

The Grammatical Category of Gender  
in The Katherine Group (MS. Bodley 34)

Shigeaki KARAKIDA

1. Introduction

C. Jones<sup>1</sup> says that the grammatical category of gender manifests itself in three main ways in the Northumbrian texts of the late Old English period and the Anglian texts of the early Middle English period: (a) gender-distinctive markers of pre-modifiers of nominal heads remain intact without violating the historical grammatical concord, which may or may not show correlation between gender and sex; (b) this correlation is extended; (c) the phonetically heavy markers -ne and -re, which are originally case- and gender-distinctive forms, are redistributed as case markers only. It is tentatively suggested, moreover, that the development of the "Anglian sub-system" (c) was functionally motivated in that it was developed to fill the linguistic gap between the breakdown of the noun inflection and the establishment of the fixed word order; in Southern dialects, on the other hand, it was not necessary to develop this kind of sub-system because the word-order patterns had been more completely established in these areas. The aim of the present study is to describe the way the grammatical category of gender manifests itself in the dialect of The Katherine Group (MS. Bodley 34), one of the West Midland dialects in early Middle English.

1.1 The Katherine Group is a set of alliterated homiletic prose

texts, St Katherine (K), St Margaret (M), St Juliana (J), Hali Meiðhad (HM) and Sawles Warde (SW), all of which show the continuation of the traditional Ælflic-Wulfstan style, though HM and SW, in which alliteration is not so regularly used, are differentiated from the three lives of the saints.<sup>2</sup> They are contained in the three MSS.:

|                              | K | M | J | HM | SW |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| MS. Bodley 34 (B)            | + | + | + | +  | +  |
| MS. Royal 17A xxvii (R)      | + | + | + |    | +  |
| MS. Cotton Titus D xviii (T) | + |   |   | +  | +  |

We will be mainly concerned here with the MS. B, which contains all of the five texts: K (ff. 1r - 18r), M (ff. 18r - 36v), J (ff. 36v - 52v), HM (ff. 52v - 71v), and SW (ff. 72r - 80v; incomplete, two leaves having been lost after f. 80).<sup>3</sup> The MS. B is written in one hand throughout. The corrections, made in another hand from the beginning of St M, f. 18r, l. 14 as far as f. 21r, l. 19, are excluded from the material for this study.

The MS. B has been dated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The language is the Southwest Midland dialect; several names written in sixteenth-century hands in the margins connect the MS. with Herefordshire,<sup>5</sup> and the linguistic evidence suggests a localization, more specifically, in Central Herefordshire, around Hereford itself.<sup>6</sup>

1.2 In the dialect of The Katherine Group, phonetic and analogical change has made it almost impossible to distinguish the grammatical genders of nouns by their inflectional endings. Of all the 101 occurrences (64 forms) of the gen. sg. case of nouns originally without the distinct ending -es, as many as 86 occurrences (52 forms) are found with the analogical ending; of all the 478 occurrences (219 forms) of the nom./acc. pl. case of

nouns originally without the ending -as or -an in OE, there are 166 occurrences (71 forms) with the analogical -es and 104 occurrences (58 forms) with -en.<sup>7</sup>

The "strong" declensions of adjectives ending in  $-\emptyset$  or in -i after a short syllable usually preserve the number distinction. But the survival of the case/gender-distinctive endings is very rarely found in the MS. B:

|      | Singular |                |         | Plural   |
|------|----------|----------------|---------|----------|
|      | M        | F              | N       |          |
| Nom. | -        | - (-e)         | -       | -e       |
| Acc. | - (-e)   | - (-e)         | -       | -e       |
| Gen. | - (-es)  | -              | - (-es) | -e (-re) |
| Dat. | - (-e)   | - (-e, -er/re) | - (-e)  | -e       |

The OE masc. acc. sg. -ne is not preserved in the MS. B; the masc./neut. gen. sg. -es is retained only in the indefinite pronoun, the possessive adjective and the adjective used substantively; the OE fem. dat. sg. -re is preserved only in a few idiomatic phrases. In the overwhelming majority of cases, therefore, the adjective does not mark the case and the gender of a head noun.

The choice of a personal pronoun form is "referentially" determined, i.e., determined by the sex category, except for the occasional manifestations of historical grammatical gender, probably caused by a Christian allegory or archaism.

In the present study, therefore, great attention will be paid to the noun phrase internal gender agreement between definite determiners and their head nouns. The evidence presented by other pre-modifiers and the noun phrase external agreement will be noted when it is relevant to this study.

So far as the NP internal agreement is concerned, no

examples are found where Latin influence gives rise to "gender change," in spite of the fact that all the texts except HM are free adaptations from Latin original. Latin influence is restricted to the following examples: bileauē (cf. OE gēlēafa M) is ha (K7r/15:781),<sup>8</sup> due to credulitate (F); hus (OE N) is hire (SW72r/8:8), due to domum (F), etc. It seems that the female personification of deað (OE M) in SW reflects the feminine gender of L mors,<sup>9</sup> and that the male personification of fearlac (OE -lac usually N) and liues luue (OE F) also in SW reflects the masculine gender of L timor and amor respectively.

## 2. The OE Neuter Forms

The definite determiners pe, bet and bis tend to be used without regard to historical gender and case: see Appendix I (1) and II (1). It seems that a distinction was being made between the definite article pe and the demonstrative determiner bet. The repetition of bet in the following sentence gives evidence of its demonstrative function:

forȝet ec þi feader hus. as dauioð read þrefter. þe feader he cleopeð þ unþeaw (M) þet streonede. þe of þi moder. þ ilke unhende flesches brune (M) þ bearnminde ȝeohðe (M) of þ licomliche lust (M). biuore þ wleatewile werc (N). þ bestelich gederunge (F). þ scheomelese sompnunge (F). þ ful (F)<sup>10</sup> of fulðe stinkinde. & untohe dede. (HM55r/24-55v/5:107-11)

It cannot be said, however, that the distinction between pe and bet is completely established. The three MSS. sometimes vary in the choice of a determiner between pe and bet:

| B                                     | R                       | T                      |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| þ heuēnliche kinedom<br>(K15r/7:2149) | þe kinedom of<br>heuene | þ heuēnlich<br>kinedom |
| þ sihðe (K10v/14:1607)                | þe sihðe                | þat sihðe              |
| þ lif (K17r/20:2408)                  | þ lif                   | þe lif                 |

|                                   |                     |                     |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| be frut (HM61r/19:330)            |                     | b frut              |
| be schafte of mon<br>(K2v/21:237) | be schaft of<br>mon | b schafte of<br>mon |
| be wildernesse<br>(J44r/8:364)    | b wildernesse       |                     |

etc.

