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

DRAGINJA PERVAZ

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English Language
University of Edinburgh
March, 1958
BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality
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
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all who have so willingly given me their aid in the writing of this thesis. Particularly I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Angus McIntosh for his thoughtful consideration, guidance, and the many recommendations he made during the making of this thesis in all its stages, and to Mr. M. L. Samuels for his valuable criticism.

I would also like to express my gratitude to an anonymous benefactor, as well as to the British Council, the Serbian Minister's Fund and the University of Belgrade, without whose financial help this work could not have been undertaken.

My thanks are also due to the staff of Edinburgh University Library and to friends here and in Jugoslaviya, for encouragement when it was needed most.

University of Edinburgh, D.P.
March 6, 1958.
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:

Laȝamona 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 (32341 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 -a; 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 'referential' 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), pre (pe) as distinct from the "neutral" he 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 inanimate, 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 *she* respectively.¹

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.² 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 adjectivally 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 Classen³ 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 *she* 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 be or a form ba and less frequently the form bat (variously spelt), which is the only form in both the Legendary and the Chronicle.
The second part is devoted to an examination of OF, 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; Ausbütel\(^3\) 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,

---

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). Ausbützel 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. ben 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 Ausbützel. 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, 178/16, 181/22, 183/18, 188/19, 194/19, 271/20, 21, 322/6, 328/21, 383/12 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: eoru1 swas on herten 147/3. Diehn2 cites a passage (11.104/20) 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.
hev wes and riche
& he wes readeful.

In 284/21 he occurs instead of he.

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

The regular form is heo as in 7/11. Once it appears as ho: ho ibe 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 'burch', 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 æ 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 æm is feminine, we must read heo for he in: and þa æm he wraédæ 195/11 or else substitute iwræđæ for he wraédæ. But he here refers to wind from the preceding line rather than to æm.


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':

\[
\text{Urrian heshte pat childes}
\]
\[
\text{pe iword pisse leodes king.}
\]
\[
\text{a 3er he leouede.}
\]

In 66/11, 15 he refers to beorn, 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 Lāroman A is still hine as in 4/4. Occasionally different spellings are also to be found, such as: hin : 287/24, hin : 31/21, hie : 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 ware sce him droh 5/13.

There are two other examples of the same kind: a droh him rites nore 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-penohen' 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: 'bipenchen ... wird in A und B mit dem Akkusativ konstruiert ... In v. 30575 scheint B die Konstruktion zu vermischen; A ofte he hine biöohte; B Brian him bipohte ... während die bei Layamon A so beliebte Phrase: he hine bipohte, 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 Layamon 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) \( \text{þat if he } \text{him wolde leobien} \) (Gudlao) 203/19
   of laðe his benden

d) \( \text{þe oðer wolde him habben dæd} \) (Euelin) 348/17

e) \& nom erendrace godne
   & sende him to Óðres 354/14

f) \& swihtnien \text{him wid} Cesare (king) 377/3

g) \( \text{þe while } \text{þe ich mai him frecien} \) (Cassibelaune) 379/19.

In: he his kinehelm on-feng/ and sette \text{hi} on his
broðer hefd 288/18, \text{hi} probably stands for \text{him}, though it
could possibly stand for \text{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**:
' \( \text{he þe þe} \) neæd pe forð riht', where the B text reads: \( \text{he wole} \)
\( \text{þe hire zifue forþ riht} \).

Of originally dative forms used as accusative, I have
noted only one example: and **nemned heo after 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 **hre** for hærne god'.
The correct reading of A is: men heold **heo** for hærne godd
(49/15).
Genitive singular masculine and neuter.

Both for masculine and neuter, the regular form is his as in 1/12. It is spelt hīs in 128/7, 132/21 and 137/9; is in 130/6; hes in 125/15; hūs 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: hīre 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 hım 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. Dishn\(^1\) lists also hin in ii.50/1, as well as im, which is in fact part of the reflexive pronoun used after a preposition: vorō mid im seoluen 415/4. The accusative form hīne is once used with the verb sāiden (63/4),

\(^1\) op. cit. p. 49.
which in Laganon regularly governs the dative of person.

Another¹ accusative form occurs in:

\[
\text{and } \text{hus } \text{ælkene } \text{forme gult}
\]
\[
\text{be } \text{king } \text{suf } \text{hine } \text{for-}3\text{ef }182/14²
\]

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 nsgm. has the following forms, given in order of frequency: be : 6/20 etc. (423 times); ba : 75/1 etc. (14); bon : 262/17, 349/18, 382/10; bon : 234/2, 380/17.⁶

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

\[
\begin{align*}
of \text{ alle } \text{peo } \text{londe} \\
\text{bon } \text{keiser } \text{hefde an honde }234/2
\end{align*}
\]

¹ Diehm makes no reference to either of these two examples.
² Read sulf.
³ Cf. His forgeafon þæm Cæsere þa fæhte þe his meg hefde wið his ēr geworht, and he forgeaf him þu unryht and þ facn þ hi him don pohton ... Ors. 6, 4. S. 258, 27-29 (cited by Bosworth-Toller), s. v. forgeafan.
⁵ For a general discussion on the personal pronouns as criteria for gender, see p. 32 ff.
⁶ For occurrences of bat 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:

\[
\text{for } \text{pa hefde swiðe muchel care}
\]
\[
\text{Juli' } \text{pon keiserere 380/17.}
\]

The explanation may be similar as above, or perhaps \text{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:

\[
\text{pa longede swiðe}
\]
\[
\text{Luces pon kinge 431/23.}
\]

for the verb \text{longen} governs the dative in Layamon.\(^3\)

---


2. It is doubtful whether we can take these two cases of \text{bon} in the nsgm. as mistakes for \text{ha}, as suggested by Hoffmann (\textit{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 (\text{pan kaiser hefde an honde}) and he makes no mention of the other.

3. Cf. Funke, \textit{op. cit.} p. 11: 'Das verb \text{longen}, AE. \text{langian} fordert im Altenglischen Akkusativrektion. Layamon konstruiert mit Dativ: \text{pa longede swiðe Luces pon kinge 10125 (B. } \text{pan}); me longed 18721; \text{pa ifunde Merlin under ane treo standen and sare 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 incorrectness of the statement about the form \text{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 ba as in 6/17 etc. (56 times); then comes be as in 4/11 etc. (26); the form bo occurs six times: 12/13, 21, 13/2, 160/17. The form 171/7 and 268/21; be is recorded in 418/19.

Nominative singular neuter.

The prevalent form is bat as in 13/21 etc.; then comes b as in 8/4 etc.; bat: 76/3 etc.; bat appears only once: 335/5 and so does b: 7/20; be and 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 be with feminine nouns as irregularities, since - commenting on be burh in 86/8 - he says: 'Here and in several other instances be is used before a feminine noun'; see vol. iii, p. 455.

2. Here beo by the first hand was substituted for be by the second (Madden). On the form beo see Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 9. It should be pointed out, however, that although this form of the definite article is found only with feminine nouns, 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 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 ba. Hoffmann omits b.
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 *he* in such circumstances by the following line: *pe child wes iboren isund (B: pe) 13/18.* Apart from this, *he* or *ha* appear also with other nouns which are firmly established as neuter on other criteria. Such are:

*deor:* *bat pe deor feol abac (B hit) 277/4.* The use of *he* 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. *sword* below.

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

---

¹ For a possible evidence of a similar tendency in the aegn. 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 *bat 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.

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

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

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

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) pa tidind com to Corineum 59/1
b) pa come ðe tidinde 159/1
c) Seoðe him comen ðæ tidinde 391/17

Once, however, it is preceded by þæ:

þæ þuhte Eleúðerie
þæ tidinde swiðe ælie (B þeos) 432/21

wriht: meaning 'letter', is otherwise always treated as
neuter. It is used with þe only once: al swa þe
wriht þæ sæid 21/8, where B reads: al so þæ writ
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
be(a)rn in Laȝamon represents both OE bærn, 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 13/21. 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.\(^1\) Examples are:

**A. OE masculines:**

**hired:** Ford ò-wned ñ-ah hired 262/16 and; ñ-ah answaré ñ  
 hired 330/20. If there had been a change in gender,  
it might have been brought about by association  
with the neuter noun folc.

**seil-cloá:** sulken wes ñ-ah seil-cloá 194/7. The use of ñ-ah  
in this case may be due to the neuter gender of  
OE sel, n. n., whereas a masculine gender cor-
responding to that of OE sel would be expected.  
Cf. vifmon below.

**tur:** and of castles ner ñer na þing/ bute ñ-ah tur ñ  
makede Belin king 302/6. This noun was masculine  
in OE, but in Layamon is mostly feminine under  
the influence of OF tur, f.

**vifmon:** Ouer soh seiden ñ-ah ñunze vifmon 147]16. The  
reason here may be similar to that suggested for  
seil-cloá above, or ñ-ah is perhaps due to an  
association with the neuter mäiden. The noun  
is usually feminine in Layamon.

**wel:** al ñ-ah wel & al ñ-ah gold 346/12. ñ-ah is used  
here probably under the influence of ñ-ah gold  
in the same line.

---

1. See also the section on changes in gender, pp. 182-83.
B. OE femininess:

ferde: yervo 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 folk. The noun is still normally treated as feminine.

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

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

Accusative singular masculine.

Forms: bane: 9/11 etc. (81 times); bane: 196/6 etc. (10); bane: 205/5, 208/12, 283/3; bane: 379/3, 425/6; bene: 134/5; bonne: 188/19; bonne: 196/4; bene: 242/3;

1. Cf. yeond 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 bane, then bene, bene, bane and bene. 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 bene; neither does Madden give it with other asgm. forms of the definite article in his Glossary).

4. Diehn, op. cit. p. 66, also cites bene in: bi bene 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 bane as the asgm. in 19/3 (wide yend bene londe) is wrong, since it is used with a noun which all other evidence shows clearly to be neuter.
Except for & grete we þen alde king 7/3 and þen oder dai heo comen liden 48/3 (in both of which the omission of the final -e in the article may be due to the following vowel), no other occurrences of an asgm. form without -e seem to appear in volume one. Hoffmann gives some more examples from volumes two and three; one of these, however, is erroneous since it is a dative after the preposition to.

Accusative singular feminine

Forms: ha : 54/23 etc. (54 times); he : 14/21 etc. (25); hea : 196/19, 21. 303/1. 399/18; pea : 86/1; heo : 364/5.

1. Both Diehn and Hoffmann have missed the example of he as the asgm. in 38/21 (geue us he be king & al his gold). The example in 338/11 (& awalde we þe keisere) 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 bat with historically masculine nouns in the accusative singular, see p. 27.

3. Cf. pane pridde dai hii come 48/3 in B.

4. op. cit. p. 12.

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

Forms: bat: 28/6; be: 17/17; bet: 7/26; bed: 161/8; 
be: 159/10; 332/21; 367/10; be: 312/4; 316/1; 
be: 128/8.¹

There is no question of a possible change in gender in the first two examples of be and the second of be, as they are used with lond (159/10); lond-gwael (332/21); and tale (316/1). All these nouns are well established as neuter in Laȝamon on other evidence. Of be-reft 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 reft and erende were neuter in OE and that all these examples suggest a spread of nsgm. and n/asgl. forms into the asgn.²

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 þan anlicnes 50/1. The noun was feminine in OE, but on this and other evidence appears to have become neuter.³

¹ We should perhaps add the following to the examples of bat: ancoþ þa heluen dale 302/19. It is impossible, however, to decide whether the noun dale as it appears here originates from the OE ðael, m. or the OE geðæl, n. Because of the un-nation 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 (þea pridde del of mine londe), although the absence of -n in the adjective might suggest the neuter as original gender of the noun.

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

³ See p. 181.
clearscipes pa setten heo biscopes
pan folken to dihten.
per ouer archebiscopes
pat clearscipe to rihten 435/7 (B pane)

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

hauen: pat hauen of Douere he hauede inumen 316/19. The
noun is otherwise feminine; cf. and ha hauene at
Doure hafde inomen 365/12; Brutus i bare hauene
lei 60/5.

Regaus: Scal habbe Regau p scone 131/18. This, of course,
may just be a mistake,1 but no doubt due to asso-
ciation with the neuter maiden.

winter: al po winter heo wuneden here 382/17 (B pon); al
pat winter wuneden here 425/21 (B pat). The old
masculine gender is kept in: Ardur wes i Cornwale/
al bene winter pere 111.510/23.

worldes and halde pat worlde in his bond 307/18; the noun
is normally treated as feminine in Layamon; cf.
at dere worldes ende 313/13, unless the genitive
in -es in this line and in: for pan weorldes scome
20/3 is the sign of a change in gender.

These examples cannot lightly be dismissed as mere scribal mistakes for ba, 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, ba being an asgf. form, and leave the use of bat instead of bane with masculine nouns unexplained. A certain amount of confusion of gender must be allowed for; this may be in evidence in the case of olearscre, where the original (as we infer from the B reading) probably had the masculine bane. 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 bat forms as being in some way connected with the asgf. form bas of the demonstrative pronoun. Rather than being scribal errors for bas, they may well be early examples of the use of the form bat of the demonstrative pronoun for all genders. Further evidence for

1. P. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 54-55.
2. Cf. and halde bat worlds in his bond/ Ah he ne mithe hit don/ al bas worlds under fote 307/18-20 (Madden:under-fon?).
3. 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 bat being extended from its original nsgn. function to other genders and numbers. They are: bat delden bat broærän 161/5 al pis drittliche lond; whet bat scipen weren 264/7. T. Holtveit 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 that for those see also OED.
this is found in the use of the definite article after prepositions.  

A different problem is presented by:

Ful soue yere
mid þon kinge he wunede þere.
þat kíng he hauede iguemed
& al swa þere quene. 169/8-11

Madden² and Hoffmann³ take this as another example of þat used instead of þan, since they claim that iguemed 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 Funke⁴ who gives the following examples:

a) for he nas þeo noht iguemed A 130/5⁵

b) þe we beon iguemed 40/17.⁶

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

þat (Relat.) kíng he hauede iguemed.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 nas noht iguemed 3063 A.B. The correct reading of A is given above; the B text reads: 'or he nas noht icw...'. 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 \textit{bat} could then take up the sense of \textit{pon kinge}, i.e. that king (just mentioned).\footnote{1}

\textbf{Genitive singular masculine and neuter.}

The most common form for both genders is \textit{ben}; e.g. 15/8 (m.), 10/3 (n.); \textit{pros} : 189/1, 206/15, 18, 346/2, 13. 422/4 with masculines; 156/3, 207/22. 323/3 with neuters; \textit{bie} : 41/15, 285/7, 304/15 (m.); 315/15 (n.). In addition: \textit{bna} : 35/4, 259/11, 397/1 and \textit{bna} : 31/6, 34/14 are recorded; all these cases, as it happens, are masculine. For the neuter, \textit{bna} occurs in 53/16. Diehn\footnote{2} lists this as a genitive, though Madden\footnote{3} took it to be a mistake for \textit{bas}. The line reads:

\begin{center}
& scol pin mere kun
welden \textit{bna} londes (B: wel \textit{pat} lond witie).
\end{center}

The OE \textit{wealdan} could, according to Delbrück,\footnote{4} be followed by the accusative, dative or genitive; according to Funke,\footnote{5} it

\footnote{1}{It is possible that \textit{bat} may have here the quite different meaning of \textit{so that} or \textit{until}. It is used in La3amon in both these senses; e.g. \& \textit{resden to \textit{pan} castle/ \textit{bat} com to \textit{pere nihte/ \textit{bat} langre heo ne mihte 71/20-22}. In that case, the definite article before the noun 'king' must have been lost, and we should read: \textit{bat \textit{pan} king ...}}

\footnote{2}{\textit{op. cit.} p. 65.}

\footnote{3}{See vol. iii, p. 450. He says that it does not appear, from numerous other passages, that \textit{welden} 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 - \textit{londes} is accusative plural: \textit{welden \textit{bna} londes (iii.297/1)}.}

\footnote{4}{Delbrück, B. \textit{Syncretismus. Ein Beitrag zur Germanischen Kulturlehre.} Strassburg, 1907, p. 112.}

\footnote{5}{\textit{op. cit.} p. 14.}
could also be used with a preposition. The reading of the
B text suggests that the phrase bus londe 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 *here* as in 15/7 etc.; *here* : 7/10 etc.; *here* occurs twice in
the genitive : 79/10 and 309/6; *her* is recorded only once :
71/17. Diehn\(^1\) also lists *her* in 104/20, which is used after
a preposition (of pon kinge & of her quene).\(^2\)

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

The common form of the dative singular for both
genders is *hen* : 15/24 etc.; *hon* : 207/5 etc.; *hen* : 69/15 etc.;
for the masculine we also have *hun* : 395/9, 408/24; *beon* :
373/10; *hā* : 340/19;\(^3\) *hē* : 312/22; *bone* : 115/8; *bene* : 66/22;\(^4\)
for the neuter *hē* occurs in 166/15.

---

2. The uninflected forms are dealt with in the section on
   prepositions; see pp. 95-96.
3. The use of *hā* in: he droh in ane bælu & too hā herberwe
   340/19 (B: took to herberwe) 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 *hā* is a mistake for
   *hā*, provided the verb hero 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. Hoffmann\(^1\) lists both:

a) leuest þone kinge (B: leuest þan kinge) 115/8

b) wa wrde auer þene smid (B: wo worpe þe smip) 66/22.

He also lists: wa wes þone unstronge 172/14 and: þene keiserere 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hine</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>þene</td>
<td>þa</td>
<td>þat(^3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

1. *op. cit.* p. 11.
2. See p. 90.
3. Sub-variety within any one gender (e.g. asgf. þa, he, him, þea, heo) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{his} & : \text{hie} & \text{him} & : \text{hie} \\
\text{hes} & : \text{here} & \text{han} & : \text{here}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he} & , \text{heo} : \text{hit} \\
\text{he} & , \text{ha} : \text{hat}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( \text{he} \), which is otherwise to be regarded as specifically accusative singular feminine. Similarly, \( \text{hat} \) 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. \( \text{hin} : \text{hem} \) etc. and the dsg. \( \text{him} : \text{han} \) 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 eotand 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: anne : 9/8 etc. (54 times); anne : 9/21 etc. (11); anne : 5/8 etc. (8); see : 149/8. 276/5. 395/7; see : 165/17. 268/21; see : 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 anne; b) the result...

---

1. Other examples are: Achalon heihte an flum 24/3; swilc hit an leon weora 62/18; þ wes an leodisc king 91/5; þat an much-el erne spec 120/6; swa me is þin an lume 127/23; sulch hit an liun were 174/13; þa com an gume erne 364/14; þer is iboren an luttel child 389/8; an swiðe selcud gumme 411/16; an king þe hehte 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. 1, p. xlii) 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\textsuperscript{1} suggests, the influence
of the definite article \textit{bane}.

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

\textbf{a)} Brutus him swar an \textit{e} 30/21
\textbf{b)} to \textit{3ifuen us an ende} 266/3
\textit{i pine kine-londe}.

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

\textbf{Accusative singular feminine.}

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

The five occurrences in this function of \textit{enne} and
\textit{anne}, otherwise associated with the aegm., weaken the evidence
of these two forms for masculine gender. Of the above examples,
\textit{enne feira winman} in 409/16 may be a survival of the OE form,

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{op. cit.} p. 13.

\textsuperscript{2} Another example is to be found in: \textit{ana dala} of his londa
83/14, which suggests a change in gender of the noun \textit{dala}
from neuter to feminine.
the noun having been masculine in gender in OE, though it is feminine elsewhere in Layamon; 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:

\textit{Nefde 3e ba enne fader}
\textit{and beie enne moder.}

Examples with burh are somewhat more difficult to explain, since this noun, though normally feminine, sometimes appears to be masculine.\textsuperscript{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:

\textit{& anne burh makede.}
\textit{he heo makeda ædele.}

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

\textit{heo arm ronden enne bur3a 408/18}

since the noun is preceded by the asgf. form \textit{pa} of the definite article in: \textit{pa burh ysf Armiragus 408/23}. All that can be said about fifth example:

\textit{Nes he per 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: \textit{he aras to \textit{han} mid-nihte 324/3}.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. he ferden to \textit{han} burzen 263/5; \& well hine wusten 416/12.
\textsuperscript{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-,\(^1\) together with the fact that the same thing happens in the case of the indefinite article,\(^2\) 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 (boo; he hom on Latin 2/21; an oðer stret he makede swide hendi 206/5; gæderede an oðer (uerde) 394/22.\(^3\) Once it precedes a consonant: ealch of heom an stunde 296/15 wes king in pissen londe.\(^4\)

**Accusative singular neuter.** v. **Nominative singular.**

**Genitive singular masculine and neuter.**

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

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

2. Cf. the asgm/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 hahges 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, Æne is used once, together with moni: & moni-æne he dude acombe 322/21.

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

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

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; ne : 298/5; no : 149/4; nan : 85/4;
na : 354/24; nane : 152/22.


angn. : na : 144/7.

gsg/m.n. : nanne : 427/22.
g/dsgf. : ?nare.
dsg/m.n. : ?nane; nanne : 152/9.
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

Diehn\(^1\) lists also heos: 11.399/3 and heas: iii.297/6.

It appears that the form heas < OE hea 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.\(^2\)

Nominative singular feminine.

Forms: heos: 12/8 etc.; heas: 87/18 etc.; heas: 302/9. A few examples of heis have been noted by Hoffmann\(^3\): 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 Laqamonds 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 heis with taenninge, f. in ii.245/6. Though it is not always possible to decide whether tiende 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 heis 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 heis with them in ii.577/7 and iii.158/11, respectively, may be legitimate.
Hoffmann\(^1\) alleges that the form \(\text{h}e\text{os}\) is not a descendant of the OE \(\text{h}\text{æ}es\), but an alternative spelling of \(\text{hes}\). This he claims on the grounds that \(\text{hes}\) is also used as the asgf., as well as the nominative and accusative plural. The fact that some other words with eo and ëo in OE have kept the same spelling in La\(\text{g}\)amon\(^2\) weakens his argument considerably.\(^3\)

**Nominative and accusative singular neuter.**

Forms: \(\text{his} \quad 12/2\) etc. (49 times); \(\text{hes} \quad 123/8\);
\(197/9; \text{hes} \quad 312/18;\(^4\) \(\text{heos} \quad 156/10; \text{hiss} \quad 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 \(\text{hes} - \text{heos} - \text{hiss}\), are still, though to a small degree, gender-distinctive in La\(\text{g}\)amon.

---

2. cf. *weofed* (OE *weofod*); *beod* (OE *æod*).
3. For a possible explanation of the development of forms other than \(\text{hes}\), see Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 10 and 19.
4. Diehn, *op. cit.* p. 72, also lists hes in: hes worse taken 57/2, 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 *gagam* of the definite article, accompanying the noun worse; see vol. iii, p. 451.
5. For other spellings than his, see Diehn, *op. cit.* p. 72 and Hoffmann, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8. On the form hisse, 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 *beo* - *heoa* - *bia* may stand for:

a) nsgm. - nsgf. - nsgm. 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 *bia* 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.

¹ It should also be noted that *beo*, originally an nsgf. 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.; 
- hisne: 220/17. 384/5; 
- ₋sne: 174/9; 

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 his in the accusative singular with masculine nouns.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms:
- bes: 87/1 etc. (16 times); 
- beos: 275/9 (5); 
- ₋os: 119/6, 9.

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

1. According to Luhmann, op. cit. p. 92, u in husne, 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 gsgm. of the definite article, governed by the verb wilnedes wilnede peos wiledenes.
4. This is discussed by Luhmann, op. cit. pp. 86-87.
great importance, however, is that except for a single occurrence of *his* with a historically feminine noun, viz. *answare* in 188/13, no other cases of *his* have been noted in the asgf. any more than in the asgm., so that we may accept it almost as certain that *his* 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.**


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) *wee pissee londos queene* ii.36/11

b) *& him sylf pissee londes king* ii.131/13

as compared with:

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

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

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\(^1\) who regards all such examples without \(\text{-e}\) as scribal omissions, Hoffmann\(^2\) suggests that it is a genuine alternative form which is in fact common to all genders in the oblique cases.

Genitive singular feminine.

Forms: \textit{hissere} : 404/18; \textit{hiss} : 104/16.

Hoffmann\(^3\) maintains that \textit{hiss} does not correspond to the OE \textit{his}\. He holds that the \textit{gsgf.}, as well as the \textit{dsgf.}, appears exclusively as \textit{hissere}, a form modelled on the pattern of the definite article and that of the strong adjective,\(^4\) and that the single instance of \textit{hisse} in 104/16 (pe wes pisse leod-\-ene king) is to be otherwise explained. This he regards as being of the same order as the \textit{gsgn. hisse}, a common oblique case form.\(^5\)

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

---

1. See vol. iii, p. 470.
2. \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.
5. Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.
The above examples, both of biase and the -re form, are used with the noun leode. This noun is treated in Lazenmon as both singular and plural; if singular, it can be feminine and neuter in gender. It is therefore difficult to decide whether biase stands for the gsgf. or gsgm. 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 biissere leodene 306/15

b) na biissere leodes folke 404/16
   for lauerd me halden.

c) pa isch biissed ledes king 412/2

d) pa iwerd biissle leodes king 296/24

e) pe wes biiss leodene king 104/16

As all evidence about biase 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.**

Forms: biase : 412/10. With prepositions we also find:

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 þeoden. The verb redden governs the dative and the noun þeoden is treated as feminine in La3amon, as in OE. The ending -n may be due to nunnation in La3amon or to a confusion of genders; alternatively, þeoden is perhaps to be taken as plural. Even though the noun þeoden is normally feminine in La3amon, 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 læge, always feminine in the A text, is used after the preposition for:

For bisse uniwæste læge 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/dægf. or

1. uniwæste? (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. 1

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 bag; also in the gsgm/n.
if it has the distinctive inflectional form -e, 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 fader 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.

