.) harm

m.: þurh bene mucle hearm ii.252/12; no nenne hearm þer
    don heom iii.57/19; & swlone hearm in þon londe 92/9
    dude Number þe stronge.

heued-ben B (OE hæafod-bæn, n.) head-bone, skull

n.: (samat) uppe bat heued-ben 277/15.

hauene B, hauene B, C (OE hæf(e), f.) haven, harbour

B: f.: And þa hauene of Doure hafde hafde inomen 365/12;
    Brutus i þære hauene læð 60/5; he ærmde to are
    hauene 399/14. Cf. bat hauen of Douere he hauede
    inomen 316/19.

C: f?: þe þa hauene þer he was aslawe. after haym is name iwis.
    Haymtone was icluped . as he þut icluped is.
    Vor Souphamtone he is icluped . . . 1471-2.
halle B, C (OE heall, f.) hall

B: f. : pa heolden up pa halle iii.119/9; eoden heo alle/purh ut here halle ii.142/17; uppen are halle ii.118/17.

C: f? : po he to pis halle com,he chiddē & made him wroþ.

Vor he was bi þe haluendel to lute he suor is op 8025.

hali-bred L (*OE hælig-brēad, n.) eucharist

n.: hit 423/101.

hare L (OE hara, m.) hare

m.: Al round it lith in þe wombe:and i-bouwed ase an hare
zwane pat heo in fourme lith:for is.In.is sumdel nare 320/723.

harpe B, L (OE hearpe, f.) harp

B: f. : hanlie þa harpe 209/1; and nom him ane harpe an hond ii.428/23.

L: f. : his h[arpe...] heo gan [ to kuipe his holy pouht ...] 23/133; Al bi hire-[self heo gon harpen ...] 23/135 (the readings in the brackets are from MS Vernon).

helm B (OE helm, m.) helmet

m.: vppen bene helm he hine smat 321/1; sette he an hefde/ enne helm gode ii.576/5.

help B, L (OE help, f. m.) help

B: m. : ne isæh he help enne ii.268/23; and bad heom heore helps iii.204/6.

L: m. : ne help nadde he enne 453/143.

hem B (OE hemm, m.) hem

m.: hire hem heo up i-stæh/ hire cneon he wes swīðe nehi 213/5.
hen C (OE henn, f.) hen

f.: & an hen vor fiftene & vawe pat me ie brouzte 8335.

heorde B (OE heord, f.) herd, flock

f.: heo finden ane heorde 14/5 of heorten swiðe great; pe fader heo bi-eode 14/7; to his sune he heo draf 14/9. Cf. Madden: heo-heom.

heort B, L (OE heor(o)t, m.) hart, stag

B: m.: swa hund bane heort driuæ iii.65/3.

L: m.: ðo pis heort hadde longe l-orne: he bi-turnde him ate laste 256/3; A-mong opur game hue founden ane heort: swipe fair best with-alle 393/13.

heorte B (OE heorte, f.) heart

f.: Poreus hauede be heorte swa luper 168/10; at mire heorte ic habbe grame 404/21; heo comen to gadere/ mid greatere heorte 25/6.

heouene B, L (OE heofone, f.; cf. heofon, m.) heaven

B: f.: Vre drihte hine iherde/ in to bare heouene iii.183/4.

L: f.: heo makez euene pus hire cours 311/406.

m.: be heouene geth ene a-boute: poruʒ daiʒe and poruʒ nyʒt/ be Mone and be stœrrenæ with him heo berth 311/402.

[n.]: Heouene geth al-a-bote be sorpe: euene it mot weyʒe 311/395.

her L (OE hær, n.) hair

n.: it 182/49.

herberwe B (OE here-beorg, f.; cf. ON herbergi, n.) harbour

n?: he droh in ane hwælve/ & toc ðær herberwe 340/19.

(See p. 31, footnote 3).
here B (OE here, m.) army, host
m. : þa sette þe kaisere/ arimen al þene here iii.6/15;
(feahten) wiþ þon Alemeniscæ here 235/22; hail beo
þu mid þine here 354/19.

here L (OE hære, f.; cf. OF haire, f.) haircloth, sackcloth
f. : In stren gore manere heo was i-maund 436/166; þe
moder tok wel stilleliche : eyþor of heom ane
here 432/43.

heste B, L (OE hēs, f.) command

B : f. : þa hehte heo ane heste 105/22.


hebenesse C (OE hēpenes, f.) paganism; hethens
[n.]: & Hebenesse ybrouȝt azen . uort seint austen it
adde vnbounede 1677.

hilte B (OE hilte, f.; cf. OE hilt, n. m.) hilt
f. : and þa hilt on his hand brecc 277/17; riht bi þere
hilte 66/19.

hind B (OE hind, f.) hind, female of the hart
f. : of þere hinde 52/5; of þere wite hinde 50/23.

hired B (OE hirþe, m.) court, body of retainers
n. : forð i-wende þat hired 262/16; þa answære þ hired
330/20; þa wuned in þan hirede iii.224/7.

holt B (OE holt, n. m.) copse, wood
m. : iseoh him bi-helues/ anne holt hohne 370/12.

hond B, L, C (OE hand, f.) hand

B : f. : Ah Brutus hefde þa ouere hond 55/7; & nimen hit
to þire heonde 162/8; & þes hit to his æþre hond
70/6.
hond (cont.)

L: f.: Ne for-rotie neuere þis hond: ake i-blessed heo 46/27; And bar as bi-fore al pat folk 379/99.
C: f.: change youre hond & to be vs.of suerd & lance ia do 2211.

m.: & po he adde þun ouer hond 1840.

honor L (OF honour, f.) honour

[n.]: to holden op min honour: and to saui it fer and ner 179/28.

horn B (OE horn, m.) horn

m.: er he ihere minne horn 34/11; hafe mine godne horn iii. 23/11; and blawe hine mid maine iii. 23/13.

house L, hua C (OE hūs, n.) house

L: n.: it 52/186.
C: n.: it 5722.

hude B (OE hȳd, f.) hide, skin

f.: seóðen he nam þe hude 52/4; bi-foren þan wefedæ he heo spradde 52/6; he hafde ane hude ii. 170/7; of here hude he kærf enne pwong ii. 170/17.

huie B (OE hyge, m.) mind, heart; courage

m.: nom hire leaf-fulne huie 128/22 þat heo līzen nolden.

hul B, L, C (OE hyll, m. f.) hill

B: m.: þat he on fenne hul bi-com/ he wes feir & heih/
& he hine swide bi-held 70/10-12; fene hul makede pe king 371/8.

L: m.: þe hul of Toumbe he is i-cleoped: for he is sumdel nare 304/157; So þat huy i-seiþen ane hul 233/499.
C: m.: þen hul he wuste 1306.
**Humber B** (OE Hombre, f.) the Humber

*f.*: Cunedagius bi *bare* Hombre 161/7 hausede al þeð west.

**hundrad B** (OE hundred, n.) hundred

*n.*: to iwisse an hundrad pund a 151/2.

**hurst L** (OE hyrst, m.) copse, wooded hill

[n.]: and þe prince *it* i-saiʒ furst 473/378.

**husting B** (OE husting, n.) council, tribunal, meeting

*n.*: þ hustinge wes god ii.57/1; to *ban* hustinge 218/11;

*to* ane muchele hustinge iii.177/2.

*f.*: þe king huld i Lundene/ ane muchele hustinge ii.414/14;

heo come to Lundene/ to *muchelere* hustinge ii.408/22.

**in B, L** (OE inn, n.) house, chamber; lodgings

*B*: *n.*: to *ban* inne ii.149/5.

*f.?*: to *bare* cinhtene(sic) inne 142/9.

**L**: *n.*: it 466/150.

**ioye L** (OF joie, f.) joy

[n.]: Al þe Ioye þat ich habbe noupe iseize: *it* worth

me bi-nome 218/620.

**itel B** (OE getal, n.) number

[cf. tale²]

*n.*: & nuste na mon þat itel 333/13;

**iupe L** (OF jupe, f.) tunic

[n.]: Vnnepe *it* heolede is derne limes 455/216.

**iwille B** (OE gewill, n.) wish, will

*n.?*: eft’e bine iwwile 265/8.

**kalender B** (OF calendier, m.) calendar

*m.*: he makede bane kalend’ 308/7.
kingdom B, C (OE cynedōm, m.) kingdom

B: m. : (nom) bene kinedom eke 119/7; pat he hafde bisne kinedom 384/5.