This kind of variation suggests that be and bet may be used with or without demonstrative force.

In our texts bet and bis occur much more frequently with nonpersonal nouns than with personal ones. TABLE I shows their relationship to the personal/nonpersonal category.

TABLE I<sup>11</sup>

|                       | Personal | Nonpersonal | Total    |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| <u>bet</u>            | 31 (9)   | 168 (87)    | 199 (96) |
| other inflected forms | 37       | 15          | 52       |
| <u>bis</u>            | 22 (3)   | 80 (45)     | 102 (48) |
| other inflected forms | 23       | 25          | 48       |

The percentages of the use of bet and bis with nonpersonal nouns are 84% (168 out of 199) and 78% (80 out of 102) respectively. The examples of their unhistorical use are classified by the personal/nonpersonal category in TABLE II, which indicates that only a few examples are found with personal nouns.

TABLE II

|                               | Personal | Nonpersonal | Total   |
|-------------------------------|----------|-------------|---------|
| <u>bet</u> + Noun [M, F, M/F] | 3 (3)    | 87 (49)     | 90 (52) |
| <u>bis</u> + Noun [M, F, M/F] | 1 (1)    | 49 (28)     | 50 (29) |

TABLE I also shows that 168 examples (84%) of the use of bet are found with nonpersonal nouns, while only 37 (54%) of the use of the other inflected forms are found with personal nouns;

and that 80 examples (76%) of the use of bis are found with non-personal nouns, while only 23 (51%) of the use of the other inflected forms are found with personal nouns. These figures, however, do not necessarily mean that the tendency of "neutralization"<sup>12</sup> is the strongest of all the processes of restructuring the gender category. The fact is more complicated. First, most of the personal nouns which occur with bet or bis are originally neuter. Of all the 31 examples of bet, only three violate the historical concord:<sup>13</sup>

- M godd x 1 (J49r/25:631), wummon x 1 (J45r/20:426)  
 F unselhðe x 1 (M24r/22:631, referring to the Devil)  
 N bearn x 4 (HM65v/23:499, etc.), meiden x 20 (K7v/8:826, etc.), wif x 1 (HM67v/3:557)  
 M/N deofles (gen. sg.) x 1 (K2r/17:166)  
 F/N unwhit [sic] x 1 (M27v/12:3005),<sup>14</sup> wiht x 1 (M27v/3:2829)

Of all the 22 examples of bis, only one example of the unhistorical use is found:

- F puftenes (gen. sg.) x 1 (HM70r/19:665)  
 N meiden x 20 (K5v/21:607, etc.)  
 F/N whit [sic] x 1 (M25r/1:2213)

These facts suggest that bet and bis still marked historical gender. Second, as was noted above, the distinction of the demonstrative determiners bet and bis from the definite article be was being established, if not completely. And third, bet may have been selected instead of be to avoid hiatus, as in b an (HM 56r/13:136), (HM56v/17:157), b oðer (K1v/16:101), (K4v/19:479), b ilke (K17v/15:2453), (M33v/1:4428), etc. and such idiomatic phrases as mid/t tet ilke (K6v/12:713), etc. and wið b ilke (M 33r/13:4416), etc. In the following sentence, the form be is

selected before a consonant and the form pet before a vowel:

to-bursten & to-breken . . . ba pe treo (N) & tet irn (N)  
(Kl3v/21:2004)

The sequence pe + t in the former probably determines the selection of pet form in the latter.

### 3. The Use of the OE Masculine and Feminine Forms with Personal Nouns

The redistribution of marked forms of the definite determiners is brought about in the use of the originally masc. and fem. forms with personal nouns.

3.1 The definite article and demonstrative pe/pet has an inflected objective form pen(e), which is used as the object of the verb, whether originally accusative or dative:

M wreaðest pen al-wealdent (HM66r/12:509)  
Etstont. pen feont (SW76r/12:171)  
luuien pen áá liuiende goð [sic; = godd] (J37r/12:18)  
herie pen healent (Kl4r/1:2012)<sup>15</sup>  
gret wit pen lauerð (SW77v/9:227)  
pene redere . . . lusteð (M34r/15:4629)  
makede pen muchele witti witege ysaie. beon isahet  
(J44r/3:359)

M/N islein pen sleheste deouel of helle (M26v/24:2802)

F/N iseon moste <pen> unsehene unwiht (M24v/19:2206)<sup>16</sup>

and also after prepositions:

M wið pene seli brudgume (HM71v/17:717)  
purh pen engel (J43v/10:341)  
open liuiende godd (J41r/2:208)  
wið pen vnwine (J42v/24:305)  
biuoren pen awariede wulf (Kl4r/7:2032, referring to  
Maxence)

F/N of pen laðe unwiht pe hellene schucke (HM69r/11:622)<sup>17</sup>

Of all the nineteen examples of the use of ben(e) with nouns, the fifteen cited above are used with nouns denoting male persons:<sup>18</sup> cf. 4.1. Moreover, in the following examples, ben occurs with a proper noun and with an adjective, both referring to the 'Devil':

beaten ben belial of helle (J45v/19:450)

leac . . . ben laddliche [sic] of helle (J46v/13:494)

The inflected genitive form of the definite determiner be/bet is bes, which is always used with personal nouns, whether male or female, in our texts.<sup>19</sup> Examples of its use with male personal nouns are:

M bes feaderes (Klr/1:title)<sup>20</sup>

bes feondes (K6v/19:729) (J40r/8:164) (J49r/5:636)  
(HM57v/23:199) (HM58r/7:205)<sup>21</sup> (HM58r/8:206)

bes fuheleres (M20ar/7:0809)

bes hali gastes (M18r/14:0201) (M18v/13:0401) (M33r/8:4411)

bes schuckes/schucke (M20ar/5:0806) (M24v/11:2033)

bes sunes (Klr/1:title)<sup>22</sup> (M18r/14:0201)

M/N bes deofles<sup>23</sup> (K13r/8:1905) (K14v/22:2123)<sup>24</sup> (K16v/3:2312) (HM69r/3:613)

Only two examples are found with female personal nouns:

F bes leafdis (K15r/25:2192)

bes meidnes (K14r/21:2063)<sup>25</sup>

Note that the inflected genitive ending -es is rarely found in the adjective inflection:

anes kinges (K1v/5:73)

tines feader (HM52v/6:5)

In these examples -es occurs with personal nouns: cf. 4.2.