1. An other example, that of pas in: & hermes 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 pein.

Accusative singular feminine.

Forms: mine: 40/1 etc. (16 times); mīe: 375/11; min: 30/10; mī: 379/7; mīna: 403/5.

OE nouns in -scipe are treated as feminine in Lazamon. The solitary example given above of mīne in the accusative is used with such a noun: her to biwinne/ wurscipe mīne 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.
mines is used with all masculine and neuter nouns. There is, however, one instance of the possessive pronoun being used without the distinctive inflectional ending -a:

al pridden dale mi lond 45/17
ich wolde setten Brutan an hOND.

The only possible explanation of this form seems to be that the whole phrase was regarded as the direct object, hence the asgn. 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 350/25.

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

¹. The form bine occurs twice in the gsgm. (see the note over-leaf). These, together with the examples of the demonstrative pronoun without -a in the gsgm/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 -a 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 -e 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asgm.</td>
<td>bine : 141/15; binne : 216/14; bine : 216/10; bin : 381/2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asgf.</td>
<td>bine : 30/14; bin : 283/13; bie : 162/6; bin : 265/23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asgn.</td>
<td>bi : 419/20; bi : 216/2; bine : 162/15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gsgm/n.</td>
<td>bines : 149/20; bine : 21/1. 185/12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G/dsgf.</td>
<td>bire : 216/13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dsgm/n.</td>
<td>?bine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

Nominaive singular masculine.

In an overwhelming majority of cases, 96 out of 119, the nsgm. adjective is uninflected; e.g.: Inne Griclone 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 jenge king 132/19. In 17 cases, however, this -e descends directly from the OE nsg. form of adjectives such as: riche (OE rifice), hende (OE (ge)hende), kene (OE câne), wilde (OE wilde), scone (OE scône) and wrecche (cf. OE wrecce).

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 arms walc & win) fle3ht & muchel seorwa 107/22. This high proportion of cases of the uninflected forms may be due primarily to the kind of the adjectives themselves. For the short-stemmed polysyllabic adjectives in ∼is, ∼el, ∼en, ∼er, ∼ol and ∼or generally formed the nsgf. and n/apln. without ending in OE itself. 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 wie is uninflected here as it was in OE; the example reads: be 3st lcœude be alde quene/ a wifmon wie and kene 212/19.

2. Ibid. p. 32.
In one instance OE ekele appears without -e in the nsgf. : heo was swide eðel 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 Layamon A, but might have retained a masculine form in this case. The rest consist of one example each of whulo, swulo and al.

There are only five examples with adjectives ending in -e, of which only one can be regarded as inflectional -e : me þuugched¹ muche some 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-sclawen 24/15.

There are only 12 examples with the adjective ending in -e; e.g.: redde blod scede 221/7. Of these, however, three are with riwe (OE rýfe), two with umime (OE ungemête) and two with kene (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 oad 28/17; Aeuere alcne rodne mon 119/18 he aedled mid code.¹

Less frequently (16 times),² forms in -e are also used; e.g.: Nu bidded la3amon/ alone eele mon (B: echne rodne mon) 3/20; he maken de enne streng 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 byalcne and enne in the above two examples.³ Only in three cases is the

1. I have not included in the above number the following example: monine scowfylne pleige 97/2, since it is not possible to decide whether it is a solitary survival of the OE asgm. monine 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 alcne or alle in temporal phrases, qualifying masculine nouns dmi and winter; e.g.: peo alcne deie hine larden 184/6, peo alle dmi pus 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.: planets heom mucle eige 414/1 ut of his 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 stemen. 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 words: he sommede vnime before
337/3, per of we habbed sceome & atoure herte mucho 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 La3amon. Three of these, however, are
examples with nouns established as masculine. They are: Ne
nomen heo nonne cnih quic 241/8, enne swude salkud stan 424/22,
swa heo fehten al dein 339/8.

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 mucho strenge 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,\(^1\) an uninflected form is to be found, as in: igadered his ferde/ *muchel* ferd and riche
\(^{64/10}.\(^2\)

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 wle on pine nome/ *muren* ane stowe. \(^{51/24}.\(^3\)

**Accusative singular neuter.**

The majority of examples, 70 out of 77, appear without an ending; e.g.: he ʒef 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 asgm.; 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 lutel* ane wile 15/20, *ane lutle* while 248/9.
Forms in -e occur very rarely. Only five instances have been recorded; e.g.: muche lond he 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 aagm. 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 zere 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 hahes kinges dohter 94/7, and for neuter: per wes monies kunnes folo 73/5. The uninflected form of the adjective does not appear to be used here at all. 4

1. The temporal phrase elche zere 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 pa maðmes/ pe 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: Pa quað Membrici' / ludere stefne 40/7.  

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.

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 puhte/ swulchere speche (B: selcup him bohte/ 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 fondien 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 fondele ben leoden 281/8 would suggest that in Læsmon 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 wolde fondi/ woch me mest louie (which referring to daughter).

2. In one instance the asgm. `-ne' occurs with a masculine noun in the dsg.: auuerelone onihte 329/7 he jef jegoue brihte. Since the noun is obviously masculine, there seems to be no other explanation than that it is a scribal error.
like læ, læer, hēah or from OE disyllabic fæger and therefore should be uninflected, showing the same resistance to inflexions in this case as they mostly do in others. These forms in -æ, 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, bin or not). Examples, however, are not numerous; only eight are noted altogether; e.g.: saie me læer mon 96/14, Leafdi Diana; leaur Diana/ here Diana. help me to neode 51/13-14.²

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

**masculine:**

a) for cniht he was swiðe god 15/23
b) ʒif he were swa priate 16/8

also once

c) abolœn he wes on mode 315/7.

**feminine:**

a) Guendoleine wes swiðe strong 106/11
b) pa brude deade iward 13/17

**neuter:**

a) ʒat feht wes swuðe strong 178/4
b) & swuðe ster & swuðe lange 178/5

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 leofe.
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.

1. Such are: ætele, blice, feie, hende, imete, iqueme, kene, liðe, milde, riche, riuæ, stille, sturnæ, vn-fere, unimete, wilde.
2. They are: dead, deop, lað, leof, reod, sær, wiæ; feiger, muchel.
it later, deade and sake, 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.: & þe us spac þe alde king 125/18; þis understod þe unge quene 191/14; þat Troyne sceal 18/19. The alternative use of an uninflected adjective is quite rare; e.g.: And Belin þe ægel king 237/13 weæ in Alemainne; þe

1. Adjectives that were always strong in OE, as for instance eall, ðæter, 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 æmale, a form which is normally found unchanged in Layamon.
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: \[ Rene \] \[ muchelne \] \[ dream \] \[ 368/16 \]. Examples in \[ -en \], contrary to what we might expect historically, are rare or non-existent. 2

Accusative singular feminine.

The regular form ends in \[ e; \] e. g.: \[ pa \] \[ hefde \] \[ heo \] \[ isclawen \] \[ pen \] \[ king \] \[ 106/8 \]. Forms in \[ -en \] are rare (I have noted only one example in vol. i. in

---

1. This and similar cases may be due to the adjective ending in a vowel, although we often find such adjectives, i.e. with \[ -eg \] in OE, with the inflectional ending \[ -e; \] e. g.:

\[ p \] \[ wes \] \[ be \] \[ bisie \] \[ king \] \[ 136/5 \], \[ pae \] \[ uniselie \] \[ moder \] \[ 171/11 \], \[ pæ \] \[ tidende \] \[ sweæ \] \[ murie \] \[ 432/21 \]. 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: \& \[ falden \] \[ pen \] \[ alden \] \[ nomen \] \[ 304/6 \] 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: \[ none \] \[ pa \] \[ bæluen \] \[ dale \] \[ 302/19 \], provided \[ pa \] here is an uninflected form and not the asg. In any case, the survival of \[ -en \] in this phrase is very common in ME (see OED s.v. \[ halfendael \]), going back to the OE weak masc. \[ bone \] \[ healfan \] \[ dæl \], 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 h, as in: And he to-clipede/ 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 his drichliche lond 10/11. Only one example has been recorded of the uninflected form: pat hea[h] der 14/13.

**Genitive singular masculine and neuter.**

The regular form ends in -s, on the analogy of the strong adjective; e.g.: pes hezès kinges 3/8. Though very rarely, forms in -e are also to be found, as in: pe Leil sune pes riche 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 Laȝamon's -e, except where analogical influences are at work.

---

1. op. cit. p. 44.
2. One cannot, however, be sure whether this is a weak form or a strong form + h before h, since - as in OE - Laȝamon sometimes treats as strong the adjective when it precedes his; e.g.: mid muchelere his ferde 65/11 as against: mid muchelen his ferde 528/11.
Genitive and dative singular feminine.

No examples have been noted of the gegf.; in the single occurrence of the dsgf., the adjective has the very rare ending -ens & he hoe 3af þare æðelen/ AElisenor þe wes Henries quene 3/6.

Dative singular masculine and neuter.

Examples are very rare and none has been recorded of the dsgm.; all three examples of the dsgm. have the -e form; e.g.: þa 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 -æ: Androge' mi leofue mon 380/24 al þine wille ic wulle don.

It remains to consider which adjectival forms can be regarded as useful for the establishment of grammatical gender in La3amon. There still remain certain distinctive forms which constitute valuable evidence. Of these the most important are three endings of the strong declension:

a) -me denoting the asg. of masculine nouns;¹

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) -me 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.
**ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative singular</th>
<th>strong adjective</th>
<th>weak adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative singular</th>
<th>strong adjective</th>
<th>weak adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive singular</th>
<th>strong adjective</th>
<th>weak adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative singular</th>
<th>strong adjective</th>
<th>weak adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocative singular</th>
<th>strong adjective</th>
<th>weak adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
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 Layamon 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) *bana* 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.; *be* for the asgf.; *bat* for the asgm.; *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.

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

seconds is used in Layamon A both with the accusative and the dative with no apparent distinction in its meaning.

A. With the accusative:

m. ah eowere he wenden/ seconds bene norh enden ii.150/5.1
f. seconds ba weord beon ibbed 53/17; Layamon son liden/
wide seconds ba leode 2/16.

n. wide he sende seconds bat lond 22/4; pet word was cu3/
seconds his lond 285/5.

B. With the dative:

m. we swulled beon al fuse/ to feren seconds ban eerde 188/2.

f. & ba acipen feren wide/ seconds hare wintrede 5/20;
he hit inet cu3en wide/ seconds bissere peode 316/13.

n. pat ne mihte hine bi-halden/ wide seconds beon londe
259/21; Senôde mine senden/ seconds alle mine londe 176/15.

umber, as in OE, is used in Layamon only with the accusative:

m. & umber longe first 13/10 mid wrôscipe comen liâen.

f. umber ane stunde 111/17 pa acipen 3aru weoren.

II. Prepositions which govern the dative in OE.

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

m. pa Englene londe/ ærest ahten/ after ban flode 2/7.

f. 1. he pohte swa ford teon/ æfter þere Temese 333/20;
    æfter bissere Galoes 115/4 Wales wes inemned.


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

hehte heo nennen ðeonlud
æfter þone kinge 87/7

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

Brutte nemneden þa læzen
æfter þere lafuði 269/11

strongly suggest that þone is to be taken as a dative rather than as an accusative.¹ This is also confirmed by the fact that þone never precedes a noun when used as the direct object.² One is probably justified therefore in taking þone 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.)

1. Madden seems to take this form as a dative, since he remarks that þone in ðe wiðe þone smið 66/22 "appears to be an error for the dat. þon, þone"; 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 was muchel folc/ at þere wrastlinge 79/19;
   he wonede at Ernlege/ at ædelan ære chirechen 1/6;
   ich wes at Gornielle/ mire god-fulle dohter 145/18;
   at heore neode 374/6 nu þu must me redeon.

n. : & Nenni' was ilmied/ at þon norð yste i Lundene 325/17.

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

m. : ispeken of þan mædene/ at-foren þan Frensce kings
   133/9.

n. : Wæs at-foren þan wæfde 345/14.

bi (OE prep. with dat. and instr.)

m. : þar lainen bi þan birmme 191/2; bi bone toppe he hine
   nom 30/11 & þer inne bi-burigede/ bi aæ stan walle
   73/24; þe bi hisse walle ligged 178/19.

f. : þa braco þat swerod in his hond/ riht bi þere hilte
   66/19; bi ære halue heo ridden 403/20; þe bi mire side
   336/18 isund sege ridden; þa hæfde he þreo sunen/
   bi heore his quene 296/10.

n. : He makede bi þon wæofede 51/1 a swide wunsum fur;
   and leiden þene king bi aæ yste 304/19; bi wilde
   hisse watere 265/22.

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

f. : bi-zonde 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. : et\(^1\) cnihtes \textit{hit bæd hidor icumen/}\ from \textit{bon kinge}

\textit{Aeireagune 405/11.}

n. : bujen heom \textit{fiam ban fuhte 248/2; wes from bisen}

\textit{londe ifaren 341/24.}

nih\(^2\) (OE prep. with dat.)

f. : \textit{bære weolcne he wes swiðe nih 122/16.}

of (OE prep. with dat.)

m. : \textit{pa cnihtes of ban castle 27/20; of ane ende of}

\textit{Alemaine 84/5; er cumen pe ende of bisse dai 377/4.}

f. : \textit{pa wes of bare hinde 52/5; pa milc wes of are wite}

\textit{hinde 50/23; We scullen of bisere peode 231/3 cumen}

\textit{to bife neode; peno of mire neode 374/14; Brutus}

\textit{hine bi-pohte/ of swulchere neode 29/11.}

n. : \textit{he feolde of bon folke 369/15 feowerti hundred}; \ alle

\textit{we comen of ane kunne 310/7; for al pat god of bisse}

\textit{londe 43/6 we sculen leden mid us; ah ich pe wulre}

\textit{lanen/ of mine leode-folo 156/19.}

* 

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

\textit{an long (OE prep. with gen.) of which the only example is used}

\textit{with a feminine noun:}

\textit{Muche lond he him 3ef/ an long bare sea 7/8.}

---

1. Read \textit{Ah} or \textit{Ao} (Madden).
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/ touward *ane* muchele wude 399/7.

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

m. : *bideward* wende pe king/ to-ward *bon* deore 275/18;

heo ferden from stronde/ touward *bisse* 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 La3amon, 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 luue* moni eotend/ io leide dead a *bene* grund 97/16.
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. : per Æðrigal smat AEuelin/ swide vuele a bene chin 348/2.\(^4\)

---

3. ibid.: smite mon a zealfe erest on det heafod.
4. Cf. Æðrigal smat Euelin/ swipe vfele ibene chin 359/9; uppen bene helm he hine smat 321/1.
B. With the dative:

m. : and smat\(^1\) hit a \textit{ban} sweor 277/3.

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

The meaning of 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 move as a whole as with 'go', 'run' etc.; it is thus more like 'kick' and similar verbs signifying rest after the completion of action.

II. Expressing 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 Layamon.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Belin a \textit{hene} morgen 241/22 lotten blawen his bemen;

\textit{a hene} òðerne ðæi 261/7 he com to Denermake.

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

B. With the dative:

m. : a \textit{ban} time bið best 31/3 ponne men guð to bedde.

f. : alse ha wolden a \textit{here} 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.\(^2\) E.g.

m. : An \textit{ban} ilke time 165/23 her com a selked taken;

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

\footnotesize{\textbf{1. Read: smat.}}

\footnotesize{\textbf{2. The only example of what looks like an accusative occurs in:}}

\footnotesize{heo ærørdan enne burʒe/ \textit{an} \textit{anne} feiræ stude 408/19; of. p. 91.}
f. Alle heom biseden to/ an alcher halfe 98/14.

n. heo seiden pat he soule beon anhongen/ an one heze treowe 44/7.

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

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

f. Seie þu bi-fore mire duȝden 127/17.

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

for (OE prep. with acc. dat. and instr.) is used in Laȝamon 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:


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

m. Sedæn hit is icleped Wales ... for þan duke Gualun 90/8; & for þon kinge heo holden holden grid 118/17.

f. Sedæn hit is icleped Wales/ for here quen Galoes 90/7; For nare ȝitsunge/ for nare ȝiuernesse 405/2-3 ne com ich to pissen londe; Ic eam for mire mldde 127/1 swpe vnbaldeþ þat heo duden for muchelere luue 259/22.
n. : ne for alle ben fuhte 243/4 ne mihten heo Rome-wal/nawiht onwalden; for mine londe & for mine seo
147/20 mine eorles fulle to mine cneo.

1. on (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 ihene felde 322/14; and smat in ana
muckle stane 98/9; mildelichen ferden/ in ana
bradne feld 217/3.

f. : per Leire falleð i ha see 60/3; he droh in ana huelu
340/18.

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

B. With the dative:

m. : I hon castle weoren monie men 28/20; i bissen hulle
he lid 377/22.

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

n. : Nes Brutus i hon londe 15/19 bute lutel ane wile;
& scenden ha þe in ana scipe 135/10; woneð in bisse
londe 20/7; to yiuen us an ende/ i bine kine-londe
266/4.
There are, however, a number of cases in which the verb implies motion, but is followed by the dative.1 Such are:

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

f.: heo to-gædere komen/ ipere burh of Rome 393/15; at Cristes chirohe heo falled i hare ses 106/10; In are swide stronge tur 290/18 heo duden þene king Elidur; & setten hit in hire bond 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.2

f.: þer is iboren an luttel child/ inne here leoden 389/9; & scal beo souwer lauerd/ inne hisere leoden 155/14; & yif he bi-leuuen wolden/ inne mire þeoden 45/16.

n.: Ane dohter hefde AEstrild/ inne bon eord-huse 102/2; Ah Cherin leouede longe/ inne hisse 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.3

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

2. The only example with a verb of motion is: heo turneden to hauene/ inne hare æmesse 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-t94 Io gange into dere byrig in urtem vado.
A. With the accusative:

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

B. With the dative:

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

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

n. : heo kommen in to ben lond 219/19; ferde into ane
watere 93/18; ferren þat 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 Lassamon, beside numerous examples
of its use with the dative, the following seem to be survivals
of the use with the accusative:

m. : þe þider weren icumene/ mid Leir þanne kinge 142/15;
and mid hene kngere spec 309/16.²

¹ Cf. Beowulf: þet minne lifc-haman/ mid minne gold-gyfan glād
fedmic 2652.

² Cf. Be. 518,5. Paulinus se D' sumre tide com mid ðone cyning
& ðere owene on ðone cynelican tun; Be.492,16. hafa þu mid
ðone ðican biseop spreche & geþehte hwæt to done si; see
Wülfing, J.E. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen,
Bonn, 1894-1901, pp. 415 -16. These examples are from the
OE Bede, which, though 'Alfredian', is of Anglian authorship
and preserves many Anglian forms.
The following is somewhat uncertain:

f. : þus līðde to Lundene/...mid alle þe wyrð-scipe 358/3.
Though þe may be an accusative, since the noun is treated as
feminine in Laȝamon, 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. þat have been noted with
the preposition mid.¹

B. With the dative:

m. : forð aȝain mid þan winde 11/7; þet þeo wimonde was
     mid ane sune 13/2.

f. : þat lond is bi-urnan mid þære sce 52/24; help min
     lauerd & me/ mid alle mīre mihten 30/16; ȝe me scul-
     len wēren mid/ mid muchelere strenge 330/9.

n. : & he mid þan folke 58/15 fleuh 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 occasion-
ally followed by the dative in contexts where the accusative

¹. Thēre are, however, two cases of þat with nouns in the plural.
   They are: wēren þa hukses and þa doleþe/ iwrīþen mid þe dēden
   221/12; þa waren grynþ ladanþe/ mid þat bestæ weþun 47/16.
   Both are taken by Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54, to be mistakes
   for þan. For other instances of þat with plural nouns see
   28, footnote 3.
might have been expected;¹ this usage is continued in Layamon.

A. **With the accusative:**

m. : & fram pan londe belde/ ofer bene saltne strem 261/5; ouer bene wal heo cluben 402/3.

f. : he ferde ouer be Rumbre 165/1; ouer al bas leode 87/11.

B. **With the dative:**

m. : & euer heo drownen west & norð/ ouer ben lac of Silüius & ouer ben lac of Philisteus 54/21-22; heo senden ouer al pan erde 116/22 to biȝeten muchele ferde.

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

o. **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. : pe king feol on bene rof 123/3; pat he on enne hul bi-com 70/10.

---

¹ Cf. Or. 172, 19. peær he ofer bene munt faran sceolde (Wülfing, **cit.** p. 451) and Or. 208, 2. pa wes Donna seo ea swa swipe oferfroren, pat hie ofer hie ofer pem ise faran mehten (Wülfing, ibid. p. 450).

² Cf. Wülfing, ibid. p. 488.
f. : þu þenchest to setten 0 bin hond 313/10 al middel-
\text{-}\text{erdes lond}.^{1}

n. : he gurde Suard on pat h\text{-}\text{erfd 68/9.}

B. With the dative:

m. : heo funden on þen crefte 12/24 carefule leod\text{-}\text{es.}

f. : (makede) þa oðer on are dune 112/25; (makede) þa oðer
\text{monschipe,} bi\text{-}\text{sen} o ðire 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 blide/ 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.\textsuperscript{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 dæge amarwen 37/4 come his drihtliche folc.

to (OE prep. with acc. dat. instr. and gen.)\textsuperscript{3} governs the dative
in all except the two following cases:

a) pat heo comeon mid him/ to þene castle of Sparatin
26/10;

b) þirne we to þene kinge 40/8.

\textsuperscript{1} Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 35, takes this example as one of the
uninflected possessive pronoun. The omission of -\text{e} may also
be due to the following\textsuperscript{n}.

\textsuperscript{2} Cf. Or. 97, 7. þa on ðæm ilcan dæge (Wülffing, op. cit. pp. 491-2)
and Be. 645, 5. on ðone forman Easterdæg (Wülffing, ibid. p. 467).

\textsuperscript{3} Wülffing 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. : pe king to ban castle 27/4 for mid his ferde;
& iwenden in to Kent/ to his ane castle 351/23.

f. : pe he to hare sas brouhte 5/17; 3ef Lauine his
douter/ Eneam to are brude 8/8; sende to bissere
peoden 413/20; cumen to hire neede 231/4; pat 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.) governs both the accusative and the dative in Layamon.

A. With the accusative:

m. : Ilamun burh bene wude flasb 399/12; ne purh nenne lache-
craete 325/12 ne mihte he hit habben; purh bisne ilke
esele mon 431/4 vnder-feng pis lond cristindom; ich
hit wulle trouisen/ burh mine tirfulne godd 355/6;
ladliche snipered/ nidfulne craft 435/23.

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

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

3. Following this line we have: purh 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-scape aleggen.

n. : purh hat lond he eorde 423/21; pur out al hat ulke
3er 156/6 heo duden al þus þer.

B. With the dative:

m. : nulle ich nauere maro/ þurh nane dome 413/1 heren
into Rome.

f. : & ihitte his aȝene fader/ þurh ut þere 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. 1; only
with the dative, but in contexts which would have required that
case also in OE.

m. : vnder ban wude of Kalatere 202/3 þer heo heom imetten.

f. : vnder bissere blisse 104/13 þer comen muchele burstes.

uppe(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.

1. In the light of the example in note § on p. 82 (Be.516,5)
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 purh me seolfne/
& purh sele mine folke. Another possibility would be that
mine here is an asgn. Cf. delest þine lond wið þine mæd
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-reren ...

f. : heolde mine ðeinen/ vpppe berc muchele lufe 34/5

Brutus hit demes/ uppen ere dune 79/9.

n. : he heo makeæa ædle/ uppen Uske ban westeræ 256/5;

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

\textit{wið} (OE prep. with acc. dat. gen.)\textsuperscript{2} As in OE, \textit{wið} is found in Layamon in same situations governing both the accusative and the dative.\textsuperscript{3}

A. With the accusative:

m. : wið bene crahte he spec bus 374/21; sehtnien me

\textit{wið} bene keisere 374/8; he pu sulf quiddest wið

Claudien mine fader 419/6.


1. In the following example one would have expected an accusative: & a-stigen uppe \textit{ben} hul 370/17. Beside the possibility of its being a dative, \textit{ben} may also be an accusative minus \textit{e} in front of the \textit{h}, since we have seen this phonetic law operating in Layamon; 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 \textit{a-} has any semantic function or not; it could, as in OE, be merely an intensifier.

2. Wulfing, \textit{op. cit.} p. 601, adds also the instrumental.

3. \textit{cf. ibid.} p. 615.

4. In the examples beo fihten wið bone duke 273/10, it is difficult to decide whether \textit{bone} is an accusative or a dative form. It may be a survival of OE asgm. \textit{bone}, as well as a new form \textit{bone} (pon + e), which seems to be a genuine dative form in Layamon; cf. p. 73.
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.

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

Examples with \textit{brate} seem to belong here, but they have been discussed elsewhere.\(^3\)

---

1. Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.} p. 33, regards all the instances of the accusative forms with the prepositions \textit{mid} and \textit{wīð} 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 \textit{-num-} in \textit{honne} 142/15 and \textit{minne} 419/6 with the prepositions \textit{mid} and \textit{wīð} respectively seem to indicate.