C: m. : He wan þe kinedom of þe march,mid is dedes bolde. So þat of him he was. after warde yholde 5417.

kinehelm B (OE cyne-helm, m.) crown

m. : he his kinehelm on-feng/ & sette hi on his broder hæfd 288/18; Ah nim þu bene kine-halm/ he is þe icunde ii.337/18-19.

kine-lond B (cf. OE lond, n.) kingdom

n. : hit 117/17; and þu wult þat kinelond iii.49/8 bi-tellen to þire hond; tueolf zer he heold þis kine-lond 117/16; þine sustren sculen habben mi kinelond 131/13.

kineriche B (OE cynerlice, n.) realm, kingdom

n. : nimen mine castles alle/ and mine kineriche iii.68/8; to hissere kineriche ii.43/10.

koker B (OE cocer, cocor, m.) quiver for arrows

m. : wapnen he ladde/ ... and enne koker fulne flan 276/5.

lac B (OF lac, m.) lake

m? : ouer ben lac of Siluius/ & ouer ben lac of Philisteus 54/21, 22.

leche-crefte B (OE læche-creft, m.) leech-craft

m. : Ne purh nenne leche-crefte 325/12.
lar B (OE lār, f.) lore, teaching
   f.: bi-ðeno a mire lare 214/9; of hezere laren iii.224/10;
      hercnið mine lare iii.293/14.

lar-spel B (OE lār-spell, n.) sermon
   n.: hit 433/13; bat lar-spel 433/14.

laðung b (OE laðung, f.) calling, invitation; meeting
   f.: þa makeden heo ane laðunge 218/7 of heore leoue folke.

lauereke L (OE lāwerce, f.) lark
   f.: And herethþ pane dai with hire song: and restez hire
      a-ni3ht 67/459.

launce C (OF lance, f.) lance
   m.: In is riȝt hond is launce he nom: þat was icluped Ron.
      long & gret & strong ynoú him ne miȝte at sitte non 3618.

laȝe B, lawe L (OE lagu, f.) law, custom
   B: f.: and wrat þa laȝen on Englis/ ase heo wes ðær on Bruttisc/
      and wherfde hire nome onhís deȝe/ and cleopede heo
      Mercene laȝe 269/18-21; þa makede heo ane laȝe 269/6;
      of þære laȝe ne cuðe na þing ii.131/14; beien of are
      laȝe iii.256/5.
   L: f.: he heold up þe lawe of cristindom: and teiȝte æs
      feor and ner 45/4.

lead L (OE leðad, n.) lead
   n.: it 12/371.

lef L (OE leðaf, n.) leaf
   n.: it 18/599.

leg L (ON leggr, m.) leg
   m.: he ne miȝte þanne leg i-wielde 360/42; he bi-heold
      and handlede þanne sore leg 360/50.
leitingue L (cf. OE lēget, m.) lightning  
cf. lixtingue

[n.]: Six hundret it a-slov of heom 301/58.

leode B (OE lēod, f.) nation  
cf. OE lēode, pl.

f. : pa clupe den heo lude/ 3eond Pare leoden 251/15;
& scal beon euwer lauerd/ inne bissere leoden 155/14;
and draf me to pisse londe/ in to bire leode 199/20.

n. : Feowerti wintre he walde pes leode/ a blisse hit
stod on his hand 182/20; pa makede heo ane læge/
and leide zeon pat leode 269/7; he fondede ban leoden
281/8; (iwende) in to bon leode after monkunne 245/2;
pa iseh bisses ledes king 412/2.

leon L (OE læona, m.) lion

m. : and po pe leon i-heorde pis/ Mildeliche pane put
he schrapede...270/328; pe leon 3eode is wei 270/337;
po he i-sai3 ane leon licke pat bodi 270/320.

lesinge B, lesingue L (OE lēasung, f.) falsehood, lie

B : f. : and seide ane lesinge 126/4; & Vortig'ue pe swikele
king/ ilefde pare lesing ii.204/24.

L :[n.]: and swipe wel I-schriue/ Of pe lesingue pat pov
bi me seidest : and bide heom it pe for-3yue 333/348.

lettre L, C (OF lettre, f.) letter

L : f. : he nam pe lettre on his hond : and po heo was ondo
352/252.

C :[n.]: A lettre hii toke pe kinge. pat po he hit let rede
3987.

liche B (OE líc, n.) body

n. : hit 164/19; bat lich iii.99/1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lif</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>B, L, liff</td>
<td>hit 420/10; bat lif 160/20; 3if þu þi lif wult habbe 287/17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>L, liht, C</td>
<td>hit 270/340; it 321/749.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listings</td>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>L (OE lighting, f.)</td>
<td>[n.]: pe listings we i-seoth a-non : 3wane it is þoruz i-brouȝt 315/547.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likame</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>B (OE lic-hama, m.)</td>
<td>m?: leo war here þa ilke likame 214/17; &amp; nimeȝ mine likames ii.206/7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limb</td>
<td>limb</td>
<td>B (OE lim, n.)</td>
<td>n?: lim from þen oðere 180/14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liuere</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>L (OE lifer, f.)</td>
<td>f.: þe liuere, þat is nepemest : þeo comeȝ ... 319/707.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lof</td>
<td>bread, loaf</td>
<td>L (OE hlæf, m.)</td>
<td>m?: And anc wel faire ȝwite lof : he sette bi-twene to &amp; to 227/283.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb</td>
<td>lamb</td>
<td>L (OE lamb, n.)</td>
<td>it 62/299.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lond</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>B, L, C</td>
<td>hit 51/22; þ ðond 4/15; þu scalt finden a wunsum lond 52/23; þis lond he hire lende 10/23; ich will þi drichliche lond 127/5 a þroe al to-dalen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it 221/40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>hit 112; it 7145.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
London C.

m. : Bisegede londone ac hii ne miȝte . nost come wipinne.
So wel he was wipinne ywust . poru men þat þer were 6160.

lot L (OE hlot, n.) lot
n. : So þat huy nomen and casten lot : and ope seint
Mathie it gan falle 389/9.

lufe B, love L (OE lufu, f.) love
B : f. : vffe þere muchele lufe 34/5; mid muchelere lufe 53/23.
m/n?: for hon lofe of his broþer 10/16.
L :[n.]: þe loue was euere gret i-nouȝ / ... for-to þe feond
destourbede hit, allas 117/380.

lufte B (OE lyft, f.m.n.) air. sky, wind
m/n.: teih him to hon lufe 122/14.

maiden B, maide L, C, mayde C (OE megden, n.) maiden, girl
B : n. : þt maiden 7/20; Oft wes þen meaidene wa 131/23; þa
luuede he a maide 12/3; þeo Brennes biss meide nom
210/18; anes maidenes sune 386/23.
f. : heo 7/2; hire monscone 8/1; þus seide þe maiden
Cordoille 130/2.
L : n. : Seinte Fey, þat holie Maide : of swipe heiȝe men
heo com 83/1.

f. : heo 91/165; and founden hire ligge þer 91/166.

C : n. : þat nom eleyne þat noble mayde.king howeles nece 4194.

f. : heo 6802; hire name 593.

morgen B, morewe L (OE morgen, m.) morrow, morning
B : m. : Belin a þene morgen 241/22 letten blawen his bemen.
morgen (cont.)

L: m.: bene Morewe affer Midiwinter day: to depe huy him brouzte 2/37.

mæst B (OE mæst, m.) mast

m.: he for-heow bene mæst 196/4; he lette seil and pane mæst 196/6 liæn mid væn.

mahum B (OE mæhom, m.) idol

m.: Ah heo nom bene mahum 11/1; in Albe Lingue he hine sette/ ah sone he ponene iuatte 11/5-6.

maine B (OE mægen, n.) main. might

f?: cuð nu þine strengeða/ & þina stæpæ main 66/1

male B (OF male, f.) coffer, mall

n?: ich þæ wulle bi-tæche/ a male riche 150/23.

mansinge C (cf. OE ð-mæn-sumung, f.) excommunication, curse

[n.]: Of þis mansinge were principals; & susteinede it vaste 10204.

mantel B, L (OF mantel, m.) mantle, cloak

B: m.: Ændæ a þene ænde/ ænne mantel hende ii.193/10;
& bi þæ mantle hine ibrewid ii.215/14.

L: m?: he þaf him æne olde Mantel 57/111.

[n.]: Seint Frauncæis it vnder-feng: to witien him fram chele 57/112.

marke L (OE mearc, f.) mark

f?: Ane marke he hathz on me i-do 182/31.

marmestan B (OE mearastæn, m.) marble

m: þe king næm ænne marmestan/ & lette hine mid golde bi-gon 325/18-19.
martyrdom B (OE martyrdom, m.) martyrdom
  m. : and whulcne martirdom 431/18 Petrus hauede vnder-fon.
masse L (OE messe, f.) mass  cf. Lat. missa
  f. : he song pulke masse i-lome : for al-so heo bi-ginnes
   133/941; pat hire singuth in dedlich sunne 430/340;
   ane masse he i-heorde a day 57/140.
masse-boc L (OE messe-boc, f.) missal
  f? : ane masse-boc huy gonne take 58/157.
maðmes B (OE mæð(u)m, m.) treasure
  m. : ne bidde ich nanne maðmes 136/14.
maumet L, C (OF mahumet, m.) idol
L : m. : huy cleopeden pat Maumet Astaroth : pat poruʒ pe
   deoucles miȝte/ Ofte he wolde Answerie men : and
   manie he bi-nam heore siȝte 367/14.
C :[n.]: & offrede to pis maumet . & honoured it inow 325.
mele B (OE meal, n.) meal, food-time
  n? : islagene weoren to bon mele 346/6; iuored ed to ane
   mele 358/12.
membre L (OF membre, m.) part of body
  m. : pe sunne ichulle for-giue pe banne : zwane he is
   fram pe i-cast 44/337.
mete B, L (OE mete, m.) food
B : m. : a pon londe he fund mete/ & he hine mid monsceipe
   biwon 6/13; pene drino & pene mete 55/21 ... to
   heora scipe heo hit fusden.
[n.]: An his deies wes swa mochel mete/ pat hit wes
   vnimbete 259/4.
mete (cont.)

