

平成 17 年度

**Preachers' Choice,  
or the Historical and Stylistic Development  
of the Uses of the Relatives in Medieval English Homilies**

千葉大学大学院  
社会文化科学研究科  
大野 顕子

---

**Preachers' Choice,  
or the Historical and Stylistic Development  
of the Uses of the Relatives  
in Medieval English Homilies**

---

00QD1006  
**Akiko ONO**

---

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Philology  
In Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities,  
Chiba University

---

September 2005

## Contents

### Acknowledgement

### List of Abbreviations

### Chapter 1 Introduction

1. Introduction	1
1.1. Present Day English Relatives	4
1.2. Morphological Development of English Relatives --- Problems	9
1.3. The Corpus: Homiletic Tradition through Old English to early Middle English	19

### Chapter 2 Traditional Definitions of English Relatives

2.1. Previous Studies	29
2.2. Old English Relatives	30
2.3. Middle English Relatives	40
2.4. Modern English Relatives (Historical Studies)	50
2.5. Summary	60

### Chapter 3 The Syntactic Status of *Pe* and *Pet*

3.1. A Pronoun or A Conjunction? : Theories	65
3.2. A Pronoun or A Conjunction? : Discussion	68
3.3. Changes in the Case-Marking System of Old and Middle English	81

### Chapter 4 The Compound Relative

4.1. The Compound Relative	97
4.2. The Old English Compound Relative	99
4.3. The Middle English Compound Relative	118
4.3.1. The Old English Compound Type	118
4.3.2. The Middle English Compound Type	125
4.4. Summary	132

### Chapter 5 Pronoun Retention

5.1. Pronoun Retention	141
5.2. Pronoun Retention in Old English	146
5.3. Pronoun Retention in Middle English	160
5.4. Summary	172
5.4.1. Agreement	172
5.4.2. Non-restrictive Relative Clauses	173

### Chapter 6 Conclusion

Appendices	187
------------	-----

Select Bibliography	233
---------------------	-----

## Acknowledgement

In my undergraduate and graduate studies, I have met so many wonderful scholars, teachers and friends that it is difficult to mention all of them here. However, without their instruction and help, I could not have finished this thesis. Therefore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to them here briefly.

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Ogura. She has inspired me with many ideas and encouraged me all the way. She has been an excellent example as a scholar to us and my great ‘supervisor’, or ‘preacher’, as is in the title of this thesis. However, all faults in this thesis belong to me.

My graduate study begins and ends at Chiba University. I am thankful for the instruction and encouragement from my teachers and friends there who are specialised not only in English but also in other European languages. I received a grant from Chiba University to study some manuscripts at the British Library and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 2002. It enabled me to access to and deepen my knowledge on actual ‘texts’.

I also would like to thank excellent scholars of University of Glasgow, especially Prof. Jeremy J. Smith and Prof. Graham Caie, for their instruction during my study in Glasgow. Their manifold wisdom and enthusiastic teaching have deeply influenced me.

My study in Glasgow was funded by the Rotary Scholarship, which also enabled me to learn a lot about British (especially Scottish) culture. Languages

are means which people use in a certain cultural background. It is crucial, I believe, to learn their culture when we study a language. I am thankful for Musashimurayama Rotary Club in Tokyo, Alloway Rotary Club in Ayr, Scotland, many Rotary clubs in Scotland which kindly invited me on many occasions to give me chances to learn their culture. My very special thanks goes to Raj and Anne Sigh, Ron and Robina Ainsworth, Jean Scott and Bill Richardson, who have taken care of me so well during and even after my stay there.

Lastly, without help, support and patience from my family and friends, I could not have finished this thesis for sure. I especially would like to thank two of my best friends, Phyllis Catsikis and Paul Loemaksono for their support and, of course, my parents, Yoshio and Takeko Ono, who have always been most supportive and understanding in my life.

## List of Abbreviations

### Languages

OE	Old English	ModE	Modern English
ME	Middle English	PDE	Present Day English
OS	Old Saxon	OHG	Old High German
Goth	Gothic	ON	Old Norse

### Grammatical Terms

S	subject	Masc./m	masculine
V	finite Verb	Fem./f	feminine
O	object	Neut./n	neuter
NP	noun phrase	Nom.	nominative
pron	pronoun	Voc.	vocative
rel	relative	Acc.	accusative
dem	demonstrative	Gen.	genitive
inf.	infinitive	Dat.	dative
p.p.	past participle	Instr.	instrumental
prep.	preposition	Subj.	subject
Sing.	singular	Poss.	possessive
Pl.	plural	Obj.	object

### Symbols and Lines

7, &	and, x, t ('and')
_____	relative
-----	antecedent
_____	gap or trace of deleted NP(s)
=====	tautological pronoun in relative clauses (see example (1.6))
.....	conjunction

N.B. Corresponding words and phrases are underlined with the same lines in the translations. Therefore, they do not always show one-to-one correspondences.

### The Abbreviated Titles

Texts examined and their abbreviated titles are given in Select Bibliography. I follow ‘Short titles of Old English texts’ (Bruce Mitchell, Christopher Ball and Angus Cameron, *Anglo Saxon England* 4 (1975), 207-221, and 8 (1979), 331-333) for Old English works, and *Middle English Dictionary*, with some exceptions, for Middle English works.

### Dictionaries and Grammar Books

<i>BT</i>	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (T. Northcote Toller (ed.), based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth).
<i>DOE</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Old English</i> <a href="http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/">http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/</a>
<i>CHM</i>	<i>A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (J. R. Clark Hall (ed.), with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt).
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> (Hans Kurath, <i>et al.</i> (eds.)).
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> (J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (eds.) Second ed.).
Biber, <i>et al.</i> (1999)	<i>Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English</i> (Douglas Biber, <i>et al.</i> ).
Curme (1931)	<i>Syntax</i> (George O. Curme).
Greenbaum (1996)	<i>The Oxford English Grammar</i> (Sidney Greenbaum).
Huddleston and Pullum (2002)	<i>The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language</i> (Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum).

- Jespersen (1927)      *A Modern English Grammar, on Historical Principles* (Otto Jespersen).
- Mitchell (1985)      *Old English Syntax* (Bruce Mitchell).
- Quirk, et al. (1985)      *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Randolph Quirk, *et al.*).



## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to provide examples of Old and early Middle English relatives in order to elucidate the system of English relatives in the transitional period between Old and Middle English. The transitional period demonstrates drastic changes in the whole pronominal system. The system of the relative does as well and I consider this period as the start of the modern relative system after great reorganisation of the pronominal system.<sup>1</sup> As will be seen, most of the characteristics of Present Day English relatives are already present in the transitional period. It is hoped that this study will reveal what is and is not essential to the system of the English relative and shed some light on studies of the relative system by examining texts composed or copied in the transitional period.

Moreover, right understanding of morphological variations of this important grammatical category of function words in the transitional period can be valuable measures for various studies such as dialectology and codicology. As researchers of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (1986) show, function words are very important tools to identify textual localisation. Mapping involves only what is/was present in a certain region, while what is lost or abandoned should also indicate localisation and date. In addition, by limiting the corpus, that is, homilies and homiletic prose from Old English up to the transitional period, I will examine continuity of Old English works. The period under discussion further enables us to see an early stage of

foreign influences, especially from Old Norse, and Old French (extralinguistic factors<sup>2</sup>).

There is no paradigm exclusively for relatives at any period of the history of the English language: the system has always been expressed by other grammatical items. First, in Old English, demonstrative pronouns and particle *þe* were employed as relatives.<sup>3</sup> In early Middle English, interrogative pronouns start to cover the function as relatives, while indeclinable *þe* and *þæt*<sup>4</sup>, which are the definite article and a demonstrative pronoun to a certain degree at the same time<sup>5</sup>, come to be used as relative markers. Therefore, there are a good number of variations of the relative in the transitional period. Since other pronouns and particles share the function as relatives, it is sometimes difficult to tell if a form, for example, *þæt*, is a relative or a demonstrative. This confusion, I believe, triggers the great morphological reorganisation of the pronominal system in the transitional period (intralinguistic factors) and leads scholars to endless discussions on the definitions and syntactical status of the relative.

Surprisingly, no attempt to sketch a history of relatives in the transitional period from a philological standpoint is achieved so far. Visser (1963-73) and Curme (1912) supply many useful examples and suggestions. Nonetheless, their examples need to be reconsidered due to their unique viewpoints. Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* (1985) is an excellent work that covers not only Old English relatives but also various syntactical units which are essential to discussions about the development of subordination. Although it gives significant ideas for later developments, however, it is limited to Old English and the corpus for his study on relatives is mainly poetry, though, of course, he mentions prose examples. Therefore, I will chiefly work on prose texts in this thesis to make a whole picture of the Old English relative system, and the

addition of my study on relative constructions in the transitional period between Old and Middle English will enable us to see further development. Kivimaa's article (1966), which, in fact, deserves more than an article, is also a detailed study that includes relatives as well as conjunctions whose development is, again, vital to that of relatives. Yet, the number of examples is limited and text types should be classified according to stylistic differences. A great number of scholars have also published many articles on relatives, but most of them are focused on relatives in individual works or one topic among many phenomena. The surveys and ideas need to be integrated with more examples to grasp a flow of the development of the function.

In this thesis, prose homiletic texts are chosen as my corpus to observe the most basic function of the relative: to connect a clause to another clause often anaphorically but also sometimes cataphorically, with a relative marker at the head of a relative clause which has a phonetically unrealised personal or demonstrative pronoun in co-referent with its antecedent inside.<sup>6</sup> The relative marker itself can be phonetically empty or unemployed in English, which is called the zero-relative. Verse is basically excluded in my investigation, except when necessary, because of its elaborate unique styles. It may be argued that homiletic texts also have some particular styles which distinguish them from other prose texts. Nevertheless, since relatives play an important role in rhetoric, homiletic texts are expected to provide more examples with neither too plain nor too peculiar variations of relative forms than in other prose texts. Moreover, homilies and homiletic prose constitute a genre that retains vernacular traditions since Old English, as will be shown later in this chapter. We recognise Latin influences on English structures in biblical translations, and historical documents are sometimes so simple that we do not find many relative structures. Other types of text are also consulted, though only for

comparison. It is admitted that this thesis will be a partial history of relative markers. However, it will be shown that the transitional period is the start of the modern system of relative constructions. Therefore, this thesis will, I hope, explicate how the great reorganisation of the system was operated in the period and what was and was not vital to the system.