The function of the marked form ben(e) in our texts is completely different from that in the "Anglian sub-system." It is true that ben(e) appears only in the objective case, but its



primary function is not the case-marking. Of all the thirteen examples in which pen(e) is used as the object of the verb with the noun, the pronoun or the adjective, only two appear in the SOV order in dependent clauses and all the rest are found in the (S)VO order in independent or dependent clauses. Only one example has a dative function:

alle ping turnedø pen gode. to gode (HM54r/18:67)

In this sentence the presence of the marked form of the determiner does not necessarily avoid the syntactic ambiguity of pen gode; cf. MS. T pe gode. Moreover, the inflected genitive pes cannot be said to mark the case more unambiguously than the unmarked form, since it cannot always be distinguished from pes 'this.' In what Jones calls "case repetition," the marked forms are not always used to avoid the ambiguity in the syntactic relationship. Compare the following, all of which are the titles in the three lives of the saints:

(I) pes feaderes ant (i pe)s Sunes. & ipe almih(ti g)asteS  
nome (K1r/1:title)<sup>26</sup>

Ipe feaderes & ipes sunes & ipes hali gastes nome (M18r/14:  
title)

I pe feaderes & i pe sunes & i pe hali gastes Nome (J36v/17:  
1)

In the first example, the marked form is used in noun phrases where the head noun nome is deleted: the unmarked form, however, appears in the same environment in the second, and in all the noun phrases in the third.

D'Ardenne (p. 225) says that marked forms are emphatic and that they are likely to be used before a vowel even if unemphatic. Though it is not always possible to distinguish emphatic from unemphatic forms, the marked forms are sometimes found semantically stressed, as in the following sentence:

Ah heo as beo þ te hehe heouenliche lauerd hefde his luue ilenet. leafde hire ealdrene lahen & bigon to luuien þen ââ liuiende goð [sic] þe lufsume lauerd. þ schupte alle sche<a>ftes & wealdeð & wisseð efter þet his wil is. al þ isheapen is. (J37r/10-15:6-11)

In this sentence, þen ââ liuiende goð (= godd) is presented in contrast to hire ealdrene lahen and, moreover, the choice of the marked þen serves to avoid hiatus. The avoidance of hiatus is typically shown in þen oper as well as in þ oðer:

ich habbe ofte imaket . . . te an to sclein [sic] þen oper (J46r/13:469)

ah some se ich seh þe leome of þe soðe lare þe leadeð to þeche lif; ich leafde al þ oðer ant toc me him to lauerd (K4v/19:479)

A comparison of these two sentences suggests that a distinction may be made between personal (þen) and nonpersonal (þet) in the selection of a prevocalic alternative to the unmarked form. The avoidance of hiatus is also seen in such idiomatic collocations as et ten ende and to þer eorðe: see 4.1.

It is quite true, as A. F. Colborn (p. 87) suggests, that marked forms are preserved in "homiletic phrases." Most of the nouns which are used with þen(e) or þes refer to beings peculiar to the Christian faith, such as godd, lauerd, healent, sune, brudgume, hali gast, engel, deouel, etc. We will find this fact all the more interesting when we take notice of the cases of the preservation of the historical gender distinctions in the use of marked forms with nonpersonal nouns in 4.2.

3.2 The demonstrative determiner þis has inflected nom./obj. forms þes and þeos, which are classified by the male/female category without regard to historical gender when they are used with personal nouns.

Of all the nine examples of the nominative use of þes, seven are found with male personal nouns:

M Þes keiser (K8r/1:1255)

pes heouenliche lauerd (K2v/17:228)

pes lauerd (SW72r/5:6)

peS zunge mon (J37r/23:29)

Pes sondes-mon (K5r/13:517)

pes were (J39v/4:135)

F pes sonde (K4r/25:431, = pes sondes-mon)<sup>27</sup>

In the following example, pes occurs with a proper noun denoting a male person:

pes mihti maximien (J37r/20:26)

Pes is rarely used as objective. There are only three examples, one of which is used with a male personal noun:

M isehe pes mon (SW75r/12:128)

and the other two with a masculine nonpersonal noun: see 4.2.

There exist eleven examples of the use of peos as nominative, all occurring with female personal nouns:

M teos martyr (J37r/5:11, referring to St Juliana)

F peos lufsume leafdi (Klv/17:104)

teos hali leafdi (J37r/2:8)

N peos meiden (Klv/6:77) (K6v/23:739) (K12v/14:1861)

Peos meiden (K3v/19:354) (K5v/19:600) (K6v/13:715)  
(J37r/5:11)

Peos milde meoke meiden (Klv/17:103)

Of all the fifteen examples of the objective use of peos, only two are found with female personal nouns:

F peos modi motild ouercume (K4r/19:417)

N seh sitte peos meiden (K10r/22:1563)

and the rest with feminine nonpersonal nouns: see 4.2.

It should be added that pes is occasionally used with female or feminine nouns in our texts. It cannot be distinguished, in orthography at least, from the male/masc. pes though d'Ardenne (p. 228) suggests that it may have actually been

distinguished in pronunciation as pēs from the male/masc. pēs. But it is possible to regard the form pes which appears with female personal nouns or feminine nonpersonal nouns as a variant of peos, because it is also used as a variant of the plural peos, e.g., pes . . . maumez (K11v/23:1762), cf. peos maumez (K5r/3:492).<sup>28</sup> There exist two examples of its use as nominative, both occurring with a female personal noun:

N tes meiden (K9r/4:1387)

Pes meiden (J43r/13:319)

There are three examples of its objective use, one with a female personal noun:

N me<a>nden pes meiden (M22r/1:1412)

and the other two with feminine nonpersonal nouns: see 4.2.

It is notable that peos/pes appears exclusively with nouns referring to one of the three woman saints, St Katherine, St Margaret and St Juliana; therefore, it is not found with personal nouns in either HM or SW.

We have seen pes and peos/pes distributed according to the male/female category without regard to historical gender when they occur with personal nouns. A distinction cannot be drawn between the nominative and the objective case. After prepositions, these marked forms do not appear with personal nouns in our texts, and only bis is found with meiden (K13v/1:1953) (M18v/25:0413) (M20ar/13:0814) (M24v/12:2035) (J50r/16:672) and with whit [sic; = wiht] (M25r/1:2213). It is difficult to decide as to whether this fact is linguistically significant or not. D'Ardenne seems to be partly right when she (p. 227) says, "The oblique bis represented mainly the reduction of OE. dative forms bissum, bisse, and so was and remained in our texts the most usual form with all nouns after a preposition" (cf. Appendix II),

but both bes and beos/bes do occur with nonpersonal nouns after prepositions: see 4.2.