L : m. : gistes wel gladliche bene mete he 3af 361/65; Ich
        oupe minne mete I-winne 327/155.
        [n.]: blessi is mete are he it ete 19/612.

mid-niht B (OE mid-niht, f.) midnight
        f. : a ba mid'niht heo nomen read 72/1; forð iwenden
            cnihtes/ to here mid-nihte ii.388/13.
        m? : he aras to an mid-nihte 324/3.

miht B, L (OE miht, f.) might, power
        B : f. : mid alle mire mihten 30/16.

mile B (OE meolc, f.) milk
        f. : he halde ba milc in pat fur 51/11.

milce B (OE milts, f.) kindness, mercy
        f. : a(and) me do bine milce 199/21.

mile B, L (OE mfl, f.) mile
        B : f. : ne leaste hit na wiht ane mile 248/10; & vbemn are
            mile ii.88/3.
        L : f? : hit nis up-riȝt fram þe corpe : bote Ane mile opur
            two 317/602.

miracle L (OF miracle, m.) miracle
        [n.]: þis Miracle was sone i-kud : ase right was pat it
            were 77/229.

mist L (OE mist, m.) mist
        m. : ȝwane þe sonne hath þudere i-drawe : bene mist
            for hete, 317/603
        [n.]: It ne may no feor for þe colde : ake bi-cometh al
to wete 317/604.
mod B (OE mód, n.) mind

[n.]: Na ich wulle wende mi mod 376/23; whar þu þat mod nime ii.619/3.

mod-kare B (OE mōdcaru, f.) sorrow, grief

m. : & polede þene mod-kare 132/11; cf. care.

mon-kun B (OE mann cynn, n.) mankind

n. : al þat smale mon-kun 19/16; he nom of ban monkunne 94/4.

mone L (OE mōnæ, m.) moon

f. : Ase man may bi þe Mone i-seo : þe 3ywyle heo is neowe riht 312/451; Riht so Elac as al þe mone : of hire-sulf, i-wis 312/454; bote þere ase þe sonne schyneþ þat hire liht 312/455.

moneð B (OE mōnap, m.) month

m. : þe dihted þene moneð & þe zer 308/8.

monschipe B (OE mannascipe, m.) kindness

f. : biþenc o hire monschipe 214/7.

mossel C (OF morsel, m.) bite, mouthful

[n.]: þe mossel he dude in to is moup : ac þe king it blessed er 7028. Hit bileuede amidde is prote 7029.

mouth L (OE mūp, m.) mouth

m. : 3if ich radde him for-ta-bouwen : al-to þe kingus wille/ Min owene Mouth him-sulf demez : al-holi churche to spille 131/876; ich lixni minne owene Mouth 333/353.

mulleston L (OE mylenstān, m.) grindstone

m. : A Mulleston, he scholde al-to-driue : þei he of molten bras were 316/580.
murehðe, muruðe B (OE myr(i)þ, myrð, f.) mirth, joy, delight
f. : per wes swa muchel murehðe/ þat ne mihte heo beon
na mare 218/4; & mid muchelere murehðe ii.196/6
muðes þer custen.

neode B (OE nēod, nfed, f.) need; necessity
f. : þe king ieseh þe neode 406/14; com to here neode
318/15; cumen to hire neode 231/4; Brutus hine
bi-pohte/ Of swlchere neode 29/11.

niht B, niȝt L (OE niht, f.) night
f. : & alle þa niht 340/20 greiðeden his nihtes; þa
com to here nihte 71/21; an are nihtes firste 371/10;
al bi bustere nihte 323/10.

m. : Nes he per buten enne niht 401/13; his mon-scipe
hegen/ deiges and nihtes iii.247/10.

n? : a þet þa bustere niht 418/6 to-dælde heore muchele
fiht; þer weore al þat fiht i-don/ ah þat niht
to raðe com iii.133/14.

L : f? : And nolde fur-ȝite neuere ane niȝt : his lore
forto do 433/77.

nome, name B (OE nama, m.) name

m. : leiden adun bene nama 86/18; he ȝef hire to hire
t'fulne name 86/12; heo scupten heore lauerde/
ennes nome neowe iii.233/9.

norð B (OE norþ, adv. adj.) northern part of the country
n. : Albanac hefde al þat norð 90/19.
noyse L (OF noise, f.) noise, sound

[n.]: gret noyse a-non pare is/Ake men ne heorez it
nou3t a-non : for it is so feor, i-wis 315/546.

offspreng C (OE of-spring, m.) offspring

[m.]: po adam was verst imaked.& his offspreng wax wide.
... Suppe it wax wide aboute-fram londe to londe 202.

ordre L, C (OF ordre, m.) religious order

L : f. : And pei pis ordre were i-maud : i-confermed nas
heo nou3t 59/177; ase buy bi-gunnen first pe ordre
to brigue as pare to ende 60/235.

[m.]: So pat pe ordre of frere prechours : seint Domenic
bi-gan po/ pat hath i-saued wel mani a man : and
3eot it sohal wel mo 280/101.

C :m/f.: Ac pe ordre of greye monekes . was bigonne er.
At Cisteus ar he hider come,nyene & tuenti 3er 9085.

oresun L (OF oreisun, f.) orison, prayer

[n.]: Euereche dai bi custome : he seide pis oresun,
... In a dai he it fur-jat:he hadde so muche to done
437/217.

ost C (OF (h)ost, m. f.) army

m/f.: pe cristine ost smot him out.p0 he time isay 8322.

otur L (OE oter, ottor, m.) otter

m. : An.Otur.pare cam gon/ Bi-twene is forpere fet he
brou3te : a fuyr-Ire ant a ston 237/643.
ouene L (OF ofen, m.) oven, furnace
m/f. : an Ouene he liet hete/ pat heo was al glowinde
fuyr : are buy wolden lete 388/390.

oynement L (OF oignement, m.) ointment
[n.]: "Sire, it is an oynement": peos pilegrimes seden,
"pe guode woman 3eorne us bad : to pe holie churche
it lede 245/186.

palefroy L (OF palefrei, m.) palfrey
[n.]: huy ne mïghten make hire palefroy : pat it ane fote
wolde gon 51/166.
paleis L (OF palais, m.) palace
[n.]: he Axede was pat paleys were:pat so riche was and hei3;
Men seiden him pat it was his ... 54/15.
pallion L (OF pallion, m.) archbishop's pall
[n.]: pis holi Man it a-fonge:with wel mîlde pou3t 115/314.
partie L (OF part, f.) part
f? : Ake ane partie of pe swete croiz...he too 13/403.
peire L (OF pair, m.) pair
m? : Ake euere he hadde ane peire feteres ... 107/20.
penaunce L (OF penance, f.) penance
f. : for-to buy habben to ende i-brought/ penaunce
a-cordinde to heore sunne : and aftur pe preostes
nought/ zif heo is more pane pe sunne : and a man
[§.]: it do, 1-wis/ Al it schal in heouene tuyrne : to
echingue of his blis 421/40.
peni B, L (OE penig, pening, m.) penny

B : m. : ðe king enne peni gette iiii.285/21.

L : m. : and þane peni to him drouʒ 285/251; Icholde ech
man me hadde ane peny i-ʒyue 304/155.

perche L (OF perche, f.) perch, pole

f? : Ane perche he nam, and mat a-boute ... 381/155.

pes C (OF pais, f.) peace

[n.]: & bed vor þe pes of þe lond. þat god it sende god 6817.

place L, C (OF place, f.) place

L : f? : Seint Dunston him bad ane place 20/35; þat man ne
mîȝte finde ane amtie place 207/243.

C :[n.]: A veir place hii chose hom .../ & astored it wel
inou . & hor god puder in bere 418. Cf. per þou
assalt finde an place . god inne to bileue 331.

pleiȝe B (OE plega, m.) game, play; battle

m. : monine serhfulne pleiȝe 97/2...polede ich on folde.

pliht B (OE pliht, m.; cf. OE plihte, f.) harm; damage

m? : ne com ich to þissen londe/ ne for nane plihte 405/6.

pors L (OE purs, f.; cf. OE posa, m.) purse cf. Lat. bursa

m. : he wende and nam up þat pors : and openede him
a-non 62/291.

Port-chestre B (cf. OE ceaster, f.)

f. : þa wes Port-chestre/ burh mid þan bezste/ ah mid
þan wind-reesen/ al heo gunnen to-reosen 394/12.

poynt L (OF point, m.) point

m. : And þiȝte þane poynt a luyte in þe eorpe 256/25.
poison C (OF poison, m.) poison

[n.]: Vor þe poyson in is slep. þe veines so þoru soȝte.
  pat it of eode al þat body. ... 3173.

prison L (OF prison, f.) prison

m. : bane prison for-to wite 460/133.

prute B (OE prýte, prýt, f.) pride

f. : mid baldere prute 357/17.

put L (OE pytt, m.) pit, hole, grave

m. : In þe churche-3erd is þat ilke putt: ... he is
  bi-walled faste a-bote 200/13; bane put he let
  faste closi a-boute 200/10; makede ane put in
  Irlonde 199/1.

[n.]: heo comen and stoden ouer a put: wyd it was and
  deop i-nov3 210/357.

quale-huse B (OE cwalluþhūs, n.) torture house

n?: (ibrout) of bān quale-huse 31/20; heo duden heo
  on quarterne/ in ane quale-huse 160/14.

quartern B (OE cwartern, n.) prison

n?: vt of bōn quarterne 31/19.

ref B (OE rēaf, n.) spoil, booty


reas B (OE rēs, m.) onslaught, attack

m. : moni grimme reas 97/3 bolede ich on folde; et bōn
  frum reßen 369/14.
reuinge B (OE rœafung, f.) plundering
f. : of bere reuinge 112/14.
rauon L (OE hrœfn, m.) raven
m. : bare cam fleo a Rauon : and a-doun bare bi he a-lîzte 188/139.
read B, rede B, L, red B, L, C (OE red, m.) advice
B : m. : & dude þene beste red 132/9; alle heo nomen enne read 89/6; bisne read halde we alle 228/17; þe sunen duden vuelne read 107/19.
L : m. : þat he heom 3af þene red 179/23.
C : m. : þat þeue þam colde red 2775; ne can ich namne red 9121.
rein B (OE reg(e)n, rēn, m.) rain
m. : pa iwerd' hit ân ane time/ þe rein him gon rine ii.405/7; þa þe rein wes agan 166/7.
rente L (OF rente, f.) rent, tax
f? : (he exede) Eche þere ane certeyne rente 117/390.
reste L (OE rest, f.; cf. OF rest, f.) rest, repose
[n.]: For-to habbe sum reste þere : 3if ore louerf it wolde him sende 259/110.
revle L (OF reule, f.) rule
f. : þo þe pope is Revle ise13 : þat heo wes clene and guod 59/198.
[n.]: In is herte he graunteð it 59/200.
riche B, L (OE rice, n.) power; realm, kingdom
B : f. : His moder nom þas riche/and mid rede heo walde 270/16;
riche (cont.)