2. In non-prepositional use it occurs only once: \textit{wa wroē auer brate smið} 66/22.

3. See p. 73.
b) Different from the above given example of bane with the preposition neor, and from those with the prepositions mid and wiä, are its occurrences in the following passages:

- inne bane fehte 10/9 his feon heo him binomen.
- heo hine flemden/ out of bane londe 14/24
- p he heom wolde leaden/ out of bane leoden 16/11¹
- he sende his sonde/ wide 3end bane londe 19/3
- clepien hit aurene/ for bane wâldene Abren 106/2
- beine of anne cunne 184/22
- and of anne kunne we beo³ icumen 314/5

These examples² show that bane 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.

² There is one more instance: pat he miate riden/ 3eond alle bane peoden 138/15. The noun Bode 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 bane with feminine nouns in the singular or with nouns in the plural, as Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 33, suggests.

---

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 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,
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 ãne.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) Here, again, examples are not numerous, but I have noted the following: \(^4\)

a) in bon castle he dude bende 26/23
   six hundred of his cnihen.

b) þe he leide in ane walle stream 121/6

c) In are swiþe stronge tur 290/19
   heo duden þene king Elidur.

d) & lette heom worpen
   in ane depe wateres 105/17.

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

---

2. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 32, cites three more examples: Hit wes in ane nihte ii.388/10; buten ðes an ane tides iii.175/5; þa 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Der lIerigal smat AEuelin} & \\
\text{awide vuele a ban e chin 348/2} & \\
\text{And awat}^1 & \text{hit a ban sweore 277/3}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Der Leir falle} & \text{a ba see 60/3} \\
\text{at Cristes chirche heo falle} & \text{a bane see 106/10}
\end{align*}
\]

we cannot help asking whether we are not also dealing with beginnings of a system in which the form bane = ban (and vice versa), i.e. accusative or dative masculine, as against -re, i.e. dative or accusative feminine, with ba and 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 ban burzen 263/5 may be due to an occasional treatment of the noun burzen as masculine; cf. p. 160.
a) he gel heo his stepmoder
   for hon lofe of his broper 10/18

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

Hoffmann,\(^1\) while regarding both as examples of uninflected article + hiatus n,\(^2\) alleges that these ban forms after prepositions no longer imply the dsqm/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.\(^3\) In only one instance is a preposition followed by the asgm. hine:

pe king wes gled of his kime
& 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. asgm.), 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 pan evening 50419.
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; fal to be grunde 66/3; aduneward ba clude 81/19; ba munte bi-halues 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 Cassebellaune be king 317/4; to Cassibellâne ba kinge 331/4; pat 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 seuourer 3ere he was dead 9/16; He makede an temple onfest be bad 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 a) 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:

(a) Used with feminine nouns: bi he montaine of Azare 54/24; and et he oder hælue an hond-sex 276/9; Lud king lette legge þane wal/ abuten he burh of Lundene 302/12; of al he worulde riche 308/6; he ferde ut of Doure/ bi he æære 366/6.

1. The possibility for mistaking an asgf. ba, be for the uninflected form, arises only with prepositions which could govern the accusative as well as the dative. In such cases as: in ba teonfulle sæo/ torneden sæiles 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 wes Julius bliðe/ for be tidende 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 bere or neuter þeow, we cannot say since this noun seems to be of two genders. Cf. also the discussion on p. 83 of: mid alle be wurð-scipe 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: wið swiðe muicle an here 93/23; earne after an ðæer eorle 288/3; heo driuen hine of his ærðe 293/17; þene wisseste mon of al þis ærðe 317/6; fliʒ ut of min æh-sene 131/12; ut of min æh senen 351/14. All the nouns with which they are associated begin with a vowel or ð, 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 \textit{bat}, of which there are three examples after the preposition \textit{of}:\footnote{For \textit{bat} with \textit{mid} and nouns in the plural, see p. 85, note 1.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Immetten heo faren Numbert \textit{pes kinges sonde of bat eard} 61/5 (B \textit{pan})
\item pa kinges atiward of \textit{bat eard} 62/6
\item and seide \textit{bat heo wolden}
\textit{halden hustinge}
of allen \textit{bat londen} (B \textit{of alle \textit{pan folke}}) 223/5
\textit{be heore leuen leoueden}.
\end{enumerate}

A comparison with B readings might suggest that A was in error.\footnote{Cf. Madden, vol. iii, p. 451 and Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 54.}

But it is difficult to accept such a possibility. As an essentially neuter form, one would not have expected the misuse of \textit{bat} with a non-neuter noun, such as \textit{eard}, which is treated in Lagamon as masculine and feminine. Nor would have 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 \textit{bat} after the preposition \textit{zeond}. They are:

\begin{enumerate}
\item Heo letten lude clepian
\textit{& suðen zeond bat ferde} 75/14
\item pa makede heo ane le33e
\textit{and leide zeon bat leode} 269/7
\item pa wes \textit{be muchele speche}
\textit{3end bat kineriche} 171/16
\end{enumerate}

Of the nouns with which it is used, \textit{ferde} is otherwise almost always treated as feminine.\footnote{Cf., however, p. 24.} As has already been pointed
out,1 leode, beside being feminine, is occasionally treated as neuter, so that the above may be a legitimate use of the asgn. after the preposition sand. 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 hat 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 berc worldes ende 313/13
n. for bisses londes monnen 283/10

In such cases the article or the accompanying word agrees

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 wið inne bon castel-buri 286/12 (m.-f.)
heo duden beo in quarterne
in ane quale-huse 160/14 (f.-n.)

1. Cf. to pisse londes kinges 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\(^1\) contends that in these and similar cases the article agrees with the word on which the stress falls.\(^2\)

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* 3ungh əvif-mon 147/16; *pat* sel-Calc 194/7.
The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 108.
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form is he as in 1/4 etc. 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, 466/130. 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:

A2 nam up is croiz wel mildeliches and smat pe point par-on pe staf wende into pe marbreston case it were in nesche sonde. And po heo was inne deope i-nou3 pe guode Jan eine let stonde.

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, hwy in 259/97 and ze (emended to he) in 309/341.

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), 314/509. 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.:  

pis Men ladden pis holie bodi : with gret honur and pruyte  
To pe Abbeye of Schaftesburi : pare ase he lijth 52/176  
A ny3t at Matines, pis 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 devouel (e.g. 372/192) or of a specific animal, as for instance of howert 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 hyno) is found in the following: 66/446 (deth); 75/142 (staf); 235/578 (ston); 250/343 (staf); 300/16 (hull); 304/176 (toum); 306/238 (caumberleyn); 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; hom 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 boo 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 aegf. 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, 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.

1. The two cases in question are occasionally still distinguishable in the neuter. Cf. 20/21-23:
   po his child was i-bore : his freond nomen per-to hede,
   Huy leten hit do (sic) to Glastingburisti norischi and to fede,
   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. pe Aumperour 1/2; pe quene 1/13. Be occurs occasionally with feminine nouns; e.g. po holi croyz 3/78. Be occurs with woman 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 bat (472/359) and but (143/1275). With rare exceptions, be is not used in the nominative or accusative with neuter nouns; cf. pe yate 200/13, pe seuenpe zer 158/1815.

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

Accusative singular masculine.

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

The form -pe, however, displaces bane, bene quite often.

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

a) *inversions*; e.g.:

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

b) *appositions*; e.g.:

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

This, of course, does not mean that *bane, bane* 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 *be* with masculine nouns in the accusative singular. We can thus avoid the error of assuming that *be* 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 *be* as in 1/24 etc. Very rarely *beo* occurs; e.g.: *beo* wile 278/5.²

---

1. It is also found in temporal phrases, especially if such a phrase occurs in the second half-line; e.g.: *bus* was *be* holie Rodz i-founde : *be* 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 *nyght*, or rather its compounds, the asgm. form *bane* is occasionally found; e.g.: *bane* Wodnes-niȝt 138/1225, *bane* sonen *nyȝt* 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. pe kingues sone 47/31, pe sonne leom 85/82, pe 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. : pe tormentores tolden pe kingue 187/75; And pouȝte to dom pe rode scwayne 16/524; For no dede þat men deþ pe bodie 104/100; of pe pope 11/356; bi-fore pe quyene 2/41; in pe londe 2/32.

There are, however, a few cases where the dative has another form. This is especially the case with the phrase atben-end (e.g. 5/160) which is variously spelt. ¹ With one solitary exception, that in ben ei ze 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 beþ as suggested by Körner. ²

¹ Cf. atþon ende 77/223; atenende 310/381; atþemende 376/308.
² op. cit. p. 37.
Beside these, there are a few examples of *bene* occurring in contexts where either the accusative or the masculine form is out of place, or both; e.g.: at *bene* ende 199/51; of *bene* heie manne 272/60; bi *bene* side 231/427; to *bene* ymage 253/452; at *bene* forwarde 470/294. The prepositions *at*, *bi* and *of* govern only the dative in Layamon 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, Layamon 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 Layamon. The form *bene* in these cases is probably the longer variant of a generalized dative form, viz. *ban* + *e*, such as we have seen in Layamon 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 *he* precedes feminine nouns in the majority of instances, it is

---

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 *bat*. 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, *bat* 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 po* 236/604.
    b) *for-to leden to helle pat sorl gost* 235/583.
    c) *aware-of seruest pou bat heiz Man* 378/60.

f.: Ake ech of heom a-drad was sore : *po he bat creoiz
   i-se13 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 *bat* is also used regardless of gender after
prepositions. Since the normal dative form in such situations
is *be*, it is highly probable that *bat* in such cases is to be
regarded as having demonstrative force. E.g.:

a) *And leide op-on bat dede man* 3/84
b) of *pat womman* 107/46
  c) of *pat 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 nyght 470/302; bat ilke stounde 290/92; bat ilke yer 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 3weol 250/360; pat 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; pat on (son) 399/23; bat opur (rode) 3/83.* After the prepositions: in *pat opur stude 233/502; on pat on half 98/223; in pat opere zere 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.: *pe o partie 123/577; pe on (son) 5/150; of pe 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 aungel* 6/189, *an holi man* 19/602. *A* is occasionally written together with a noun; e.g.: *Aman* 7/198, *astok* 34/31, *apfler* 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, *ane 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.: *(bringue)* *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 snot a knijf 49/78.

The form ane occurs seven times: 37/100. 40/221. 104/109. 262/58 (fot); 281/135 (fellowe); 426/219 (man); 454/202 (cuyrtel). The form nanne 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 crois 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 anine 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 anine 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 bi fourme ichulle be make: An ymage, brest and schene 96/158; wurth an hawe 35/52.¹

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 swete 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 followings: to fi3te ane zer al 171/2264; be 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.²

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.: be Aumperour after bis Maide 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 atounde 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 heije brugge 38/156; to ane hepene manne 101/21; besides 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 aasg. (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 Almīṣṭī 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 auncture 59/186.

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

pare bi-neope 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.: ane 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 wyrpe were 15/501; pat pou pat tresor of al pe world: al one opon pe pou bere 16/502. It can also mean 'only' as in: sse 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 tree 6/263.
- asg.: *pis dade man 4/109; pis bok 28/66; pis holie blod 17/567.
- gsg.: al *pis world guod 26/9.
- dsg.: of *pis bishop 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; bieme 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; pi moder 6/161; pi lijf 62/306.


dsg. : with pi sone 14/448; aftur mi lore 12/379; to bin ho 68/40.

There is, however, a tendency to use the forms mine, hine 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 pine 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 *bine* occurs also in the genitive singular; e.g.: for *bine fader sunnes* 7/214.

The form *minne* (pinne)<OE asgm. *minne* is extremely rare; it has been recorded in: 128/775 (pinne da1), 327/155 (minne mete), and 333/353 (minne owene mouth).

It is clear from the above that the form *mine* or *bine* 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 -a 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 ¹

Nominative singular masculine.

The regular form of the n. is he, as in 95 etc. ²

A form a is recorded in 3826:

King Arthure ajen pe brest . his felawe verst ahitte.
Ajen pe brust pat a vul . & ne miȝte no leng sitte.

As pointed out by the editor, ³ 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:

pe hauene þer he was aslawe. after haym is name wias.
Haymton was icluped. as he þut icluped is.
Ver souþhamton þe he is icluped. & worp euere mo.

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

In addition to these, a form he occurs twelve times:
635. 720. 737. 829. 2514. 2516. 4185. 86. 4538. 5433. 5476 and
5477. The following forms have also been recorded: he in 3349,
aso in 615 and aso 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 6563.

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 jis pe to bi wif 282. It is noteworthy that, except for this example, in which the form is refers to the noun döxta, and the one in 8355, 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 (aumberrye 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 bis londe/ pe six yles pat beb aboute & heoldis al an honde 4614.
gsgn. are extremely rare, however. The form ie is recorded in 6576:

pat water dude uorp ie kunde. & wax euere feste.

It occurs also in 1212:

po pis feste 3are was. pat folk verst in ie wise.
To hor godes as hii wolde. dude hor sacrefice.

In this case, however, the use of the form ie 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 hin in 2653.¹

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 þer nas in al þe world suerd him iliche.
Vor þer non wip him iwoned þat suere keueri miȝte. 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 ze, ze, seo and ssa) 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 (az) 390; moni wes þe gode bodi þat he herwip slou (suerd) 9455.
Once again, the ges. (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, etude of Rome, town, 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 clero 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 6790.1

1. Occurrences of bat with historically m. or f. nouns are comparatively rare. Only the following have been noted: brod (OE f.) 1595, cenceril (OF m.) 2188, goast (OE m.) 3055, song (OE m.) 3940, 5685, serewe (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 goast and serewe. 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 \( \text{bat} \) occurs 109 times (e.g. 24), \( \text{het} \) 22 times (e.g. 23), \( \text{but} \) 9 times (e.g. 5354), as against 45 occurrences of \( \text{he} \) (e.g. 57).\(^1\)

Accusative singular masculine.

The most common form of the definite article in the angm. is \( \text{be} \). It occurs 171 times (e.g. 59). The form \( \text{ben} \) occurs 100 times (e.g. 419) and of its variants the following have been recorded: \( \text{hun} \) 17 times (e.g. 2690), \( \text{ban} \) 6 times (e.g. 2150) and \( \text{bon} \) once in 2184. A descendant of OE \( \text{hene} \) is found 3 times as \( \text{hene} \) in 299, 395 and 6121.\(^2\)

---

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 \( \text{bat} \) here, any more than we could in the Legendary, as a reliable criterion for neuter gender.

1. Cf. footnote 2 overleaf.

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

The normal form is *be* as in 850.¹

Accusative singular neuter.

The most frequent asgm. form is *bat*, which has been recorded 156 times (e.g. 45). The form *but* occurs 16 times (e.g. 5077) and the form *hat* once in 5984.² The form *be*, however, occurs only 30 times with originally neuter nouns, as for instance in 262.³

Genitive singular.

The invariable form in the genitive singular is *be*;

e.g.: *be* kinges wille 1227; *be* quene fader 608; *be* yered ende 768.

---

1. As with masculine nouns, occurrences of *bat* with feminine nouns are also infrequent. Only the following have been noted with feminine nouns of French origin: *pes* 1857, *compane* 2127 and *poer* 4123. - There are two examples of the asgm. *pun*, *pen* preceding originally feminine nouns: *pun ouer hond* 1840, *pen 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 *bat*, it is quite possible that a number of the above occurrences of *bat* 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: & amot him anowarde *bat* heued 397, where *bat* is obviously used in its function of the definite article.

3. With the originally neuter noun *gospel* *pen* 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 be; e.g.: be king he sende word azen 1229; he sende be 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 be; e.g.: toward be king 553; aboue be se 523; in to be lond 246. Before the vowel e, be is sometimes shortened to b and written together with the noun; e.g.: wip hempercour 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 erhe 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 n.) 229, out of ben yre (OE n.) 2954. In such cases ben may be a genuine survival of the dsgm/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\textsuperscript{1} when used after prepositions.\textsuperscript{2}

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. \textit{bat}, 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 \textit{be}, and as such, naturally carries no information regarding gender.

As for the form \textit{bat} 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 \textit{bat} occurs with nouns denoting persons, however, seems to point out to a differentiation of another kind, a differentiation in terms of animateness as against inanimateness, rather than 'grammatical' masculine/feminine as against neuter.\textsuperscript{3}

The only form of the definite article which is still gender-distinctive is therefore the asgm. \textit{ben} and its variants.

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

\textsuperscript{2} The form \textit{bat} 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. of \textit{bat} days 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\textsuperscript{p} mere \textit{pat} \textit{oper} (bro\textit{p}er) 7017; a\textit{sen} \textit{bat} \textit{op} 9305.

\textsuperscript{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 pe maistrie nis no3t a kinges 1331; an ernes nest 3670; an hei man 213.

It has been noted, however, both by the editor and Pabst 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 doter 2727). 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:

ærerde þer an castel (OE m.) 2501; þer þou sealt 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

1. See the Glossary to the Chronicle, s.v. an.
2. op. cit. p. 297.
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 dsgm. 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 theLegendary - 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. Second-
ly, 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 can-
not 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 strac 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.

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. *pis*, has entirely ceased to mark gender distinctions. E.g.:  

nsg.: *pis* king 99; *pis* gode Cordeile 865; *pis* lond 1292.  
assg.: *pis* geant 522.  
gassg.: *pis* oldemannes lond 755.  
dassg.: after *pis* king 901; to *pis* boce 138; to *pis* 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 *pis*, the form *pes* is also found in a few cases. The examples are: nsg.: *pes* king 9335; *pes* tydinge 4295; assg.: *pes* veiage 4112 and after prepositions: in *pes* cas 8539; poru *pes* 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 made 6366; pin made 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 luperheäe (OE m.) 3992; in pin si3t (OE f.) 817; vpe min londe (OE n.) 425. There is also one example in the genitive singular: pin louverdes olopes 6573.

The form tine occurs even more rarely; it is found once in the asg.: pine cause 10352, and five times after prepositions: in pine londe 9431; 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 masculines:

B: nsg. he : asg. hine - asg. hene, -ne
L: nsg. he : asg. him, hine - asg. ben(e), -ne
C: nsg. he : asg. hin - 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 ane, biane, 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/dsg. 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 n.f.</th>
<th>OE m.n.</th>
<th>OE f.</th>
<th>OE n.</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OE f.</th>
<th>OE f.m.</th>
<th>OE n/f.</th>
<th>OE f.m.</th>
<th>OE n.</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neuters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</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 gagg/n. and the dsgm/n. has been omitted for the very reason that they are used to express these two genders. The asgf. ba has not been included either, since it can be used as an uninflected form regardless of gender. The asgf. 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. anae 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. dead, goat. 1

Masculine nouns.

The language of Layamon 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

1. goat of course might be regarded as referring to an animate; cf. p. 143.

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 nsg. he, thus showing that the nouns in question are not neuter. They are: rug, staf and time. On the same evidence it can be established that the origin of plihte is OE pliht, m. and not OE plihte, f.; also that OE wiella, m. in addition to OE wielle, 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. *swipe*, m. 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 gsg. *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

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. 56 ff.); that the noun is treated as masculine in this text is confirmed, however, by the dsg. *ban* in: Mid pan formeste swipen iii.284/9 her omen preo hundred scipen.
noted\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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 feuere 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 Ausbüttel, 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. Ausbüttel, 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.
Lagamon. If, however, there had been a change in gender in theLegendary, it is much more likely to have been caused by some outside influence than by the ending -e of the noun.¹

For this tendency of nouns in -e to become feminine seems to have been neither long-lived nor thorough-going;² 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 theLegendary as it is in theBrut.³

No such ambiguity arises in connection with masculine nouns in theChronicle; 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 theBrut; e.g. bôse, cure, drake, drope, dune², gare, grome, here¹, huie, mete, nome, acute, stede, sterre, stude, sweore, swipe, wode. For some originally neuter nouns in -e in theBrut, see p.
³ The nounbeig in L (he com and fond pane beig of gold, pat seint Nicholas hadde i-brought 241/36) 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 theMiddle 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.¹ There can be little doubt that as such it is an indication that the noun it precedes is masculine in gender.²

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

---

¹. See p. 126. MS Trinity Colledge Cambridge R. 4.26 (c.1400), however, contains a few survivals of the dsgf. *bare, bere*, only one of which is with an OE noun (of *pere born* 68/30). The rest are with OF nouns (in *pere route 149/22, in pere companie 306/6, of pere seignorie 307/24*). It is noteworthy that the asgmo form in this MS survives in most cases as *bane, bene*, and only in a few as *ben*.

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 geschlechtigen 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 goat, 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; Morsbach, 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 non* 9126 (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 personification as an explanation for the use of *he* etc. may safely be ruled out; *e.g.* *appel*, *knif*, *kinedom*. 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,

---

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 personifications 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. *pen* it is possible to establish that *castel*, *eted* 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 Ausbütten 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 *n.* 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), *gost* : *animus* (p. 52), *kingdom* : *le paye* (p. 26), *ob* : *le sacrament* (p. 99), *wal* : *le mur* (p. 32), *wei* : *le oemin* (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),\footnote{1} sterra (stella, estoila);\footnote{2} to these could be added town (la cite);\footnote{3} and possibly appel.\footnote{4}

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.\footnote{5} The case

\footnote{1} Cf. Korsbach, \textit{op. cit.} p. 18.
\footnote{2} Cf. Ausbüttel, \textit{op. cit.} p. 20; but the noun is also feminine in this text.
\footnote{3} Note that the noun cite is masculine in the Chronicle.
\footnote{4} Provided he is not a variant of heo here. The noun is, however, firmly established as masculine in theLegendary.
\footnote{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 wael, wialla) and feminine (OE wialle), 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 colnere 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 dif-

¹. There is one occurrence of anne with the noun die, 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. Ausbüttel, op. cit. p. 35, commenting on the genders of welle in Ywaine and Gawan, 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 *nagm.* *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.\(^1\) 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 aegn. *bat* and the dsqm/n. *pame* 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*.\(^2\) 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. Glaehn, op. cit. p. 15.
There is also another group of nouns that should be considered here.¹ 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,² hul
- **L:** m. and n. in OE: dew
  - m. and f. in OE: help, hul
- **C:** m. and n. in OE: box³
  - 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 in OE. It has been suggested that the masculine gender of the originally neuter noun holt developed by analogy with wude, weald in OE.⁴ 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

---

¹ Cf. 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 hill in Trevisa’s Polychronicon: bat hille ... he islopened Mona Caucasus he finds in the Latin text (mons) Caucasus dicitur and comes to the conclusion that the masculine gender of hill is due to the gender of mons. Cf. op. cit. pp. 54-55.

3. This statement is based primarily on the evidence of nenne B and nenne L; less trustworthy is the evidence of the gag. helps 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 Liflađe ant te Pasiaun of Seinte Iuliene, 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 bræste (OE bræst, 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 : candele, see

As can be seen from the above, both B and L treat the noun see as feminine, the gender which it is supposed to have developed on the analogy of sa, 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 candele, it is most likely that it owes its feminine gender to Lat. candela.³

Neuter nouns:

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

The neuter gender of sædel may be due, as Hoffmann⁴

---

2. See p. 177.
3. R.v. Fleischhacker, op. cit. p. 248, cites Pogatcher, Lautlehre des Lehnworts 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 *garume*, it appears to have preserved both genders, if we can accept the nsg. *ba garume* 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 (*behāt*). In *Laȝamon* 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 and of those ending in \(-e\) to become feminine. Such changes, more or less mechanical, seem never to have been very extensive, 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.

It would follow therefore that changes for reasons of form are not to be expected either in the Legendary or in the Chronicle.

---

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, op. cit. p. 56, Morsbach, op. cit. pp. 9-10, Glahn, 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, op. cit. p. 56, Morsbach, op. cit. p. 10, Glahn, 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. \(3ate\), \(tacne\).

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.¹

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.² 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.³ 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 P. 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 mona, f. from OE mona, m. by analogy with OE sunne, 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.¹

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 wāide
and wif are referred to by hæo, hire and so is the OE masculine
wifmon. But while the influence of natural gender is felt on
wāide 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
- Lübke). In support of this view he gives the example of
shame which changed its gender probably under the influence
of Krame 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-nx3ht, Wodnesny3ht, 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 blyse, m.; cf. also blas, blast, 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. This change may have been caused by the consonant 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 ... Weidene castel he wes icoleped 113/14. There is also one example in which the two nouns make a compound: ne wid inne hon castel-buri 286/12, which is probably masculine in gender.

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. 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 beheten ii.171/20.
chin B has probably changed its gender owing to its ending in a consonant.  

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: (clainliche to restore) holi churche pat pou hast. him binono mid wronge 10288.  

Apart from this, there is another example in which the noun church is referred to by him: pei seinte Peter him sulf. ihalwed him adde er 7158. 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.

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. he heouene gethe ene a-boute ...
be Mone 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. ia, thus showing that it still has the feminine gender.³ Once, however, it appears in the accusative singular as bun ouer bond 1840, 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. For examples for the feminine gender of bond in C are given by Ausbüttel. For the masculine he queries the example in 3635: four hondred men ... is owe bond he slou. We can, however, disregard this occurrence of he, for it is almost certain that it refers to the doer of the action.
⁴. Körner, op. cit. p. 38, suggests that habben bun ouer bond must have been a fixed phrase.
The possibilities are that the noun changed to masculine owing to its ending in a consonant,\(^1\) or because of the influence of \textit{Flebras},\(^2\) or a combination of these things. In any case, the noun is both feminine or masculine in C, but never neuter.