4. The Use of the OE Masculine and Feminine Forms with Nonpersonal Nouns

The marked forms derived from the OE masc. and fem. forms are also used with nonpersonal nouns with the exception of the genitive form bes, which always occurs with personal nouns. Note that they almost always appear without violating the historical concord.

4.1 All the inflected forms of the definite determiner pe/pet preserves the historical gender distinctions. The survival of the dative forms is shown in the following stereotyped prepositional phrases:

M ed ten ende (M30r/24:3623)<sup>29</sup> (HM54r/8:60) (HM54v/10:79)  
 F from þer eorðe (J41v/7:238)  
 oper eorðe (J41r/6:212, cf. R þe)  
 to þer eorðe (M24v/22:2208, cf. R þe) (M27r/10:2812)  
 (M34v/6:4810, cf. R þe) (M35v/13:5030) (J45v/18:449)  
 (J47v/20:551) (J51v/12:743) (HM60r/18:291, cf. T þe)

There is no example of ed te ende in any of the three MSS. while þe ende is the only form used as the object of the verb: (M30v/7:3632) (SW75r/10:126). The construction prep. + þe + eorðe, which often appears in the MSS. R and T, is not found in the MS. B. It is also worth observing that the OE fem. dat. sg. ending of the adjective, -re, is preserved in the following idiomatic prepositional phrases:

F to goder heale (HM63v/1:410)  
 to wraðer heale (M25v/11:2414) (J38v/10:91) (J39v/20:151) (J40v/8:189)<sup>30</sup> (J44v/15:396)

There is only one example of þon, which is probably an emphatic form of þen:

M iþon time 'at that time' (J37r/16:22)

In addition to these prepositional phrases, only one example of the use of bene as the direct object of the verb is found:

M Ant he wið þ hef up hetelest alre wepne ant smat  
smeetliche a-dun þ te dunt defde in. & þ bodi beide  
. . . He þe þene dunt 3ef; 3eide mit tet ilke.  
(M35v/15:5201)

In this example bene may be emphatic since dunt is repeated here, though þe is used instead in the MS. R. The OE masc. acc. sg. -ne of the strong adjective declension is not retained in the MS. B,<sup>31</sup> as was noted in 1.2, but the reduced form -e is found though its occurrence is very rare:

M for hare sake ane dale ha etheold of hire ealdrene god  
(K1v/15:99)

iseo ich . . . blowinde mine bileaue (M26r/11:2602)

In the second example bileaue (cf. OE geleāfa M) may have been regarded as feminine: cf. 1.2.

4.2 The inflected forms of the demonstrative determiner þis almost always preserve the historical gender distinctions.<sup>32</sup>

Two examples of the use of þes are found with a masculine noun dei:

M aðet tes dei (K8r/21:1305)  
Cf. adettis [sic] dei (J46r/19:475)

ear þene þes dei (K5v/18:598)

The genitive form þisses is used only in an adverbial phrase:

M uon on þisses weis towart hire (K12v/16:1864)

Note that this kind of stereotyped adverbial genitive retains the marked ending -es in the adjective inflection:<sup>33</sup>

M anes weis (K13v/3:1953) (K13v/4:1961)<sup>34</sup> (J49r/23:629)<sup>34</sup>  
eanies weis (M28r/23:3202)

nanes weis (J37v/6:37) (HM63r/6:396) (HM63r/14:402)  
(HM69r/19:628)

summes weis. (M30r/22:3622) (HM55v/6:12)<sup>35</sup> (SW76r/18:175)  
(SW78r/15:252)<sup>36</sup>

Feminine forms are found more often than masculine ones.

Peos/peos appears eight times as the object of the verb and seven times after prepositions:

+ bone (< ON *bōn* F)

bidde (. . .) peos bone (K5v/24:614) (K17r/11:2388)  
(J42r/15:271)

bidden peos bone (M23v/12:1824)

peos bone hefde ibeden (J43r/3:309)

wið peos bone (M24v/23:2210)<sup>37</sup> (M33v/25:4615)

Efter peos bone (M35v/4:5021)

+ miht (F)

have peos ilke mihte (HM70v/2:671)

+ steuene (F)

purh peos steuene (K6v/14:716)

purh peo steuene (K15r/14:2166)

wið peos steuene (K17v/10:2441)

+ world (F)

akeasten . . . teos wake worlt (M18r/22:0208)

seruin . . . peo fikele worlt and frakele (HM54v/13:82)

of peos fikeline world (SW75v/23:159)

And peos occurs in an adverbial phrase:

F teos niht (K11v/17:1748)

Note that the adverbial accusative often preserves the OE fem. ending -e in the adjective inflection:

F. . . hwiile (K2r/23:180) (K5r/12:514) (J46r/1:457)<sup>38</sup>  
(HM59r/1:238)

lutle hwiile (M19v/20:0627) (SW78r/14:252)

longe hwiile (SW78v/14:272)

summe hwiile (K1r/5:8)

And the dative case is marked by bisse in the following:

F o bisse wise<sup>39</sup> (K14v/2:2079) (M28v/1:3205)

i/o bisse worlde (HM59v/17:276) (SW75v/10:147)

It should be noted that the feminine forms peos/pes and bisse are used with only a few nouns, i.e., bone, miht, steuene (referring to the voice of God in all the above examples) and world, and in the idiomatic phrase o bisse wise. Some of these nouns cause the occurrence of archaic feminine forms of adjective modifiers as well. The survival of the fem. acc. -e and the dat./instr. -re is shown in the following:

ha buhe hire & bede ane bone (K17r/2:2369)

& bigon to zeien ludere steuene (K2v/8:206)

The second is the only example of the survival of the OE fem. dat. -re except for idiomatic phrases, such as to goder heale and to wraðer heale: cf. zeiden lud steuene (J49r/19:625).