In Chapter 1, the system of Present Day English relatives will be reviewed, and the grammatical terms I will use throughout this dissertation will be specified, followed by the sections on an outline of morphological development of Old and Middle English relatives and on traditions of homiletic texts. Then, Chapter 2 will summarise earlier theories of a history of relative markers and present some criteria for my investigation at the end. Chapter 3 will deal with the most argumentative topic on the relative, that is, the syntactic status of the particle, *that*, from philological standpoints. To understand the status more deeply, Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss the mechanisms of the compound relative and pronoun retention respectively, which employ both an inflectional element and a particle. Conclusion will be given in Chapter 6, followed by Appendices.

### 1.1. Present Day English Relatives

*The Oxford English Dictionary* defines that ‘RELATIVE pronouns (*who*, *which*, *that*) combine the function of a personal or demonstrative pronoun with that of a conjunction, and subordinate one sentence or clause to another’ (s.v. *pronoun*). A relative marker stands at the head of a relative clause and signals the beginning of the relative clause. It usually postmodifies a (pro)noun and links a relative clause to the (pro)noun, which is now called “antecedent”. This anaphoric element has double functions as a clause connective and an anaphoric pointer to the antecedent in either the subject or the prenuclear

positions.<sup>7</sup> This double function is the most characteristic and essential feature of the relative construction.<sup>8</sup> When relative markers are not realised, they are generally called “the zero-relative”.<sup>9</sup>

(1.1) (a) I accepted the advice<sub>i</sub> [which<sub>i</sub> my neighbour gave me].

(b) I accepted the advice<sub>i</sub> [that my neighbour gave me \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ].

(c) I accepted the advice<sub>i</sub> [my neighbour gave me \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ]

[Huddleston and Pullum (2002) p. 1037, [2] ii-iv]

In relative clauses, there is always a gap, which is not realised by a specific word, but is considered to be co-referent with the antecedent, unless it is expressed by a *wh*-pronoun.<sup>10</sup> The choice of relative forms depends on this gap and the antecedent. In the examples above, relative clauses are marked by square brackets. The gap and the antecedent are a direct object and an inanimate noun respectively. Consequently, in (1.1.a), *which* is selected among *wh*-forms with the case and gender realised. When the case and gender are not realised, *that* or the zero-relative is employed ((1.1.b) and (1.1.c)). The number of the antecedent does not affect the choice: there is no plural form of any relative marker in Present Day English.<sup>11</sup>

It is often argued whether *that* is a relative pronoun or a subordinator<sup>12</sup> and whether no relative marker means omission/ellipsis of a relative maker or not. *Wh*-relatives allow piped-piping<sup>13</sup> as in *whose people* and *with which*, while non *wh*-relatives do not. The latter does not have inflections. Relative *that* shares a good number of characteristics with conjunction *that*. Therefore, some scholars suggest that *that* is not a relative “pronoun” and that no relative marker does not necessarily mean omission of a relative. As long as there are some terminological problems, I would like to limit the term “relative

pronouns” only to *wh*-forms and to name *that* simply “relative” or “relative marker”. The disputes are still not settled yet. We will come back to this point later again in Chapter 3.

The degree of embedding in the process of relativisation in Present Day English may not be the same as that in Old and Middle English: some or even many relative clauses may not have been embedded in but simply adjoined to the main clause in Old English. Therefore, I use in this thesis the term “relativiser” only in a sense that a relativiser leads a relative clause. As for the zero-relative, I retain the name, since no relative is indeed realised in the place where a relative marker usually appears to signal the relative clause. In addition, Jespersen’s term ‘contact-clause’ is also adopted for this construction, because there is accentually and syntactically so close contact between the antecedent and the relative clause that we do not feel there is something missing in between.

There is another distinction in the use of relatives: restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The restrictive relative clause is the most common among languages and therefore is the prototype of the relative construction<sup>14</sup>. It is so called because it ‘restrict[s] the denotation of the head nominal it modifies’.<sup>15</sup> The examples in example (1.1) are all restrictive relative clauses in which the relative clause defines whose advice it is and distinguishes the advice from other advice. On the other hand, non-restrictive clauses provide extra information about the antecedent. The supplementary information is detached from the rest of the sentence prosodically and/or by punctuation. Non-restrictive relative clauses are usually expressed by *wh*-relatives, but Huddleston and Pullum (2002) point out that some speakers use non *wh*-relatives for the clauses (1052 and 1059). Non-restrictive relative clauses which modify previous clauses or sentences are called “sentential

relative clause”. Some grammar books employ different terms for this distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.<sup>16</sup> However, I employ the terms in this thesis according to the traditional grammar.

Nominal relative clauses are what Jespersen terms as ‘primaries’, that is, the relative construction whose relative marker functions as the antecedent as well as a relative marker without any (pro)nominal antecedent.<sup>17</sup> There are two types of nominal relative clauses: simple and compound types. *What* in (1.2.i) belongs to the simple type and *wh*-forms with (*so*)*ever*, such as *whoever*, are the compound type. The latter is also called “generalising relatives” according to its meaning.

(1.2) (i) What you need is a long holiday.

(ii) I’ll speak to whoever is responsible. [Nelson (2001:165)]

Modern English grammar books often include non-finite constructions, for example, *to*-infinitive and gerund phrases, in relative clauses, and it is not unusual in many languages to employ such constructions for their strategies.<sup>18</sup> However, such structures are excluded in my thesis to avoid further discussion on their validity. Non-finite clauses are not fully systematised yet in Old English and the development of the phrases is another concern. In addition, *as*, *but*, and *than* are also not included in my surveys in order to focus on the morphological development of relatives which have derived from Old English demonstrative pronouns, *hw*- (< *wh*-) pronouns, Old English particle *þe* and Middle English particle *þet*.

Personal pronouns are not in my list of relatives even though they are attested as relatives in dialectal usage in Present Day English (Seppänen (1997a:166, note 2)) as well as in Old English (Millward (1988:87)). The

following example from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* can be the example:

(1.3) *ÆCHom* I. 30. 429. 4-7

HIERONIMUS se halga sacerð awrat ænne pistol be forðsiðe þære eadigan marian godes cennestran to sumum halgan mædene hyre nama wæs eustochium? 7 to hyre meder paulam. seo wæs gehalgod wydewe;

‘JEROME the holy priest wrote and epistle on the decease of the blessed Mary, the mother of God, to a holy maiden (her name was Eustochium) and to her mother Paula, who was a hallowed widow.’

Thorpe (1844-46:437) translates the first *hyre* in this example as ‘whose’ according to the context. According to our definition that a relative stands at the head of an adjective clause and links the clause to its antecedent, it seems highly possible that the personal pronouns can take the function.

In fact, it is important to understand that many grammar books define relative pronouns by forms, not according to the function, because, I suppose, otherwise categorising is too difficult among personal, demonstrative and relative pronouns, which can all anaphorically or cataphorically modify (pro)nouns. There is no grammatical item in English which is used exclusively as relatives. *Wh*-forms are originally interrogative pronouns and *that* has various functions. However, we have many rules for Present Day English syntax and writing. Therefore, we do not feel confused often if a *wh*-form is an interrogative pronoun or a relative according to sentences it is in; if it is in a question, the form functions as an interrogative pronoun, while if it is in a statement, it is a relative. If an element which is co-referential with a noun in a main clause is lacking in a *that* clause, *that* is usually a relative. Yet, there are some cases where we feel confused, for example, *what* in *what she wrote is*



*completely unclear* (Huddleston and Pullum (2002), 1070, [11]). We must also keep in mind that the original functions may affect the usage of the items as relatives as long as they retain the original functions.

The relative system seems more complicated in Old English. Most of the characteristics of Present Day English relatives are already seen in the transitional period between Old and Middle English. Relative constructions are expressed more flexibly by means of demonstrative pronouns and/or particle *þe* in Old English. Rather, the grammatical system is given a category and, accordingly, many official grammatical rules in detail later in Present Day English. We will see the morphological development in the next section.

## 1.2. Morphological Development of English Relatives --- Problems

European languages have their own ways to develop relative constructions; the English constructions are inherited neither from Proto-Indo-European nor from Proto-Germanic, although demonstrative or interrogative pronouns are commonly employed, alone or with other elements, to express relative structures in most European languages.<sup>19</sup> It is traditionally defined that there are three ways of expressing relative markers in Old English: particle *þe*, alone or preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, and a demonstrative pronoun alone. A demonstrative pronoun is used alone as a relative, identical in gender and number with its antecedent with the function required by the subordinate clause, as in (1.4).<sup>20</sup> *Se* agrees in gender and number with its antecedent, *casere*, and takes the nominative case in the adjective clause. Therefore, in Old English, when demonstrative pronouns are frequently used alone as personal pronouns, it is often difficult to decide if an inflected form of the demonstrative is a demonstrative pronoun used alone as a personal pronoun, or as a relative. One

may interpret *se* in (1.4) as a demonstrative pronoun and a new sentence begins with it; thus ‘He was born of his wife Helen’. Without decisive punctuation rules and record of accent, there is no definite evidence to deny the reading, though many would feel awkward to agree to it completely.<sup>21</sup>

(1.4) *Bede* 42. 15-7

Constantinus his sunu þam godan casere, se wæs of Elena þam wife acenned, his rice forlet.

‘His son Constantine left his power to the good emperor, who was born of his wife Helen.’