\textit{Niht B, Sonen-nyght L, Wodnesnyght L.} The noun \textit{niht} is normally feminine in B, but the asg. \textit{enne niht} 401/13, strengthened by the evidence of \textit{to ban mid-nihte} 324/3, suggests that the noun can also occasionally be masculine.\(^3\) As Plätt\(^4\) points out, the change in gender occurred here as a result of this word being coupled with the masculine \textit{dæg} in phrases like \textit{dægæs} and \textit{nihtæs}. At all events, the change in B is only a sporadic one. It is difficult, however, to know whether the same is true about \textit{Sonen-nyght} and \textit{Wodnesnyght} in L, since the only evidence available is that of the temporal phrases \textit{bene Sonen-nyght} and \textit{bene Wodnesnyght}, which are clearly influenced by the noun \textit{dæg} and

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Körner, \textit{op. cit.} p. 24, cites an example in Laȝamon in which the noun appears to be masculine: smat Hengest a \textit{bon} hond 11.267/19. Cf. also Glahn, \textit{op. cit.} p. 19.
  \item Cf. Ausbütte, \textit{op. cit.} p. 52; also Glahn, \textit{op. cit.} p. 19.
  \item Hoffmann, \textit{op. cit.} p. 54, takes this example of \textit{ban} with \textit{mid-nihte} to be an error for \textit{here}, which is what the B text has.
  \item J. Platt, 'Zur Kenntnisse der asg. Geschlechter', \textit{Anglia}, vol. vi, 1883, p. 174. The ending \textit{-æs}, 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 \textit{-æs}, proper to masculine and neuter nouns.
\end{enumerate}
its compounds in the same function; e.g. _hene_ Sonenday. 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 _hene_ 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_.

More L shows the influence of OE _pasa_, 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.² There is, however, the evidence of the gsg. _ia_ 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.³

---

2. See pp. 120-21, 146-7.
some B is taken by Hoffmann 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. This may be the case, since we actually find some and grame forming a rhyme in Lagamon; e.g.

& menden to him heore sør
& heore sœr-sidês
& pan uimete some
& penne muche grome ii.38/20-23.

siht B, on the evidence of the asg. namne, 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. 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. Ausblüttel, 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*, \(^1\) e.g.: *his soule*; *po 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 *gag* is 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. \(^2\) 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’.

\(\text{sunne} \text{ B, sonne} \text{ L.} \) Of OE *sunne*, *f.* and *sunna*, *m.* only the feminine *sunne* survives in B. \(^3\) There is only one example where

\(^1\) Cf. Morsbach, *op. cit.* p. 19.

\(^2\) 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*, Cn. 32, 31 (see Bosworth-Toller).
the noun appears as masculine, but in this case it is used in a personified sense: Saturnus heo ȝiuen ættcrdæi, bæne Sunne he ȝiuen sonedæi ii.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.

weorld 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 ins for pan weorldes some 20/3 constitutes evidence for the masculine or for the neuter gender. If there had been a change in Layamon, it could have been caused by the consonantal 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. Morsbach, 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 Ancrane Riwle 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 **Legend**ary and the **Chronicle**, the noun appears in the asg. as *bene 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, Yrlond

II. Sporadic change:

B: balu, child, gris, zer, spere, wunder

L: child, zer, ?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 *be world* was furst wrouȝt/ He hap him vnder brouȝt - Celui pur ki le mund fu fet/ En son poeir out attrait - *The Castle of Love*, WS 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 Layamon.

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 Ausbättel, 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.

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.* *sweord* 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 Latin neuters as masculine in ME;¹ 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.

*grið B* is occasionally treated as masculine, probably under the influence of *fríð*, with which it often forms a rhyme and is related in meaning;² cf. a þisse londe he heold gryð/ a þisse londe he hulde frið 422-23,24.

*gær B, L* appears to be masculine in: mid þan feo sculden faren/ suer alone 332, that is to say if we can accept the evidence of *-ne* as an unequivocal indication of the masculine gender.³ In this case, the change is probably due to the influence of the masculine nouns *winter* or *summor*, an example of words with a similarity in meaning affecting one another as regards gender.⁴ We may also argue that there has been no


3. Cf. p. 60.

4. Cf. also *niht*, 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.\(^1\) The same applies to the example occurring in the Legendary: pis was bene fourteo pere 190/27. But cf. to fite ane yer 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 (11.106/17), 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 holie Man to water cam : pat watur him with-drouȝ And ouer broke made ane weȝ : druȝȝe and clene 1-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**: bi3nte, bringe, freondscipe, monscripe
   
   **L**: mone, stede, steurre, wimmon
   
   **C**: wimman

II. Sporadic change:
   
   **B**: mrende, sweore, wifmon, wurdescipe
   
   **L**: bowe
   
   **C**: steurre

*mrende* B, which is still probably masculine in Lagamon,¹ seems in the following example to be feminine: heo com to pere ferde/

---

¹. Unless it changed to neuter; see the Glossary and p. 183, note 5.
be icumen we to bissere arde 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 ã,\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

bizeðe B became feminine presumably on account of the ending -e of the nominative singular, which, however, is a new development; cf. OE be-geat.\(^3\)

bouwe L appears to be both masculine and feminine, if one accepts the evidence of heo 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

---

1. Cf. Hit iverð þere/ swa hit deð iverære/ þ þeos þunge wiman/ iverð hire mid childe 12/6-9; also: seodðen 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. ha arde 12370, since d is only a misspelling for ã.

3. Körner, op. cit. p. 23, takes the etymology of the noun to be OE */bizet, 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 arewe L with which it must often have been found together in the same context. 1

bringe B probably became feminine for phonetic reasons, viz. owing to its ending in -e.

Freondescipe B, monscipe B, wurdeescipe 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 wurde-scape. 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 OF 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 wurhescipe there is also one example of bene wurde-escipe. 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 La3amon; \(^3\) for in the Legendary the noun sonne shows an uncertainty as to its gender and is sometimes treated 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.

2. ibid.
3. Madden, however, gives its gender as masculine. No examples of this noun where the gender is identifiable occur in vol.1.
sterre L, C probably owes its feminine gender to the influence of Lat. stella or F étoile.\textsuperscript{1} The change is apparently late, since the noun is still masculine in the Brut and more often masculine than feminine in the Chronicle.\textsuperscript{2} 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.\textsuperscript{3}

From neuter nouns.

I. Complete change:

B: bihous, breoste, gange, maine, temple, weolcne
L: maide, temple, wif
C: mayde

II. Sporadic change:

B: husting, inne, wælden, (kine)riche, rihte, wif, witte.


3. There is only one exception with the indefinite article: enke 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.

bihousa 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. Clahn 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 Singul ans des Fem. eintrat, wie z. B. gen. pl. as. hare bræosta me. hare bræoste".

The change seems to have started already in OE since some dictionaries give n. f. and m. as possible genders for this noun.

The feminine gender therefore might have been inherited from OE, although the example occurring in vol. iii. 98/13: form a ban breoste 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.
2. N. v. Clahn, op. cit. p. 15.
3. See Bosworth-Toller, Clark Hall, Holthausen. Sweet gives only n. and m.
Penne B changed to the feminine probably on account of the final -e.

hustar B, according to Hoffmann,1 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 cinihtene (sic) inne 142/9, may perhaps be interpreted as the genitive plural, i.e. bare cinihtene or as the dat., i.e. to bare ... inne as Körner2 interprets it. Cf. to bæn inne ii. 149/5.

mæiden B, maide L, mayde C. Mæiden is still grammatically neuter in B, that is to say, the words in apposition to it follow the neuter declension; e.g. Oft wes pen mæiden wa 131/23; pa luuede he a maide 12/3. The high frequency of bæt 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 pina, 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 pina may have been used under the influence of pina with the noun streng in the preceding line. On the other hand, the example: mid muchelere maine B 62/20 (where the A text reads; mid muchele strengde), may suggest that there was some confusion as to the gender of this noun.  

(kina)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. The change seems to be due to the final -e.  

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. This change might have occurred on purely formal grounds, viz. owing to the ending -e (from the plural -u), but it could also be due to an association with church.

1. Since the asg. pina is not an altogether unambiguous indication of the feminine gender, this noun has not been included in the figures given in the tables on p. 137.
2. See p. 148.
The form temple (cf. OE tempel) may also result from French influence, though the masculine gender of OE temple 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. scienza.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 Legamon. It seems reasonable therefore to regard such cases as

---

2. The use of hat 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. h 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 asg. hat, asg. his 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 expla-
nation for this change.

laode (OE f.) is preceded by the asg. hat, dsg. bon, gsg.
bissece and is referred to by hit. But whether or not we
should regard these as indications of a change in gender,

¹. Cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. pp. 60 and 68; Glahn, op. cit. p. 25.
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: *bat he hom wolde leaden/ out of pane leoden* (B: *pa isah piisses ledes king* (B; *pa isah piisses londes king*) 412/2; Feowerti wintre he walde pes leode/*a blisse hit stod on his hand* (Fourti *ser he held pes lond/*ine blisse in his bond) 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 *bat*. 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 hat 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 hat in what at least may be its definite article function. The nouns in question are: clarseripe (once), comp (once), hired (twice), seil-clæš (once), wæl (once); all these are originally masculine nouns, but aside from accompaniment by hat, and in some cases by the dative singular bon (comp, hired), there is no evidence for their gender in Laæamon.

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 hat. They are: ferde, f. (once), hauene, f. (once), niht, f. (once), tur, m. f. (once), wifmon, f. (once), winter, m. (twice) and world, f. (once). It may ultimately turn out that evidence from other texts will suggest whether such accompaniment by hat 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 hat 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 hat 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 weorlida scome 20/3. But this may be also gsgm.
5. On the evidence of the asg. his (which is normally found only with neuter nouns), ærde (OE m.) and ensware (OE f.) seem to have changed into neuter.
LOSS OF GRAMMATICAL GENDER

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 bat is also used as a deictic irrespective of gender. Moreover, a form like the demonstrative pis is a generalized form used in all cases; it no longer distinguishes gender. The same is true of the form a(an) of the indefinite article.

The third singular personal pronoun 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 hit with reference to historically masculine or feminine inanimates should therefore be regarded as signs of the appearance of overtly marked natural gender;

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 *it*, the following three situations may be distinguished:

1. Where the evidence of *it* conflicts with the evidence about gender provided by the appositional kind of criteria;

2. Where the evidence of *it* is in conflict with the evidence of *he* or *she* with reference to nouns not denoting persons;

3. Where the evidence of *it* 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 *it* 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 *it* 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. : ǝn (pene, -ne); 1 cristendom (-ne); feond (enne); gare (pene,emne); mete (pene); stude (-ne); wille (asg. pine); 2

f. : ǝhta (asg. pa); Bruttene (-re); sibbe (-re); speke (-re); temple (asg. ane, -re); 3 Troye (asg. ane).

In the Legendary:

m. : heig (pene, asg. ane); bowe (asg. ane); breth (pene); dead (pene); feld (asg. ane); rost (pene); mete (pene, minne); mist (pene); put (pene, asg. ane); staf (pene); stan (pene. asg. ane); tun (pene); wei (pene, nanne, alne); worm (asg. ane).

In the Chronicle:

m. : stude (p'en); tun (p'en).

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. an 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 temple occurs only once; the noun is feminine in La3amon 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{ehte} (\textit{heo}); \textit{mata} (\textit{hine}); \textit{Rome} (\textit{heore, hire}).

In the Legendary:

\textit{bawe} (\textit{he, heo, hire}); \textit{coppe} (\textit{heo, hire}); \textit{dead} (\textit{hine});
\textit{eore} (\textit{heo}); \textit{fisc} (\textit{he, him}); \textit{post} (\textit{he}); \textit{seorde} (\textit{heo, hire});
\textit{heuene} (\textit{hire, him}); \textit{put} (\textit{he}); \textit{rym-forst} (\textit{he});
\textit{staf} (\textit{hine, he}); \textit{stan} (\textit{his, hyne}); \textit{sunne}\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{heo, hire, him});
\textit{worm} (\textit{is, him}).

In the Chronicle:

\textit{chirche} (\textit{asg. is; ir; him, he}); \textit{stude} (\textit{him}); \textit{tun} (\textit{he}).

No other evidence is available for the following nouns except the evidence of hiti:

In the Brut:

\textit{axe} (\textit{OE f.}); \textit{biheste} (\textit{OE heh\-\textit{e}s, f.; cf. beh\-\textit{at}, n.})

In the Legendary:

\textit{OE m.}: \textit{bova}, \textit{clo\-b}, \textit{cri\-stindom, drinc,hurst, rug, smul, song}, \textit{sak, thought}.

\textit{OE f.}: \textit{*anletnesse, bleasingue, *childingue, cistnigue, *leitunge, lesingue, lightingue, love, reste, sihte}.

In the Chronicle:

\textit{OE m.}: \textit{cristendom, ofsprang, sceld, wind}.

\textit{OE f.}: \textit{eax, vorerarde, hebenesse, mansingue}.

\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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></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>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Neuter 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>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See p. 156 ff.
2. See p. 135.
I. 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: flume, 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 ban 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 e.g.: ouer Maluan ene 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 oast 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</th>
<th>archer</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>abbeige</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tur</td>
<td>abbeige</td>
<td>chartre</td>
<td>chartre</td>
<td>chartre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>croce</td>
<td>croise</td>
<td>court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>feste</td>
<td>lettre</td>
<td>croiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>penance</td>
<td>reule</td>
<td>ymage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toumbe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ymage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite a possible descent in some cases from the OE word,³ archer 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 arca. 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

---

2. See pp. 120, 124, 146.
3. Cf. OED, s.v. *archer*.
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. 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. The same may be true of court and of ymage which are referred to by he in 1223 and 329.

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 ðer 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 of. to bane 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 gag. ia, 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 asgm. bane in 460/133, otherwise with bat (which may be a deictic) as in 38/152; robe is used with the asgm. pan 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 dag. bane. The example reads: to bane ymage he wende a-non; ase he bi be walle stod, 253/452.

In the Chronicle the noun cite is referred to by he and him in l. 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 rîgt hond is launce he nom. pat was iocluped Ron long & gret & strong ynou. him ne miȝte 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 (55ne 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 ia 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 masculine and feminine gender, but they may be listed here: OF masculines: cofre, ensample, ginne, mantel, peire, sege, signe; OF feminines: chaire, folie, fourme, goutte, grace, partie, perche, place, rente, summe, table and yle. Cf. *bentyla* in 2. For actual citations see the Glossary.
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 n.) and **tīende** (OE n. pl.). They all seem to retain their original gender.

**Bole** 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 **croune** 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 *hure*). 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 OE (**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 *bane*. The noun **tīende** which in ON was only plural, appears to be singular and neuter in the **Brut**, since it occurs with the form *bat* in the singular. As in early ME in general, this noun can be either singular or plural in the **Brut**; cf. OE **ord**.
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. his, a(n), hi(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 bat 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 asgm. forms *ban(e)* and occasional adjectival *-ne*, nearly all other case forms are reduced to one form only; another exception in the *Legendary* is the accusative *ana* 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.
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 Layamon’s *Brut*; L for *The Early South-English Legendary*; C for *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert 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.
abbeize L (OF abbeie, f.) abbey

f. : for heore soulene he as liet a-rere 73/99; heore
    yat 264/122; ane Abbeye he liet a-rere 73/97.

acord L (OF acorde, f.) agreement

[n.]: to spoken more of be a-cords: if he it miyte a-mende
    156/1738.

r B (OE ēa, f.) river, stream

f. : at Cristes chirche heo falled i þare æe 106/10;
     in ðere swide feire æe 60/2.

éhhte B (OE ēht, f.) treasure; possessions, property

f. : & þu þas éhhte on-fo/... and yef þu heo þus daelest
    153/2; for to habben al þe éhhte 94/18.

[n.]: me of his éhhte yerne/ buten he hit þeuen him wulle
    254/2.

mēe B (OE ege, m.) awe, dread

m. : þurh þone muchelne mie ii.252/10; & summe heo fluyen
    to Irlonde/ for þan mie of Gurmunde iii.162/20. [Cf.
    þa bæuden heo þa menre mie 235/11].

mit-lond, eit-lond B (cf. OE igeland, n.) island

n. : hit 48/11; Logice hatte þat eit-lond 48/5; heo funden
    i hon eit-londe 48/21; we beod in ane mit-londe 313/20.

mīlde, halde B (OE igele, f.) age, old age

f. : ic eam for mire mīlde 127/1 swpe vnbalde; for mire
    halde 134/20.

answare B (OE and-awaru, f.) answer

eärde, eärde B (OE eard, m.) native soil, country
m? : heo senden ouer al þan eärde 166/22; of moni eäre
     eärde 218/24.
n? : þe king he bi-tahte his eard ii.138/22.
f? : heo com to þere ferd/ þe icumen wes to þissere
     eärde 213/9. [cf. and sende ȝeond þæs eärde 273/4].
erne B, ern L (OE earn, m.) eagle
     B : m. : þat an muchel earn spe/ a þon castle þer he set 120/7.
     L : m. : And ȝuyt he mot nede, to resten him : a-ȝein to
     grounds teo 412/348; is wyngene 407/164.
erne, æð, oð B, oh L, C (OE ðap, m.) oath
     B : m. : bi-lef þene oð 185/10; & swar muchelne oð 28/17;
     ðæne æð þer he swor ii.415/6.
     [n.]: Brutus him swar an oð 30/21; broken þat hit nolde 30/22.
     C : m. : þe oh þat to þing aure/ þii suore biuore.
     Þii þoȝte þe he was ded. þat þe were al uor lore. 3238;
     þen oh þat to holde schon 9153.
æðel B (OE ðpel, m. n.) country, land
     n. : heo weoren swide chte men/ þat æþel heo bi-wunnen
     (B þane feld) 202/13; and nomen eft Elidur/ & duden
     hine to his æðelen/ heuen hine to þinga/ mid hægere
     blisse/ and hit ane sundo 289/18 stod on him seolus.
æðelæn B (OE æðelo, æþelu, f. n.) nobility
     f. : þe þa æðelen sulden habben 159/18.
anletnesse L (from anlet + ness; cf. ON andlit, m.) likeness [n.]: For wane men peynitez an Anletnesse: 3e ne seoth it nouȝt bi-leued 167/2127 pat bere nis depeint a Roundel.

anlicnes B (OE onlicnes, f.) likeness, image n.: ðer inne was an onlicnesse/ a wifmonnes liche/
Zeier hit wes & swide keih 49/6; heo wurdeden h anlicnes 50/1.

appel L, C (OE appel, mpl, m.) apple L : m. : ðane Appel of nam 5/139; Ane Appel þare-of he nam 7/217.
C : m. : & þe bowes of þe on appel. smite þe oper vaste.
So harde pat he vel adoun. in þe water atte laste. 5749; pat þe ona bou smit. þen oper adoun...5758.

arm C (OE earm, m.) arm m. : Þer he smot of þen arm. þer hond oper heued. 402.

arche B (OF arche, f.; cf. OE earc(e) f.; arc, m.) arc f. : of þære arche weoren icumen 382/13.

arewe, aruwe L (OE arewe, arwe, f.) arrow f. : heo 229/338; Ake þis Arewe tornede euene a-þein:
to him pat hire schet 300/21.

asse L (OE assa, m.) donkey, he-ass of. asse(n), f. she-ass m. : Nabæ heo neuere so luyte mete: Îa travaïl nis no þe lasse 61/247.

umpereve C (OF empire, m.) empire (of Rome) f. : Wanne hii vorsoke Îa & vorslewede... 4055.
Îo we poru chiualerie. out of hor poer Îa nome 4056.
axe B (of. ēscie, f.) demand
[n.]: Ecuer axe ich eou leue/ lod þeh hit me were 45/14.
bach B (v. Kurathi: OE bec, bece, m.; bece cannot be the direct ancestor, and it is the only form Sweet gives) valley
m/n?: ferde after ane bache 33/2.
bær B, bere, bor C (OE bær, m.) boar
  B : m. : awa bid þa wilde bær/ wenne hundes hine bistonended
       72/16.
  C : m. : Vor þe bor of cornewaile . ssal helpe pis londe.
       & þe saxons newen . vnder is fet to trede 2804.
       Many yles winne he ssal . lond & oper stude 2805.
       Ac þe dragon velde pulke bere . & to grounde him
caste 4145.
balew, balu B (OE bealo, n.) bale, woe, harm, evil
  n. : & bat balu måinde ii.320/1; muchel balu habben 314/11.
  m. : þe bane balew måinde 184/12; & ðesan balu måinde
       ii.316/16.
baru C (OE bærg, beargh, m.) pig
  m. : ... & adde . an vatte barn (sic) ynome.
       & yspited him poru out.mid an yrene .spite 4213.
bataille L, C (OF bataille, f.) battle
  L :[n.]: A wonder bataille it was on : hadde it longe i-last
       426/188.
  C : f?: & mette hom & ane batayle smite vpe asesdoune 5312;
       hii smite þer an bataile 269.
bearn B (OE bearn, n.) child
  n. : bat bearn nas nowit feie 13/21.
beirg L (OE bēag, m.) ring; a piece of jewelry, a treasure

m. : Of is fader guode a nytsîne beirg of gold he nam 241/33; he com and fond brane beirg of gold : pat seint Nicholas hadde i-brouȝt 241/38.

[n.]: par-of he was glad i-nouȝpei he nuste ho it brouȝte 241/39.

beest L (OF beste, f.) beast, animal

[n.]: for it spak aȝein kuynde 256/15.

m. : For pat wilde best so spack : and for wordes pat he sede (him bi-gan wondri) 256/14; And pat best bar riȝt in is Mouth ... 278/8.

bivate B (OE be-gēat, m. [Clark Hall], n. [Sweet]) gain

f. : for bære mucheles bivate 26/20; mid baldere bivete 111.78/20.

bihesta B (OE bihēta, f. ; cf. OE behāt, n.) promise

[n.]: He bi-beihte hire bihesta/ & he hit wel laste 54/6.

bihoue B (OE behō, n.) behoof, need, use v. Clark Hall

f. : bide heo to bire bi-houe 187/2; he þohhte heo habben to his anewe bihoue 194/23.

blase B (OE blēse, blase, f. ; cf. OE blýsa, m. ; also OE blēs, blēst, both m.) blaze, flame

m. : in bære temple he lette beornen/ enne blase of fure 121/16.

blessingue L (OE bîtsung, f.) blessing

[n.]: eoh Monrek scholde operes blessingue afonguesiand euerech to ofur it giue 264/126.
blisse B, L (OE bliss, f.) bliss, joy

B: f.: for here muchele blisse 408/17; under blissere
   blisse 104/13; mid muchelere blisse 89/10.

L: f?: And sethpe mine blisse of heouene: without enonde a-fongue 363/34.

blod L (OE blöd, n.) blood

n.: it 18/569.

boo B, L (OE bǫc, f.) book

B: f.: hoe 3/6; he nom ba Englisca boc 2/19; & a bere
    AEnglisce boc 11.27/10 he is ibaten Wale-broc;
    & ba pre boc/ brumde to are 3/18.

L: f.: with him he hadde as per 28/59;(bi-tok) ane bok
    281/105.

m.: pe bok was i-closed faste to: seint Frauncis
    hine gan wndo 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 laste he him fond 300/18; ane
   bole pov schalt pare finde 303/115.

bone L (ON bón, f.) boon, request

f?: graunti him ane bone 357/40.

bord B, L (OE bory n.) board, table

B: n.: bat beord 11.540/12; to ban borde forð rihtes 11.
    540/20; at hine borde gunnen fihte 11.539/9.

L: n.: hit 329/219.
boru3 L (OE borg, borh, m.) loan, borrowed money

m. : he ne miȝte vinden him nanneboru3 249/328.

bou3, bov3 L (OE bōg, bōh, m. ) arm, bough

[n.]: and nam bar-of a bov3/...and toward him it drov3 59/187.

bo3g, bowe B, bouwe L (OE boga, m. ) bow

B: m. : & þene bowe igræap 62/19; he leadde an his bonde/
enne bowe stronge 62/8.

L: m? : "Blænd þine bowwe"..."to loko þwat he can do 412/329;
Ane bowe ich bere 412/327.

f.: "For, yf ich hithe bere longue i-bend : pe feblœre
heo wolde beo 412/335.

[n.]: þis þongue Man nam and bende is bowwe : and bar it
longue so 412/330.

box C (OE box, m. n. ) box

m. : þe box þat hæng ek ouer þe weued.Mid godes fless
& is blod.
þe streng brac & he vel adoun.such signe nas noȝt
god 9353.

brand B, brond B, L (OE brand, m. ) brand, sword

B: m. : Euelin þene brond igræap/ mid grimliche lechen/
& braid hine of þere scæde 349/6-8; þe þunge mon
heold on his bonde/ enne stilene brond 349/5.

L: m? : And þat best bar in is mouth : ane berninde brond 278/8.

bred L (OE brēad, n. ) bread


breste, breoste, broste B (OE brōost, n.m.f. ) breast

f.: and for-bat him þa breste 277/8; & hittie his ægæne
breaste (cont.)

f. : fader/ pur ut here broste 14/15; vt of hire broste
   ii.239/6.

n? : and smat here eorl Beduer/ for a ban broste
   iii.98/13.

breth L (OE breþp, m.) breath

m. : and drauȝth op so hane breth 316/597.