On the other hand, the preservation of the OE fem. acc. -e is found as the object of the verb in the following:

hwar-to luste þe warpen al awei bine hwile (M21r/18:1207)<sup>40</sup>

þe is ileuet to dei . . . endelese reste iþe-riche of heouene (K15r/9:2154) (or nominative)

The noun world, which is often used with the feminine forms of determiners, as was mentioned above, is anaphorically referred to by hire in the following examples:

þis worlt went awei. as þe weater þe eorneð. & ase sweuen imet aswint hire murhðe. & al nis bute aleas wind þ we i þis worlt liuieð. (J51r/17:723)

eauer se þu mare hauest; se þe schal mare trukien. & seruin . . . þes fikele worlt and frakele. & schalt beo sare ideruet under hire as hire þreal. on a þusent wisen. (HM54v/14, 15:82, 83)

of þeos fikeline world; ne of hire false blisse; ne neome we neauer þeme (SW75v/24:159)

Moreover, it is notable that the archaic dative marker



bisse determines the choice of the inflected form of the nominal head, i.e., world<sub>e</sub>, while the uninflected form world is likely to occur with bis or peos/pe<sub>s</sub>, as is shown in TABLE III:

TABLE III<sup>41</sup>

|               |         | pe | bis | peos/pe <sub>s</sub> | bisse |
|---------------|---------|----|-----|----------------------|-------|
| Objective (a) | world-∅ | 3  | 0   | 2                    | 0     |
| Objective (b) | world-∅ | 10 | 8   | 1                    | 0     |
|               | world-e | 9  | 1   | 0                    | 2     |

Syntactic redundancy in the prepositional phrase i/o bisse world<sub>e</sub> is twofold: first, bisse appears exclusively after a preposition; and second, the marked form -e of the nominal head is obligatorily selected after that determiner.

These facts observed above suggest that the primary function of the marked forms is more stylistic than syntactic in our texts.

### 5. The Blanks in the Inflectional Systems of the Definite Determiners

The marked forms described in the preceding two sections can be summarized as follows:<sup>42</sup>

|         | pe/pet                                |                    | bis                |                                |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
|         | Male/Masc.                            | Female/Fem.        | Male/Masc.         | Female/Fem.                    |
| Nom.    | -                                     | -                  | pe <sub>s</sub>    | peos/pe <sub>s</sub>           |
| Gen.    | pe <sub>s</sub>                       | pe <sub>s</sub>    | [pisses]           | -                              |
| Obj.(a) | pe <sub>n</sub> (e)                   | -                  | pe <sub>s</sub>    | peos/pe <sub>s</sub>           |
| Obj.(b) | pe <sub>n</sub> (e)[pe <sub>n</sub> ] | [pe <sub>r</sub> ] | [pe <sub>s</sub> ] | [peos/pe <sub>s</sub> ][bisse] |

It is important to pay attention to the marked forms which occur with personal nouns in our texts, for there are some differences between the paradigm of be/bet and that of bis. First, in the paradigm of be/bet, distinct nominative forms have been lost because be has become an unmarked form and beo has ceased to be used as a determiner; second, in the objective case of be/bet, there is no female form that can be in opposition to the male form ben(e), because the OE fem. acc. ba has been lost and ber has ceased to occur with personal nouns; and third, in the paradigm of bis, the distinction between male and female is not complete in the objective case, in which the male form bes is rarely used.

In the MS. B, the distinction between the male/(masc.) be and the female/(fem.) beo is maintained only in pronominal usages.<sup>43</sup> These two pronouns are used as both nominative and objective. Examples of the male form be are as follows:

Be king as be be wes fordrenct wið bes deofles puissun & muste hwet meanen. Ah het swiðe wið hire of his hehsihðe [sic] . . . (Kl6v/3:2311)

com a burhreue as be b wes bes deofles budel belial of helle (Kl3r/8:1905)

be b deð me to deað do al b he mei don . . . (Kl7r/18:2405)

He . . . bigon to crahien & crenge wið swire. as be be hire walde forswolhe mid alle (M24v/14:2202) (Cf. R as he b)

Mihti lauerd is be. b Iuliene on leueð. ne nis na godd buten he (J49r/20:626)

be is ileuet to dei . . . for amon of lam. be be is lauerd of lif (Kl5r/8:2151) (Cf. R be be; T him b)

Hwet meadschipe makeð be . . . to weorri be bet wrahte be & alle worldlich þing (Kl4r/11:2039) (Cf. R/T him b)

lcuestu & luuest te be reufulliche deide & reuliche on rode. (M20av/2:0827) (Cf. R him be)

Bisohte be wið be bront . . . (Kl6v/25:2363) (Cf. R b wið be brond; T him wið be brond)

In all the examples except for the last one, be appears immediately before the relative be or bet. Examples of the female form beo are as follows:

ha warð beo be ha<sup>44</sup> hefde iwist & iwenet swa lengre swa leuere (ML9r/8:0422)

& alle hire luueden þ hire on lokeden as beo bet godd luuede þe heouenliche lauerd (ML9r/9:0423)

Ah heo as beo þ te hehe heouenliche lauerd hefde his luue ilenet. leafde hire ealdrene lahen . . . (J37r/10:16)

Ha wundrede hire swiðe. & as beo þe nes nawt of lihte bileaue. stille bute steauene on hehe in hire heorte cleopede to criste (J43r/18:324)

heo as beo þ wurst is prof; biwepeð hire wurðes [sic] (HM65v/4:485)

wanunge. & wepnunge. þe schal abute midniht. makie þe to wakien. oðer beo þe hire stude halt. þe þu most forcarien (HM66v/24:536)

And the form beo in the following sentence agrees with the grammatical feminine gender of gerlondesche (< OF):

Ah þe meidnes habbeð up o beo þe is to alle iliche imeane; a gerlondesche schenre þen þe sunne. (HM61r/3:318)

In all the examples beo appears immediately before the relative be or bet.<sup>45</sup> In short, the distinct female/(fem.) marker beo is retained only in pronominal usages, having been completely lost in the inflectional system of the determiner.

These facts suggest that the distinction between male and female is maintained in the definite determiner only in so far as the marked forms of be/bet and those of bis are, as it were, complementarily distributed:

(see next page)

In ME as well as in OE, 'this' is frequently used in a sense approximating that of the definite article, "particularly with personal nouns and names."<sup>46</sup> It is true that 'this' in our texts

|               | Male | Female | Male   | Female   |
|---------------|------|--------|--------|----------|
| Nominative    |      |        | pes    | peos/pes |
| Genitive      | pes  | pes    |        |          |
| Objective (a) | pen  |        | (pes)  | peos/pes |
| Objective (b) | pen  |        | (?pis) | (?pis)   |

sometimes corresponds to the demonstrative hic in the Latin original:

B peos meiden (K1Or/22:1563); R/T pis meiden; L hanc de qua loquimur puellam<sup>47</sup>

In the majority of cases, however, we find no demonstrative in Latin corresponding to 'this' in the ME version:

B Peos meiden (K5v/19:600); R Pis meiden; T Pes meiden;  
L virgo sancta  
Cf. B pe meiden (M35v/8:5025); R p meiden; L Sancta uirgo