The first element of the compound relative usually follows the same rule that a relative is usually co-referential in gender and number with its antecedent, taking the case required by the adjective clause. In (1.5), the first element of the compound relative, *seo þe*, is a feminine singular form of the nominative because of its antecedent, *gife* (fem. sg.), and the function in the relative clause (Mitchell’s ‘*seþe* (1985)’) <sup>22</sup> .

(1.5) *ÆCHom* I 30. 435. 178-80

swutol is þ hi ne magon beon clæne buton þurh cristes gife. seo þe wæs fulfremedlice on marian. þe hi heriað;

‘It is manifest that they cannot be pure but through grace of Christ, which was perfect in Mary whom they praise.’

However, the first element of the compound relative sometimes appositively takes the case of the antecedent (Mitchell’s *se’þe* (1985)). The compound relative is naturally considered as a relative set and introduced in grammar

books without any explanation of the mechanism. Mitchell positively states that ‘[t]heoretically *seþe* should be the perfect OE relative --- with *þe* telling us that the ambiguous *se* is relative, not demonstrative, and *se* telling us the case of the indeclinable *þe*’ (1985: § 2155). However, as he himself admits right after the statement, ‘[u]nfortunately it does not work that way’ (Mitchell (1985: § 2155)). More detailed examination on this construction is prerequisite, which will be given in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Relative *þe* is a particle: it does not inflect in any case. *þe* in (1.5) takes *marian* as its antecedent without any inflection pointing to the noun. It is employed for many kinds of antecedents, sometimes even as a relative adverb or a free relative, and moreover, as non-pronominal functions such as a conjunction. Therefore, *þe* seems like an almighty relative in Old English. Nevertheless, it is to be replaced by *that* in Middle English. Why doesn’t it survive if it can be used in many ways and is functional?

The fourth way is suggested by many scholars: particle *þe* with a personal pronoun in accordance with the antecedent in the *þe* clause. In (1.6), a redundant relative pronoun appears in the secondary clause. However, there are also many grammar books that do not mention this construction, that is, that do not admit that this usage is a part of the relative system. In fact, examples of pronoun retention are not many in English, but this way to express the relative clause is not rare in many languages (see Keenan and Comrie (1977), Downing (1978) and Smits (1989)). I would like to discuss the validity of the fourth way in detail later again in Chapter 5.

(1.6) *ChronA* 78. 26-7 (885)

se wæs Karles sunu þe Æpelwulf West Seaxna cyning his dohter hæfde  
him to cuene;

‘He was the son of Charles, whose daughter Æthelwulf, king of Wessex, had as queen.’

Similarly, a personal pronoun which is tautological in Present Day English, can appear outside of relative clauses, as italicised *hi* does in (1.7). The antecedent, *ealle þa gecorenan*, is resumed again by a personal pronoun outside of the clause. Therefore, such a superfluous personal pronoun is called a resumptive pronoun. Greenbaum (1996) does not clearly distinguish the two redundant personal pronouns as in (1.6) and (1.7) from each other and groups together both as resumptive pronouns. Nevertheless, Old English grammar books do and I would like to differentiate them, too, because their functions are totally different. A tautological personal pronoun inside of the relative clause behaves as an element of the clause, while a personal pronoun outside of the clause is one of the elements in the main clause.

(1.7) *ÆHom* I 30. 433. 130-3

*Ealle þa gecorenan þe* gode gepugon þurh martyrdom oððe þurh clænnysse; ealle *hi* siðodon mid þære eadigan cwene. for þan ðe heo sylf is æigðer ge martyr ge mæden;

‘All the chosen who have thriven to God through martyrdom or through chastity, (they) all journeyed with the blessed queen; for she is herself both martyr and maiden.’

It is difficult to sense contact-clauses in Old English. It is sometimes, though not often, difficult even to tell where a sentence ends in a series of clauses in Old English writings without definite punctuation rules; punctuation is not placed only for syntactical units in Old English. No pronominal element

can be omission of a relative as well as of a personal pronoun. Therefore, some grammar books carefully avoid the topic. How important books and articles treat with the construction will be summarised in Chapter 2. It is generally agreed that this construction appears frequently with the verb *hatan* as in (1.8). The comma is placed by the editor and in two of the actual manuscripts a dot appears after *andswarode* and *ealdorbisceop*.<sup>23</sup> Some may interpret this example as omission of a personal pronoun; ‘He was called Cefi’. There is no definite clue to deny the interpretation completely. However, it is true that this construction is not uncommon.

(1.8) *Bede* 134. 11

Him þa andswarode his ealdorbisceop, Cefi wæs haten

‘Then his archbishop who was called Cefi answered him.’

*þe* and *þæt* can occur without any antecedent as a nominal relative as in *Her syndon þe ðine deorlingas beon sceoldan* (‘Here are those who must be your minions’ Homl. Skt. i. 23. 147 (*BT*, *þe*, I (3))). Nominal relatives are more often expressed by *þæt*, especially when it means relative ‘what’, as in (1.9).

(1.9) *WHom* 6. 144. 36-8

And to ðam hy gesceop God ælmihtig, þæt hy 7 heora ofspring scoldan gefyllan 7 gemænigfyldan þæt on heofonum gewanad wæs;

‘And God created them in order that they and their offspring should satisfy and multiply what was diminished in Heaven.’

(1.10) *ÆCHom* II 9. 78. 1-3

hit fremað eowerum sawlum. swa hwæt swa ge be his mynegunge  
gefyllað;

‘Whatever you fulfil according to his exhortation benefits you.’

*Hw-* forms are also employed as a nominal relative, often accompanied by *swa ... swa*. With *swa ... swa*, *hw-* forms often have a generalising force, as is seen in (1.10).

The system is pressured to change as levelling progresses. Demonstrative pronouns are levelled and the inflections are gradually lost. Even while some inflections still remain and continue to be employed as demonstrative pronouns, interestingly they are largely not used as relatives. *Þe* and *þet*, which is going to take over *þe*, are the most frequent relatives already in early Middle English. They occur in almost all situations of relative clauses. The famous article on relative pronouns in early Middle English by McIntosh (1947-8) reveals that *þe* and *þet* coexist and occur complementarily in some areas; *þe* is used with animate antecedents and *þet* with inanimate antecedents, as in (1.11). *Þet* and *þe* modify inanimate and animate nouns, *stude* and *þeo*, respectively in the example.

(1.11) *St.Marg.* 48. 26-8

& te stude þet tu on restest, ant alle þeo þe þurh þe schulen turne to  
me.

‘And the place which you rest in and all those who must turn to me  
through you.’

The particles are rarely used with prepositions, though there are a few

instances like (1.12) and (1.13). There is, however, a possibility that *þæt* and *þat* in the examples are not relatives. *Þæt* in (1.12) can be a simple demonstrative and *þat* in (1.13) can be a part of conjunction (*for þæt* ‘because’). The infrequent occurrence and another possible interpretation make us wonder about their syntactic status.

(1.12) *Vsp.D.Hom.* 16. 45. 38- 46. 2

Þurh ure ealdemoder Euan us wearð heofone gaten belocan, 7 eft þurh Marian us is geopenod, þurh h<sup>24</sup> heo sylf nu todæg wulderfullice inferde.

‘By our grandmother Juan, the gate to Heaven was blocked and again, by Maria, it is opened, through which she herself wonderfully entered (Heaven) now.’

(1.13) *Trin.Hom.* 16. 95. 23-6<sup>25</sup>

þis shrud haueð ech man on him after his fulcninge. alle þe wile þe he him beregeð þat he ne do ne ne queðe. ne ne ðenche no þing for þat he bie unwurðere gode :

‘Each man has this shroud upon him after his baptism all the while he does not do, say or think of anything for which he might be less worthier to God.’

Since the particles, *þe* and *þet*, do not show any inflections, another system is needed in some situations where overt case-marking is required. Thus, the relative newly begins to be expressed by *wh*-interrogative pronouns. Some suggest that English is influenced by Latin or/and French relatives. Some suggest that *wh*-forms gain the function first in indirect questions.

Interrogative pronouns are employed not only in questions but also as indefinite pronouns in Old English, for example, *hwilc*, ‘someone’. When we postulate that it is *hw*-indefinite pronouns that start to occur as generalising relatives, accompanied by *swa ... swa*, the pronouns are employed in non-question sentences and extend their function in affirmative sentences. Therefore, an intralinguistic factor may be justified by Old English indefinite pronouns.<sup>26</sup> At least, *wh*-forms, which are pronouns and whose system is already used as relatives in the influential languages, are suitable for the system which needs case-marking. Thus, the pronouns encroach the system first as generalising relatives, as in (1.14), and then start to occur in the genitive case, as in (1.15), and after a preposition, as in (1.16). The latter two positions require or prefer overt case-marking.<sup>27</sup>

(1.14) *AR(N)* 81. 21-3

hwo se euer mis seið ðe oðer misdeð þe ʔ nim ʒeme & understond þet he is þi uile.

‘Whoever speaks ill of you or does you ill, take note and understand that he is your file.’

(1.15) *Trin.Hom.* 25. 145. 33- 147. 1

also þe loured Seint iame was dai hit is to dai.

‘as the lord St. James whose day it is today.’

(1.16) *Lamb.Hom.* 16. 153. 35

Þis beoð þe fif ʒeten þurh hwam kimð in deðes wurhte.

‘These are the five gates through which the worker of death comes in.’



When *wh*-forms start to appear as simple relatives in early Middle English, there seems no distinction in gender. *Which* is used both for animate and inanimate antecedents, as is seen in (1.17) and still in a later famous passage from the Lord's Prayer in the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611) (Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name (Matthew 6: 9)). *Who* is rather a late development and finally establishes its position in the system in the sixteenth century, as is seen in (1.18).

(1.17) Chaucer *CT.Sum.D.* 2028-9

Toward the place ther he sholde deye,

The knyght cam which men wenden had be deed.