[n.]: pe breth of pe watere þat þe sonne;drauȝth op aȝein eue,
   ȝwane þe sonne is to grounde i-go;it ne may nouȝt bi-leus,
   317/612.

brimme B (OE brymme, m.) shore cf. OE brimm, n. 'sea'

n? : par laien bi ban brímme/ and bisilichen hit wisten
   191/2,3; A schip funde Brennes/ bi bon brímme 202/23.

bringe B (OE bring, m.) offering

f. : wel bið him here bringe 32/12.

brugge B, L, C (OE brycg, f.) bridge

B : f. : makien ane brugge ii.457/19.

L : f. : þeo þingus vuele i-nowe : on þis brugge were :
   þat on was, for heð was so heȝ ... 212/422; Ane
   brugge ... huy maden þarof ate laste 9/287.

C : f? : and þe brugge brende/ Vor he was al of tre 11096.

Brutlonde B (OE Bryt-land, n.) Britain

n. : hit 162/8; of þen Brutlonde 208/10.

Bruttene B, Brutayne C (OE Bryten, f.) Britain

B : f. : swa þat nis her burh nan/ in bissere Bruttene 304/11.

[n.]: seodden Bruttes hit seode 181/17.

C :[f?] : þe abbep ymad leuedy. brutayne youre owe lond 4365.
bur B (OE bur, m. n.) bower

m.: Gurmund makede ænne tur/ þer inne he bulde ænne
bur ii.170/16; þæs bures dure he warp adun iii.
27/15; weoren in æne buren 285/11.

burh B (OE burg, burh, f.) fort, castle

f.: þa burh wes wel ¹ʒarwed/ binnen lut þearen/ he ʒef
heo his stepmoder 10/17; & he hire sette name on
86/11; þa Brutus hefde imaked þæ heþe burh 88/4;
in þære burhe 13/16; & he makede æne heþe burh 10/13;
in to ære burje 182/5; þe i þisses burh wuneð 227/1.

m.: & þu æi heðne burhþæ ii.169/18 heðene monne habbe
biteæht; ænne burh makede 256/3; & wel hine wusten
416/12; he ferden to þan burzen 263/5.

burh-folc B (cf. OE folc, n.)

n.: Ah þet burh-folc was war 416/11.

burne B (OE byrne, f.) coat of mail

f.: of mid þære burne 216/24; mid þære ære burne iii.24/15.

burst B (OE byræt, m.) loss, defeat

m.: þer he þolede muchelne burst 372/1.

candele L (OE candel, f. n.) candle

cf. Lat. candela

f.: Ase ʒif þov heolde æne clere candele ... þeo wolde
þiuen hire 113ʒt 311/411, 412.

care B (OE caru, f.) care; sorrow, grief

f.: and mid muchelure care 5/24 þeo to londe bicomen;
& of mire unimete care iii.294/22.

m.: neuende he care monne ii.12/4; her ure heþden muchelne
care ii.141/2.
caroyne C (OF caroigne, f.) carriion, carcass

[n.]: & pere as is vncole ded lay. is foule caroyne he broȝte.
& riȝt per bi pecemela. hakked it al to noȝte 4422.
castel, B, C (OE castel, m.) castle cf. OE castel, n. 'village'

B: m. : þa þe castel vp-stod/ he wes strong & swiðe god 70/16;
& he hine strongede wel 351/24; bene castel he cle-
pede Lauinion 9/11; he makede enne stronge castel 9/8;
Ich wulle bitachen þe ful iwis/ minne castel inne
Paris iii. 68/12; þer he gon bulde/ castel swiðe
strongne 272/23.

C: m. : Hii asaylede þen castel. riȝt as he asolde adoun anon.
3339; þat hii asolde him þe castel ȝelde. ar he wip
strengþe him nome 3366.
[n.]: Vor þe castel is so strong . þat þe leuedi is Inne.
þat ich wene al þis lond . mid strengþe ne asolde
it winne 3310.
castel-buri B (*OE castel-burh, f.) = burh?

mf: ne wið inne bon castel-buri 286/12.
caudron L (OF caudron, m.) cauldron

[n.]: heore caudron heo founden þere/ Ase heo it bi-leften
opon is rugge : in þat opere ȝere 230/374.
chaiere L (OF chaiere, f.) chair

f7: ane chaiere with him buy bere 18/580.
chartre L, C (OF chartre, f.) charter

L: f. : þis chartre ichulle so faste bi-louke : In helle ,
ywanne ich hom come/ þat I ne dreede me nouȝt þat
heo worpe : poruȝ 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 þe chartre and bi-teiȝte as
him 292/156.

C : f. : þat he made of þe olde lawes is chartre atte laste.
to holde uor him & uor is eirs. & a-selede 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 þer he leonede 11/23.

L : n. : it 5/161; hit 20/22.

m. : he 20/25 (nam) þat child bi is seli prote: and a-strang-
leded him a-non 254/496.

C : n. : hit 238; it 985.

m. : þat þat child asolde verst. fader & moder quelle.
& suppe he asulde mani lond. over passi & wende 228.

childingue L (*OE childung, f.) child-bearing

[n.]: ȝif 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/ wiðe vule ȝe bane chin
348/2; Herigal smat Euelin/ wiðe vfele ȝe bane chin
359/9; and þen chin him of-swipte iii.34/20.

chirche B, chorche L, C (OE cirice, f.) church

B : f. : He lette þer areren sone/ ane chirche wiðe faire
iii.38/12; In þere chirche I þere solȝ halue ii.607/22
chireche (cont.)

B: f. : he wonede at Ernlese/ at ædelen are chirechen 1/6.

L: f. : a fair churche he liet a-rere/ In pritti dawes

heo was arerd 79/69; for pis Martyrs pat 3wylene
weren : for hire to stronge depe i-do 125/651;
pat so deore as hadde a-bouyt 446/538; Heo liet
arere ano noble churche 39/196.

C: f. : An churche of seint Ion pe baptist . Constantin

let rere/ & cluped ia constantiniiane 1923-24;
& holichurche al olene/ lete abbe ir franchise 10223.

m. : pei seinte Peter him sulf.ihalwed him adde er 7158;
(clanliche to restore) holi churche pat pov hast .
him-biname mid wronge 10288.

m/f. : pe rof of pe chirche . of salesburi.it bro3te.

Ri3t euene pe fifte day pat he ihalwed was 8592;
Holi churche quap pandulf.so ri3tuo is & was.
pat he ne ssal no prelat sette adoun.wipoute apert
trespas 10307.

[n.]: Ac vor po chirehe vn halewed was.перuore 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 efter is owe nane 683.
clerescipe B (*OE cleo-scipe, m.) clergy

n? : pa setten heo biscopeces/ pan folken to dihten/
per ouer erchebiscopes/ bat clerescipe to rihten
(B bene clerescipe to rihte) 435/7.

clif B (OE clif, n.) cliff, rock

n. : bat clif 82/2.

clob L (OE clāp, m.) cloth

[n.]: A-boue him was a cloth i-tild with tweie tonguene
faste/ to is chin tilde pe neoper ende- : pe wind
it wide caste 234/527.

cniif B, knif C (OE cniff, m.) knife

B : m. : heo nom enne longne cnif 160/19.

C : m. : A long knif it was & smal ynow.as me may yut yse.
Atte churche of kauereesham.as he ap yare ybe 5867.

cofre L (OF cofre, m.) box


coluere L (OE culufre, culfre, f.) dove

f. : A coluere pare cam, ... fram hecuene fleo on heig.
A crowne of guold heo bar a-doun 85/81; hecuene
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 compes
398/9.

compaignie C (OF compaignie, f.) company

[n.]: po was pe compaignie 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? : bo was al pe court anuyd . as he moste nede 1223.

cow, kov L (OE cū, f.) cow

f. : heo 351/221; and muche milk of hire heo nam 193/33;
For a wydewe hadde ane ʒwite kov 351/217. Cf. he 453/163.

craft B (OE craeft, m.) craft

m. : he cuðe bene vuele craft 120/20; peo quene leornede
anne craft 268/21; burh his wit-fulne crafte 388/2.

cristall(OF cristal, m.) cristal

[n.]: for ʒwanne þe sonne schynez on cristal:opur in waṭere cler,
A gret leome it ʒif out a-ʒeins:and schynez feor and ner:
312/458.

cristindom B, L, C (OE cristen-dōm, m.) christendom

B : m. : pat luueden bene cristindom ii,188/12; & wulled
beane cristindom ii,104/13 al for-faren & for-don.

[n.]: þe king ʒeornde cristindom/ & alle his duʒede cnihtes/
hit ʒeorde forð rihte 433/17.

L :[n.]: ʒif him cristindom in mine name : and he it wole
onder-fonge 190/36.
Cristindom (cont.)

C: [n.]: þus com lo verst here. in to þis lond cristendom.
   Bote it were eny holi mon.þat stilleliche arst it
   nom 1657.

croce L (OF croce, f.) crutbh, crozier
   f.: þat folk stod as it were i-nome:and bi-heolden
   þe croce wel ofte/ hou heo stod in þe Marbre-ston
   75/149; To yelden hire up ase þe me hotez: ich
   habbe as here i-brouyt 74/134.

croiz L, croiz, crove C (OF crois, f.) cross cf. ON kross, m.
   L: f.: bi-seche we þe holie croiz .../ And seint Quiriac
   and seinte heleyne: þoruz swam heo was i-founde
   5/132; Muche was þe Ioye of þe croiz: þat men maden
   po þere/ With gret song and with processioun: to
   þe Quiene huy hire bere 4/112; þe holie croiz þat
   he fond þere .../ A-doun he as nam with gret honour
   14/464.
   [n.]: þe 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 þe croiz ... So þat he was per yfounde 1931.
   [n.]: & saladin nom þe holy croys & to þe hepenesse it
   ber 9874.

crone B, coron L, C (ON krúna, f.; cf. OF corone, f.) crowne
   B: f.: þe 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 kings crune nom.
& sette is vpe be rode heued 6596. Cf. & per after
vp is heued. ne com he nammore 6599.

kun, kun B (OE cynn, n.) kin; kind

n. & per wes monies kunnes folc 73/5; pa nes per noht
of ben kunne 172/1; beiene of ane cunne 184/22.

cure B (OE cyre, m.) choice

m. & hefde he bene cure 404/3; & nom him oâerne cure ii.45/1.

curtel B, cuyrtel L (OE cyrtel, m.) kirtle

B: m. heo nom hire on ane curtel 213/2.

L: m. Sainct Martin bote ane Cuyrtel ... To be pouere Kanne
be hine yse ... 454/202-3; nim mine cuyrtel 409/235.

dal B, dai B, L, day L, C (OE dæg, m.) day

B: m. bene daie heo vnder-nomen 344/16; & swa he nom ane
dai 108/5; a bene oâerne dai 263/7he com to Denemarke.

L: m. Aftur heruest he comes i-lome 12/393; bare-fore he
liet bene day tuyrne : ase we him holdez yuyte 419/43;
pat pov binne dai ne breke 128/775.

C: m. & per uore yr eldore him bitoc.of pe wouke ben verpe day
2431.

del, dal B, del B, L (OE dål, m.; cf. OE gedål, n.) part

B: m. Belin ysef his leue broper/ ane dal of his londe 183/14.

f7: pea bridde del of mine londe 128/8 ich bi-take pe an
honda; Brutus ysef Corineum/ ... anas dala of his londa
83/14.

n. & sette hit him an honda 83/15; and heo scal habbe
bat beste del 125/10.
deel (cont.)

L : [n.]: And al dat opur del with-Inne :swipe blak as a raunon it is 312/453.

deal B, deth, dez L, deb C (OE dæp, m.) death

B : m. : & bene deal polien 13/71; his leode hine hateden/
in to han bare deode 300/6.

L : m. : Atbe laste, po he bene dethp i-sai3 : and i-felde hine ful strongue 66/446; zweur scholde bene dethp a-fongue 42/285.

[n.]: And mi deth ich a-bide here : 3wane god it wolde sende 238/657.

C : m. : Susete Wolfe 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 dæd, f.) deed, action

B : f. : Belin hine bi-pohte/ of swulchere deede 190/3; for mire gode deede iii.462/3.

C : f. : vor woch deede a man ssolde. pat is adde iwrogt 1608 lese is on eye ...

deol L (OF doel, m.) sorrow, grief

[n.]: pat deol pat heo made /po/ : no tongue it telle may 325/101.

deor, der B (OE dæor, n.) animal

n. : hit 275/3; pat heah der 14/13; (wende) to-ward bon deore 275/18.

dette L (OF dette, m.) debt

[n.]: buy golden, po he it creuede 465/122.
dev L (OE déaw, m. n.) dew

m. : And pe Dev freose a-doneward : ʒwane he is a-doun
a-113t 317/618.

dic, dich B (OE dic; f.; cf. OE díc, m. 'dike') ditch

m. : He lette makien enne dic/ pe wes wunderliche deop/

f. : abouten his ferde/ & feiedo 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. : Ane 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 bene dom ii.272/8; halde him seolf

hisne dom ii.44/4; he nalde for nane dome 392/11...

C : m. : And pe heyemen come echon. ben dom to hure sone.

And pe king ben dom uor to yiu. an hey sat on is trone.

6920-21.

dream B (OE drēam, m.) joy, mirth; noise

m. : to iharen bene muche drem 286/8; ih'ėde he bene

muchelne drem 368/16.

dragon C'(OF dragon, m.) dragon

m. : [Tueye grete dragons. out of pis stones come.

be on was red be oper wyt. hii gone to fiʒte waste.]

So pat pe wite was aboue. as al pat folo ysey.

& Drof ben rede al abac. out of pe putte ney. 2789.

pe rede as vor sorinesse. bi turnede him attenende. 2790.
drake B, L (OE draca, m.) dragon

B : m. : AErest wes þe white buuen/ & seoden he wes bi-neodden/
& þe drake rode/ for-wundede hine to dæde/ and æider
wende to his hole ii.245/10-14; þer heo iseuen bene
Drake ii.339/9.

L : m. : Swise forliche ha blaste fuyr 39/176; and al þe
contreie of him a-gaste 39/177.

drinc B, drink, drunc L, drench C (OE drino, m., drinca, m.)
cf. OE drince, f.) drink

B : m. : þene drink & þene mete 55/21 ... to heora scipe
heo hit fusden; ah he þurh atterne drench ii.249/22
dæd scal ipolien.

L [n.]: For he ne blessedæ nouȝt is drinke: and with-cute
leue it nam 283/200.

C [n.]: He þeþ him a lupor drench . & þo he adde ydronke so.
He bead him ligge & slepe wel . þat it migte þe bet do.
3169. Cf. he ȝeue him an quointe drench 1555.

drope B (OE dropæ, m.) drop

m. lette renne drope blod 326/22.

dune1 B (OE dūn, f.) down, hill


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 þef þene bridde 349/16; moni greatne
dunt 97/4.

L : m. : Are þov scholest þene dunt i-hepre 315/542.
**dure** B (OE duru, f.) door

f. : þes bure ðurh he warp adun/ þat heo to-barst a
uiuen iii.27/16; at þere ðurh werpen vt 434/8.

**duzēde** B (OE dugūþ, f.) body of retainers, folk

f. : Seie þu bi-fore mire du3den 127/17; bi-foren
bissere duzēde ii.578/1.

**eem-sene** B (OE ēage + sien, f.) eyesight

m/n. : flīʒ ut of min eem-sene 131/12.

**eax, eex** B, C (OE ess, f.) axe

B : f. : mid scearpe mire eaxe 98/6.

C : f? : Mid him he adde an strong ax,þat maniman broȝte to deþe.

[n.]: So strong & gret þat an olber, hit assolde habbe unneþe 389.

**ende** B, L (OE ende, m.) end

B : m. : þeue us enne ende 39/2; al þesne suð ende 291/2 heo
heold in his heonde; bi þan ende of ðorcanæ 263/20.

L : m. : And þo he i-seiʒ al þen ende 56/95; athenende 5/160.

**Engelond** L, **Engelond** C (OE Engla-land, n.) England

L : n. : Al engelond scholde beo iliʒt : bet þane hit euer
er were 20/20.

C : m. : þe see gęp him al aboute, he stond as in an yle 3;
Fram soupe to norþ he is longe1ʒte hondred Mile 6;
Wateres he hap ek inouʒ 19.

**ensample** L (OF ensample, m.) example

m? : þaraf ichulle one ensample segge 424/126.
eorðe B, eorbe L (OE eorp(e), f.) earth, soil

B: f. : pa tileden ba eordan iii.456/8; and feol a bere eord  iii.119/20.

L: f. : And yeot ase gret ase þe eorpe pinchez ; and ase luyte ase heo is 318/656.

[n.]: So luyte wolde þe eorpe pinche ; þat vnneþe he scholde it ouȝt i-seo 311/400.

eorð-hus B (OE eorp-hūs, n.) earth-house, den

n.: Ano dohter hefde AEstrild/ inne han eorð-huse 102/2;
maikan an eorð-hus 100/9.

eoyle L (OF oil(e), f.) oil

[n.]: Wide in londe it is i-lad ; þat ho-so þat habbe mote,
Moble relike it is al-so:iske Men to don bote 100/298-9.

ernde, ærnde B, erinde L (OE ærenda, n.) errand, message

B: f. : þe wel þar be ernde 312/4; þas ba ærnde hefde ibrohte ii.640/2; þe sculde þas ærnde don 60/23.

L: [n.]: And seiden hecro erinde how it was 243/440.

fat L (OE fat, n.) vessel, vat

n.: it 17/558.

feht, fiht, feiht B (OE (ge)fecht, n.; cf. OE fechting, f.) fight

n.: þat fecht 65/16; þemen þes fehtes 367/7; þet of þan fehte 5/4; wid 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 ðonne bradne felde 217/3.

L: m? : Of lond he hadde ana grete feld 26/7.

[n.]: and he it solde wel faste 26/7.
feld (cont.)

C: m. : beon feld made bar 4334.

feng B (OE feng, m.) booty cf. OE gefeng, n. 'taking, capture'

feoh, feo B (OE feoh, n.) tribute, fee
m: hit 207/10; burh pa luue of beo feo 329/17.

feond, useond B (OE feond, m.) fiend, monster
m: enne useond fusion iii.103/11.

[n.]: per he herde suugge/ pat he feond wonede/ Swa longe
he ferde/ pat hit ifunde 276/15.

ferde B (OE fierd; f.) army
f: pe ferde wes swa muchel/ pat heo wes vni mete 211/20;
al pa ferde 181/4 heo falden to grunde; pe king him
lend ane ferde 169/16; heo com to bere ferde 213/8;
mid hire ferde 67/12; mid muchelere ferde 23/1.
m? : seirwe wes pat ferde 212/14; seond pat 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 neste 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 3uyt is 32/91; And bane fyngur
huy founden al-so 32/107.
first B (OE first, m.) space of time
m. & umben longe first 13/10 mid wrėscipe comen līdēn.
fisc B, fisch L (OE fisco, m.) fish
B : m. : and ælo fisc an his ende/ per he his cun finde
11.500/13.
L : m. : A gret fisch huy seigen and grislich : after pe
shipo he droug 231/408; be fisch bi-gan to meouen
him 238/674; and smot to him faste 331/417; ech
fisch wende in ie ende 232/462.
[n.]: ich makede me fuyr faste/ And seth me fisch a-godes
name - pre dayes it i-laste 237/646.
fla, flo B (OE flā, f.; flān, m. f.) arrow
f. : pat he be flo heuede idrawen 14/21; On he sette
ane fla 62/11.
flesch L (OE flāsc, n.) flesh, body
n. : He seruede so is owene flesch : and oleopede it
"frere Asse" 61/252; Nete he 3af him luyte i-nov
61/253.
flie L (OE flēge, flīge, f.) fly
f. : For pe flie ne doth non opur guod : bote fleoth
feor and neor/ ... A-non so pe Disch is i-set a-doun :
heo wol beo ope pe brerde 61/260.
flode B (OE flōd, m. n.) flood, deluge
m. : after pan flode/ pe from drihtene com/ pe al her
a-qūelde/ quic pat he funde 2/7-10; bi pan see
flode 46/16.
flum B (OF flum, m.) river
m? : (ferden) ouer Waluan ene flum suide long 55/17.

folc B, C, folk B, L, C (OE folc, n.) folk, people
B : n. : hit 279/11; bat Troynisse folo 18/19; from socne
bee folkes 100/14; ban folke to queme 15/24; bisses
folkes 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 ene folie 43/320.

fore, uore B (OE för, f.) voyage, onset, expedition
f. : in bera ilke uore 71/17; mid starkere fore 237/11
forde toward Rome.

for(e)ward B, voreward C (OE foreward, f.) agreement
B : n. : & al bat forward wes ilest 47/2; bis feoreward ich
him halde 200/21; mid ban ilke forward 233/9.
C : f. : Nere ðe vorwarde no so strong.me bo3te is out wip
wou.7778.
[n.]: & bed him vor is trywenesse.pe vorwarde abbe in po3t.
pat bituene hom was ymad.pat he breke it no3t.8039.

fornaie L (OF fornais, m.) furnace
[n.]: A fornaie he let maken of bras ; and fullen it ful
of led 295/61.

fot L, vot C (OE fôt, m.) foot
L : m. : pat I-ne dar ene fot fram ðe go 37/100; pat hit
ne mighte ene fot forbere 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.: be foul pat spoc with /heom/ er : s-a-3ein hem some he drou3/ 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-teijte al Fraunce Ihesu crist : and blessede it vil faste 158/1793.

freondscape B (OE fr3ond-scipe, m.) friendship

f.: mid mire freondsicipen cumen a3en 330/15; & mine freond-scipe habben 330/19.

Friday L (OE frigedæg, m.) Friday

m.: bus departede pe court posa-morewe, bene friday 128/777.

Seint thomas wende þudere a-3en ...

fulluht B (OE fulluht, fulwiht, m.f.n.) baptism v. Clark Hall


fur B, fuwr L, C (OE fyr, n.) fire

B: n.: bat fur 121/19; (makede) a swiðe wunsám fur 51/2;

he halde þa milc in bat fur 51/11.

L: n.: it 85/84; hit 197/123; for-barnde al þat him cam to 197/130.

C: n.: þat me olupeþ bat holi fur 185.
gare B (OE gār, m.) dart, javelin, spear
   m.: bane gare he uord strahte iii.98/10; he bar an
      his honde/ māne gare awide stronge iii.24/9.
   [n.]: let gliden his gare/ pat hit grund sochte 216/20.
gauel B (OE gafol, n.) tax, tribute, rent
   n.: b 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 ha gersume 112/3.
   n.: bat gersume 194/19; to laden his gorsume 151/5.
ginne B, gynne L (OF engin, m.) trick
   B: m?: Brutus iherde siggen/ of ban ufele ginnen 57/7.
   L: m?: Ake pis false cristine mansepoüte op one feollo
       gynne 250/340.
gleo B (OE gleō(w), n.) glee, mirth
   n.: bat gleo 298/22.
god B, goud B, L (OE gōd, n.) good; possessions
   B: n.: hit 140/13; al bat goud 140/12; na god heo ne
      bi-jeted 144/7.
   L: n.: hit 102/59; it 102/63.
godnesse B (OE gōdnes, f.) goodness
   f.: of alre godnesse 294/7 pe gume wes ilared.
godd-spel B, godapel L, gospel C (OE gōd-spell, n.) gospel
   B: n.: he seide him bat godd-spel iii.183/15.


godd-spel (cont.)

L : n. : Seint Iohan cudde pis godspel zone : and prechede
it faste al-so 407/169.

C : m. : (vor to preche) ben gospel pat he addde imaked 1529.

**gold** B, L (OE gold, n.) gold

B : n. : pat gold 346/12.


**gost** B, L, C (OE gäst, m.) breath; ghost, spirit

B : m. : bene gost he wel dale ð 387/13.

L : m. : A yeomerore gost pane he was : ne migte no man
finde 234/531; heo yaf bene gost 106/175.

[n.] : (bi-gan) pe Wassene for pis selie gost : to bringuen
it out of sorwe 424/144.

C : m. : Sone fram me he wolde wende . pat gost pat dep 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


[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. *pin grace* 6307.

**gress** B (OE gars, gres, n.) grass

n. : bat gres 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 græting, 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' 3eorne ði grið 352/11.

m. : ouer al me bræc bene grið 172/8.

grome B (OE grama, m.) anger, rage

m. : & bene muche grome 11.38/23; for ban muchele 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 souyte 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


yet B, nat B, L, C (OE geat, n.) gate

B : n. : hit 258/17; a yet þer vnder makede 258/16; at bon norð yate i Lundene 325/17; bi ane yate 304/19.

L : n. : hit 15/492.

C : n. : it 11201.
zeorde L (OE gierd, f.) rod, twig

f.: his 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.]: Saint Daui a-boute pis holye zeorde: a strong wal
he liet a-rere/ And nam guode yeme how longue it woxe : fram yere to yere 8/260.

zer B, L (OE gēar, n.) year

B : n. : swa al hēt halue zer 143/17 mid al his hirede he
wes þer; i hon ilka yezere 225/6.

m. : mid þān feo sculden faren/ euer alone 3ere 332/23.