B pis meiden (K4v/3:441); R/T pis meiden; L faciem virginis

B peos meiden (K12v/14:1861); R/T peos meiden; L virgo speciosa

Moreover, the three MSS. often vary in the selection of a determiner between pe/bet and pis:

B Pes keiser (K8r/1:1255); R Pe keiser; T Pes keiser;  
L imperator  
Cf. B Pe keiser (K3r/25:306); R/T Pe keiser;  
L imperator

B pes lauerd (SW72r/5:6); R/T pe husebonde; L paterfamilias

B bet milde meiden (M27r/7:2809); R Pis milde meiden;  
L Sancta . . . uirgo

B p eadi wummon (J45r/20:426); R pis meiden; L Sancta iuliana

B tet wake ules (K15r/1:2134); R tet wake flesch; T tes wake ules; L caro infirma

Particularly in the genitive case, the marked pes cannot always be contextually distinguished from pes 'this.' It is

interesting to note the following instances, where pes is found in the MS. B while the MS. R has bis instead:

B pes schuckes schireue (M20ar/5:0806); R bis schucke  
schirreue

B pes schucke schadewe (M24v/11:2033); R bis schucke  
schadewe

The marking of the male/female category by definite determiners is a very minor system in our texts because their inflectional systems are incomplete. The indication of the marginal category is achieved only barely when the meaning of bis approaches that of be/bet.

## 6. Conclusion

The system of grammatical gender depends on distinct inflections of nouns and their modifiers. In the late OE and early ME periods, the levelling and the extension of inflectional endings, caused by phonological and morphological change, deprive the gender system of paradigmatic support in most of the dialects of the English language. In the dialect of The Katherine Group, it is almost impossible to distinguish the grammatical genders of nouns by their inflectional endings. The case- and gender-distinctive forms of the OE adjective strong declensions have been almost completely lost except in a few idiomatic collocations. On the other hand, they are more often preserved in definite determiners. This is why we have focused our attention on the problem of the noun phrase internal agreement between definite determiners and their nominal heads.

(1) The unmarked form pe is almost universal without regard to case and gender.

(2) The OE neuter forms bet and bis are used without

regard to case. They may be gender-distinctive in that they frequently occur with nonpersonal or neuter nouns, or they may be used as demonstratives without regard to the gender/sex categories.

(3) The marked forms derived from the OE masculine and feminine forms remain gender-distinctive, though partially redistributed, because they indicate the male/female category in their use with personal nouns and the historical gender category in their use with nonpersonal nouns. The genitive bes always occurs with personal nouns without distinguishing between male and female. The objective ben(e) is almost always used with male personal nouns except in the idiomatic phrase ed ten ende. The nominative/objective bes and beos/bes may or may not appear with personal nouns. The other marked forms are confined to idiomatic collocations with nonpersonal nouns.

The gender system in the MS. B is quite different from the "Anglian sub-system" in that the primary function of the marked forms, which are used as archaic survivals in the MS. B, is even more stylistic than syntactic. But it would not be quite right to say that, in the dialect of the MS. B, the OE gender system in the noun phrase internal agreement is modified by the "extension" of the correlation between gender and sex. It is true that this correlation is extended through the redistribution of the marked forms, as compared with the OE system, but only a few nouns occur as nominal heads with the marked modifiers in our texts. (The fact that the OE neuter bet and bis are frequently used as nonpersonal markers partly reflects their development as demonstratives used without regard to the gender/sex categories.) In addition, it is worth observing that the inflectional

systems of the personal marked forms of determiners are so unstable that the male/female category cannot be distinctively indicated without the use of his approaching the meaning of he/bet. We should remember, therefore, that the process of extending the correlation between gender and sex is, at the same time, reducing the manifestations of the gender/sex categories in the noun phrase internal agreement.

The fact that the marked forms primarily have a stylistic function propounds some problems. Are there any differences in the use of the marked forms between the texts in The Katherine Group? Is the gender system in The Katherine Group differentiated from that in the Ancrene Wisse? These problems remain to be solved in the future.

#### Notes

1. C. Jones, "The Functional Motivation of Linguistic Change: A Study of the Development of the Grammatical Category of Gender in the Late Old English Period," and "The Grammatical Category of Gender in Early Middle English," English Studies, 48 (1967), 97-111 and 289-305.
2. D. Bethurum, "The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose," JEGP, 34 (1935), 553-64. I. A. Gordon, The Movement of English Prose, (London: Longman, 1966), pp. 45-67. K. Manabe says in his Syntax and Style in Early English: Finite and Non-finite Clauses c 600-1900, (Tokyo: Kaibunsha, 1979), pp. 56-57, that the "continuation" should be restricted mainly to the matter of rhythm and the use of alliteration.

3. N. R. Ker, Facsimile of MS. Bodley 34 (EETS. OS. 247, 1960) was constantly used throughout the study. Printed editions were also referred to: for St K, E. Einenkel (ed.), The Life of Saint Katherine (EETS. OS. 80, 1884); for St M, F. M. Mack (ed.), Seinte Marherete: Pe Meiden ant Martyr (EETS. OS. 193, 1934); for St J, S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne (ed.), Pe liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene (1936: rpt. EETS. OS. 248, 1961) and O. Cockayne (ed.), Pe liflade of St. Juliana (EETS. OS. 51, 1872); for HM, A. F. Colborn (ed.), Hali Meiðhad (Copenhagen, 1940) and F. J. Furnivall (ed.), Hali Meidenhad (EETS. OS. 18, 1922); for SW, R. M. Wilson (ed.), Sawles Warde (Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs No. 3, 1938), R. Morris (ed.), Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises, 1st Series (EETS. OS. 29 and 34, 1868), J. A. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (eds.), Early Middle English Verse and Prose, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974) and K. Miyabe (ed.), A Middle English Prose Reader (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1976). And also R. Furuskog, "A Collation of the Katherine Group (MS. Bodley 34)," Studia Neophilologica, 19 (1946/7), 119-66, and S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne and J. R. R. Tolkien, "MS. Bodley 34: A Re-collation of a Collation," Studia Neophilologica, 20 (1947/8), 65-72.
4. Ker, p. x. Or about A.D. 1210 (d'Ardenne, p. xv, Colborn, p. 47, Wilson, p. xxx), or about A.D. 1230 (Mack, p. xx).
5. H. E. Allen, "The Localisation of the Bodl. MS. 34," MLR, 28 (1933), 485-87.
6. H. M. Logan, The Dialect of the Life of Saint Katherine: A Linguistic Study of the Phonology and Inflections, (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), p. 228.