'Toward the place where he should die, the knight came who people thought had been dead.'

(1.18) Sh. *The Comedy of Errors* IV. 4. 80-1

Alas, I sent you money to redeem you,

By Dromio here, who came in haste for it.

In Middle English, we find examples of *wh*-forms accompanied by another element as *the which*, *which that*, or *the which that*. The origin attracts many grammarians' attention but it is still open to dispute. Some suggest that *the* of *the which (that)* comes from French *lequel*. Some argue that it is derived from the OE compound relative, *seþe*. However, the final conclusion isn't made yet.<sup>28</sup>

(1.19) Chaucer *CT.Kn.A* 1418-21

He fil in office with a chamberleyn

The which that dwellynge was with Emelye,

For he was wys and koude soone espye,

Of every servaunt, which that serveth here.

‘He was employed with a household attendant who was living with Emelie, for he was wise and could at once take the measure of every servant who serves here.’

As we have realised by now, there are many problems concerning English relatives to be settled. This is partly because the system depends on the functions of the words used as relatives. The central dispute has been the grammatical status of the particles, *þe* and *þet*. It has been attracting many grammarians for a long time and it seems to have come to the dead end since an excellent article by van der Auwera (1985), who makes a conclusion that ‘R[elative]-*that* is a highly pronominal relativiser’ (175) since it is not completely pronominal because of its non-pronominal origin. Recently Seppänen (2004) has shed a new light on the matter by considering change and expansion of *þe*’s grammatical status through reanalysis, but the argument is still not conclusively settled. I would like to work on this topic in the following chapters. However, before going on to the discussion, the corpus employed for my investigation will be explained in the following section and then grammarians’ definitions and theories will be summarised in Chapter 2 in order to understand the system as well as to reveal problems.

### 1.3. The Corpus: Homiletic Tradition through Old English to early Middle English

There are a great number of treatises and articles on the development of the relative. Articles usually focus on individual works, while longer treatises and books employ various kinds of texts for their corpus. However, as Romaine's study (1980) reveals, there are differences in choice of relatives, *wh*-relatives or *that*, according to text types in Scottish English. It should also be true of Old English texts. There are obviously many differences in style between verse and prose of any period.<sup>29</sup> More can be expected in the culturally and linguistically fluid transitional period in question, when many changes occurred for intralinguistic and extralinguistic reasons. Therefore, to research a development of a language system, it is necessary not to access to corpus at random but to focus on certain genres and to compare the developments.

After the Norman Conquest, French had been the official language under the control of French noblemen until the growth of national feeling in the thirteenth century, though, needless to say, English had always been the vernacular language of the commons. The proclamation was issued in English for the first time since the Norman Conquest in the court of Henry III in 1258. We can get a slight glimpse of the situation of the time from the famous comments made by so-called Robert of Gloucester around 1300 and by John of Trevisa's translation in the late fourteenth century in (1.20) and (1.21).

(1.20) The Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, 7537-47<sup>30</sup>

Þus com, lo, Engeland in-to Normandies hond:

And þe Normans ne coupe speke þo bote hor owe speche,

And speke French as hii dude atom, and hor children dude also teche,  
 So þat heimen of þis lond, þat of hor blod com,  
 Holdeþ alle þulke speche þat hii of hom nom;  
 Vor bote a man conne Frenss me telþ of him lute.  
 Ac lowe men holdeþ to Engliss, and to hor owe speche ġute.  
 Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none  
 Þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche, bote Engeland one.  
 Ac wel me wote uor to conne boþe wel it is,  
 Vor þe more þat a mom can, þe more wurþe he is.

(1.21) John of Trevisa's Translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, The  
 Language of Britain, Chap. lix

On ys for chyldern in scole, aġenes þe vsage and manere of al oper  
 nacions, buþ compelled for to leue here oun longage, and for to  
 construe here lessons and here þinges a Freynsch, and habbeþ supthe þe  
 Normans come furst into Engeland. Also gentil men children buþ ytaugt  
 for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel, and  
 conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol  
 lykne hamsylf to gentil men, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke  
 Freynsch, for to be more ytold of.

Therefore, The English language, which had been greatly influenced at first  
 profoundly by Old Norse and again absorbed a great number of French words,  
 re-appeared in documents as an almost new language.<sup>31</sup> The English literature  
 was also deeply influenced by the Conqueror's and native traditions hardly  
 survived the Conquest.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, difficult is a continuous diachronic study  
 of a system of the language in a certain genre through the transitional period

between Old and Middle English.

In this thesis, homilies and homiletic prose are selected for my corpus in order to observe a comparatively unbroken series of native development of the relative in the period. First, one third of the manuscripts which contain pre-Conquest materials is homilies or homiletic prose (Irvine (2000:41)), because after the Conquest copying in English continued mainly in monasteries, though the language was not so important compared with Latin and French writings (Treharne (2000:12)). Moreover, non-homiletic materials tend to be automatically literally transcribed in Middle English (Irvine (2000:43)), while Old English homilies were collected, selected, reorganised and copied for a certain purposes in the vernacular language. Consequently, we may have more chances to get hints of the living language at that time. Homilies in the vernacular language continued to be copied through the twelfth century not only to preserve the tradition but also for the need from the religious who do not understand Latin or French (Irvine (2000:47-61)). Wilson (1943:58-60) suggests that until 1300 only English was spoken in the lower class and that those in the middle and upper classes were bilingual (English and French) and the higher clergy were trilingual (English, French and Latin). Therefore, it is highly possible that we observe native developments of the relative in relatively abundant evidence of similar context.

The continuity of English literature over the period in West Midland is also historically proved. There was a strong connection between King Alfred and Werferth, bishop of Worcester in the late ninth and early tenth centuries (Lapidge, *et al.* (1999), s.v. *Werferth*). Werferth contributed much to Alfred's literary activities.<sup>33</sup> Although the Old English standard dialect, West Saxon, was broken down after the Conquest, other dialects survived (Wilson (1968:108)). The centre of manuscript transcription was moved from

Winchester to Worcester in West Midland where there was only scarce attack from the Danes (Kivimaa (1966:68)), and at that time there seems to have occurred a regional style of West Midland called “AB Language”, which was first named by Tolkien (1929) <sup>34</sup>. Geographically, West Midland suffered from less attacks from the Vikings owing to the alliance with Wessex in the ninth century (Wilson (1968:112)) and from less influence from the French power, compared with East Midland, greatly owing to Wulfstan II. He was the only Anglo-Saxon bishop who survived through the Conquest until 1095 and trained his successors of the traditions (Smith (1991:56) and Dance (2003:64)). He was canonised as St Wulfstan in 1203 (Franzen (1991:183)). Thus, the church organisation was never completely dissolved in the West Midland (Stenton (1971:433)). On the other hand, the South suffered from the political and economic difficulties to restore the church organisation which had flourished before the Danish invasions (Stenton 1971:437)). Kivimaa’s investigation (1966:101) also reveals conservatism of West Midland dialects, not only in texts of archaic styles but also in some texts of the thirteenth century. Historical and linguistic evidence proves the continuity of English in homilies and homiletic works, especially those transcribed in West Midland in Middle English.

## Notes for Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> Romaine has the same view: '[t]he early Middle English relative pronouns which are the ancestors of the modern English relatives...' (1981:447).

<sup>2</sup> The terms, 'intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors', are quoted from Samuels (1972).

<sup>3</sup> Some may argue that there is no relative in Old English or that it is too primitive to have such a complicated relative system since Old English does not have special relativisers to express the construction. However, as the grammatical system has always been expressed by other functions, demonstratives or particle *þe* is interpreted to be relatives where it is considered as a relative in Modern English. Therefore, I would like to forward my discussion under the premise that Old English does have relatives at least by the time it started to be written down. I will examine previous studies on this subject in Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> This form, *þet*, represents other Middle English variants of Old English *þæt*, such as *þat* and *þæt* in this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to decide to what degree the forms have developed the function as the definite article after levelling and if *þe* has a deictic force of the demonstrative pronoun in the transitional period. However, *þe* and *þet* surely have survived till Modern English and have acquired the functions as the definite article and a demonstrative pronoun respectively. Strang (190:303) suggests that the two forms seem to have merged in some functions, where *þe* and *þet* function as weak and strong forms respectively, and then they are polarised and given the functions of pronoun and article individually. As for the development of the demonstrative pronoun, see Heltveit (1953) and Millar (2000).

<sup>6</sup> When a redundant personal pronoun in a relative clause is considered to

show the case of a relative, the personal pronoun is phonetically realised. The interpretation of this structure, however, is open to dispute and will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> The prenuclear positions is ‘before the subject + predicate construction that constitutes the nucleus of the clause’ (Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1037)).

<sup>8</sup> See Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1037) and Quirk (1985:1245)

<sup>9</sup> The zero-relative is termed ‘bare relatives’ in Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and as ‘contact-clauses’ by Jespersen (1927).

<sup>10</sup> This gap is called ‘trace’ according to the Government-Binding Theory, or an element given D (Delete) for no phonetic realisation in the copy theory of movement according to the Minimalist Program. A ‘gap’ or ‘trace’ is used in this thesis to indicate a phonetically empty element which is co-referent with the antecedent in the relative clause.

<sup>11</sup> The fact that *wh*-forms have a distinction between animate and inanimate forms but do not possess plural forms may derive from original interrogative pronouns. The fact may imply that their function is largely limited by original features of interrogative pronouns.

<sup>12</sup> Greenbaum (1996) and Chalker and Weiner (1994) call *that* a “relative pronoun” according to the traditional definition. However, the term is usually avoided. Thus, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Biber, et al. (1999) employ “subordinator” and “relativiser” respectively. Jespersen (1927:8.7<sub>1</sub>) gives some choices: particle, conjunction or connective.

<sup>13</sup> Pied-piping is the placing of a relative pronoun at the head of the relative clause with another element such as a preposition or a noun, as in *Here’s the book about which I was telling you* and *I know a girl whose father is a doctor*.