B: f.: bi-witen pine riche 187/15; uaren of pere riche 386/15; ut of bisere riche 230/22.

n.: he welde bat riche her 165/20; god king i ban rich iii.222/15.

L:[n.]: (come) with pine brepren in mine riche : for it schal euere i-este 416/451.

riche-dom B (OE rice-döm, m.) power, rule; dominion

m.: for ban riche-dom of Rome 255/2; pat ne isæh no mon nauer ær/ mid eorðliche monne her/ half swa hahne richedom ii.607/3.

rihte B, right L (OE riht, n.) right, justice

B: n.: 3if her is æmi cnihht/ pe of Eueline axes riht/

come to mine herede/ & per he hit scal habben 351/5;

bat riht ii.413/13; temest to ban rihten ii.620/19;

mid nane rihte ne mai ich hine for-don 379/16.

f.: buten to bi3iten mine rihte/ & ic heo wulle bi-winnen 405/7-8.

L:[n.]: pis guode Man flev al Engelond:for holli churche ri3te;

Of al is wo ne 3af he nou3t:3if he it a-mendi mi3te 137/1094.

ring B, C, rynng L (OE hring, m.) ring

B: m.: and icc sende pe gretinge/ of mine gold ringe 192/19;

ælc hafde on heonde/ gretnne ring of golde ii.617/21;

and salde him an honde/ mne ring of rede golde iii. 237/17.
ring (cont.)

L: m. : hane ryng he louede wel inou3 : and for pe loue of seint Iohan/ ʒuyt he hine ʒaf pe pouere manne 417/506-7; he ʒaf heosne ryng 417/511; For-to ʒiue pis poere Man : bote ane guylde ryng 417/505.

C: m. : & ben ring isey 7150.

robe L (OF robe, f.) robe

m. : pe Abite of Morek he nam/ And a-boue-al ban clerkene Robe : ase to is stat bi-com 116/324.

roche L (OF roche, f.) rock

m? : (iseigen) One harde roche In pe sa...pare ouer pe se caste i-lome : and ofte he was bar 234/522.

rode B, L, C (OE rōd, f.) rood, cross

B : f. : to vinden ba rode ii.41/5; peo Judeus heo sohten/
& pere quene heo ischtetn ii.41/8-9; pe king nom ane rode ii.504/15.

L : f. : For a rode ich smot a swipe deop wounde : and heo bledde on me pis 17/538; pe rode bar a-non-riʒt a-wei:
and in a deop put hire caste 16/528; And spatten on hure 17/554; po pe rode was pare i-founde : alle pe giwes as nome 17/551. Cf. he 12/392.

C : m. : pe rode hit polede longe. Ac suppe attelaste.
He pulte him mid is vot.& adoun vpriʒt him caste 8635;
& sette is vpe pe rode heued. & sede þat he alone 6596 Was worpe to croune bere.

rof B (OE hrōf, m.) roof; top

m. : pe king feol on þene rof 123/3.
Rome B (OE Rōm, f.) Rome

f.: 3if Rome scal for-lescen/... heore mucheles wurhscipe 404/24; pat mine ælære hire biwunnen 405/1, [hit 337/21].

rop B, L (OE rāp, m.) rope


L: m?: And teiden ane rop a-bote is necke 29/91.

rug B, L (OE hrycg, m.) back, spine, ridge

B: m.: Þat him he rug for-berst 81/12; bræc him bi bon rugge 81/1 feower of his ribben.

L: [n.]: Al i-buyd is þe rug: so þat neiʒ round it is 320/728.

rym-forst L (OE hrīm, m. + forst, m.) rime, hōgarfrost

m.: And paraʃ comez þe Rym-forst: ase pilke Mist deth fleo; he cleouez on hegges al a-bovte: and In þe wodes al-so,

[n.]: On treo, on stones, on bestes al-so:pare it may cleouien to- 317/623-24.

sea B, sea L, se L (OE sæ, m. f.) sea

B: f.: bi Ruscikadan heo nomen þa se 54/23; Leir ferde to bere se 149/1.

L: f.: þe se was brenninde al-a-brod: ase þei heo were a-fuyre 233/485; þe se with-drauth hire twies aday 303/136; þat þe se ire wolde so with-drawe 338/513.

seṭnesse B (OE (ge)sehtnes, f.) agreement, decree

f.: heo makeden ane seṭnesse/ and mid æге heo semde 181/22-23.
sak L (OE sacc, m.) sack, bag  
[OE sēcc, m. 'sacking']
[n.]: A luyte blac sak ase þei it were : þis foules a-mong heom bere/ huy casten it up fram on to opur : ase huy it al-to-drowe and to-tere 437/198.

salt L (OE sealt, salt, n.) salt
n. : it 187/94.

sar B (OE sār, n.) sorrow, pain, grief
n. : & meœn to him mi sar 354/8.

Saturday L (OE Sæter-daeg, m.) Saturday
m. : þare-fore Men schoniez muche : þene satur-day bi-guyynne 312/445.

saule B, soule L (OE sāul, sāwol, f.) soul
B : f. : & for his awne saule/ þat hire þe selre beo 4/8;  
& beden for bere seole ii.113/9; deled for mire saule ii.324/12.
L : f. : Ake þwane a man is on eorþe ded : and is soule beo guod/ heo nath with hire non heuinesse : ... 314/500; heo nome alle þeos holi soule : and bi-fore ore louerd sone/ brouȝten hire with Ioye and blisse ... 172/2304; mine soule ich god bi-take 42/275.

m. : his soule, þo he was ded : to heouene he gan i-wiende 366/55; Mid riȝte þi soule Maister is : and þi bodi is hyne schal beo 93/58.

saume L (OF salme, seause, m.; cf. OE sealm, salm, m.) psalm
m/f. : Of þe sauter þe laste saume : bi-fore þe Euensongus i-wis/ of corsingue and of lûpere men : and of mansingue i-maked heo is 355/341.
sauter L (OE sautier, m.; cf. OE saltere, m.) psalter
m. : po makede he bere bene sauter 9/271.

sōðe B (OE scāp, f.) sheath

scale B (OE scalu, f.) dish, cup
f. : Anna scale he bear an honde 50/19; milo wes i bere
scale 50/21.

sceld B, sseld C (OE scield, m.) shield
B : m. : he was al clane ii. 576/16 of olifantes bane; and
Nennius bene sceld 322/1 (heold); nefde he noht on
his hond/ bute enna luttelne sceld 348/22; Leie a-dun
pin bære scrud/ & binne rede sceld 216/10.
C : [n.]: pat ā emperour ne miste it. out drawe mid al is mayn.
1137.

schep L (OE scāp, n.) sheep
n. : hit 63/321; it 63/322.

schurte L (OE scyrte, f.) skirt, tunic
f. : pis schurte pat is a-boute me : for-brennez me to
grounde/ Drawez hire of for godes loue ... 283/189.

scip B, schip L (OE scip, n.) ship
B : n. : pat scip ii. 579/25; ā he iseh a scip par hit lað 194/6;
& senden ha āe in ane scipe 135/10.
L : n. : hit 37/132; it 232/460; pat schip wende forth bi
him-seolf 37/132.

sclabbe L (13th c.; etym. dub.) slab
m/f? : Ase 31f a man nome ane sclabbe of Ire 315/531.
scome B (OE scamu, f.) shame

m. : ne do pu me neu'e bene scome 214/18; whulcne scom
he him hedefden idon 393/2; For pan weorlde scome 20/3.

scrit C (OF escript, escrit, m.) script, writing

[n.]: & pat scrit dude iwis/ In pe tresorie at westmynstre.
bere it jut is 7663.

soute B (OE scyte, m.) stroke, blow, shot

m. : & bene soute bi-berh 62/16.

seahete B (OE sehte, f.; cf. OE seht, m.) settlement, agreement
f. : mid mocheleere seahete 156/9.

sed L (OE sēd, n.) seed

n. : it 319/702; hit bi-comez to a picke blod : and
chaungez al is bleo 320/713.

sege L (OF sege, siege, m.) seat, throne; siege

m? : On-ouewarde pe tour a-mide al pis : ane sege he
liet a-rere 13/415.

seil-cled B (OE segl, n.m. + clēp, m.) sail-cloth

n? : suilkene wes pat seil-cled 194/7.

seorege, seorwe B (OE sorg, f.) sorrow, grief

f. : & of bare seoreye 171/19; burh hefere seorwe 118/23.

sereuunge B (cf. OE nouns in -ung, f.)

f. : hit wes al isomned/ & (=at?) bere sereuunge 346/15.