7. N. Ingargiola, "Analogy in the Inflectional Endings of the Noun Forms of the Saint Katherine Group," Diss. (New York, 1972), pp. 191-224.
8. The numerals preceding the colon indicate the folio and the line of Facsimile, and those following it refer to the line of Einkenel's, Mack's, d'Ardenne's, Colborn's or Wilson's edition. In this paper, the contractions in the MS. are expanded without indication except for þ and ȝ, represented here by p and & respectively.
9. There exist two examples of the pronominalization of deað by he in SW: (73v/14:71) and (75v/20:157). D'Ardenne (p. 230) and Bennett-Smithers (p. 418) say that deað varies in gender between masc. and fem. K. Brunner says in his An Outline of Middle English Grammar, trans. G. Johnston (Oxford, 1963), pp. 10-11, that the sound eo was not unrounded until the 14th century in the West and South. But it seems possible that he is referring to deað in SW as an unusual variant of the fem. form heo; see Miyabe, Reader, p. xl and p. 217.
10. It seems to have been derived from OE fyll(u) (F) 'fullness.' But it may have been derived from OE ful (N) 'cup, beaker.'
11. The figures refer to the occurrences of the determiners. The parenthesized figures refer to the forms of nouns which occur with each determiner. Examples of their use with proper nouns, pronouns or adjectives used as nouns are excluded from the table.
12. A. S. C. Ross, "Sex and Gender in The Lindisfarne Gospels," JEGP, 35 (1936), 321-30.
13. There are two examples of the use of bet with proper nouns: tet beali [sic] (J50v/18:699) and p syon (HM53r/18:32).

14. OE un- + wiht; cf. ON úvættr (F or M).
15. MS. pene, final e expunged.
16. Added in the same hand between the lines.
17. It may have been derived from the OE neut. dat. sg. pam.
18. Deouel, feont, unwiht and unwine, all denoting the 'Devil, Saturn,' are pronominalized by he in our texts; and so is engel, as in the following: an engel . . . com se briht as pah he bearnde (J50r/8-9:664-65).
19. pes cristenes (Kl4r/13:2045) in the sentence hu hali is pes cristenes godd crist þ ha herieð is excluded because it is ambiguous in number; cf. L christianorum (gen. pl.) deus. Ha, a weak form of heo, may be sg. ('she') or pl. ('they'). Though it is usually a plural form, the ending -ieð of herieð may appear due to the influence of the infinitive stem in the 3rd person sg. of Weak I verbs with short stems in OE, which were attached to Class II in our texts. See Logan, p. 195.
20. The title of St K, illegible in Facsimile, is restored in d'Ardenne and Tolkien, "Re-collation," p. 71.
21. Looks like Ies, loop of þ missing.
22. See note 20: (be)s Sunes.
23. It may have been derived from the OE neut. gen. sg. þas.
24. MS. pes deoflel [sic].
25. See note 23.
26. See note 20.
27. Cf. MS. R þeos sonde.
28. The origin of the female/fem. and the plural þes is obscure: cf. d'Ardenne, p. 227.
29. MS. edten ende: Mack, however, reads ed te n(u ð)e, following the MS. R.

30. MS. se [sic] wraðer heale.
31. In the MS. R, it is found in minne and binne, used pronominally: ich truste on minne (i.e. mi lauerd) as þu dest obinne (i.e. þi lauerd) (J334-35).
32. Only two exceptions are found in the nominative case:  
       þes heane & tes heatele tintreoh (K13r/23:1947)  
 There are two forms in OE, tintreog (N) and tintreoga (M). In the dialect of our texts, tintreoh may have been regarded as masculine because of the confusion of the two forms: cf. R þis heane & tis hatele tintreoh.
33. Cf. the preservation of the neut. gen. -es in such idiomatic collocations, though not adverbial, as nanes cunnes (K13r/10:1912), (M25r/21:2401), etc. and alles cunnes (M20ar/1:0802), (J43r/8:314), etc.
34. MS. anesweis.
35. MS. sūmes weies.
36. MS. sūmes weis.
37. In the MS. wið is added in the same hand between the lines.
38. MS. ane hwhile [sic].
39. MS. obisse wise and o bisse wiSe respectively.
40. This portion is deleted in another hand.
41. The objective (a) includes the forms which appear in the direct/indirect object of the verb and in the adverbial phrase. The objective (b) includes the forms which appear after prepositions.
42. The forms in brackets always appear with nonpersonal nouns.
43. There is no example of the use of þeo as a determiner in the MS. B. In the MS. R, however, þeo is used as a determiner in the adverbial accusative, as in þeo hwile (KG01; cf. B/T þe hwile), etc.

44. In the MS. ha is expunged.
45. The nonpersonal construction bet + relative bet sometimes appears:

Beo nu ken & cnawes of p tet tu isehen hauest.  
(Kl4r/12:2045)

But bet 'what, that which' is much more frequently used.

The marked forms of bis are rarely used as a pronominal; only two examples are found in our texts:

hwet blisse mei peos bruken. pe luueð hire were wel  
. . . (HM65r/23:481)

Nis peos witerliche akeast (HM54r/9:60)

The male/(masc.) form pes is not used as a pronominal in the MS. B. In the MS. R, however, it is sometimes used pronominally, as in pes is mi lauerd (K936), etc.

46. T. F. Mustanoja, A Middle English Syntax, I (Helsinki, 1960), p. 174.
47. Examples of the nonpersonal use of bis are as follows:

| B                                      | L                  |
|--|--------------------|
| purh <u>pes</u> steuene (Kl5r/14:2166) | Ad hanc vocem      |
| wið <u>peos</u> steuene (Kl7v/10:2441) | hac voce           |
| opisse wise (Kl4v/2:2079)              | in vocem hujusmodi |
| etc.                                   |                    |