<sup>14</sup> See Givón (1993:9.2.1.1.) and Downing (1978:379-381).

<sup>15</sup> The explanation in single quotation marks are cited from Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1034). It is originally used to explain their term, “the integrated



relative clause”, which is equivalent to the restrictive relative clause. The phrase is adopted here simply because the phrase explains the term, “the restrictive relative clause”, well. Biber et al. (1999) defines that ‘[r]estrictive relative clauses are used to establish the reference of the antecedent, while non-restrictive relatives give additional information which is not required for identification’ (195).

<sup>16</sup> Chalker and Weiner (1994) employ “defining and non-defining relative clauses”, though Greenbaum (1996) retains “restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses”. Jespersen (1927) also uses “defining and loose clauses” in addition to “restrictive and non-restrictive clauses”. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) term the distinction “integrated and supplementary relatives”.

<sup>17</sup> Huddleston and Pullum (2002) adopt the term “fused relatives”. Greenbaum (1996) calls the construction “independent or free relative clauses” as well as “nominal relative clauses” (336).

<sup>18</sup> For example, Finnish uses as one of the primary strategies non-finite phrases with no relativiser, as in the following instance. See Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Smits (1989).

Pöydällä tanssinut                      poika oli sairas.

[on-table having-danced]    boy    was sick.

‘The boy who had danced on the table was sick.’

[Keenan and Comrie (1977:71)]

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that relatives are expressed by either pronouns, particles or the zero-relative in European languages (Kivimaa (1966), Keenan and Comrie (1977), Romaine (1981) and Smits (1989)). English makes use of all the items for the relative at any period of its history.

<sup>20</sup> I have found an instance of a demonstrative pronoun as a relative which is co-referential with the antecedent without taking the case required by the subordinate clause. The second *pæt* can be a relative which modifies *pæt fæt*

‘the vessel’. If so, it is governed by the preposition in the clause and therefore it does not take the case required by the relative clause. It also seems like a conjunction, consisting of a *so...that* construction with *swa* (and punctuation before *swa* may support it). However, if so, I believe that a pronominal object of the preposition in the relative clause should appear, like *on him*. Otherwise, *on* in the relative clause is used adverbially. It can also be an early example of generalisation of *þæt* as a relative particle, though Ælfric hardly employs the particle. It is possible that *þæt fæt ... þæt* creates a correlative effect, but it seems metrically unlikely in this example.

*ÆCHom* II 11. 92. 16-8.

ðā gemette he þæt fæt wið hine licgende. swa gehal þæt ðær nan cinu on næs gesewen;

‘Then he found the vessel lying so whole with him that there was no crack seen on.’

<sup>21</sup> Even with strict rules in Present Day English grammar books, we often see “incorrect” usage of the relative usually in non-academic writings. For example, we find a sentence which begins with a *wh*-form and is not a question, as in:

The hotel is very expensive. Which is a pity.

[Chalker and Weiner (1994:342) s.v. *relative*]

This example is interesting in that it is introduced in a grammar book as a sentential relative. The writers do not explain why the relative can newly lead a sentence. In addition, Greebaum (1996:229) explains that *which* in sentential relative clauses can be replaced by demonstrative *that*. Then, how do we define the degree of subordination of sentential relative clauses to differentiate relative *which* from demonstrative *that*?

<sup>22</sup> Mitchell’s three ways of subcategorising the compound relative will be explained in detail in Chapter 2. See Mitchell (1985: § 2159).

<sup>23</sup> The text in this part is based on Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 279. MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 41, has a dot after *andswarode*, *aldorbysceop* and *ceafi* each. MS Kk. 3,18. Cambridge University Library has a dot after *7swarede* and *ealdorbiscop* respectively.

<sup>24</sup> One may argue that *that* in this example is not a relative but a demonstrative pronoun and, therefore, it is natural that it can be preceded by a preposition. It is sometimes difficult to judge if *that* is a demonstrative pronoun or a relative, and this is a good example for the evidence of confusion. This instance is cited from *MED* (s.v. *that* rel. pron, 2b. Used for an inanimate antecedent, (c) as obj. of prep.).

<sup>25</sup> This example is cited from Seppänen (2000:32). However, her description of the text quoted is wrong. It is not from the *Lambeth Homilies* but from the *Trinity Homilies*. Morris, the editor of the *Trinity Homilies* (EETS, o.s. 53), also interprets *for þat* here as a relative: ‘anything that may make him the more unworthy before God’.

<sup>26</sup> See Traugott (1972:153).

<sup>27</sup> Allen’s study (1980:203-4) as well as my own survey clearly shows this tendency.

<sup>28</sup> See Mustanoja (1960:197-9), Raumolin-Brunberg (2000), and Seppänen and Trotta (2000).

<sup>29</sup> It is also true that there are many varieties in style, such as evocation or simple explanation, even in certain genres of works by the same writer according to the themes which works deal with (Blake (1974:398)). However, it is impossible and in fact unnatural to focus on one too precise variety in a study of a system of the language. Therefore, I would like to limit myself to focus on one genre, homilies and homiletic prose.

<sup>30</sup> This is cited from Barber (1993:136). The line number is according to Baugh and Cable (1978:114).

<sup>31</sup> Many may disapprove of my statement that English emerged again as an almost “new language”. That stage of English is often discussed as a “Creole” or “Creoloid” (Millar (2000)). In fact, the boundaries of languages are very ambiguous and they are often decided according to political issues (for example, Scandinavian languages and languages in China). Therefore, this statement simply emphasises that Middle English differs from Old English to such an extent that at first glance they look like different languages.

<sup>32</sup> For example, French Romance surpassed Germanic epic. Native alliterative verse style was replaced by French rhyme, though West Midland was to see a revival of alliterative poetry in the fourteenth century.

<sup>33</sup> Asser, Alfred’s bibliographer, ascribes Gregory’s *Dialogues* to Werferth, though there is no such name mentioned in the work. (Lapidge, *et al.* (1999:469)).

<sup>34</sup> As for the regional style, also see Shepherd (1991:xv), Treharne (2000:27), Smith (2000) and Dance (2003).

## Chapter 2

### Traditional Definitions of English Relatives

#### 2.1. Previous Studies

Introductory Old English grammar books briefly explain that there are three kinds of relative markers in Old English: demonstrative pronouns alone, particle *þe* and the combination of the two. In addition, there seems a way to express relative clauses without using any markers. However, looking closely at these explanations, it becomes evident that explanations vary according to writers' views and that some books even avoid explanations and do not have a section for relatives.

Categorisation of pronouns is, as that of any grammatical items, always difficult, since grammatical categories are grammarians' invention. Languages are never produced with strict grammatical rules from the beginning, except for modern languages which are invented for certain purposes. In fact, this kind of clear distinctions may have started with our inclination toward "correct usages" or "regulations" since the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Until then, grammar books were not for the English language, but usually for Latin grammar. However, there occurred a growing tendency to refine and regulate the English language in early Modern English.

In Present Day English, there is a separate category of grammatical items called "relatives" which link a clause to another clause, taking the case of an element in the adjective clause. However, the category does not possess grammatical items exclusively used for relatives. The relative is the only pronominal system that does not possess its own paradigm. For instance, in

addition to the function as a relative, *that* is used as a conjunction, an adverb, and a demonstrative pronoun, and *wh*-forms are used as interrogative pronouns. Even after grammarians have established certain explicit rules for the language, it is sometimes difficult to say which category a word belongs to in a sentence like: *I do not remember what my mother told me this morning*. Is *what* a relative pronoun or an interrogative pronoun? <sup>2</sup>

Judgments are more difficult in Old English without authorial grammar books which are valid in most dialects. Even when we turn to OE grammar books such as Ælfric's *Grammar*, relatives are usually not mentioned separately. However, to study the history of relative markers, it is essential to outline how relative clauses have been expressed in the history of the English language and to set up some criteria for investigation in the first place. In the following sections, previous studies will be summarised and some criteria will be given after the summary. Modern English relative markers are also consulted in order to see further developments. *Se* and sometimes *he* represent demonstrative inflections and personal pronouns respectively in the summary. A relative construction without any obvious relative marker is mentioned in this thesis as contact-clause or zero-construction/relative.

## 2.2. Old English Relatives

### 2.2.1. Flom (1930)

Flom (1930) mentions particle *þe* as the main relative ('there is no inflected relative pronoun in OE' (73)), often augmented by a demonstrative pronoun or a personal pronoun. He adds that *se* alone can possibly substitute for *þe*. That is, he recognises four types of constructions: *þe* alone, *se* alone, the combination of the two, and *þe* followed by a personal pronoun.

#### 2.2.2. Sweet (Davis (rev.) 1953)

Sweet (§ 50) prudently states that Old English does not possess “separate” relative pronouns. He explains that particle *þe* most frequently appears as a relative for all genders and numbers, often with declinable *se*, which can also be a relative marker alone. He mentions that an inflection of the demonstrative can independently mean ‘he who’ or ‘that which’ without any antecedent, but he does not refer to the zero-relative.

#### 2.2.3. Quirk and Wrenn (1957)

The most frequent OE relative is, they say, indeclinable *þe*, sometimes preceded by declinable *se*. It is further mentioned that antecedents are often qualified by the same demonstrative form as its relative’s, as is seen in *se man se þe*. They point out that the structure in which correlatives are often juxtaposed, each at the end and the beginning of two clauses, is common in relative clauses. They recognise the zero-relative already in Old English.

#### 2.2.4. Campbell (1959)

Campbell takes a position that there is no relative pronoun in Old English but the function is operated by the demonstrative pronoun, whether alone or followed by indeclinable *þe*. The particle *þe* can also function as a relative alone. He interestingly adds in a parenthesis (1959:291) that the particle is used to show that *se* of *se þe* is not a demonstrative pronoun but a relative in function.