sibba B (OE sibb, f.) friendship; peace


[ n.]: Wha swa wulle libba/ alde pes sibba/ & yef o man
hit wille breken 155/21 on ueste it bide iwereken.
sibe-laʒe B (cf. OE lagu, f.) law of affinity
  f. : for bare sibe-laʒe 16/15 luue hem wes bi-tweonen.
side B, L (OE side, f.) side
  B : f. : a bare side he smat Hergal 359/12; & be bi mire
      side 336/18 isund se3e riden; on alchere siden 27/9.
  L : f. : "pou wrechohe", he sede, "pou hast i-rosted : pulke
      one side i-nyou/ Torne hire onward and et hire
      noupe : foriare heo is pare-to" 345/170.
signe L (OF seigne, m.; cf. OE segn, m. n.) sign
  m? : he deth ane signe in pe bodie 322/792.
siht B, si3t L (OE gesieh, gesiht, f.) sight
  B : f. : Bruttes weoren sem/ for swulchere isibde ii.161/2;
      m? : pat nenne siht of londe/ iseom heo ne mahten ii.455/3.
  L :[n.]: mi si3t me was bi-nome...it is me a3ein i-come 341/51.
si3 B (OE sip, m.) time, occasion
  f/ m? : null we pe trukien/ neuer ane siden 186/12.
slep B (OE slead, n.) slade, valley
  n? : (ferde) in to ane muchele slade 366/7.
sleht B (OE sliht, sleaht, m.) slaughter
  m? : swiæ heo was sari/ for sorehfulle ban slehte 170/14.
smul L (not found in OE; m. in Avenbyte of Inwyt) smell
  [n.]: pare cam a-non so swote smul:ase hit fram heouene
      were 15/495.
sond B (OE sand, n.) sand; sea shore
  n. : per ba sea wascæb h sond 6/17; ba scipen biten on
       hat sond 76/9.
sonde B (OF sand, f.) message

f.: he sende sonde he to 264/9; word schepe haue pu/ bire wel-deda/ & hire feire sonde 134/8.

sonenday L (OE sunnan-dag, m.) Sunday

m.: bene sonenday par nas no court i-holde 132/899.

sonen-nyȝht L (OE sunnan-hiht, f.) Saturday night

m.: bene sonen-nyȝht wel tym : his seruise he gan to do 416/453; bene sonen-nyȝht he wakede 479/608.

song L (OE sang, song, m.) song

[n.]: For ȝuyt men it singueth in holie churche 16/508.

souwe L (OE sugu, sou, f.) sow

f.: bo bi-gan be souwe a-non ... To beo ful of schabbe and of buyles ... pat heo orn out al of quiture : and as pat folk i-sai3/ In wrechhede and in sorewe inov : heo deide pane pridde day 62/310-11.

soð B (OE sōp, n.) sooth

[n.]: soð seiðe Membrici' / & alle hit bi-luueden 43/20; fondien bat sope ii.225/7.

speche, speke B (OE spēc, sprēc, f.) speech, language

f.: of hissere speche he wes weor 376/16; mid greǣlicere speche 19/25.

[n.]: Heora ægeine speke Troinisce/ seoðen heo hit cleopeden Brutunise 83/23.

spence L (cf. OF despence, f.)

[n.]: bote ȝat nolde he do for noping : and of no man spence take/ And ȝwane persones it boden him : he it wolde for-sake 440/336.
spear B, L (OE sporc, n.) spear

B: n.: he igrap his sperc stronge/ per he pihte hit o pon londe 277/1; (leide a-dun) and bi sperc longe 216/11.

m.: and nom on his honde/ a sperc imaked of stele/
& bi-walede hine a blode iii.106/17.

L: m?: be Anumperor let nimen eone sperc 179/21.

staff B, staf B, L (OE staf, m.) staff, stick

B: m.: & mid pan stæus to-draf 348/6; Up he lec bene staf iii.189/15.

L: m.: be staf wende into pe marbreston ... / And bo heo was inne deope i-nouz : be guode Man hine liet stonde 75/142; Ane staf he nom op-on is hond : holuz he was with-inne 250/341; pat o 3weol to-brak bene false staf 250/360.

[n.]: Cristofre is staf nam/ And pi3te hit in be grounde a-morewe 274/110.

stone B, ston L (OE stan, m.) stone

B: m.: Up he sette bene stan/ set he per stonded 425/6-7;
Nome him scupte pe king 425/10; and smat in enne muchele stane 98/9; doh a-wai biane stan ii.242/16.

L: m.: be stones arisen op a-zen ... And ech lai in his ri3te stude ... 15/491; be ston pat ich op-on sitte ...
In one weize ich byne fond 235/578; Lisitloker
man may bene hardeste ston : make nesche ase wolle 194/31; With hire blessinge heo turnede to salte :
ane wel grete ston 193/48.

[n.]: in a fenni dich at caste 235/579.
stede B, L (OE stōda, m.) steed, stallion

B : m. : And þat deor up stod/ and reade o þene stede/
and for-bat him þa breste 277/7-8.

L : f. : his cosin nam his stede sone: and hamward he gan wiende
And to is owene bi-hofpe faste ire heold 430/360.

stefne B (OE stefn, f.) voice
f. : pa quað Membrici'/ ludere stefne 40/7; mid ludere
stefne 61/7.

sterre B, steorre L, sterre C (OE steorra, m.) star

B : m. : pa iseþen heo feorre/ ænne selcūde sterre/ he wes
brad he wes muchel/ he wes unimete/ of him comen
leomen ii.325/14-17; isah on þan sterre iii.224/24.

L : f. : And putte forth is hond and wolde hire take : ake
he ne mighte hire nouȝt a-reche 33/121 Ake þe steorre
gan softe to glide forth; þo heo cam ouer pulke
place : heo houede þare æne stounde 33/127; Ane
steorre he fond bi-fore þe dore 33/118.

C : m. : þe tepe þer a sterre. þat comete icluduped is.
At alle halwen tid him assewede.viftene niȝt ywis 8601;
An sterre gret & vair ynow. suipe cler me sey.
O cler leom wipoute mo.þer stod fram him wel pur 3177-8;
þat ech man niȝte wondri. þat sterre iseþ.
þer wende of him a lem.pat toward þe norp drou 11410.

f. : þat þe taylede sterre. men clupeþ mid riȝte.
Vor þer comp fram hire a lem.suipæ cler & briȝte 8603.
stowe B (OE stōw, f.) place
  f.: makian ich wille on þine nome/ mǣren ane stowe 51/24;
  vppen are stouwe 122/23.

stream B, streem B, L (OE strēam, m.) stream
  B: m.: ofer þane saltne streem 261/5; þe leide in ane walle
  streem 121/6.
  L: m.: to hente þane streem of blode 17/558.

strength B (OE streng, m.) string
  m.: & he þene streng up braid 62/9.

strengæ B (OE strengæ, f.) strength
  f.: cuð nu þine strengæa 65/24; mid richere strengæs 33/9.

street, street B (OE strêt, f.) street, road
  f.: He bigon ane strete 205/19; Fosse heo clupeden 205/24;
  and forð rihtes wende/ into Winchestre/ in are brade
  strete ii.336/10.

stroc C (OE*stroc, cf. strica, m.) stroke
  m.: & yut he hente þene stroc 395; Anne stroc he þef him
  4576.

strand B (OE strand, n.) strand, sea-shore
  n.: framward þan strende 401/15; scipen eoden a þat strand
  ii.313/13.

stude B, L, C, stede L, C (OE styde, stede, m.) place
  B: m.: ful neh þan ilke stude 6/18; heo ærærden enne burȝe/
  an enne swiðe feire stude 408/19; & wurdeden þene
  stude ii.298/4.

[n.]: þe stude wes ÆElenge/ nu hatte hit Stan-henge ii.211/23.
stude (cont.)

L : m? : ane derne stude bry fonde 298/63.

C : m. : Vor he let ben stede halwy 3223; & nameliche of
pin vnri3t.ichabbe gret deeyn/ pat pou to be noble
stude of rome.dest mid al bi mayn/ & pat pou nelt
him iknowe.me do pin seruage 3995.

[ n.]: In a stude pat me clupede . staunford brugge po.
Ac nou.me.cluped it bataile brugge . uor pa bataile
pat was po 7295.

stunde, stonde B, stounde L (OE stund, f.) moment, time

B : f. : & pus ane stonde 132/13 hit stod em ilka; in
are lutle stunde 78/10.

L : f? : heo houede pare ane stounde 33/127.

summe L (OF summe, f.) sum of money

f? : After is wille ane summe of panes : i-deld bi-eche
side 117/386.

summer B (OE sumor, m.) summer

m? : touward ban sum'e 382/20.

sunne1 B, sonne L (OE sunne, f.; cf. OE sunna, m.) sun

B : f. : vnder bere sunnen ii.627/24.

m. : Saturnus heo 3iuen setterdei/ bene Sunne heo 3iuen
sonedai ii.158/14.

L : f. : be sonne pat was erore so cler : deork heo is bi-come
145/1377; pat hire li3t habbeth bi-nome 146/1378.

m. : So pat be sonne bi-fore guth:lyyte and luyte, i-wis,
And schyneth on pe hiderore half:on pulke pat ner
him is 313/466.
sunne\(^1\) (cont.)

L: [n.]: 
Ase an Appel þe eorþe is round: so þat euere-mo 

half þe eorþe þe sonne bi-schineth: hov-so it euere go 

311/408.

sunne\(^2\) B, L (OE synn, f.) ain

B: f.:  
Of us naue þu nane sunne ii.108/18; þis ilke wes 

a god kinge/ buten of þere sunne iii.155/1.

L: f.: Forçif me þulke lúbere sunne: i-nelle don as neuereft 

more 44/334.

sweord B, suerd L, C (OE sweord, n.) sword

B: n.: hit 321/21; þat sweord 66/18; Breid he mid swiðeren 

hond/ a sweord muchel & swiðe strong 66/9; (leie 

a-dun ... ) and bi swerd stronge 216/12.