Appendix I (1)<sup>1</sup>

The Distribution of the Forms  
of the Definite Article and Demonstrative be/bet  
Classified by the Historical Gender Category

|            | M    | F       | N       | M/F    | M/N                | F/N   | M/F/N | ?                 |
|------------|------|---------|---------|--------|--------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Nominative | be   | 113(51) | 48(31)  | 23(14) | 11(5)              | 6(2)  | 5(2)  | 1(1)              |
|            | bet  | 9(8)    | 10(9)   | 35(20) |                    | 2(2)  |       | 1(1) <sup>2</sup> |
| Genitive   | be   | 18(9)   | 9(2)    | 1(1)   | 1(1)               | 4(1)  | 1(1)  |                   |
|            | bet  |         |         | 2(1)   |                    | 1(1)  |       |                   |
|            | bes  | 15(6)   | 1(1)    | 1(1)   |                    | 4(1)  |       |                   |
| Objective  | be   | 161(80) | 159(67) | 55(37) | 18(7) <sup>3</sup> | 14(7) | 10(3) | 7(3)              |
|            | bet  | 47(25)  | 24(18)  | 61(25) |                    | 3(3)  | 2(2)  | 2(2)              |
|            | ben  | 13(10)  |         |        |                    | 1(1)  | 2(1)  |                   |
|            | bene | 3(3)    |         |        |                    |       |       |                   |
|            | bon  | 1(1)    |         |        |                    |       |       |                   |
|            | per  |         | 10(1)   |        |                    |       |       | 3(2) <sup>4</sup> |
| Obj. (a)   | be   | 46(33)  | 54(31)  | 14(11) | 6(3)               | 3(2)  | 5(3)  | 2(2)              |
|            | bet  | 19(15)  | 9(8)    | 19(13) |                    |       | 1(1)  | 1(1)              |
|            | ben  | 6(6)    |         |        |                    | 1(1)  | 1(1)  |                   |
|            | bene | 2(2)    |         |        |                    |       |       |                   |
| Obj. (b)   | be   | 115(60) | 105(50) | 41(29) | 12(7)              | 11(7) | 5(1)  | 5(3)              |
|            | bet  | 28(15)  | 15(12)  | 42(17) |                    | 3(3)  | 2(2)  | 1(1)              |
|            | ben  | 7(5)    |         |        |                    |       | 1(1)  |                   |
|            | bene | 1(1)    |         |        |                    |       |       |                   |
|            | bon  | 1(1)    |         |        |                    |       |       |                   |
|            | per  |         | 10(1)   |        |                    |       |       | 3(2)              |

## Appendix I (2)

The Distribution of the Marked Forms  
of the Definite Article and Demonstrative be/bet  
Classified by the Personal/Nonpersonal Category

|            | Personal   |              | Nonpersonal                                  |
|------------|--|--------------|--|
|            | Male   | Female       |  |
| Nominative | bet 1 (1)  | 13(3)        | 43(36)                                       |
| Genitive   | bet 1 (1)<br>bes 19 (7)  | 2(1)<br>3(3) |  |
| Objective  | bet 7 (5)<br>ben 13(11)<br>bene 2 (2)<br>bon 1 (1)<br>per 10 (1) | 7(1)         | 125(69)<br>3 (1)<br>1 (1)<br>1 (1)<br>10 (1) |
| Obj.(a)    | bet 8 (8)<br>ben 1 (1)<br>bene                                   | 1(1)         | 47(36)<br>1 (1)                              |
| Obj.(b)    | bet 4 (4)<br>ben 5 (5)<br>bene 1 (1)<br>bon<br>per               | 6(1)         | 81(44)<br>3 (1)<br>1 (1)<br>10 (1)           |

Appendix II (1)

The Distribution of the Forms  
of the Demonstrative *bis*  
Classified by the Historical Gender Category

|            | M        | F      | N       | M/F     | M/N   | F/N   | M/F/N |
|------------|----------|--------|---------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| Nominative | bis      | 6 (5)  | 11 (3)  |         |       |       | 1 (1) |
|            | bes      | 6 (5)  | 1 (1)   | 2 (1)   |       |       |       |
|            | beos/bes | 1 (1)  | 2 (1)   | 10 (1)  |       |       |       |
| Genitive   | bis      |        | 2 (2)   |         |       |       |       |
|            | bisses   | 1 (1)  |         |         |       |       |       |
| Objective  | bis      | 13 (9) | 23 (12) | 31 (11) | 1 (1) | 2 (1) | 3 (3) |
|            | bes      | 3 (2)  |         |         |       |       | 1 (1) |
|            | beos/bes |        | 17 (6)  | 2 (1)   |       |       |       |
|            | bisse    |        | 4 (2)   |         |       |       |       |
| Obj. (a)   | bis      | 6 (4)  | 2 (2)   | 13 (7)  |       |       | 1 (1) |
|            | bes      | 1 (1)  |         |         |       |       |       |
|            | beos/bes |        | 10 (5)  | 2 (1)   |       |       |       |
| Obj. (b)   | bis      | 7 (7)  | 21 (10) | 18 (8)  | 1 (1) | 1 (1) | 3 (3) |
|            | bes      | 2 (1)  |         |         |       |       | 1 (1) |
|            | beos/bes |        | 7 (3)   |         |       |       |       |
|            | bisse    |        | 4 (2)   |         |       |       |       |

Appendix II (2)  
 The Distribution of the Forms  
 of the Demonstrative bis  
 Classified by the Personal/Nonpersonal Category

|            | Personal |        | Nonpersonal |
|------------|----------|--------|-------------|
|            | Male     | Female |             |
| Nominative | bis      | 8(1)   | 16(13)      |
|            | bes      | 7(6)   | 2(1)        |
|            | beos/bes | 13(3)  |             |
| Genitive   | bis      | 3(2)   | 1(1)        |
|            | bisses   |        | 1(1)        |
| Objective  | bis      | 1(1)   | 63(36)      |
|            | bes      | 1(1)   | 2(1)        |
|            | beos/bes | 3(2)   | 16(5)       |
|            | bisse    |        | 4(2)        |
| Obj.(a)    | bis      | 5(1)   | 17(13)      |
|            | bes      | 1(1)   |             |
|            | beos/bes | 3(2)   | 9(4)        |
| Obj.(b)    | bis      | 1(1)   | 45(29)      |
|            | bes      |        | 2(1)        |
|            | beos/bes |        | 7(3)        |
|            | bisse    |        | 4(2)        |



Notes to Appendix

1. Examples of the use of the definite determiners with proper nouns, pronouns or adjectives used as nouns are excluded from the four tables. (Some of these examples are discussed in this paper.) In all the tables, the figures refer to the occurrences of determiners, and those in parentheses refer to the forms of nouns which occur with each determiner. The objective (a) includes the forms which appear in the direct/indirect object of the verb, whether originally accusative or dative, and in adverbial phrases. The objective (b) includes the forms which appear after all prepositions.
2. 3ur (J46v/8:489) seems to have been derived from the verb 3uren in the early ME period; cf. OED. s.v. Yerr and d'Ardenne, p. 97.
3. The only example of bea in the phrase i bea sea (J52r/3:759) is included here. The spelling seems to be a scribal error due to sea.
4. Burðerne (HM65v/10:490) (HM67r/19:551) < ? OE byrðor (N)/byrðen (F), and west (HM56r/12:135) < OE adv.

(Manuscript received: September 29, 1979)

(Published: February 12, 1980)