#### 2.2.5. Strang (1970)

Strang (1970:303) explains that there is no relative pronoun in Old English by inheritance, but admits that the relative construction is expressed in the

following four ways: *se*, *se þe*, *þe* and contact-clauses. However, she doubts the degree of subordination by *se*. The clearest subordination is, she says, made by the indeclinable particle, *þe*. The compound form, *se þe*, may be employed for emphasis or clear contrast in gender, number and case. She suggests that OE relatives and articles have come to share some functions by early Middle English and that *þe*, weak form, may have retained the article function and *þæt*, strong form, pronominal functions. It is noteworthy that she supposes that this process was facilitated by ‘the strong association already engaged in the *seþe* pattern’.

#### 2.2.6. Classidy and Ringler (1971)

This book repeatedly states that Old English has no relative pronouns though the function is expressed (26.3). Old English does not have a paradigm exclusively for the relative pronoun. However, three ways to express the function are proposed. The first and most frequent one is, it is suggested, particle *þe* for any antecedent. The second is the combination of *þe* following a demonstrative pronoun or sometimes a personal pronoun. The last one is the demonstrative alone. It is also mentioned that *that* is a demonstrative pronoun when it is strongly stressed and a relative when weakly stressed in Modern English (26.10).

#### 2.2.7. Traugott (1972)

As a transformationalist, Traugott believes that Old English already has a distinction between restrictive and appositive (that is, non-restrictive) relatives, which simply does not appear on the surface structures. For both functions, there are mainly two types of relative markers in Old English: particle *þe* and declinable *se*, *seo*, and *þæt*, which are, she explains, identical in



form with demonstrative pronouns. She postulates that the former tends to be employed for restrictive relative clauses and the latter for appositive relative clauses. *Se* is preferred when its antecedent is modified by a determiner, like *þæt hus þæt*.... She adds that a long relative clause tends to be placed at the end of the sentence, as long clauses are inclined to appear at the end in Old English. Like *that* in New English, which is her term for Modern English, particle *þe* does not appear with a preposition at the head of a subordinate clause. That is, a preposition which governs a relative marker remains in a subordinate clause. However, she indicates that it is preferred to *se* when the underlying NP is governed by a preposition (105).

There is a construction in which the underlying noun, that is, the trace made by deletion of a pro-form of the antecedent, is realised by a redundant pronoun in *þe* clauses (*þe he*...). She claims that the pronoun appears to avoid ambiguity, or for emphasis especially in poetry, in which it may be employed 'for rhythmical effect rather than for grammatical reasons' (104). She adds that this construction is 'common in the languages of the world' (104). Relative pronouns can be deleted, especially when the verb in a secondary clause is *(ge)haten* 'called' and when the antecedent is demonstrative *þæt* alone. She terms this phenomena 'reduced relatives'. Traugott interprets the latter as the omission of a relative marker like *that (which)*. She, as a transformationalist, assumes that some adjective phrases are derived from relative clauses. Thus, she interestingly suggests that the expression of rank titles, such as *Ælfred cyning*, originates in relative constructions in Old English. The reversed New English construction, such as *King Henry*, appeared, she says, on the model of adjectives and probably in imitation of Latin phrases, such as *Dominus Christ* 'Lord Christ' (106).

#### 2.2.8. Mitchell (1985)

Mitchell's authoritative book widely covers various kinds of Old English syntactic structures. His study on relatives occupies a large part of this book (1985: § § 2252-69). He points out the following tendencies.

- (a) *Pe* tends to follow a noun antecedent qualified by a demonstrative, possessive, *(n)an*, *(n)ænig*, *manig*, *eall*, *oðer*, *æghwīlc* or *gehwīlc*, except when the antecedent is neuter singular nominative or accusative (§ § 2253-4).
- (b) When the antecedent is a noun alone or a noun modified by an adjective, *se* forms are preferred in the singular, probably because of its indefinite character (§ 2254).
- (c) The compound relative is more common in the plural and prefers to the third person if the antecedent is a pronoun (§ 2254).
- (d) *Se* forms at times seem to be preferred after a proper noun than *þe* (§ 2257).<sup>3</sup>
- (e) *Pe* has personal pronoun antecedents of any number and gender, while *se* forms rarely have first and second person personal pronouns as their antecedents, possibly because of their strong implication of the third person, 'that one' (§ § 2259-60).
- (f) *(N)an*, *(n)ænig*, *ælc*, *æghwa*, *æghwīlc*, *gehwa*, *gehwīlc*, *fela*, *manig*, *sum* and *oper* tend to be followed by *þe* or the compound relative, while *eall* is almost regularly followed by *þæt* (§ 2263).
- (g) Numerals prefer *se* forms as their relatives (§ 2264).

However, he reminds us that the tendencies above are still tendencies, not rules. As Mitchell himself notes, it should be noted that his corpus is largely poetry. Therefore, 'more work is needed to establish the prose usages' (§ 2270), to which point this thesis is hoped to contribute.

Table 2.1. Mitchell's Description of the Compound Relative

(Mitchell (1985 § 2159))

Number	Old System	New System	Definition
1.	<i>sepe</i>	' <i>sepe</i>	The <i>se</i> element is in the case of the adjective clause
2.	<i>se'pe</i>	<i>se'pe</i>	The <i>se</i> element is in the case of the principal clause
3.	<i>sepe</i> or <i>se'pe</i>	(a) <i>sepe</i>  (b) No Symbol	The <i>se</i> element is in the case appropriate to both clauses  The two clauses require different cases, but the <i>se</i> element can be taken with either

Mitchell is an inventor of the symbols to describe which case a compound relative, *se pe*, takes: whether it takes the case required by the main clause or the relative clause, as you can see the table of the symbols in Table 2.1. Mitchell revised the symbols and I employ the new system here in this thesis except for 3 (b), to which I assign the symbol of '*sepe*' to clarify that different cases are required.

Mitchell (1985:§§2169-70) postulates the origin of the compound relative as follows. Enclitic *pe* and demonstrative *se*, which became a relative later, were used side by side. Then *se'pe* type appears first, possibly with some encouragement from partitive apposition, and '*sepe* type finally occurs via *sepe* types. Mitchell exemplifies this process with the annals of the *Parker Chronicle*, in which we can find *se'pe* and *sepe* types until annal 984.

The position of a preposition which governs a relative is extensively

discussed (§ § 2231-48) and it seems logically reasonable that, according to Mitchell's symbols, *se* alone and the '*seþe* type are preceded by a preposition which semantically belongs to the relative clause, but *þe* alone and the *se'þe* pattern are not. The latter two are, says Mitchell (1985: § 2231), followed by a postposition.<sup>4</sup>

He points out the difficulty in deciding whether an inflection of the demonstrative (§ § 2109-2144) is a relative or demonstrative pronoun. He dismisses element order, metre, punctuation and Latin sources, if a text is a translation from Latin, from decisive criteria. He also doubts Sprockel's suggestion<sup>5</sup> that it is certainly a relative pronoun 'when the clause introduced by a *se*-form is interpolated' but accepts another claim of Sprockel's that it is a relative 'when what precedes is not a clause' (§ 2118). In fact, it seems a vex question to try to distinguish the functions. However, Mitchell (1985: § 2122) suggests:

the term 'ambiguous demonstrative/relative' should not be taken as implying that the choice is simply between a subordinate clause and an independent sentence in the modern sense of the words. None the less, there are many OE examples in which --- while it must remain a matter of doubt whether all Anglo-Saxons would have read or spoken them in the same way --- it seems reasonable to claim that forms of *se* --- in all possible genders, cases, and numbers --- are used as relatives.

Mitchell points out that intonation is an important device for the distinction. It is, unfortunately, unavailable in our corpus of the time.

It is also often discussed whether declinable *þæt* can be a relative "pronoun" or not. Mitchell (1985: § 2143) supports Knock's view that *þæt* may be a conjunction by origin but was gradually considered as a relative, and also quotes Shearin (1903:86), following Kivimaa (1966:43-4) that '[f]urther study

of the phenomenon in all subordinate clauses in Old English might show that the Modern English relative pronoun *that*, standing for all genders, numbers and cases, was materially influenced by the analogy of the conjunction *ðæt*.’

As for the construction of *þe* with a personal pronoun denoting the case of *þe*, Mitchell (1985: § 2199) rightly states that it is an ‘illusory’ idea that the personal pronoun represents the case to avoid ambiguity. He thinks this structure appears presumably for stylistics, rhythm, metre or emphasis. Even though this combination still occurs in Modern English, he adds, the number is very small in both Old and Modern English. It is less common in prose than in poetry.

Table 2.2. is the proportions of limiting (restrictive) and descriptive (non-restrictive) relative clauses in Old English poetry.

Table 2.2. Limiting and Descriptive Clauses in OE Poetry

(Mitchell (1985: § 2283))

Relative	Number of Clauses	Percentage of Clauses		
		Limiting	Descriptive	Ambiguous
<i>þe</i>	690	85	5	10
<i>se</i>	602	38	41	21
<i>‘seþe</i>	49	70	10	20
<i>se’þe</i>	236	96	2	2
<i>seþe</i>	378	76	8	16

It is evident from the table that *þe* and the compound relative are much more frequent in restrictive clauses, while it is noteworthy that *se* alone is employed almost equally in both clauses. He suggests, supported by Harlow’s

survey in some Ælfric manuscripts <sup>6</sup>, that this tendency may derive from the fact that *þe* was enclitic and *se* was non enclitic by origin (§ 2284).

Mitchell (1985: §§ 2302-2337) refrains from giving a specific name to constructions without a relative marker, that is, what Jespersen terms ‘contact-clause’ or what Visser characterises the ‘apo koinou’ construction or the ‘zero-construction’. Nevertheless, he limits himself to simply describing the situation of the construction with a good number of examples.