L: n.: it 184/123.

C: n.: it 3616.

n/m?:  for þer nas in al þe world. suerd him ically 1140. 

vor þer non wip him iyonder. þat euere keueri mizte 1141.

sweore, swure B (OE swóora, m.) neck

m.: heo ceorf him þene swure atwa 171/9; and swat (smat) 

hit a þan sweore 277/3.

f.: and mid þan ane he smat/ i þere swere þe cynht ii.535/1.

swikedom B (OE swic-dóm, m.) deceit, treason

m.: of þon swikedome 235/9; þe hyste þene swikedom 

ii.200/13; þesne swikedom to dihten ii.516/14.

swin B (OE swīn, n.) wild boar, swine, pig

n.: þat wilde swin 20/23.
swinc B (OE (ge)swinc, n.) toil, labour; effort
  n.: and þu mi michale swinc 97/17 mid sare for3eldest;
  to polien bat swuc (=swinc) & þ i win ii.102/6.
swipe B (OE swipa, m.; cf. OE swipe, f.) stroke, sweep
  m.: pat of þen ilke sweorde/ enne swipe hefde 326/20;
  Mid þan formeste swipen iii.284/9 her comen preo
  hundred scipen.

table L (OF table, f.) table
  f?: Ane table of Marbre In is hond : þe on bar at-fore
  heom alle 197/112.
taillage L (OF taillage, m.) tribute
  [n.]: A taillage pov taxt fram 3er to 3er : þoru3-out
  al þi londe/ And axest it for a certeine rente... 118/398.
taken B (OE tācēn, n.) token, sign
  n.: þ taken 56/13; & sme u s of þan tacne ii.326/23.
tale¹ B, L (OE talu, f.) tale, story
  B: f.: Efne þere ilke tale iii.52/17 þa cleopede þe kaisere;
  seðon hit seð in þere tale ii.538/17; of þissere
  uncuðe talen ii.229/7.
  L: f.: he bi-gan to telle is tale : þoru3 is owene Mouth
  And are he hadde al i-told : heo was swype selcouth
  109/98.
tale² B (OE (ge)tæl, n.) number
  [cf. itel]
  f?: of lasse scipen þar weoren swa fele/ þat nuste na
  man þe tale 316/1.
Temese B (OE Temes, f.) the Thames

f. : heo turneden to hauene/ inne bere Temese 316/7.

tempest L (OF tempeste, f. (11th c.); tempest, m. (13th c.)tempest
m? : pe tempeste is ful strong ... pat þei pare were þere/
A Mullestone, he scholde al-to-driue ... 316/580.

temple B, L (OE tempel, n.; OF temple, m.) temple

B :[m.] : pe wrse hit hafde to welden 49/3.

f. : Temple heo funden þer ane 48/25; Brutus ferde in to
þere temple 50/15; feire hine leiden/ in are riche
þemple 183/5.

L : f. : Aftur him bulde þe þemple forth:al-pat heo þare were
9/276; "I-seo þe", he sede, "þis þemple alle: ...
Ich hote hire in mine louerdes name : þat heo falle
a-non 407/189; he liet ane þemple of Maumatas : in
þulke stude a-rere 10/327.

téona B (OE téone, f.; cf. OE téona, m.) injury, harm

f. : for nauer mare teonen 186/10 nulle we þe trukien.

tide B, L (OE tíd, f.) time, period

B : f. : Hit ilomp an are tide ii.200/15.

L : f? : Al ane tide of þe daye : we weren in deorkhede 221/37.

tíndende, tíndende B (ON tíndendi, n. pl.) tidings

n. : þa þuhte Þeumderie/ þat tíndende swiðe murie 432/21;
after þen heðene tíndende 17/23 þe wes i þan londe.

time B, L (OE tíma, m.) time

B : m. : þa þe time com 13/14; An þan ilke time 165/23;
Eit wes an ane time 309/2.

L : m? : god wolde a-bide ane guode tyme 175/2409.
tibingue, bibingue L (cf. LOE tidung, f.) tidings
f.? : he seide pat one tibingue to him 6/190; Ana Joyeful
pybique ich eou telle 105/157.

toppe B (OE topp, m.) top, head; lock of hair
m.? : bi bone toppe he hine nom 30/1.

toumbe L, tumbe C (OF tumbe, f.) tomb, tomb-stone
L : f. : For zwane men comen ofte to is toumbe : ase lyzthliche
up huy as bere 52/189.

C :[n.]: In an tumbe suipe hey. pat hii myte hit ver yse 2617.

toungue L (OE tunge, f.) tongue
f. : pi toungue moste bien i-schaueto speche heo is to
freo 465/108.

tourn L (OF torne, f.) turn, trick
m. : he pleyde with pe fallinge tourn : so wel he coupe
hine do 304/176.

treo B, L (OE treow, n.) tree
B : n. : ah he bat treo smat iii.35/3; heo seiden pat he
sculde beon an-hongen/ an one heze treowe 44/7.
L : n. : it 7/204; hit 8/264.

tresor L (OF tresor, m.) treasure
[n.]: Seint Fraunceyns nam pat tresor : po pe opur it for-sok
55/65.

tricherie L (OF tricherie, f.) treachery, deceit
[n.]: And symon Magus-is tricherie : op-on him-sulf it
gan i-wiende 334/368.

Troye B

f. : & ane neowe Troye bar makian 53/12.

[n.]: flesh ut of Troye/ pa Crickes hit bi-wnnan 58/17.
trUAGE C (OF truage, treuage, m.) tribute

m. : pe king of denemarch ber.eche yer wip lawe.

Truage to Engelond.&bigan him to wipdrawe 910.

[n.]: Vow me pincheb mid vnriʒt.hii escheb vs truage.

Vor Iuli cesar hit nom verst.mid strengpe & outrage.
4038.

tun B, toun L, C (OE tun, m.) dwelling, town

B : m. : Arður yef him bene tun iii.114/6.

L : m. : and made bene toun wel bar 297/20.

C : m. : he olupede pen toun iwis/ After his name gloucestre.

as he ʒut ioluped is 1520-21; Ac so ne olupede he him

noʒt . ac pe nieve troye 534; his fon asailed bene
toun 6121.

[n.]: He made pe toun of euerwik.Bat strong is boru alle ping.

After is name ebrau.euerwik oluped it wel 650.

tunne B, tonne L (OE tunne, f.) cask; tub, vat

B : f. : heo makeden ane tunne 259/14 of golde and of ʒimme/

bene king heo duden þer inne.

L : f? : he liet maken ane tonne of bras : for-to berne heom

pare-inne 401/298.

tur B (OE tūr, m.; OF tur, f.) tower, fortress

m. : vp heo hine duden heze/ an ufemeste þan turre 259/19;

to Oðres heon ture 332/24; Gurmunt makede emne tur

i iii.170/15.

f. : pe tur wes muchel and hesh/.../ pe keisere hire yef

nome/ & Oðres heo cleopede 331/23-24; he bigon þer

ane ture 258/13; pe king in þere ture lei 290/21;
tur (cont.)

f. : In are swiðe stronge tur 290/18 heo duden þene king Elidur.

n. : and of castles nes þer na þing/ bute bat tur þe made Belin king 302/8.

Tyre B  - the Tiber

f. : I þere Tyre he eode alond 6/16.

Tywesday L (OE Tiwesdag, m.) Tuesday


bear v. ver.

bechene B (cf. OE þecele, f.) torch

f. : AElc beorn heðe on heonde/ ane ðechene bearninde 345/9.

beode B (OE þod, f.) nation, people

f. : he is icumen to þere þeoden 390/22; Mine þrales i mire þeode 22/2 me suluen þretiað; We scullen of þisse þeode 231/3 cumen to þire neode.

bing B, L (OE þing, n.) thing

B : n. : bat þing 146/22; and duden þer a selcuð þing 291/22.
L : n. : it 231/441.

boresdai L (OE þures-daeg, m.) Thursday

m. : Sone morewe, þene bores-dai: to lincolne he cam 138/1126.

born L (OE þorn, m.) thorn

m? : And seche ane þorn in kovbache ... 353/275.
bought L (OE *gepōht*, m.) thought

[n.]: "Ich wot wel þi bouȝht", ..."pei þou it holde stille"

88/47.

boume L (OE *þūma*, m.) thumb

m.: for mannens þoume strengeast is: þare-fore he hadde
"he strongue". 308/316.

browe B (OE *prǣg*, f.) time

f.: Ne tah hine aȝein ane browe 28/4.

bruppe B (v. Stratmann: ?) passage

f.: ilead to þære bruppe 23/16.

bunre, pondre L (OE *punor*, m.) thunder

m.: þare-fore Men sugges þat wynter-pondre : selde man
schal guod i-seo/ For he ne may neuere come : bote
þat weder onkuynde beo 315/560.

[n.]: ȝe mouwen aṣi, ȝwayne it þundre is : I-meingt of fuyr
in wete/ hov is þat hit a-quellex men ... 316/566.

unneode B (cf. OE *néod*, f.) misfortune, harm

f.: to his aȝre unneode 14/8.

war B (cf. OE *weal*, n.) the slain

n.: þe heo nomen þe þeer (man.sec. war)/ & wel hit biburiede
36/12-13.

venim L (OF *venin*, m.) venom, poison

[n.]: And made heom drinke of þat venym ðiȝt bi-fore is ȝyȝ/ A-non so it ucȝt with-inne hem canþoþe huy gonne deyȝe.
408/218.
**vuel** B (OE *yfel*, n.) evil

n.: *bat* vuel 125/3.