L : m. : pis was bene fourteope 3ere 190/27.

zieue B (OE giefu, f.) gift

f.: mid hēre þeue he heom ouer-com 329/9.

zitsunge B (OE gitsung, f.) greediness, covetousness

f.: for nare zitsunge 405/2 ... ne com ich to pissen londe.

ziuernesse B (OE giferne, f.) greediness, gluttony

f.: for nare ziuernesse 405/3.

zweol L (OE hwōl, n.) wheel

n.: pare-Inne he i-sai3 a grislich zweol ... Ful it
was of hokes and pikes 208/280.

zwuchche L (OE hwicce, f.) chest

f.: A nyȝht cam pis holye man: And þe zwuchche he fond
þere/ Sone he zweluede hire op þe doun ... 460/138

befd, beued B, heued L, C (OE hēafod, n.) head

B : n. : he gurde Suard on hāt hēfd 68/9.
hæfd (cont.)

L: n. : it 30/46; ... 3wanne bat heued hath3 gode grace 47/25.

C: n. : it 4244; & smot him anowarde bat heued 397.

hæle B, hele C (OE hælo, hæl, f.) health, safety

B: f.: to godere hire hele 153/3.

E: f.: pat goderhæle al engelond. was heo euere ybore 7570; to wroþerhæle 3420. 7282.

half, half B (OE healf, f.) half

f.: for nuste he a nare halue 372/13 helpen þ him mahte;
    alle heo higeden to/ an elcher halfe 98/14.

hængest B (OE hængest, m.) horse, steed

m.: Ich bi-texche pe anne hængest/ godna & strongna 151/3-4.

harm B (OE hærn, m.) harm

m.: þurh hene nucle harm ii.252/12; no nenne hærm þer
don heom iii.57/19; & swlone hærm in þon londe 92/9
dude Humber þe stronge.

haued-been B (OE hånfd-bân, n.) head-bone, skull

n.: (amat) uppe bat haued-been 277/15.

hauene B, hauene B, C (OE hef(e), f.) haven, harbour

B: f.: And þa hauene of Doure hafde hoffe inomen 365/12;
    Brutus i þere hauene lmi 60/5; he ærmde to are
    hauene 399/14. Cf. bat hauen of Doure he hauede
    inomen 316/19.

C: f?: þær hauene þer he was aowlæ. after hæm is name iwis.
    Haymontone was icleped . as þer igit icleped is.
    Vor Souphamtone he is icleped . . . 1471-2.
halle B, C (OE heall, f.) hall

B: f. : halle
C: f?: he to pis halle com. he chiddē & made him wrop.

Vor he was bi pe haluendel, to lute he suor is op 8025.

hali-bred L (*OE hālig-brēd, n.) eucharist

n.: hit 423/101.

hare L (OE hāra, m.) hare

m.: Al round it lith in pe wombe: and i-bouwed ase an hare

ywane pat heo in fourme lith: for is. In. is sumdel nare

320/723.

harpe B, L (OE hearpe, f.) harp

B: f. : hanlie ha harpe 209/1; and nom him ane harpe an

hond 11.428/23.

L: f. : his h[arpe... heo gan ] to kuipa 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.: uppen bēne helm he hine smat 321/1; sette he an

hedefe/ enne helm gode 11.576/5.

help B, L (OE help, f. m.) help

B: m.: ne iseah he help enne 11.268/23; and had heom

heore helpes iii.204/6.

L: m.: ne help nadde he enne 453/143.

hem B (OE hemm, m.) hem

m.: hire hem heo up i-teh/ hire cneon he wes swide

nehī 213/5.
hen C (OE henn, f.) hen

  f. : & an hen vor fiftene. & vawe pat me is brouȝte 8355.

heorde B (OE heord, f.) herd, flock

  f. : heo finden ane heorde 14/5 of heorten swide greate;
  pe fader heo bi-eode 14/7; to his sune he heo draf

heort B, L (OE heor(o)t, m.) hart, stag

  B : m. : swa hund bene heort driued iii.65/3.
  L : m. : po pis heort hadde lange I-orne : he bi-turnde him
  ate laste 256/8; A-mong opur game buy founden ane
  heort : swipe fair best with-alle 393/13.

heorte B (OE heorte, f.) heart

  f. : Poreus hauede he heorte swa luper 168/10; at mire
  heorte ic habbe grome 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 pere heouene iii.186/4.
  L : f. : heo makez euene pus hire cours 311/406.
  m. : pe heouene geth ene a-boute : poruȝ daiȝe and poruȝ
  nyȝt/ pe Mone and pe steorrene with him heo berm
  311/402.

  [n.]: Heouene geth al-a-bote pe sorpo : euene it mot weyȝe
  311/395.

her L (OE hār, n.) hair

  n. : it 182/49.

herberwe B (OE here-beorg, f.; cf. O enacted herbergi, n.) harbour

  n? : he droh in ane bālue/ & toc hā herberwe 340/19.

(See p. 31, footnote 3).
here\(^1\) B (OE here, m.) army, host

m.: \(\text{pa sette pe kaisere/ arimen al }\) here \(111.6/15;\)

(\text{feahhten}) \(\text{wiht ton Alemainisce }\) here \(235/22;\) hail beo

\(\text{pu mid hine }\) here \(354/19.\)

here\(^2\) L (OE høre, f.; cf. OF haire, f.) haircloth, sackcloth

f.: In strengore manere \(\text{heo was i-maud }\) 436/166; \(\text{pe}\)

\(\text{moder tok wel stilleliche : eypur of heom }\) ane

\(\text{here }\) 432/43.

haste B, L (OE hēs, f.) command

\(\text{B: }\) f.: \(\text{pa hehte heo ane }\) haste \(105/22.\)

\(\text{L: }\) f.: \(\text{Ane }\) haste \(\text{we habbez }\) 1-brouȝt \(163/1985.\)

hepenesse C (OE hēpenes, f.) paganism; heathen

[n.]: \& Hepenesse ybrouȝt anen \(\text{uort seint austin it}\)

\(\text{adde vnbounde }\) 1677.

hilte B (OE hilte, f.; cf. OE hilt, n. m.) hilt

f.: \(\text{and }\) pa hilt on his hand brec \(277/17;\) riht bi \(\text{bere}\)

\(\text{hilte }\) 66/19.

hind B (OE hind, f.) hind, female of the hart

f.: \(\text{of bere hinde }\) 52/5; \(\text{of are wite hinde }\) 50/23.

hired B (OE hired, m.) court, body of retainers

n.: \(\text{forð i-wende }\) bat hired \(262/16;\) \(\text{pa answære }\) hired

\(\text{330/20; }\) \(\text{pa wuned }\) in \(\text{ban }\) hirede \(111.224/7.\)

holt B (OE holt, n. m.) copse, wood

m.: \(\text{iseb him bi-welles/ anne }\) holt \(\text{brene }\) 370/12.

hond B, L, C (OE hand, f.) hand

\(\text{B: }\) f.: \(\text{Ah Brutus hefde }\) pa ouere hond \(55/7;\) \& \(\text{nimen hit}\)

\(\text{to }\) hire \(\text{heonde }\) 162/8; \& teñ hit to his \(\text{ase }\) hond

70/6.
hond (cont.)

L : f. : Ne for-rotie neuere pis hond : ake i-blessed be heo 46/27; And bar as bi-fore al pat folk 379/99.

C : f. : change youre hond & to be vs.of suerd & lance is do 2211.

m. : & po he adde bun ouer hond 1840.

honour L (of honour, f.) honour

[m.]: 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, huse C (OE hüs, n.) house

L : n. : it 52/186.

C : n. : it 5722.

hude B (OE hyd, f.) hide, skin

f. : se03den he nam he hude 52/4; bi-foren ban wefede he heo spradde 52/6; he hafde ane hude ii.170/7;

of here hude he kær enne pwong ii.170/17.

huie B (OE hyge, m.) mind, heart; courage

m. : nom hire leaf-fulne huie 128/22 pat heo lizen holden.

hul B, L, C (OE hyll, m. f.) hill

B : m. : pat he on emne hul bi-com/ he wes feir & heih/
& he hine swiðe bi-heold 70/10-12; bene hul makede pe king 371/8.

L : m. : pe hul of Toumba he is i-cleoped : for he is sumdel nare 304/157; So pat huy i-seizen ane hul 233/499.

C : m. : pen hul he wuste 1306.
Humber B (OE Lumbre, f.) the Humber
  f. : Cunedagius bi hære Lumbre 161/7 hauede al þeð west.

Hundrad B (OE hundred, n.) hundred
  n. : to iwisæ an hundrad pundæ 151/2.

Hurst L (OE hyrst, m.) copse, wooded hill
  [n.]: and þe prince it i-saι3 furst 473/378.

Husting B (OE husting, n.) council, tribunal, meeting
  n. : h hustingæ wes god 11.57/1; to hæn hustingæ 218/11;
  to æne muchele hustingæ iii.177/2.
  f. : þe king huld i Lundene/ æne muchele hustingæ ii.414/14;
  heo cometo Lundene/ to muchelere hustingæ ii.408/22.

In B, L (OE inn, n.) house, chamber; lodgings
  B : n. : to hæn inne ii.149/5.
  f. : to hære cinhtene(sic) inne 142/9.
  L : n. : iæ 466/150.

Ioye L (OF joye, f.) joy
  [n.]: Al þe Ioye bat ich habbe noupe issoi3e : it worth
  me bi-nome 218/620.

Itel B (OE getel, n.) number
  n. : & nuste na mon þat itel 333/13;

Jupe L (OF jupe, f.) tunic
  [n.]: Ynnepe it heolestæ is derne limes 455/216.

Iwille B (OE gewill, n.) wish, will

Kalender B (OF calendar, m.) calendar
  m. : he makede hane kalend' 308/7.
kinedom B, C (OE cynedóm, m.) kingdom

B : m. : (nom) hene kinedom eke 119/7; bat he hafde pisne
kinedom 384/5.

C : m. : He wan þe kinedom of þe march. mid is dedes bolde.
So bat of him he was after ware yholde 5417.

kinehelm B (OE cyne-helm, m.) crown

m. : he his kinehelm on-feng/ & sette hi on his broder
hafð 288/18; Ah nim þu hene kine-halm/ he is þe
icunde ii.337/18-19.

kine-lond B (of. OE lond; n.) kingdom

n. : hit 117/17; and þu wult bat kinelond iii.49/8
bi-tellen to þire hond; tueolf þer he heold bis
kine-lond 117/16; pine sustren sculen habben mi
kinelond 131/13.

kineriche B (OE cynerice, n.) realm, kingdom

n. : nimen mine castles alle/ and mine kineriche iii.68/8;
to þissaere 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 (OE lac, m.) lake

m? : ouer þen lac of Siluius/ & ouer þen lac of Philisteus
54/21; 22.

leche-crafte B (OE læche-craft, m.) leech-craft

m. : Ne þurh nenne læche-crafte 325/12.
lar B (OE lær, f.) lore, teaching

f. : bi-denc a märe lare 214/9; of hēære laren iii.224/10;
hercniēd mine lare iii.293/14.

lar-spel B (OE lær-spell, n.) sermon

n. : hit 433/13; hat lær-spel 433/14.

laðung b (OE ladung, f.) calling, invitation; meeting

f. : þa makeden heo ana laðunge 218/7 of heore lecwe folke.

lauerke L (OE läwerce, f.) lark

f. : And herethþ pane dai with hire song : and resteæ hire
a-niht 67/459.

launce C (OF lance, f.) lance

m. : In is riȝt hond is launce he nom. þat was iocluped Ron.
long & gret & strong ynov him ne miȝte at sitte non 3618.

læge B, lawe L (OE lagu, f.) law, custom

B : f. : and wrat þa lægen on Englis/ æse heo wes ær on Bruttisc/
and畏fde hime nome onnis deȝe/ and cleopede heo
Mercene læge 269/18-21; þa makede heo ana læge 269/6;
of bare læge ne cuðe na þing ii.131/14; beien of ære
læge iii.256/5.

L : f. : he beold up þe lawe of cristindom : and teȝte æs
feor and ner 45/4.

lead L (OE lēad, n.) lead

n. : it 12/371.

lef L (OE lēaf, n.) leaf

n. : it 18/599.

leg L (ON leggr, m.) leg

m. : he ne miȝte banne leg i-wielde 360/42; he bi-heold
and handlede bane sore leg 360/50.
leitingue L (cf. OE læget, m.) lightning  cf. listingue
 [n.]: Six hundred it a-slov of heom 301/58.

loode B (OE leōd, f.) nation  cf. OE læode, pl.
 f. : ða olupeden heo lude/ þeond bare leoden 251/15;
 & scal beon eouwer lauerd/ inne bisere leoden 155/14;
 and draf me to pise londe/ in to hire leode 199/20.

n. : Feowerti wintre he walde þes leode/ a blisse hit
 stod on his hand 182/20; ða makede heo ane læge/
 and leide þeon bat leode 269/7; he fondede þan leoden
 281/8; (iwende) in to bon leode after monkunne 245/2;
 þa ise þisses leodes king 412/2.

leon L (OE lēona, m.) lion
 m. : and þo þe leon i-heorde þis/ Wîdeliche þane put
 he schrapede... 270/328; þe leon þeode is wæi 270/337;
 þo he i-saiþ ane leon licke þat bodi 270/320.

lesinge B, lesingue L (OE læasung, f.) falsehood, lie
 B : f. : and seide ane lesinge 126/4; & Vortig'ue þe swikele
 king/ ilæfde bare lesing ni.204/24.

L : [n.]: and swipe wel I-schriue/ Of þe lesingue þat þov
 bi me seidest: and bide heom it þe for-yue 333/348.

lettre L, C (OF lettre, f.) letter
 L : f. : he nam þe lettre on his hond: and þo heo was ondo
 352/252.

C : [n.]: A lettre hii toke þe kinge. þat þo he hit:let rede
 3987.

liche B (OE līfe, n.) body
 n. : hit 164/19; bat lich iii.99/1.
**life** B, L, lif L (OE lif, n.) life

B: n. : hit 420/10; bat lif 160/20; gif pu bi lif wult habbe 287/17.


**light** L, list L, C (OE leoht, n.) light

L: n. : it 19/7.

C: n. : it 1581.

**lightning** L (OE lyhting, f.) lightning

[n.]: be lightning we i-seoth a-non : zwane it is bory3 i-brou3t 315/547.

**likame** B (OE lif-hama, n.) body

m? : leo war here ha ilke likame 214/17; & nime3 mine likame 11.206/7.

**lim** B (OE lim, n.) limb

n? : lim from ben oedere 180/14.

**liuere** L (OE lifer, f.) liver

f. : be liuere, pat is nepemest : hno-comes ... 319/707.

**lof** L (OE hlaf, m.) bread, loaf

m? : And ane wel faire ywite lof : he sette bi-twene to & to 227/283.

**lomb** L (OE lamb, n.) lamb

n. : it 62/299.

**lond** B, L, C (OE land, n.) land

B: n. : hit 51/22; b lond 4/15; pu scalt finden a wunsum lond 52/23; bis lond he hire lende 10/23; ich wille mi drichliche lond 127/5 a proe al to-dalen.

L: n. : it 221/40.

C: n. : hit 112; it 7145.
London C.

m. : Bisegede londone ac hii ne miyte . no3t come wipinne.

So wel he was wipinne ywust . poru men pat per were 6160.

lot L (OE hlot, n.) lot:

n. : So pat huy nomen and casten lot : and ope seint

Mathie it gan falle 389/9.

lufe B, louse L (OE lufu, f.) love

B : f. : vppe here muchele lufe 34/5; mid muchelere lufe 53/23.

m/n?: for hon lofe of his broper 10/18.

L :[n.]: be louse was euere gret i-nou3 .../ ... for-to be feond
destourbede hit, allas 117/380.

lufte B (OE lyft, f.m.n.) air. sky, wind

m/n.: teih him to hon. lufte 122/14.

meiden B, maide L, C, mayde C (OE megden, n.) maiden, girl

B : n. : ht maiden 7/20; Oft wes hen meaidene wa 131/23; pa
luuede he a maide 12/3; peo Brennes hie meide nom
210/18; anes maidenes sune 386/23.

f. : heo 7/2; hire monscoipe 8/1; bus seide he meiden
Cordicille 130/2.

L : n. : Seinte Fey, pat holie Maide : of swipe heige men
heo com 83/1.

f. : heo 91/165; and founden hire ligge per 91/166.

C : n. : pat nom eleyne pat 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 ñene mærzen 241/22 letten blawen bis bemen.
mergen (cont.)

L: m.: bene Morewe aftur Midewinter day: to depe huy him
brouyte 2/37.

mest B (OE mest, m.) mast

m.: he for-heow brenne mest 196/4; he lette seil and bane
mest 196/6 lieden mid wéen.

mahum B (OF mahom, m.) idol

m.: Ah heo nom bane mahum 11/1; in Albe Lingue he hine
sette/ ah sone he ponene iuatte 11/5-6.

maine B (OE megen, n.) main. night

f?: cuð nu bine strengda/ & bina stepa main 66/1

male B (OF male, f.) coffer, mail

m?: ich pe wulle bi-tache/ a male riche 150/23.

mansingue C (cf. OE a-män-sumung, f.) excommunication, curse

[n.]: Of pis mansinge were princpales: & sustainede it vaste
    10204.

mantel B, L (OF mantel, m.) mantle, cloak

B: m.: & dude a bane emde/ enne mantel hende ii.193/10;
    & bi ban mantle hine ibreid ii.215/14.

L: m?: he 3af him ene olde Mantel 57/111.

[n.]: Seint Franoceis it vnder-feng: to witen 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 mearmstan, m.) marble

m: pe king neem enne marmestan/ & lette hine mid golde
    bi-gon 325/18-19.
martyrdom B (OE martyrdom, m.) martyrdom

m. : and whulene martirdom 431/18 Petrus hauede vnder-fon.

masse L (OE masse, f.) mass
cf. Lat. missa

f. : he song pulke masse i-lone : for al-so heo bi-ginne

masse-boc L (OE masse-bōc, 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 þat Maumet Astaroth : þat þoruz þe
decoules miȝte/ Ofte he wolde Answerie men : and
manie he bi-nam heore miȝte 367/14.

C :[n.]: & offrede to þis maumet . & honoured it inow 325.

mele B (OE mǣl, n.) meal, food-time

n? : islayene weoren to bon mele 346/6; iuorðed to ane

membre L (OF membre, m.) part of body

m. : þe sunne ichulle for-giue þe þanne : þwane he is

fran þe i-cast 44/337.

mete B, L (OE mete, m.) food

B : m. : a þon lōnde he fund mete/ & he hine mid monsciwe

biwon 6/13; þene drino & þene mete 55/21 ... to

heora scipe heo hit fusden.

[n.]: An his daies wes swa nochel mete/ þat hit wes

vnimete 259/4.
mete (cont.)

L : m. : gistes wel gladliche bene mete he 3af 361/65; Ich
   coupe minne mete I-winne 327/155.

[n.]: blessi in mete are he it ete 19/612.

mid-niht B (OE mid-niht, f.) midnight
   f. : a pa mid'niht heo nomen read 72/1; forð iwenden
   onihtes/ to hene mid-nihte 11,388/13.
   m? : he aras to han mid-nihte 324/3.

miht B, L (OE miht, f.) might, power

B : f. : mid alle mire mihten 30/16.


milo B (OE meolo, f.) milk
   f. : he halde pa milo in pat fur 51/11.

milce B (OE milts, f.) kindness, mercy
   f. : a(=and) me do hine milce 199/21.

mile B, L (OE mil, f.) mile

B : f. : ne leaste hit na wiht ane mile 248/10; & vmben ane
   mile 11,88/3.

L : f? : hit nis up-rigt fram pe earpe : bote Ané mile opur
   two 317/602.

miracle L (OF miracle, m.) miracle

[n.]: pis Miracle was sone i-kud : ase riight was pat it
   were 77/229.

mist L (OE mist, m.) mist

m. : swane pe sonne hath pudere i-drawe : bene mist
   for hete, 317/603

[n.]: It ne may no feor for pe colde : ake bi-cometh al
   to wete 317/604.
mod B (OE möd, n.) mind

[n.]: Mål ich wulle wende mi mod 376/23; whar þu bat mod
nime 11.619/3.

mod-kare B (OE módcaru, f.) sorrow, grief

m. ð. & pôlede þene mod-kare 132/11; cf. care.

mon-kun B (OE manncynn, n.) mankind

n. ð. al bat smale mon-kun 19/16; he nom of þan monkunne 94/4.

mone L (OE móna, m.) moon

f. ð. Ase man may bi þe Mone i-seo: þe ȝwyle heo is neowe
riʒt 312/451; Riʒt so Blac as al þe mone: of hire-sulf,
i-wis 312/454; bote þare ase þe sonne schyneþ: þat
hire liʒt ʒif hire al 312/455.

moned B (OE mónap, m.) month

m. ð. þe dihted þene moned & þe ger 308/8.

monschipe B (OE mannscep, m.) kindness

f. ð. bidenc 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 bileuеde amidde is prose 7029.

mouth L (OE müp, m.) mouth

m. ʒif 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 mylenstân, m.) grindstone

m. ð. A Mulleston, he scholde al-to-drieþ: þei he of
molten bras were 316/580.
murehðe, murhðe B (OE myr(i)g, myrhð, f.) mirth, joy, delight
f.: þer wes awa muchel murehðe/ þat ne nihte heo beon
na mare 218/4; & mid muchelere murehðe 11.196/6
muðes þer custen.

neode B (OE nèod, nèed, f.) need; necessity
f.: þe king ise þe neode 406/14; com to here neode
318/15; cumen to hire neode 231/4; Brutus hire
bi-pohte/ Of swiche neode 29/11.

niht B, night L (OE niht, f.) night
B: f.: & alle ba nihte 340/20 greiðeden his cnihtes; ba
com to here nihte 71/21; an are nihte firste 371/10;
al bi bustere nihte 323/10.
m.: Nes he per buten ane niht 401/13; his mon-scipe
bege/n/ daizes and nihtes iii.247/10.
n?: a pet b jestere niht 418/6 to-dælde heore muchele
fiht; þer weore al þat fiht i-don/ ah þat niht
to ræde com iii.133/14.
L: f?: And nolde fur-zite neuere ane niht: his lore
forto do 433/77.

nome, name B (OE nama, m.) name
m.: leiden adun borne nama 86/18; he þef hire to hire
tifulne name 86/12; heo scupten heore lauerde/
anne nome neowe iii.233/9.

norð B (OE norþ, adv. adj.) northern part of the country
n.: Albanac beðe 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.

ofeßreng C (OE of-spring, m.) offspring

[n.]: po adam was verst imaked.& his ofeßreng wax wide.
... Suppe it wax wide aboute.fram londe to londe 202.

ordre L, C (OF ordre, m.) religious order

L : f. : And þei þis ordre were i-maud : i-confermed nas
heo nou3t 59/177; ase huy bi-gunnen furst þe ordre
to bringue aa pare to ende 60/235.

[n.]: So bat þe ordre of frere prehours : seint Domenic
bi-gan po/ pat hath i-saued wel mani a man : and
3eot it schal wel mo 280/101.

C :m/f. : Ac þe ordre of greye monekes . was bigonne er.
At Cisteus ar he hider come.nyene & tuenti 3er 9085.

oresun L (OF oreisu3i, f.) orison, prayer

[n.]: Euereche dai bi custome : he seide þis oresun,
... in a dai he it fur-yat:he hadde so muche to done
437/217.

ost C (OF (h)ost, m. f.) army

m/f.: be cristine ost smot him out.po he time isay 8522.

otur L (OE oter, ottor, m.) otter

m. : An. Otur.pare cam gon/ Bi-twene is forþere fet he
brou3te : a fuyr-Ire an‡ a ston 237/643.
\textit{ouene} L (OE ofen, m.) oven, furnace

\textit{m/f.}: an Ouen he liet hete/ \textit{bat heo} was al glowinde

\textit{fuyr}: are huy wolden lete 388/390.

\textit{oynement} L (OF oignement, m.) ointment

[n.]: "Sire, it is an oynement": peos pilegrimes seden,

"he guode woman georne us bad : to he holie churche

it lede 245/186.

\textit{palefroy} L (OF palefrei, m.) palfrey

[n.]: huy ne mighten make hire palefrey : \textit{bat it} ane fote

wolde gon 51/166.

\textit{palaia} L (OF palais, m.) palace

[n.]: he Axede was \textit{bat paleys} were\textit{bat} so riche was and hei3;

Men seiden him \textit{bat it} was his ... 54/15.

\textit{pallion} L (OF pallion, m.) archbishop's pall

[n.]: his holi \textit{man it} a-fonge:with wel milde pouxt 115/314.

\textit{partie} L (OF part, f.) part

\textit{f?}: Ake \textit{an} partie of pe swete croiz...he toc 13/405.

\textit{peire} L (OF pair, m.) pair

\textit{m?}: Ake euere he hadde \textit{an} peire feteres ... 107/20.

\textit{penaunce} L (OF penance, f.) penance

\textit{f.}: for-to huy habben to ende i-brought/ penaunce

a-cordinde to heore sunne : and after pe preostes

nought/ \textit{zif heo} is more pane pe sunne : and a man

[n.]: \textit{it do, i-wis}/ Al \textit{it} schal in heouene tuyrne : to

echingue of his blis 421/40.
penny B, L (OE penig, pening, m.) penny

B: m. : ðe king enne peni þette iii.285/21.

L: m. : and þane peni to him drou3 285/251; Icholde ech
man me hadde ðane peny i-ȝyue 304/155.

perche L (OF perche, f.) perch, pole

f? : An(e) 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 ðane place 20/35; þat man ne
milite finde ðane amtie place 207/243.