#### 2.2.9. Millward (1988)

Millward assumes that there is not a relative pronoun as such in Old English. Instead, the construction is expressed by an inflectionless particle *þe*, a personal pronoun alone, or the combination of the two. Interestingly, She does not refer to demonstrative pronouns, whether alone or with *þe*, as relatives. The zero-relative, she says, does not occur in Old English (148).

#### 2.2.10. Hock (1991)

Hock provides an attractive discussion on the origin and development of relative clauses from wider viewpoints, considering not only other Germanic languages but also Proto Indo-European constructions. He interestingly mentions that there are different views toward relative clauses in Germanic languages between specialists of Germanic languages and those of Indo-European languages: the former traditionally defines that there is no relative clause or it is just adjoined to its main clause without any markers. The latter is against this theory, since they understand that early Indo-European languages except for Germanic languages possess hypotactic constructions.

Hock postulates that relative clauses of Mitchell’s *se’þe* type with or

without *þe* in English as well as their counterparts in other Germanic languages derive from Proto-Indo-European relative correlative constructions. The relative clause is not embedded in but adjoined to the main clause. *Se* of *se þe* was at first a correlative pronoun and was then later re-analysed as part of the relative compound, when the re-bracketing shown below occurred through *seþe* constructions in which the main clause and the relative clause both require the same case.

Old system: [ (CP) ]<sub>MC</sub> [RM ]<sub>RC</sub>

New system: [ ]<sub>MC</sub> [(RP) RM ]<sub>RC</sub>

[Hock (1991:74, (14))<sup>7</sup>]

He further demonstrates that re-bracketing took place first phonologically, as breaks and caesuras in *Beowulf* show, and then syntactically. Finally clause-final head nouns contiguous to the following relative clauses led to the development of embedding. Hock suggests that since it is correlative pronouns that started to function as relative pronouns, Germanic languages developed relative pronouns from demonstratives, not from interrogatives.

His main English corpus is *Beowulf*, a poetic text. He argues that element order is basically not much influenced by metrical effects, or even if it is, we can get information of phonological phrasing from the influence. Moreover, it is also an epic with oral tradition: such epic texts are ‘unadventurous’ or ‘highly archaic (or traditional)’ (57). Therefore, the conservative epic text, he suggests, will provide a good example of the grammatical system of the traditional archaic language. Nevertheless, even though his reasoning sounds fine, I still believe his account is applicable particularly to *Beowulf*, simply owing to the phonological characteristics of the text.

On the other hand, his approach is indeed well structured. He treats *se* and *þe* separately as a relative pronoun and a relative marker and gives reasonable

arguments on each type, explaining their mutual relations. Moreover, as will be shown in the next chapter, this theory seems to be well exemplified in my investigation on homiletic texts.

### 2.3. Middle English Relatives

#### 2.3.1. Moore (1951)

In spite of his long and detailed description of Old English pronouns, Moore (1951) does not mention Old English relatives. He has a section for Middle English relative and interrogative pronouns (154), but he only mentions *wh*-relatives, probably because this book is intended to demonstrate historical development of sounds and inflections. He does not mention *that* as a relative. Of *wh*-forms, he says, only *who* inflects. *Wh*-forms are always stressed as interrogative pronouns and usually unstressed as relatives. Therefore, he interestingly mentions, final [z] of *whose* may be produced by sound change in the form as a relative, not as an interrogative pronoun, though he adds that analogy of genitive singular nouns is more probable.

#### 2.3.2. Mossé (1952)

Mossé mentions *þat* (*that*) as the Middle English relative pronoun *par excellence*: it is employed as a simple relative for any antecedent and also as a free relative without (pro)nominal antecedents. Another Middle English indeclinable relative marker, *þe*, survives from Old English to 1250, and Mossé interestingly suggests that the relative usage of *þe* could also be a ‘particular use of the new definite article’ (62). *Wh*-forms, which are originally interrogative pronouns, occur as relatives in early Middle English. They, he says, naturally take over the function as relatives in indirect questions. *Which*



is widely employed for both animate and inanimate antecedents at an early stage of the usage, while it takes a while until *who* becomes a regular member of relatives. It is noteworthy that he specially mentions a plural form of *which*, that is, *whiche*. He also recognises another relative particle *at* in Scots and the zero-relative.

### 2.3.3. Mustanoja (1960)

Mustanoja begins with a short paragraph that ‘the English relative pronouns originate in certain uses of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns’ (188). Indeed as long as they belong to the same paradigms, the functions of the forms naturally affect each other, expanding and diminishing their functions. Therefore, we must pay attention to the history of the whole pronominal system and of certain conjunctions if we may add “conjunctions” to Mustanoja’s sentence, since some relatives may have conjunctival origin<sup>8</sup>. He does not mention the conjunctival origin probably because he considers that ME *þat* derives from the OE particle *þæt*, which is originally a neuter demonstrative pronoun, *þæt*, sporadically replacing masculine and feminine nouns.

Mustanoja explains that *þe* (*þa*) and *þat* (*þet*) are used as relatives in early Middle English. The former derives from OE particle *þe* and the latter, he says, from the OE indeclinable relative *þæt*, as is mentioned above. Both *þe* and *þat* are usually found in the same context, but they are used differently in some dialects, especially in the Midlands. Mustanoja agrees with McIntosh (1947-8:83-4), who summarises the characteristics as follows. The summary, which is almost identical with the original with only some grammatical and lexical modifications, is cited from Mustanoja (1960:189).

- (1) The use of the relative *þe* is confined, except in the plural, to

animate antecedents and to certain others which, though not animate, are still charged in some degree with their grammatical masculine or feminine gender.

(2) *þat* (*þet*) is used mainly after inanimate antecedents. It is also used after animate antecedents, though not regularly, in the following situations: (a) after some antecedent nouns which are neuter in OE and, rarely, even after nouns which are not originally neuter; (b) after indefinite pronouns (dependent and independent), such as *all*; (c) when the antecedent is a personal name; (d) when the antecedent is a personal pronoun.

In addition, Mustanoja suggests that this distinction in usage of *þe* and *þat* almost corresponds with the difference in usage of OE particle *þe* and declinable *se* in (Alfredian) prose: *þe* tends to appear with demonstrative antecedents, while *se* tends to modify antecedents with indefinite characters. Prepositions are most regularly placed immediately before the verb in early Middle English and then at the end of the clause in late Middle English. He comments on *þa* for singular and plural animate and plural inanimate antecedents that the form may not be just a morphological variant of *þe*. The OE compound relative continues as *þe þe*, *þan þe*, etc., until the early thirteenth century.

*þe* disappears in the thirteenth century and *that* becomes the Middle English relative *par excellence*. It appears with both animate and inanimate antecedents, sometimes even without antecedents (like Present Day English *what*). It can also be used for both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses and as relative adverbs until, Mustanoja says, the rivalry between *that* and *which* emerges (338). It can refer to a whole sentence or clause as well. Therefore, because of the morphological identity and a variety of functions, it is

sometimes difficult to tell if *that* is a demonstrative pronoun or a relative, or even a conjunction.

The OE idiom of *þe* with a redundant personal pronoun denoting its antecedent still occurs in *that* relative clauses in Middle English partly, Mustanoja thinks, for emphasis and partly to show the case of particle *that*. This expression of pronoun retention seems to be applied to *wh*-forms, which, Mustanoja suggests, proves the desire for clear expression, that is, case-indication (202-3).

Mustanoja mentions a North form, *at*, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, being substituted by *quhilk* in the sixteenth century. He treats *at* together with *the* and *that* and does not mention the possibility that the form might be a loan word from Scandinavian languages (191).

Mustanoja postulates that *wh*-forms start to be used as relative in indirect questions, 'where the interrogative character of the pronoun has become weakened, its meaning approaching that of a generalising relative' (191) and then gain the function as generalising relatives. They go on to the final stage as relative pronouns proper except for *all what* in the twelfth century. Mustanoja postulates that this usage started in indirect questions, where their interrogative character was first weakened and finally lost. He also suggests that this usage starts under the influence of Latin and later is strengthened by French.

Mustanoja explains that all *wh*-relative pronouns except for *who* are attested since early Middle English. *What* starts to appear in the eleventh century mainly with indefinite antecedents such as *all* and *nothing*. *Whose* and *whom* start in earliest Middle English. However, *who* is very rare even in the fifteenth century. The most common form, *which*, is used with both animate and inanimate antecedents in Middle English. It is very interesting, however, that

*which* is rarely found in poetry but appears more often in prose. Mustanoja thinks this fact seems to support the Latin influence on *wh*-relatives. *That* tends to have superlative expressions and pronominal antecedents, while *which* occurs with prepositions and refers to a whole sentence or clause. Mustanoja concludes that *that* appears slightly more often than *which* as a relative marker (196).

Middle English has peculiar compound expressions such as *which that*, *which as* and *the which*. The origin of the last one is under dispute and Mustanoja limits himself to summarising previous discussions: some support the influence from French *liquels*, some suggest a native development since it starts in the North, and some assume that the expression derives from OE compound relative *se þe*, with *þe* replaced by *which*. The expression is rare or completely absent in Chaucer, Capgrave, Peacock, and Fortescue, but common in Gower, *Paston Letters* and the fifteenth century prose.

Mustanoja suggests that there seems no instance of non-introduced relative clauses, that is, the zero-relative, at all in early Middle English and that the construction comes to appear both in the subject and object positions mainly in poetry in the second half of the fourteenth century. It finally becomes common in prose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

#### 2.3.4. Kivimaa (1966)

Those who study relatives in Medieval English cannot miss Kivimaa's long and detailed article, which actually deserves more than an article, on relative pronouns in early Middle English. As the title shows, this article contains not only the history of relatives but also that of conjunctival *þe* and *þat*. She is completely aware of the important influence to relative *þe* and *þat* of the other functions the particles had, especially of *þe* and *þat* as conjunctions, since the

core function of relatives is to connect a clause to a phrase or another clause.