**wei, wai** B, *wei* B, L C, *wey* L, C (OE *weg*, m.) way, road

B: m.: *riden bene* ilke *wei* 242/3; *Ah flih flih binne weid* ii.249/16; *pa bene* *wei* us habbeod for-uaren iii.91/4.

L: m.: *Rigt bane* *wei* pat ore louerd *yeode* 15/472; *I-ne can nanne* *wei* 6/177; An ibore me alne *wey* 479/584.

[n.]: And pe bradore was is *wei*.-so longe forth he eode, *pat it was* so brod *pat* bere *mitese a carte gon for neode* 212/438.

C: m.: *ben* *wey* mid al is poer.azen hom vaste he *nom* 2456.

**wal** B (OE *wal*, n.) slaughter; the slain

n.: *bat* *wal* 175/16; *hamun ferde* zeon *bat* *wal* 395/21.

**wal** B (OE *wela*, m.) wealth

n.: al *bat* *wal* & al *pat* *gold* 346/12 pe wes *zeond al beos* kinges lond.

**werec** B, *weork* L (OE *(ge)weorc*, n.) work

B: n.: *bat* *werec* 333/5.

L: n.: *it* 312/446.

**wal** B, L, C (OE *weall*, m.) wall

B: m.: *Lud king* lette *let* legge *bawe* *wal*/*...*/ pe auere *zet haue0* ilast/ & swa *he* wule *zet* *wel* longe 302/11-14;

ouer *bawe* *wal* heo clumen 402/3.

L: m?: So /longe/ *pat* he i-sai3 *ane* *wal* 213/459.

C: m.: Bigonne to rere *bon* stronge *wal* as it was hom ised. 2184.
wal (cont.)

C: m.: Yrered he was strong ynoiu.as þe stede is þut ysene. 2185.

wapmon-cun B (OE cf. OE cynn, n.) male-kind

   n.: al þ wapmon-cun 22/8.

water B, L, C (OE wæter, n.) water; river

   B: n.: hit 106/1; bæt water 76/3; zend L† wide water 6/7.
   L: n.: it 66/425; þat watur bi-gen to berne a-non: a-þein
       is kuynde, wel faste 246/192.

   m?: For þo þis holie Man to water cam: þat watur him
       with-drouȝ 69/65 And ouer þe broke made ane wei:
       druȝe and clene i-nouȝ.

C: n.: it 637.

wayn L (OE wægn, wēn, m.) carriage, cart

   m.: huy conen and drive þane wayn 39/188.

weder B, L (OE weder, n.) sky; air; weather

   B: n.: þat weder 199/17; Heo ferden mid þon wedere 196/14.
   L: n.: it 441/368.

wel-dede B (OE wel-dæd, f.) good deed

   f.: wæordschepe haue þu/ þere wel-deda 134/7.

welle B, L (OE wielle, f.; cf. OE wiell, wiella, m.) well

   B: f.: irne to þere welle ii.405/12; to bi-witen heor mid
       reþn ii.405/15; & ha welle for-duden ii.408/3.

   m?: buten cald welles stream ii.405/18; six ampullen;

   L: f.: heor is nouȝe wel faire i-heoled:with freo ston, ase
       rizt is 354/326.
weofed $B$ (OE weōfod, n.) altar

$n.$: *bat* weofed 51/4; bi *ban* weofede 51/1.

weolcne $B$ (OE wolcen, wolc, n.) cloud

$f.$: *here* weolcne he wes swīde ni h 122/16; me þuhte *bat* in *here* weolcne iii.14/18; aqueen *ba* weolcne ii.583/18.

weored $B$ (OE werod, n.) multitude, troop

$n?$: þe aht wes on *ben* weorede 184/11; þer he bale funde/vppen aue weorede 110/7 of wflan awedde.

weorld, woruld $B$, world $B$, $L$, $C$ (OE woruld, f.) world

$B$: $f.$: at *here* worldes ende at-stonde 313/13; to *bissere* weorlde longe iii. 190/14.

$n?$: and halde *bat* worlde in his hond 307/18; for *ban*

$m?$: weorlde scome 20/3.

$L$: $m.$: Al *bene* world he made of nou3t 181/29.

$C$: $m.$: *bat* holdep up *ben* world 2429.

west $B$ (OE west, adv. adj.) west

$n.$: Bi-3ende France i *bet* west 52/22; hauese al *bed* west 161/8.

wi-esex $B$ (OE wī-g-esex, f.) battle-axe

$f.$: & igrap of onnes monnes honde/ *ena* wiex swīde stronge 67/3.

wif $B$, wijf $L$ (OE wif, n.) wife, woman

$B$: $n.$: Feour winter he hauede *b* wif 9/14; Madan hire sune nom *a* wif 107/6; & euere he to *ban* wiue loh iii.31/14; me scende of mine wife ii.356/8; mine wiues fader ii.247/4.
wif (cont.)

B : f. : And he hæfde a swiðe god wif/ & he heo lecuede
also his lif 211/10; ðæs hit weoren an eorles wif/
he bi-nom hire al hire æðelen 300/1.
L : f. : For he him hadde is wif bi-nome  & imad hire
don amis 80/103.

wifmon, wimmon B, womman L, C (OE wifmann, m.) womman

B : m? : he funde enne feire wimman 409/16.

f. : & Gudlac ledde forh/ þæ wifmon swiðe feire/ & he
heo bohte swiðe deore 204/19; feier wes þæ wimmon/
& wunaðm hire monen 7/23; he hauede bi þære wimman
271/10 enne swiðe wandliche sune.

L : f. : For fellere þing nis non ase wumman : þware heo
wole to vuele wende 48/38; Neiʒ womman ich habbe
to muche i-beo : i-nelle neiʒ hire come non-more
5/154; Ane womman ... he fond 327/152. Cf. he 47/33.

C : f. : þæ king bad þæ womman to segge sop. & uor no þing lete.
þat heo ne sede in sopneæs. wo þat child bise te 2735.

wilderne B (cf. OE wilddœor, wilddœoren) wilderness

m/n? : he ferde to þan wode/ to þan wilderne 23/8; (wende)
to ane wilderne 366/11; Vther lai inne Wales/ in
anne wilderne ii.325/6.

wile B, swile L (OE hwfl, f.) while

B : f. : þæ wile þæ heo weren ifunde 29/8; Nes Þætus i þon
londe/ bute lutel ane while 15/20; wa wes hire þere
while iii.138/1.
wile (cont.)

L : f. : pis holie Man at-stod ane wyile 64/352; 3wi 3elstov mine wyyle pus 254/504.

wille B, L (OE willa, m.; cf. OE gewill, gewile, n.) will; wish
B : M? : ich pe telle wyile mine will 130/23; pu hauest bine willen iseid iii.272/16; & maken efter bine wyile gric 374/11.
[n.]: 3if mi fæder dude his will/ nulle ich hit naht iwurèn 261/17.
L :[n.]: po heo saȝ gilbertus will : pat it was so guod 111/167.

wind B, L, C, wynd L, C (OE wind, m.) wind
B : m. : pe wind com on weðere/ and pa sæ he wraðede 195/11; leten laden bene wind 57/11.
L : m. : Ake so scharpe he bleuȝ and colde 205/184; ore louerd ane wynd sende 89/71.
C :[m.]: & a wind a sein lukes eue.at londone in pe toun.
So gret it com pat it fulde.moni hous adoun 8585.

win-scence B (cf. OE scenc, m.) wine-draught

winter B, C (OE winter, m.) winter
B : m. : Arður wes i Cornwale/ al bene winter þere iii.510/23.
   n. : al þ winter heo wuneden here 382/17.
C : m. : & bileuede alne winter.to gadere in pis londe 1364.

wise B (OE wise, wis, f.) way, manner
f. : muchel folk þer was of-sclawen/ on moni are wisen 24/16.
wit B (OE gewitt, n.) wit, mind; knowledge
  f. : pa hehte heo an heeste/ mid haere witte 105/23.

wode B, L (OE wudu, m.) wood
  B : m. : bi-heold he bene wode hu he bleou 85/18; bene wude al bileien/ an an are hine feolden ii.446/3;
  druuen heom in to enne hwyne wude 426/15.
  L : m? : Fair wode pare was pulke tyme : ake noupe heo is al a-doune 48/43.

wode-lond B (OE wudu-land, n.) woodland

wode-rime B (OE wudu-rima, m.) border of a forest

wodnes-niht L (OE Wōdnes-niht, f.) Tuesday night
  m. : his wei bene wodnes-niht : out of þe toune he nam 138/1125.

wone L (OE (ge)wuna, m.) custom, habit
  m? : eche 3ere hadden ane wone 198/9.

word B, L (OE word, n.) word
  B : n. : hit 355/2; p word 8/4.
  L : n. : it 122/541.

worm L, C (OE wyrm, m.) worm; dragon
  L f m. : ȝuyt he may here in þe grounde : ane luttle worm
  worm i-seo 407/162; þis worm turnede a-zen a-non :
  ase þis holie Man him het 452/124.

m/n. : Anon hadde þis lupere worm : is pouer al ilore,
  [n.]: pat hit ne mïghte ane fot forpere passe 39/179-180.
worm (cont.)

C: m. : Ac after hom per saal arise. a worm of germane.
   & pe se wolf him saal bringe vp ... 2811.

woz B, wo L (OE woh, n.) wrong

B : n? : pe stonded o ben woz 177/5.