C: [n.]: A veir place hii chose hom ... / & astored it wel
inou . & hor god þuder in bere 418. Cf. þer þou
ssalt finde an place . god innate to bileue 331.

pleize B (OE plega, m.) game, play; battle

m. : monine serhfulne pleise 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 ðane 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-re森/ al heo gunnen to-re森en 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 poison in is aleep. 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 cf. Lat. puteus

m.: In þe churche-jerd 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 deoıp i-novʒ 210/357.

quake-huse B (OE cwaluþūs, n.) torture house

n?: (ibroug) of bæn quake-huse 31/20; heo duden heo on quarterne/ in ane quake-huse 160/14.

quartern B (OE cweartern, n.) prison

n?: vt of hon quartern 31/19.

ref B (OE rēaf, n.) spoil, booty


rea B (OE rēs, m.) onslaught, attack

m.: moni grimne reas 97/3 pōled ĩo on folde; est hon frum resen 369/14.
reuinge B (OE rœafung, f.) plundering
f. : of bere reuinge 112/14.
rauon L (OE hreafn, m.) raven
m. : pare cam fleo a Rauon : and a-doun pare bi he
a-liȝte 188/139.
read B, rede B, L, read B, L, C (OE red, m.) advice
B : m. : & dude bene beste red 132/9; alle heo nomen
enne read 89/6; hisne read halde we alle 228/17;
be sunen duden vuelne read 107/19.
L : m. : pat he heom ȝaf hane red 179/23.
C : m. : pat ȝeue bane colde red 2775; ne can ich nanne red
9121.
rein B (OE reg(e)n, ren, m.) rain
m. : pa iweard' hit ân ane time/ he rein him gon rine
ii.405/7; pa he 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 : ȝif ore louerd it
wolde him sende 259/110.
revle L (OF renule, f.) rule
f. : po þe pope is Revle 1se13 : þat heo wes clené
and guod 59/198.
[n.]: In is herte he graunte d ȝit 59/200.
riche B, L (OE rice, n.) power; realm, kingdom
B : f. : His moder nom þas riche/and mid reðe heo walde 270/16;
riche (cont.)


n. : he welde hat riche her 165/20; god king i han riche 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 han riche-dom of Rome 255/2; bat ne iseh no mon nauer ør/ mid eordliche monne her/ half swa hahne rihedon ii.607/3.

rihte B, richt L (OE riht, n.) right, justice

B: n. : 3if her is ami cniht/ þe of Eusilne axed riht/

f. : buten to bi3iten mine rihte/ & ic heo wulle bi-winnen 405/7-8.

L:[n.]: pis guode Man flev al Engelonds;for holli churche ri3te;

Of al is wo ne 3af he nou3t:3if he it a-mendi miste 137/1094.

ring B, C; rynge L (OE hring, m.) ring

B: m. : and iho sende þe gretinge/ of mine gold ringse 192/19;

ælc hafde on heonde/ greetedne ring of golde ii.617/21;

and salde him an honde/ rynne ring of rede golde iii. 237/17.
ring (cont.)

L: m.: hane ryng he louede wel inouz; and for pe loue of saint Ioohan/ guyt he hine 3af pe pouere manne 417/506-7; he 3af becone ryng 417/511; For-to z1ue pis poere Man: bote ane guylde;e ring 417/505.

C: m.: & hen, ring isey 7150.

robe L (OF robe, f.) robe

m.: pe Abite of Monk he nam/ And a-boue-sel han clerkene Robe: ase to is stat bi-com 116/324.

roche L (OF roche, f.) rock

m?: (isiegel) One harde roche In pe se...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 sochten/ & pere quene heo itehten ii.41/8-9; he 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-rigt a-wei: and in a deop put hire caste 16/528; And spatten on hura 17/554; po pe rode was pare i-founde: alle he gives 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 vprigt him caste 8635; &sette is vpe pe rode heued.& sede pat he alone 6596 Was worpe to crowne bere.

rof B (OE hrōf, m.) roof; top

m.: pe king feol on hene rof 123/3.
Rome B (OE ḳōm, m.) Rome

f.: 3if Rome scal for-leosen/... heore muchole wurhescipe
404/24; pat mine sēldre hire biwunnen 405/1[hit 337/21].

rop B, L (OE rāp, m.) rope

B: m.: Heo wurpen ut enne rap/ & Baldulf hire faste igrap
ii.492/23-24.

L: m?: And teiden ane rop a-bote is necke 29/91.

rug B, L (OE hrycg, m.) back, spine, ridge

B: m.: pat him be rug for-berst 81/12; brac him bi bon
rugge 81/1 feower of his ribben.

L: [n.]: Al i-buyd is pe rug; so pat neiʒ round it is 320/728.

sym-forst L (OE hrfm, m. * forst, m.) rime, hoarfrost

m.: And þarof comez pe 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-

see B, sea L, se L (OE see, m. f.) sea

B: f.: bi Ruscikadan heo nomen ha see 54/23; Leir ferde to
pera see 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; pat þe se iro wolde so with-draws 338/513.

setnesse B (OE (ge)sehtnes, f.) agreement, decree

f.: heo makeden ane setnesse/ and mid age heo semde
181/22-23.
sak L (OE sacc, m.) sack, bag

[n.]: A luyte blac sak ase ped it were : pis foules a-mong heom bere/ huy casten it up fram on to opur : ase huy it al-to-drove and to-tere 437/198.

salt L (OF sealt, salt, n.) salt

n. : it 187/94.

sar B (OE sār, n.) sorrow, pain, grief

n. : & menen to him mi sar 354/8.

Saturday L (OE Sæter-daeg, m.) Saturday

m. : bare-fore Men schoniez muche : bene satur-day bi-guynne 312/445.

saule B, soule L (OE sæul, sæwol, f.) soul

B : f. : & for his awne saule/ pat hire be selre beo 4/8;
& beden for bere soule ii.113/9; deled for mire saule ii.324/12.

L : f. : Ake 3wane a man is on eorpe ded : and is soule beo guod/
heo nath with hire non heuinesse : ... 314/500; heo nome alle beos holi soule : and bi-fore ore louerd sone/
brougten hire with Ioye and blisse ... 172/2304; mine soule ich god bi-take 42/275.

m. : his soule, po he was ded : to heouene he gan i-wiende 366/55; Mid riȝte pi soule Maister is : and pi bodi in hyne schal beo 93/58.

saume L (OF salme, saume, m.; cf. OE sealm, salm, m.) psalm

m/f. : Of pe sauter pe laste saume : bi-fore pe Euensongus i-wis/ of corsingue and of lupere men : and of mansingue i-maked heo is 355/341.
sauter L (OE sautier, m.; cf. OE saltere, m.) psalter
m. : po makede he þere þene sauter 9/271.
sode B (OE scēap, f.) sheath
scale B (OE scalu, f.) dish, cup
f. : Ana scale he bear an honde 50/19; milc wes i þere
scale 50/21.
sceled B, seeld C (OE scyeld, m.) shield
B : m. : he was al clane ii.576/16 of olifantes bane; and
Nennius þene sceld 322/1 (heold); nefde he noht on
his hond/ bute enne luttelne sceld 348/22; Leis a-dun
þin bare scrud/ & pinne rede sceld 216/10.
C :[n.]: pat þe emperour ne wijte it out drawe mid al is mayn.
1137.
scheep L (OE scēap, n.) sheep
n. : hit 63/321; it 63/322.
schurte L (OE scyrte, f.) skirt, tunic
f. : pis schurte þat is a-boute me; for-brennez me to
grounde/ Drawez hire of for godes loue ... 283/189.
schip B, schip L (OE scip, n.) ship
B : n. : pat scip ii.579/25; He isehe a scip þar hit laȝ 194/6;
& senden ha þe in ane scipe 135/10.
L : n. : hit 37/132; it 232/460; pat schip wende forth bi
him-seolf 37/132.
schlabbe L (13th c.; etym. dub.) slab
m/f? : Ase giþ a man nome ane schlabbe of Ire 315/531.
scome B (OE scamu, f.) shame

m. : ne do þu me neu'e þene scome 214/18; whulone scome
he him hæfden idon 393/2; For þan weorldes scome 20/3.

scrit C (OF escript, escrit, m.) script, writing

[n.]: & þat scrit dude iwes/ In þe tresorie at westmonstre.
þere it jut is 7683.

scute B (OE scyte, m.) stroke, blow, shot

m. : & þene scute bi-berh 62/16.

seahete B (OE sehete, f.; cf. OE seht, m.) settlement, agreement

f. : mid mocheleore seahete 156/9.

sed L (OE sæd, 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-ouerarde þe tour a-midde al þis : ane sege he
liet a-rere 13/415.

seil-cleð B (OE segl, n.m. + cloþ, m.) sail-cloth

n? : sulkenes wes þat seil-cleð 194/7.

seorge, seorwe B (OE sorg, f.) sorrow, grief

f. : & of bare seorge 171/19; purh hefezere seorwe 118/23.

sereuunge B (cf. OE nouns in -ung, f.)

f. : hit wes al isomned/ & (=at?) þere sereuunge 346/15.

sibba B (OE sibb, f.) friendship; peace


[ n.]: Wha swa wulle libba/ alde þas sibba/ & þef o man
hit wille breken 155/21 on ueste it bide iwreken.
sibé-lazé B (olf. OE lagu, f.) law of affinity

f. : for bare sibé-lazé 16/15 luue hem wes bi-tweonen.

side B, L (OE ðiðe, f.) side

B : f. : a bare side he smat Harigal 359/12; & þe bi mire
side 336/18 iseund seye riden; on ælcere siden 27/9.

L : f. : "þou wrecche", he send, "þou hast i-rosted : þulke
one side i-npouþ/. Torne hire upward and. et. hire
noupe : for ðare heo is ðare-to" 345/170.

signe L (OF seigne, m.; of. OE segn, m. n.) sign

m? : he deth æne signe in þe bodie 322/792.

sight B, sight L (OE gesiþ, gesiht, f.) sight

B : f. : Druttis weoren seø/ for swulhóræ isibðe ii.161/2;

m? : þat nenne siht of londe/ iseon heo ne mahten ii.455/3.

L :[n.]: mi siȝt me was bi-nome...it is me again i-come 341/51.

sid B (OE ðip, m.) time, occasion

f/ m? : nulle we þe trukien/ neuer æne siden 186/12.

salad B (OE salad, n.) slade, valley

n? : (ferde) in to æne muche-slæde 366/7.

sleht B (OE sleht, sleaht, m.) slaughter

m? : swide heo was sari/ for sorehfulle þan slehte 170/14.

smul L (not found in OE; m. in Avenbyte or Inwyt) smell

[n.]: þare cam a-non so swote smul;æ se hit fram hecuene
were 15/495.

sond B (OE sond, n.) sand; sea shore

n. : þer þa sea wascæd þa sond 6/17; þa scipen biten on
pat sond 76/9.
sonde B (OF sand, f.) message

f. : he sende sonde hig to 264/9; wordeschepe haue pu/

sonennday L (OE sunnan-dæg, m.) Sunday

m. : bane sonennday par nas no court 1-holde 132/899.

sonen-nyȝht L (OE sunnan-hiht, f.) Saturday night

m. : bane sonen-nyȝht wel tyme : his seruise he gan to do
416/458; bane sonen-nyȝht he wakede 479/608.

song L (OE sang, song, m.) song

[n.]: For quyty men it singueth in holie churche 16/508.

sowe L (OE suȝe, so, f.) sow

f. : bo bi-gan pe sowe a-non ... To beo ful of schabbe
and of buyles ... pat heo orn out al of quiture :
and ase pat folk i-saiȝ/ In wrechhede and in sorewe
inov : heo deide pane pridde day 62/310-11.

soð B (OE sōp, n.) sooth

[n.]: soȝ seiðe Nembrici'/ & alle hit bi-luuuen 43/20;
fondien hat sope ii.225/7.

speche, speke B (OE spēo, spreō, f.) speech, language

f. : of bissere specche he wes wer 370/18; mid greiðliore
specche 19/25.

[n.]: Heora aȝeine speke Troinisce/ aȝoðen heo hit
cleopeden Brutunise 83/23.

spence L (cf. OF despence, f.)

[n.]: bote ȝat holde he do for nopiȝg ; and of no man
spence take/ And ȝwane persones it boden him :
he it wolde for-sake 440/336.
**spear** B, L (OE spore, n.) spear

B: m. : he igrap his spore stronge/ þer be pihto hit o þon londe 277/1; (leide a-dun) and bi spere longe 216/11.

m.: and nom on his hondes/ a spere imaked of stele/
  & bi-walede hine a blode iii.106/17.

L: m?: þe Aumperor let nimen one spere 179/21.

**staff** B, staf B, L (OE staf, m.) staff, stick

B: m.: & mid pan stesus to-draf 348/6; Up he losc bene staf iii.189/15.

L: m.: þe staf wende into þe marbreston ... / And po heo was inne deope i-nouȝ : þe guode Man hine liet stonde 75/142; Ane staf he nom op-on is hond : holuȝ he was with-inne 250/341; þat o þwel to-brak bane false staf 250/360.

[n.]: Cristofre is staf nam/ And piȝte hit in þe grounde a-morewe 274/110.

**stan** B, ston L (OE stân, m.) stone

B: m.: Up he sette bane stan/ set he þer stondes 425/6-7;

Nome: him scupte þo king 425/10; and smat in enne muchele stane 98/9; doh a-wai bane stan ii.242/18.

L: m.: þe stanes arisen op a-jen ... And ech lai in his riȝte stude ... 15/491; þe ston þat ich op-on sitte ...
  In one weise ich byne fond 235/578; Liȝtloker man may bane hardeste ston : make nesche ase wolle 194/31; With hire blessingue heo turnede to salte :
  ane wol grete ston 193/48.

[n.]: in a fenni dich it caste 235/579.
et ede II: L (OE stīda, m.) steed, stallion

B: m. : And þat deor up stod/ and reede o bene 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. : þa quað Membrici'/ ludere stefne 40/7; mid ludere
    stefne 61/7.

sterre B, steorre L, sterre C (OE steorra, m.) star

B: m. : þa iseþæn heo feorre/ anne selcuðe 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 com ouer þulke
    place: heo houede þare ane stounde 33/127; Ane
    steorre he fond bi-fore þe dore 33/118.

C: m. : þe tepe þer a sterre . þat comete ioluped is.

At alle halwen tid him ssawede.viftene niȝt ywis 8601;
An sterre gret & vair ynow . suipe cler me sey.
O cler leom wipoute mo.Per stod fram him wel pur 3177-8;
þat ech man miȝte wondri . þat sterre isei.
þer wende of him a lem.þat toward þe norþ drou 11410.

f. : þat þe taylede sterre . men clupeb mid riȝte.
Vor þer comp fram hire a lem.suipe cler & briȝte 8603.
stowe B (OE stōw, f.) place
  f. : makian ich wille on pine nome/ weren ane stowe 51/24;
     vppen are stouwe 122/23.
stream B, strem B, L (OE strēam, m.) stream
  B : m. : ofer pane saltne strem 261/5; be leide in ane walle
       stream 121/6.
  L : m. : to hente pane strem of blode 17/558.
strong B (OE strenge, m.) string
  m. : & he bene streng up braid 62/9.
strength B (OE strengp(o), f.) strength
  f. : cuð nu pine strengbæ 65/24; mid richere strengðæ 33/9.
street, street B (OE strēt, f.) street, road
  f. : he bigon ane strete 205/19; Fosse heo clupeden 205/24;
     and forð rihtes wende/ into Winchester/ in are brade
     strete ii.336/10.
strooc C (OE*strāō, cf. strica, m.) stroke
  m. : & yut he hente bene strooc 395; Anne strooc he zef him
       4576.
strand B (OE strand, n.) strand, sea-shore
  n. : framward pan stronde 401/15; scipen eoden a bat strond
       ii.313/13.
stude B, L, C, stede L, C (OE styde, stede, m.) place
  B : m. : ful neh pan ilke stude 6/18; heo arwarden enne burge/
       an enne swide feire stude 408/19; & wurdeden bene
       stude ii.298/4.
  [n.]: pe stude wes AElenge/ nu hatte hit Stan-henge ii.211/23.
stude (cont.)

L : m? : ane derne stude huy fonde 298/63.

C : m. : Vor he let ben stede halwy 3223; & nameliche of
pin vnrixt.ichabbe gret dedeyn/ pat pou to be noble
stude of rome.dest mid al bi mayn/ & pat pou nelt
him iknowe.ne do pin seruage 3995.

[n.]: In a stude pat me olupede . staunford brugge po.
Ac nou me olupeb 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 w son 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


m. : Saturnus heo 3iuen sætterdai/ bene Sunne heo 3iuen
sonedai li.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 gethluyte and luyte, i-wis,
And schyneth on be hiderore halfon bulke pat ner
him is 313/466.
sunne¹ (cont.)

L: [n.]: Ae an Appel þe eorþe is round:so þat euere-mo
    half þe eorþe þe sonne bi-schinest:shov-so it euere go
    311/408.

sunne² B, L (OE synn, f.) sin

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. : Forþif me pulke lupere sunne : i-nelle don as neuereft
    more 44/334.

sweord B, suerd L, C (OE sweord, n.) sword

B: n. : hit 321/21; bat sweord 66/18; Breid he mid swideren
    hond/ a sweord muchel & swide 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 ılıche 1140.

vor þer non wip him iwonded, pat euere keueri miȝte 1141.

aweore, awure B (OE æwora, m.) neck

m. : heo cœrf him þene awure atwa 171/9; and swat (smat)
    hit a ban aweore 277/3.

f. : and mid pan ame he smat/ i þere awere þe oniht ii.535/1.

swikedom B (OE swiċ-dōm, m.) deceit, treason

m. : of þen swikedom 235/9; þe nuste þene swikedom
    ii.200/13; þene swikedom to dihten ii.316/14.

swin B (OE swīn, n.) wild boar, swine, pig

n. : bat wilde swin 20/23.
swing B (OE (ge)swinc, n.) toil, labour; effort
  n. : and bu mi michale swinc 97/17 mid sare forgyeldest;
  to polien bat swuc (=swinc) & p iwin ii. 102/6.

swipe B (OE swipa, m.; cf. OE swipe, f.) stroke, sweep
  m. : pat of pen ilke sweorde/ enne swipe hefde 326/20;
  Mid ban formeste swipen iii. 284/9 her comen treo
  hundred scipen.

table L (OF table, f.) table
  f? : Ane table of Marbre In is hond : pe on bar at-fore
  heom alle 197/112.

taillage L (OF taillage, m.) tribute
  [n.]: A taillage pov text frem zer to zer : poruz-out
  al pi londe/ And axest it for a certeine rente... 118/398.

taken B (OE tæcen, n.) token, sign
  n. : b taken 56/13; & sme us of ban tacne ii. 326/23.

tale¹ B, L (OE talu, f.) tale, story
  B : f. : Efne bare ilke tale iii. 52/17 pa cleopede pe kaisere;
    seodden hit seil in bare tale ii. 538/17; of bissere
    uncuðe talen ii. 229/7.
    L : f. : he bi-gan to telle is tale : poruz is owene Mouth
    And are he hadde al i-told : heo was swyde selcouth
    109/98.

tale² B (OE (go)tel, n.) number
  f? : of lasse scipen þar weoren swa fele/ þat nuste na
  man be tale 316/1.
Temes B (OE Temes, f.) the Thames
f. : heo turneden to hauene/ inne bare Temese 316/7.

tempest L (OF tempeste, f. (11th c.); tempest, m. (13th c.) tempest
m? : pe tempeste is ful strong ... pat pei pare were bare/
A Mulleston, he scholde al-to-drive ... 316/580.

temple B, L (OE tempel, n.; OF temple, m.) temple
B [m.]: pe wrese hit hafde to welden 49/3.

f. : Temple heo funden per ane 48/25; Brutus ferde in to
bure temple 50/15; feire hine leiden/ in are riche
temple 183/5.

L : f. : Aftur him bulde pe temple forth:al-pat heo 3are were
9/276; "I-seo ye", he sede, "pis temple alle: ...
Ich hote hire in mine louerdes name : pat heo falle
a-non 407/189; he liet ane temple of Maumates : in
pulke stude a-rere 10/327.

tene B (OE tēone, f.; cf. OE tēona, m.) injury, harm
f. : for nauer bare teonen 186/10 nulle we pe trukien.

tide B, L (OE tīd, f.) time, period
B : f. : Hit ilomp an are tide 11.200/15.
L : f? : Al ane tide of pe daye : we weren in deorkhede 221/37.

tidende, tiēnde B (ON tiðendi, n. pl.) tidings
n. : pa þuhte Elmuðerie/ bat tiēnde swiðe murie 432/21;
after þen heðene tidende 17/23 pe wes i þan londe.

time B, L (OE tīma, m.) time
B : m. : pa be time com 13/14; An þan ilke time 165/23;
Hit wes an ane time 309/2.
L : m? : god wolde a-bide ane guode tyme 175/2409.
tibingue, bi? ingie L (cf. LOE tidung, f.) tidings

f. : he seide pat one tibingue to him 6/190; Ane Joyeful pygie ich esu telle 105/157.

toppe B (OE topp, m.) top, head; look of hair

m? : bi bone toppe he hine nom 30/1.

toumbe L, tumbe C (OF tumbe, f.) tomb, tomb-stone

L : f. : For swane men conen ofte to is toumbe : ase liȝthliche up huy as bere 52/189.

C [n.]: In an tumbe snipe huy, pat hii miȝte hit ver yse 26/17.

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 þe fallingue 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 eone heye treowe 44/7.

L : n. : it 7/204; hit 8/264.

tresor L (OF tresor, m.) treasure

[n.]: Seint Frauncyes nam pat tresor : po pe opur it for-sok 55/65.

tricherie L (OF tricherie, f.) treachery, deceit

[n.]: And symon Magnus-is tricherie : op-on him-sulf it gan i-wiende 334/368.

Troye B

f. : & ane neowe Troye þar makian 53/12.

[n.]: fleh ut of Troye/ þa Cricketes hit bi-wman 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 wnriyt.hii escheb vs truage.
  Vor Iuli cesar hit nom verst.mid strengpe & outrage.
  4038.

tun B, town L, C (OE tūn, m.) dwelling, town
  B : m. : Ardur ymf him bene tun iiii.114/8.
  L : m. : and made bene town wel bar 297/20.
  C : m. : he clupede bene town iwis/ After his name gloucestre.
    as he yut icluped is 1520-21; Ac so ne clupede he him
    no3t. ao pe niewe troye 534; his fon asailed bene
    town 6121.
  [n.]: Be made pe town of euerwik.pat strong is þoru alle þing.
    After is name abrau.euerwik cluped 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 þimme/
    bene king heo duden þer inne.
  L : f? : he liet makie ane tonne of bras : for-to berne heom
    þare-inne 401/298.

tur B (OE tūr, m.; OF tur, f.) tower, fortress
  m. : vp heo hine duden heȝe/ an ufenmeste þan turre 259/19;
    to Òøres þeon ture 332/24; Gurmut makede emne ture
    iiii.170/15.
  f. : þe tur wes muchel and hëm/.../ þe kweisere hire ymf
    nome/ & Òøres heo cleopede 331/23-24; þe bigon þer
    ane ture 258/13; þe king in þere ture lœi 290/21;
tur (cont.)

f.: In ara swiðe stronge tur 290/18 heo duden þene king Elidur.
n.: and of castles nes þer na þing/ bute þat tur þe makede Belin king 302/8.

Tyre B - the Tiber

f.: I here Tyre he eode alond 6/16.

Tuesday L (OE Tiwesdæg, m.) Tuesday

m.: A-morewe, þene tywesdag:ere louerd him gan a-rere 132/909.

bear v. ver.

bechene B (of. OE þacele, f.) torch

f.: AElce beorn hæfde on heonde/ ana þechene bærinde 345/9.

beode B (OE þeód, f.) nation, people

f.: he is icumen to here þeoden 390/22; Mine þrales i mere þeode 22/2 me suluen þretian; We scullen of þisses þeode 231/3 cumen to þire neode.

bing B, L (OE þing, n.) thing

B: n.: hat þing 148/22; and duden þer a selcud þing 291/22.
L: n.: it 231/441.

boresdai L (OE þüres-dæg, m.) Thursday

m.: Sone morewe, þene þores-dai: to lincolne he cam 138/1126.

born L (OE þorn, m.) thorn

m?: And seche ana þorn in kovbache ... 353/275.
bought L (OE gehought, m.) thought
[n.]: "Ich wot wel þi pought", ..."pei þou it holde stille"
68/47.

boumbe L (OE þuma, m.) thumb
m.: for mannens þoumbe strengeast is : þare-fore he hatte
"he strongue". 308/316.

browe B (OE þræg, f.) time
f.: Ne tah hine agein ana þrowe 28/4.

bruppe B (v. Stratmann: ?) passage
f.: ilead to þære bruppe 23/16.

bunre, pondre L (OE punor, m.) thunder
m.: þare-fore hæn suggez þat wynter-pondre : selde man
schal guod i-sec/ For he ne may neuer come : bote
þat weder onkuynde beo 315/560.
[n.]: 3e mouwen axi, swane it þundre is : I-meingt: of fuyr
in wete/ hov is þat hit a-quellex men ... 316/566.

unneode B (cf. OE nœod, f.) misfortune, harm
f.: to his æære unneode 14/8.

wer B (cf. OE wæl, n.) the slain
n.: þe heo nomen þær (man.sec. wer)/ & wel hit biburiode
36/12-13.

venim L (OF venin, m.) venom, poison
[n.]: And made heom drinke of þat venym þræght bi-fore is æysþ/
A-non so it uo3t with-inne hem cansbope huy gone se dayse.
408/218.
uel B (OE yfel, n.) evil
  n. : bat uel 125/3.

wei, wai B, wei B, L C, wey L, C (OE weg, n.) way, road
  B : m. : riden benne ilke weal 242/3; Ah flih flih binne
       weal ii. 249/16; pa binne weal us habbeod for-uaren
       iii. 91/4.
  L : m. : Rigt bane weal pat ore louerd geode 15/472; I-ne
       can nanne weal 6/177; An ibore me alne wey 479/584.
       [n.]: And þe bradore was is wei-iso longe forth he eode,
       þat it was so brod þat þere miȝtesa carte gon for
       neode 212/438.
  C : m. : ben wef mid al is poer,azen hom vaste he nom 2456.

wel1 B (OE wel, n.) slaughter; the slain
  n. : bat wel 175/16; Hamun ferde yeon bat wel 395/21.

wel2 B (OE wela, m.) wealth
  n. : al bat wel & al þat gold 346/12 þe wes yeond al
       þeos kinges lond.