L : n. : Ake al pe wo dat he isai3 er: azein pat nouzt it
   nas 211/378.

wrestling B (OE wreslung, f.) wrestling

f. : at bere wrastlinge 79/19.

wrench L (OE wrenc, m.) artifice, trick

m? : pare-fore heo pouzte aze feolle wrench : of wommanes
   kuynde lore 324/57.

wreðde B (OE wræppo, f.) wrath, anger

f. : Mid bere wreðde he wes isweued 130/16; mid muchelere
   wreðde 61/19.

writ B, L (OE writ, n.) letter, writing

B : n. : hit 21/16; b wriht 20/1; he letten writen a writ
   133/20; Cesar ise hia writ 315/5.

L : n. : it 269/301.

wulf B, wolf L (OE wulf, m.) wolf

B : m. : swa pe rimie wulf/ pane he wule on scheapen 66/6;
   hu heo mouwen Baldulf/ slem al se enne wulf ii.427/7.

L : m. : A wolf cam also puder-wards is mete for-to fette,
   And wolde of pat bodi nime:pe Rauon a-zein him sette,
   189/145-46; pat pe wolf atpen ende/ ... azen hamward
   he gan wende 189/148.
wunde B, wounde L, C (OE wund, f.) wound

B : f. : & ne 3efue him none wunde 367/2.

L : f. : 3uyt is pe wounde in pe prote i-sene : ane euere heo wole so 17/544 ; And handlede as and Perinne pulte i is finguer opur is pombe 376/8.

C : f? : & yaf him ane wounde 373.

wunder B (OE wundor, n.) wonder


m. : he dude per muchelne wundre 320/4.

wurðasceipe, wurhsceipe B (OE weorþasceipe, m.) worship, honour

m. : her to biwinne/ wurðasceipe minne 403/5; i penched bene wurðasceipe iii.396/8.

f. : pe ba muchele wurðasceipe uden him 345/21; for bare muchele wurðasceipe 357/22; mid muchelere wurhschipe 210/19; in wurðasceipe hire ii.520/1; & bine wurhschipe halden ii.133/7.

yle L (OF isle, f.) isle

f? : po huy yseiz/n fer fram aheom : ane yle ase pei it were 226/249.

ymage L, C (OF image, f.) picture

L : f. : An ymage, briȝt and sohene/ Ouə-guld and quoynte i-nov/ and sette as a-mide be cite 96/159; Pat ech man hire honouri schal 96/160.

m? : to þane ymage he wende a-non : ase he bi pe walle stod 253/452.
ymage (cont.)

C :f/m?: Him po3te be ymage in is slep.tolde him is chance.

Brut he sede passe vorp.al bi3onde france 329.

Yrlonde C (OE Ir(a)land, n.) Ireland

m. : Yrlonde is alre yle best . wipoute engelonde.

be se gep al abote him ek 998; More he is pan engelond . & in be souphalf he is 999.

ys L (OE Is, n.) ice

n. : hit 424/132.
Appendix I
A survey of forms recorded in Lazamon's Brut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>he, heo, e, hes, (pe)</td>
<td>heo, he, ho</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hine, hin, hie, hine, hire</td>
<td>heo, hoe, ha, hire, (pe)</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>his, hiis, is, hes, hus</td>
<td>hire, hira, ire, hire, heore, hir, her, hires</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>him, hi, ha, hin, im, hine</td>
<td>hire, heore, here, hir'</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pe, pa, pes, (pon), [pat]</td>
<td>pa, pe, pes, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, p, bet, p, pe, pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>bene, pane, peone, [pat]</td>
<td>pa, pe, pes, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, p, bet, pes, pa, pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pes, peos, bis, pes, pas</td>
<td>bere, bare, bere, pe, pa</td>
<td>pes, peos, era, bis, pus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ban, pon, ben, pean, [pat]</td>
<td>bere, bare, bere, pe, pa</td>
<td>ban, pon, ben, pe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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</thead>
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<td>a, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>enne, enne, anne, ene, an</td>
<td>enne, ene, ana, enne, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>anes, onnes, emnes, enes, an</td>
<td>are, hare, (ane)</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ane, âne</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
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A survey of forms in the Brut (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pas, pas, bis, peos,</td>
<td>peos, pas, bes, pis</td>
<td>bis, peos,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>bes, pas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>peene, pisene, busne,</td>
<td>pas, peos, bes</td>
<td>bis, pas, bes,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peene</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>peos, bisse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pisses, pisse</td>
<td>pissere, pessere,</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pisses</td>
<td>pisse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pisse, pissi,</td>
<td>pissere, pisse(n)</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pissen, hissen</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mine, minne, mine,</td>
<td>mine, mie, min,</td>
<td>mi, min, pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mi, mine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>mines, mi</td>
<td>mire</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>mire</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
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1. The forms given in this survey are those of the singular occurring in non-prepositional use. They are given in order of frequency; the rare or doubtful forms are bracketed.
A survey of forms recorded in the Legendary

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<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>he, heo, heej; pse</td>
<td>heo, he</td>
<td>(h)it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>him, hine, hyne, hom</td>
<td>hire, hure; as</td>
<td>(h)it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>(h)is</td>
<td>hire, hore, hure, ire</td>
<td>(his)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>v. gagf.</td>
<td>(him)</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pe, po, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
<td>pat, pet, but; pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pane, pene, pen; pannes; pe; [pat]</td>
<td>pe, peo</td>
<td>v. nsgn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pe; pen; pane</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe; pen</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite article</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Nominative</td>
<td>a, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ane, a; anne</td>
<td>a, an, ane</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>a, an, ane</td>
<td>a, an, ane</td>
<td>a, an</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative pronoun</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>pis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pese, pisne, puse, pesne</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>puse</td>
<td>puse</td>
<td>puse</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mine, minne</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive/Dative</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>mine</td>
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A survey of forms recorded in the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester

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<tr>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>he, a, (here)</td>
<td>heo, he; 30, 3e; sso, sse</td>
<td>(h)it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>him, im, hin, in</td>
<td>(h)ir(e); is</td>
<td>(h)it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>(h)is</td>
<td>(h)ir(e), here</td>
<td>(is)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>(h)im, hum, hin</td>
<td>(h)ir(e), her</td>
<td>(him)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite article</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pe, [pat]</td>
<td>pe, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, pet, pet, pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pe, pe, pen, pun, pan, panpe</td>
<td>pe, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, pet, pet, pe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pe, (pen)</td>
<td>pe, (pen)</td>
<td>pe, (pen)</td>
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<th>Accusative</th>
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<td>Accusative</td>
<td>(anne)</td>
<td>(ane)</td>
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<th>Accusative</th>
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<td>pise, pisse</td>
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<td>(minne)</td>
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### Masculine Nouns in the Brut

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<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
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<td>m.</td>
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1. -ne being the characteristic asgm. ending of the definite article (bene), indefinite article (enne), demonstrative pronoun (bene), possessive pronoun (minne) as well as of the strong adjective.
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1. *Te* being the characteristic *g/dsgf.* ending of the definite article (*bere*), indefinite article (*are*), demonstrative pronoun (*hissere*), possessive pronoun (*mire*) as well as of the strong adjective.
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Neuter nouns in the Brut

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1. asgn. bis.

2. asgn.
### Masculine or neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the dsâm/n.)

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### Neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. an, mi)

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### Feminine nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. ba, ane, mine)

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Masculine nouns in the Legendary

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1. i.e. bene, anne, namne, minne, binne or bisne.
2. him is the most frequent asgm. form; hine occurs only occasionally.
3. heo is only a variant of he in these instances; cf. the gag. is.
4. him is a dative here.
5. The evidence of he is corroborated by the gag. is.
### Feminine nouns in the Legendary

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### Masculine or feminine nouns in the Legendary (evidence of the asg.)

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### Notes
- OE: Old English
- heo: he or his
- hire: her or hers
- as: an or its
- f.n.: feminine noun
- f.m.: feminine noun
- m.: masculine
- n.: neuter
### Nouns referred to by (h)it in the Legendary

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*Note: Some OE terms are marked with疑, which is not transcribed.*

*Anlenesesse*  
*blessingue*  
*coppe* f.  
*eorpe* f.  
*georde* f.  
*heouene* f.  
*lesingue* f.  
*lightingue*  
*love* f.  
*mansingue*  
*rest* f.  
*siht* f.  
*sonne* f.  
*childingue* f?  
*leitunge* f?
### Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

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### Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

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### Nouns referred to by *hit* in the Chronicle

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<td>water</td>
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---

1. asgm.
2. asgm.
3. him is in the dative here.
4. godehele, wrotherhele.
5. asgm.
### Nouns of Old French Origin

#### Masculine nouns in the Brut

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<th>Noun</th>
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<th>hine</th>
<th>noun</th>
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<td>flum m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mahum m.</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ginne m.</td>
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<td>lac m.</td>
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#### Feminine nouns in the Brut

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<td>tunne f.</td>
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<td>tur f.</td>
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#### Masculine nouns in the Legendary

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<td></td>
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<td>(cf. asg. ins)</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>(cf. dag. pane)</td>
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#### Feminine nouns in the Legendary

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<td>rente f.</td>
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<td>yle f.</td>
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Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

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Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

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Nouns referred to by hit in the Legendary

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Nouns referred to by hit in the Chronicle

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<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>croiz</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>place</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrit</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>feste</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>tumbe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truage</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>grace</td>
<td>f.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Nouns of Old Norse Origin

### Masculine Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>ON</th>
<th>Bane</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>Hine</th>
<th>Asg. Ane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>bole</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>ON</th>
<th>Heo</th>
<th>Hire</th>
<th>Is</th>
<th>Asg. Ane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>crune</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>crune</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>crune</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Neuter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>ON</th>
<th>Þat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>tiðende</td>
<td>n.pl.</td>
<td>+ (cf. dsg. þen)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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