ワーク B, weork L (OE (go)weorc, n.) work
  B : n. : bat werk 333/5.
  L : n. : it 312/446.

wal B, L, C (OE weall, m.) wall
  B : m. : Lud king letter legge bane wal/.../ þe suare yst
        haued ilast/ & swa he wule yst wel longe 302/11-14;
        ouer bane wal heo clumen 402/3.
  L : m? : So /longe/ þat he i-saig ane wal 213/459.
  C : m. : Bigonne to rere þon stronge wal, as it was hom ised.2164.
wal (cont.)

C : m. : Yrered he was strong ynw, as pe stede is zut ysame. 2185.

wapmon-cun B (OE cf. OE cynn, n.) male-kind


water B, L, C (OE water, n.) water; river

B : n. : hit 106/1; bet water 76/3; 3cnd w wide water 6/7.

L : n. : it 66/425; pat watur bi-gan to berne a-non : a-zein

is kuynde, wel faste 246/192.

m? : For po pie holie Man to water can : pat watur him

with-droug 69/65 And ouer pe broke made ane wei :

druye and cleene i-nouz.

C : n. : it 637.

wayn L (OE wægn, wēn, m.) carriage, cart

m. : huy comon and driue bana wayn 39/188.

weder B, L (OE weder, n.) sky; air; weather

B : n. : bet weder 199/17; Heo ferden mid hon wedere 196/14.

L : n. : it 441/368.

wel-dede B (OE wel-dēd, f.) good deed

f. : wordschepe haue pu/ hire wel-deda 134/7.

welle B, L (OE wielle, f.; cf. OE wiell, wiella, m.) well

B : f. : irne to bere welle ii.405/12; to bi-witen heo mid

rein ii.405/15; & ha welle for-duden ii.408/3.

m? : buten cald welles streem ii.405/18; six ampullen,

fulle./ heo zeoten i han welle ii.406/10.

L : f. : heo is noupe wel faire i-heoled:with freo ston, ase

riszt is 354/326.
woofed B (OE weōfod, n.) altar
   n.: bat woofed 51/4; bi ban weofede 51/1.

weolcne B (OE wolcen, wolo, n.) cloud
   f.: here weolcne he wes swīde nih 122/16; me puhte
   bat in here weolcne iii.14/18; aqedēn ba weolcne
   ii.583/18.

woored B (OE werod, n.) multitude, troop
   n?: be aht wes on ben woored 184/11; per he bale funde/
   vppen ane wooredes 110/7 of wflan awedde.

woorld, woruld B, world B, L, C (OE worulda, f.) world
   B: f.: at here worldes ende at-stonde 313/13; to bissere
   weolde longe iii. 190/14.
   n?: and halde bat worlda in his hond 307/18; for pan
   m?: weorldes scomere 20/3.
   L: m.: Al bene world he made of nouȝt 181/29.
   C: m.: bat holdeþ up ben world 2429.

west B (OE west, adv. adj.) west
   n.: Bi-ȝende France i bet west 52/22; hauede al heð
   west 161/8.

wiex B (OE wīg-æx, f.) battle-axe
   f.: & igrap of onnes monnes honde/ an wiæx 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; & suere he to ban wiue loh
   iii.31/14; me scende of mine wife ii.356/8; mines
   wiues fader ii.247/4.
wif (cont.)

B : f. : and he bedef a swide god wif/ & he heo leouede
also his lif 211/10; & he bi-nom hire al hire eorles wif/
he bi-nom hire al hire sadelen 300/1.

L : f. : For he him hadde is wif bi-nome : and imad hire
don amis 80/103.

wifmon, wimmon B, womman L, C (OE wifmann, m.) woman

B : m? : he funde enne feire womman 409/16.

f. : & Gudlac ledde forh/ ba wifmon swide faire/ & he
heo bohte swide deore 204/19; feier wes pe wimmon/
& wunsum hire monen 7/23; he hauede bi bare womman
271/10 enne swide wandliche sune.

L : f. : For fellere ping nis non ase womman : 3ware 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. : pe king bad pe womman to segge sop & uor no ping lete.
pat heo ne sede in sopnesse. wo pat child bizete 2735.

wilderne B (cf. OE wilddœor, wilddœoren) wilderness

m/n? : he ferde to pan wode/ to pan wilderne 23/8; (wende)
to ane wilderne 366/11; Vther lai inne Wales/ in
anne wilderne ii.325/6.

wile B, wilde L (OE hwil, f.) while

B : f. : pe wilde pe heo weren ifunde 29/8; Nes Brutus i pon
londe/ bute lutel ane wilde 15/20; wa wes hire before
while iii.138/1.
wile (cont.)

L: f.  

*i *is holie Man at-stod *ane wile 64/352; *wii *gelatov

mine 3wyle þus 254/504.

wille B, L (OE willa, m.; cf. OE gewill, gewile, n.) will; wish

B : M?  
i *ch þe telle wile mine will 130/23; þu hauest *bine

willen ised þi11.272/16; & makien after *bine wille

grid 374/11.

[n.]: jif mi fæder dude his wille/ nulle ich hit naht

iwurden 261/17.

L :[n.]: po heo saþ gilbertus wille : þat it was so guod

111/167.

wind B, L, C, wynd L, C (OE wind, m.) wind

B : m.  

þe wind com on wedere/ and þa see he wraðede 195/11;

leten laden bene wind 57/11.

L : m.  

Ake so scharpe he bleug and colde 205/184; ore

louerd *ane wynd sende 89/71.

C :[m.]: & a wind a sein lukes eue at londone in þe toun.

So gret it com þat it fulde, moni hous adoun 8585.

win-scence B (cf. OE scenc, m.) wine-draught

m? : for þon win-scence 295/19.

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 þis 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. : ža hehte heo ane heste/ mid haizere 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 halfe hine seolden 11.446/3; driuen heom in to ñne hebne wude 426/15.

L : m? : Fair wode þare was þulke tymé: ake nouþe heo is al a-doune 48/43.

wode-lond B (OE wudu-land, n.) woodland

m? : I bon wode-londe 72/17.

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 þere hadden ane wone 198/9.

word B, L (OE word, n.) word

B : n. : hit 355/2; b word 8/4.

L : n. : it 122/541.

worm L, C (OE wyrm, m.) worm; dragon

L : m. : nyut he may here in þe grounde: ane luttle worm

worm i-seo 407/162; þis worm turnede a-þen a-non:

ase þis holie Man him hit 452/124.

m/n. : Anon hadde þis lubere worm: is pouer al ilore,

[n.]: þat hit ne mighte ane fót forþere passe 39/179-180.
worm (cont.)

C: m. : Ac after hom þer seal arise. a worm of germane.
    & þe se wolf him seal bringe vp ... 2811.

woz B, wo L (OE wōh, n.) wrong

B: n? : þe stonden o þen woz 177/5.
L: n. : Ake al þe wo þat he issiþ er; aþein þat nouȝt it
    nas 211/378.

wrestling B (OE wræstlung, f.) wrestling

f.: at þere wrestlinge 79/19.

wrench L (OE wrenc, m.) artifice, trick

m? : þere-fœr heo þouȝte anne feolle wrench : of womanes
    kuynde lore 324/57.

wreðde B (OE wræppo, f.) wrath, anger

f.: Mid þere wreðde he was isweued 130/16; mid mucelere
    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 iseth bis writ 315/5.
L: n. : it 269/301.

wulf B, wolf L (OE wulf, m.) wolf

B: m. : æwa þe rime wulf/ þane he wule on scheapen 66/6;
    hu heo mouwen Baldulf/ alen al se anne wulf 11.427/7.
L: m. : A wolf cam also þuder-wardis mete for-to fette,
And wolde of þat bodi nimeþpe Raunon aþein him sette,
189/145-46; þat þe wolf atþen ende/ ... aþen hamward
    he gan wende 189/148.
wunde B, wounde L, C (OE wund, f.) wound

B: f. : & ne gefue him name wunde 367/2.

L: f. : Gyyt is pe wounde in pe pore 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 þer muchelne wundre 320/4.

wurðscape, wurhscape B (OE weorc-scape, m.) worship, honour

m. : her to biwine/ wurðscape minne 403/5; i þenched

bene wurðscape iii.396/6.

f. : þe pa muchele wurðscape uden him 345/21; for here

muchele wurðe-scape 357/22; mid muchelere wurhschipe

210/19; in wurðscape hire ii.520/1; & bine wurhscape

halden ii.153/7.

yle L (OF isle, f.) isle

f. : po huy yeisigen fer fram aheom : ane yle ase þei it

were 226/249.

ymage L, C (OF image, f.) picture

L: f. : An ymage, briȝt and schene/ Ouerr-guld and quoynte

i-nov/ and settæ as a-midde þe cite 96/159; þat

ehoch man hire honouri schal 96/160.

m. : to bane ymage he wende a-non : ase he bi þe walle

stod 253/452.
C sif/m?: Him po3te be ymage in is slep.tolde him is chance.
Brut he sede passe vorp.al bijonde france 329.
Yrlonde C (OE Ir(a)land, n.) Ireland
m.: Yrlonde is alre yle best . wipoute engelonde.
  pe se gep al abote him ek 998; More he is pan
  engelond . & in pe souphalf he is 999.
ye L (OE Is, n.) ice
n.: hit 424/132.
<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, hin, hie, he, him</td>
<td>heo, hoe, ha, hiro, (pe)</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>his, hiis, is, hes, hus</td>
<td>hire, hira, ire, hiire, heore, hir, her, hires</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>hin, hi, ha, hin, im, hine</td>
<td>hire, heore, here, hir', v. masc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite article</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pe, pa, pe, (pon), [pat]</td>
<td>pa, pe, pes, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, p, pet, pt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pen, pane, peone, penne, p'ne, bonne, penne, penne, pen, pe, [pat]</td>
<td>ba, pe, pes, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>pat, p, pet, pes, pa, pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pes, peos, pis, pes, pas</td>
<td>pere, pare, peore, beera</td>
<td>pes, peos, pis, pas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pon, pon, pen, pon, peon, pae, pöö, pone, pene</td>
<td>pere, pere, pere, pe, pa</td>
<td>pan, pon, pen, pe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite article</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>a, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>enne, emne, anne, êne, âne, an</td>
<td>ane, ëne, ana, enne, anne, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>anes, onnes, ennes, ¿nes, 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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A survey of forms in the Brut (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ḗos, Ḗas, Ḗis, Ḗeos, Ḗes</td>
<td>Ḗeos, Ḗas, Ḗis, Ḗes</td>
<td>Ḗis, Ḗeos, Ḗes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Ḗosne, Ḗisne, Ḗusne, Ḗesne</td>
<td>Ḗas, Ḗeos, Ḗes</td>
<td>Ḗis, Ḗas, Ḗos, Ḗes, Ḗesne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Ḗissere, Ḗissere, Ḗisse</td>
<td>Ḗissere, Ḗissere, Ḗisse</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Ḗisse, Ḗissi, Ḗissen, Ḗissene</td>
<td>Ḗissere, Ḗisse(n)</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</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, mine, min</td>
<td>mine, mine, min</td>
<td>mi, mine, min, pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mine</td>
<td>mire</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<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, he, huy; ye</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>Dative</td>
<td>(h)is</td>
<td>hire, hore, hure, ire</td>
<td>(his)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite article</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pe, po, peo, [pat]</td>
<td>v. masc.</td>
<td>pat, pet, put; pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pane, bene, pen,</td>
<td>pe, pеo</td>
<td>v. nsgm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pat]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite article</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<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, an</td>
<td>a, an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>pis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>pesne, piane, pusne, pеосne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pusse</td>
<td>pusse</td>
<td>pusse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. Q. 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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A survey of forms recorded in the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester

<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, a, (here)</td>
<td>heo, he, 30, 3e, 880, 88e</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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. G. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Masculine nouns in the Brut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>hine</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>hine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wic</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koker</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earn</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>lechecl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æd</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>æorgen</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meast</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowe</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>markestan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brand</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>martyrdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>mæres</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cniif</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>mete</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crafte</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nome</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cristindom</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peni</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pleige</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curtel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>res</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewi</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>read</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deol</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rein</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deðm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>richedom</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dic</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ring</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>rof</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dreu</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>rop</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drake</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>sceld</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinc</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>scute</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drops</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>staf</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dune</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stan</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunt</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>stede</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sterre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feild</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stream</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feond</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>streng</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stude</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fisc</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>sweore</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garc</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>swikedom</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>swipe</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grome</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tun</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grund</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>tur</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gult</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wei</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemest</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wifmon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hæm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>winter</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heor</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wode</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wulf</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hord</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wurescheipe</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huie</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>hul</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinedom</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>help</td>
<td>f.m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinhelm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>hul</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>f.m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The characteristic -ne ending of the definite article (pene), indefinite article (enne), demonstrative pronoun (hine), possessive pronoun (minne) as well as of the strong adjective.
### Masculine nouns in the Brut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>hire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bur</td>
<td>m.n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>soome</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flod</td>
<td>m.n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siht</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolt</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blase</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balu</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burh</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>child</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grið</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3er</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modcare</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spre</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niht</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wunder</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine nouns in the Brut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-re</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-re</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hele</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>holf</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heuene</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blisse</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>halle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boc</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heorde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruttene</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>beorte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burh</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heouene</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hile</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hind</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chireche</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bende</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dede</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hude</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dich</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>liombre</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dune</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lar</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dure</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la3e</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du3ede</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eax</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lesinge</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eorde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lufe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mihnt</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fore</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mihnt</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>godnesse</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greting</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>murehleo f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zeue</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zitsunge</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niht</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3iuernesse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Port-chesstre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. -re being the characteristic g/ð/ȝ ending of the definite article (here), indefinite article (are), demonstrative pronoun (hissere), possessive pronoun (mire) as well as of the strong adjective.
Feminine nouns in the Brut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-re</th>
<th>heo hire</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-re</th>
<th>heo hire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prute</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>se</td>
<td>m.f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ræuwing</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðætnesse</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>brecste</td>
<td>n.m.f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saule</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceafde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seahte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>arde</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seore3e</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>blyreste</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibba</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>bringe</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibelæge</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>freondscipe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>monschipe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sihte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>sweore</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wifmon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speche</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wurdescape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stefne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stowe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strengd</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streth</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>bihoue</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stunde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>genge</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunne¹</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>husting</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunne²</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>inne</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tale¹</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>kineriche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temese</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>meiden</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teone</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>riche</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tide</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>rihte</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þeode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>temple</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungeoode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>weolcne</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wel-dede</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wif</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>witte</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wereld</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wile</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wise</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pruppe</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrastling</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sereuunge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrecde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tyre</td>
<td>f?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>bis</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citlond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vuel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balu</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wald yard</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearn</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>warc</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bord</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wapmoncun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutlond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>water</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burhfolc</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weder</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weofed</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cliof</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wif</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>word</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>writ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deor</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fæht</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ðel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feoh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>garsum</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folc</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fur</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>biheste</td>
<td>f/n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gæuel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gælo</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ærde</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>æð</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goddspel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brimme</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clearcipe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grea</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>comp</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grid</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cristindou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jæt</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>feond</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jær</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gare</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heaf</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hired</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hræmedbean</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mote</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husting</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seilcleò</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stude</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinelond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tur</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kineriche</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wol2</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>larspel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vifmon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liche</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>winter</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lif</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>æhfe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maeniden</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ænasware</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moode</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ælicnes</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkun</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>æxe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riche</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bruttene</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riheta</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ferde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scop</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forward</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hauen</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sodð</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leod</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spero</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niht</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strand</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweord</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sibba</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swin</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>speche</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swinc</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Troye</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taken</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>worlde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treo</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nord</td>
<td>adv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bing</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>west</td>
<td>adv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. asm. bis.
### Masculine or neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the dsgm/n.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erde</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>cun</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>eorðhus</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likame</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>inn</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plipt</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>iwiille</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rug</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>lim</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slæht</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>melé</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>qualehus</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>quartern</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>slede</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welle</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>weored</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wille</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>wodelond</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woderime</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>w03</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breste</td>
<td>n.m.f.</td>
<td>end-sene f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lufte</td>
<td>f.m.n.</td>
<td>castel-buri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bache</td>
<td>m?</td>
<td>lofe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilderne</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>mid-niht f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Neuter nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. an, mi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bundred</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunder</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine nouns in the Brut (evidence of the asg. ba, ane, mine)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>ane</th>
<th>mine</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>ane</th>
<th>mine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bruggle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>exølen</td>
<td>f.n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fla</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>fulluht</td>
<td>n.f.m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harpe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heste</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laðung</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>del</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milc</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sið</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milce</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troye</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>erinde</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þechele</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>maine</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prowe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ref</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiæx</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lond-gaue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(cf. p. 20 ff.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf. p. 20 ff.)
### Masculine nouns in the Legendary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>him</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appel m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saturday</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asse m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td>sonenday m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bei3 m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td>staf m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boru3 m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ston m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bov3 m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stream m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breth m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toun m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuyrTEL m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuvesday m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>poresday m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dethp m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>bouve m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drake m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>bunde m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunt m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>we1 m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ende m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wayn m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ern m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wind m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feuere m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td>wode m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finguer m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>worm m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fich m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wulf m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fot m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foul m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friday m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dew m.n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grund m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hare m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td>help f.m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heort m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>hui m,f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leon m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morewe m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mete m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boc f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mist m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heouene f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pores f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulleston m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sonne f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>othp m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SonenNy3ht</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>othur m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>soule f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouene m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>heo</td>
<td></td>
<td>WodnesNy3ht</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peni m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>world f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauen m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3er n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rede m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rymfrst m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>child f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryn g m.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>water n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. i.e. bine, anne, nanne, minne, binne or bine.
2. him is the most frequent sgm. form; hine occurs only occasionally.
3. heo is only a variant of he in these instances; cf. the gsg. is.
4. him is a dative here.
5. The evidence of he is corroborated by the gsg. is.
### Feminine nouns in the Legendary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>as</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arewe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>soule</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boc</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>souwe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brugge</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sunne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>churche</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coluere</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toungue</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coppe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>welle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cov</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wounde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorpe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flie</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>georde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>candele</td>
<td>f.n.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zwuchche</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>f.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harpe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heouene</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here²</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bov3</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hond</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mone</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lauerke</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stede</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawe</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>storrre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liuere</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wimmon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masse</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schurte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mayde</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>temple</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wif</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Masculine or feminine nouns in the Legendary (evidence of the asg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>ane</th>
<th>mine</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>ane</th>
<th>mine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brand</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>blisse</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diache</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>3wile</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feld</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>heste</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lof</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>marke</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rop</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>masse-boc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stude</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>mighte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porn</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>nihte</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>stounde</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wone</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>tide</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrench</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>tislingue</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3er</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hole</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundret</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schrine</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spere</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table lists nouns from the Legendary, indicating whether they are masculine (m.), feminine (f.), or can be either (n.). The 'as' column denotes additional details about the nouns.*
## Nouns referred to by (h)it in the Legendary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blod</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bei3</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodi</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bou3</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bold</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bouwe</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bord</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>breth</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bred</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cristendom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>deth</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>dischs</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engelond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>drinc</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erinde</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>feld</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>fisch</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flesch</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>gost</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>burst</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuyr</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>mete</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>godspel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goud</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rug</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gat</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rymforst</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gweol</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>smul</td>
<td>m?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halibred</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sak</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heued</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>staf</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hous</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sten</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inn</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>pought</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bundra</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>wei</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijf</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>wille</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomb</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lot</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>anletnesse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riche</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>blessingue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rihte</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>coppe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>eorbe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schep</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>georde</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schip</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hecuene</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suerd</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>lesingue</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treo</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>lightingue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ping</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>mansingue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weder</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rest</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werk</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>siht</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sonne</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>childingue</td>
<td>f?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>leitunge</td>
<td>f?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ys</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>he(o)</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>is</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>he(o)</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>weai</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>winter</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bor</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>box</td>
<td>m.n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feld</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fot</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>church</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>hond</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinedon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>rode</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knif</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>world</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>london</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>op</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>child</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sterre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Engeland</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stroc</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>gospel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stude</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>suerd</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toun</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yrland</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>he(o)</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>is</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>he(o)</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brugge</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hond</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>vorward</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dede</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>steorre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haueno</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>womsan</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hele4</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hen</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mayde</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nouns referred to by hit in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>castel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>ex</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cristendon</td>
<td></td>
<td>churche</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sat</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>drench</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>maningue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beued</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>ofsprang</td>
<td></td>
<td>hepenesse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hous</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>aceld</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>vorwardes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liht</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>stude</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lond</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>toun</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. asgm.
2. asgm.
3. him is in the dative here.
4. goderhele, wroberhele.
5. angf.
**NOUNS OF OLD FRENCH ORIGIN**

**Masculine nouns in the Brut**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>-ne</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>hine</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>dsg. ban/ane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalendar m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>flum m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahum m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>ginne m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantel m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lac m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feminine nouns in the Brut**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>-re</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>asg. ane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arche f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tunne f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Masculine nouns in the Legendary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>bane</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>him</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>asg. ane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maumet m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cofre m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>membre m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ensample</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poyn m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ginne m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauter m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mantel m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempest m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peire m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| beste f.    |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |
| prison f.   |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |
| robe f.     |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |
| roche f.    |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |
| tourn f.    |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |

| ymage f.    |     |      |    |      |            |     |              |

**Feminine nouns in the Legendary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>heo</th>
<th>hire</th>
<th>as</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>asg. ane/bine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abbeige f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>chaire f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chartre f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td></td>
<td>folie f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>croce f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>fourme f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>croiz f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>goute f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feite f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grace f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lettre f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>partie f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penaunce f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perche f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reule f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>place f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toumbe f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>rente f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ymage f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>summe f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orde m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yle f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saume m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Masculine nouns in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>Him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>m.f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truage</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cite</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Launce</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine nouns in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>He(s)</th>
<th>He(s)</th>
<th>Is</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>Ass. and</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chartre</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bataille</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>He</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croiz</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>He</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ymage</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>He</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aumperye</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nouns referred to by hit in the Legendary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caudron</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Taillage</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristal</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Treor</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decl</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Venim</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Grece</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dette</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Honour</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fornais</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ioye</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iupe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miracle</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Accord</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Noyse</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordre</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Bataille</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Oreisun</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oynement</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Beste</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Penaunce</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palefrey</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Croiz</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Reule</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleis</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Soyle</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Spence</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallion</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Fourme</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Tricherie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nouns referred to by hit in the Chronicle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maumet</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Caroyne</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Lettre</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mossel</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Companye</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pes</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poyson</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Croiz</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrit</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Feste</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Tumbe</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truage</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</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>bote</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>
</tr>
</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>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Neuter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>ON</th>
<th>bat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>tidende</td>
<td>n.pl.</td>
<td><em>(cf. dsg. hen)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts


The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, MS Laud 108, ed. Dr Carl Horstmann, London, 1887 (EEES, O.S. 87).


Dictionaries


Grammata


Luick, K. Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1913 ff.


General


Ausbittel, E. 'Das Persönliche Geschlecht Unpersönlicher Substantiva'. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xix, Halle, 1904.

Breier, W. 'Eupéle und Nichtigel'. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xxxix, Halle, 1910.


Delbrück, B. 'Syncretismus, Ein Beitrag zur Germanischen Kasuslehre. Strassburg, 1907.'
Diehn, C. 'Die Pronomina im Frühmittelenglischen'. Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie, Band 1, Heidelberg, 1901.

Draugelatns, W. Beiträge zur Geschichte der analytischen Kasus im Frühmittelenglischen (1150-1250), Diss. Greifswald, 1893.

Fleischhacker, R. 'On the Old English nouns of more than one gender'. Transactions of the Philological Society, 1888-1890.

Funke, O. Kasussyntax bei Orm und Layamon, Diss. München, 1907.


Hall, J. Layamon's Brut (Selections), Oxford, 1924.

Beltvett, Studies in English Demonstrative Pronouns, Oslo, 1953.


Meissner, E. 'Der Untergang des Grammatischen Geschlechts im Frühmittelenglischen'. Anglia, xlvi, 1923.


Moore, S. 'Grammatical and Natural Gender in Middle English'. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. 56, 1921.


Whorf, B. L. 'Grammatical Categories'. *Language*, vol. 21, 1945.