This work is basically well received. However, her ideas sometimes need to be reconsidered, largely because she partially employs a part of various texts in each dialect for her corpus, and therefore more examples are required to verify her theories. Too partial investigation has a risk of generating unfair results, depending on context.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, her viewpoint and knowledge are wide enough to cover the weak point. As a whole, she informs many significant facts and ideas, which are summarised below.

In the twelfth century texts, Kivimaa finds sparse examples of declined relatives, which are remnants of inflections of the OE demonstrative. In the thirteenth century, she recognises no example of declined relatives in East Midland but *þeo* in West Midland and *þa* in *Lazamon's Brut* (Caligula). Since old inflections of the demonstrative are greatly levelled, compound relatives become obsolete rapidly. Kivimaa (130) suggests that the compound relative disappeared owing to general dismissal of any "pleonastic", namely multiple, forms such as *swa swa* and to the confusion in the semantic field of the compound relative. The most long-lasting combination is, she says, *þat þat/þe* and, except for the pattern, the first element of *se þe* is newly replaced by a personal pronoun for clarity as inflections of the demonstratives are levelled. Thus, *he þe* and more frequently *he þat* appear in early Middle English. Kivimaa repeatedly insists that the compound relative is often employed with the Deity. However, this view seems questionable, as Mitchell (1985:120) points out, since there are not enough examples to support her view in her limited corpus. Moreover, this result possibly may depend on the topic of the part of the text she used for her investigation. The compound relative also functions as the generalising relative still in the twelfth century, but the combination of *wh*-forms with *so* (for instance, *who so*) largely takes over the

function in the thirteenth century.

According to Kivimaa's survey, frequency of *þe* depends on dates and dialects of texts, and the central South, the South-West and the South West Midlands demonstrate conservative features. However, *þat* becomes the common relative in the first half of the thirteenth century in all dialects, with only a number of examples of *þe* left in some dialects. As the number of *þe* examples decreases, *þe* tends to appear in some particular situations. Kivimaa (135) suggests that *þe* appears often with animate antecedents, especially those of importance, in the subject position, since the animateness is associated with *þe* by OE *se* (> *þe* in ME) and the compound relative as generalising relatives, and animate antecedents usually stand in the subject position (135). She postulates the phonetic change from *se* to *þe* and *þe* is used as a demonstrative pronoun, as in *þe þe* 'he who'. She rejects the view that *þe* disappears owing to its overloading functions, since *þat*, which also has various functions, replaces *þe* in early Middle English.

For the process of *þat* becoming a particle, she pays attention to the fact that relative markers tend to occur in the nominative or accusative. Therefore, most OE examples of the neuter singular employ *þæt*, which is for both the nominative and accusative forms. Thus, she postulates that *þæt* has eventually become indeclinable and extends its usage as a relative marker at the end of Old English, supported by its inanimateness and its other functions in adverbial clauses (138-9). *Þat* continuously appears with or without *al* as 'whatever', and there occurs an emphatic construction, *it is... þat*, especially in West Midland. She interestingly indicates that a preposition can precede *þat* as 'what' but is placed at the end of the adjective clause when *þat* is a simple relative. A redundant personal pronoun in *þat* clauses and *þat* following *wh*-relatives appear, she thinks, to show the case of *þat* and relativisation

respectively.

A number of *wh*-forms appear mainly as generalising relatives and after prepositions in Kivimaa's survey. It hardly demonstrates Latin or French influence in the development of relatives but shows possible Scandinavian influence of attaching pleonastic *þat* to relatives, interrogatives and conjunctions. Rather than direct influence from foreign languages, she supports native constructions of indefinite pronouns for its origin. The loss of inflectional relatives is, she supposes, one of the reasons for rendering the new system. She concludes that 'the English relatives and conjunctions had, with the great changes that had taken place c. 1100 – 1300, remained essentially Germanic' (259).

#### 2.3.5. Strang (1970)

Strang has two separate sections for Middle English relatives: one for early Middle English (1170-1370) and the other for late Middle English (1370-1570). She states that particle *þe* is inherited from Old English and *hw*-forms are rarely used in early Middle English. She says, compound relative, *se þe*, is still popular, the first element showing the case, number and gender of its antecedent until the thirteenth century, when *þat* starts to replace *þe*. Contact-clauses (zero-relative clauses) occur in the subject position as well as in the object position. She points out that the introduction of *hw*-forms as relatives is opposite to a normal trend, because it requires grammatical distinctions by inflections not only according to the Middle English system but also to the old system which is still partly active since Old English.

In late Middle English, she says, the main relative is *that*. *Wh*-forms, which first appear in indirect questions, start to develop their function as relative markers, first in the oblique position and by degree in the subject

position from the 14th century. Compound forms such as *the which* occur along with single *wh*-forms. Contact-clauses continue, she reports, to be seen in this period.

#### 2.3.6. Traugott (1972)

In the use of relative pronouns, Traugott recognises extensive flexibility and wide generalisation in use of OE relatives in Middle English and several tendencies against Early Modern English relatives.

By the thirteenth century, *þe* and *se*-relatives are, she explains, both replaced by *that*, which became the most general relative marker for any antecedent. She denies that *that* is derived from OE demonstrative *þæt* because of their differences in function. For example, the former does not allow pied-piping whereas the latter does. Therefore, this generalisation occurred, she suggests, through integration of some functions of *that*, especially as a demonstrative pronoun and as a subordinator.

*Wh*-pronouns gain a new function as relative pronouns in Middle English, probably deriving from OE indefinite pronouns such as *hwa* ‘whoever’. When *who*, *which* and *what* come to be employed as relative markers, there occurs the reorganisation of their functions. At first, *which* is used for any antecedent, whether animate or inanimate, restrictive or non-restrictive, until *who* becomes common in the sixteenth century and the distinction between their usages is eventually made ‘at the price of introducing a complexity in the grammar’ (156). They are also used alone for generalising relatives without *ever* in Middle English. Therefore, *who* can mean ‘whoever’, ‘he who’ or simply relative ‘who’. Traugott postulates the influence of Latin, *qui*, *quae*, *quod* and French *que* on the introduction of *wh*-forms as relatives, especially, on the delay of the introduction of *who*, owing to the phonological similarities



between Latin forms, *qui*, *quod* and English *which*, *what*. Otherwise, she thinks, *that* has too many functions to specify one function that other forms are favoured to signal relative clauses.

*Wh*-relatives can be followed by *that*, preceded by *the* or accompanied by both, the tendencies depending on the *wh*-forms. She assumes that *that* in the construction appears probably because *wh*-forms are not fully subordinators yet. For *the wh*-forms, she mentions the possible influence of French *lequel*.

Deletion of relative markers is, she says, usual in any position in Middle English. She supposes the Scandinavian influence on this construction for simplification, since it becomes generalised as the influence from Scandinavian languages emerges in English lexicon. She also categorises nominal expressions with particles such as *a gone man*, *sour turned wine*, and *the transpired matters*<sup>10</sup> under ‘reduced relatives’.

#### 2.3.7. Millward (1988)

Millward refers to demonstrative pronouns as relatives in her description on Middle English relatives for the first time, but only in the compound relative: she does not mention demonstrative pronouns used alone as relatives. The Old English particle, *þe*, is replaced by *that* and the latter has become ‘the most common all-purpose relative pronoun’ (148). *At* is employed as a relative in the North and in Scottish English. By the fourteenth century, *wh*-forms as relatives and the zero-relative have become common. *Which*, she explains, most frequently occurs for both animate and inanimate antecedents, while *who* is a late development. She suggests that the zero-relative occurs in the subject position more often than in the object position, which is opposite to the tendency in Present Day English.

## 2.4. Modern English Relatives (Historical Studies)

### 2.4.1. Sweet (1891)

Sweet (1981: § § 216–223) interestingly provides some sections under the heading of ‘Relative and Conjunctive Pronouns’. The latter is interrogative pronouns in indirect questions, as in *I know who you are*. He explains that relative clauses are led by indeclinable *that* and interrogative pronouns as relative markers. Relative pronouns can also be omitted. *Who* does not allow pied-piping while *what* and *which* do as interrogative *what* and *which* do. Sweet describes the former as a noun and the latter as adjectives. Relative clauses are adjunct to antecedents and sometimes have a sentence as antecedents. When a relative pronoun connects sentences, being equivalent to ‘and + personal pronoun’, he calls the relative ‘progressive relative noun-pronouns’ (§ 218). Sweet terms free relatives ‘condensed relatives’ (§ 220).

### 2.4.2. Jespersen (1927)

Jespersen (1927:80) briefly summarises in a paragraph that Old English has three ways to express relatives (demonstrative pronouns, particle *þe* or both jointly), that *that* becomes a relative as *þe* disappears in Middle English, and that *wh*-forms come to be employed as relatives in Middle English, first as clause-primaries (*wh-ever*) but *who* is used as a relative much later than *whom*. The distinction in the use of *who* for human beings and of *which* for things gradually developed. *That* is a popular relative and is employed for both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in early Modern English. However, as *wh*-forms gain ground, they come to be considered as more refined expression than *that* owing to Latin pronouns.

Jespersen defines that a relative pronoun has two functions: connecting a clause with the rest of the (main) sentence, usually with an antecedent, and

playing the role required by the secondary clause (108). He points out that there are languages, especially Romanic languages, which employ two elements for each of the two functions: a relative particle for the connecting function and a pronoun for the case function. Then, he suggests that OE constructions of *þe* with a personal pronoun showing the case required by the subordinate clause is the regular idiom in Old English, and continues in Middle English with *that* instead of *þe*, but became rare in Modern English.

Jespersen terms a relative clause without any relative marker ‘contact-clause’ since there is a close contact between two clauses with no pause. He insists that it is neither omission nor ellipsis of a relative marker but it is an old structure which started probably when pronouns were not required as much as later in Modern English (134). Contact-clauses are common in everyday speech but not popular in translations from languages which do not have contact-clause. It is noteworthy that we can see a similar development of contact-clauses in Danish. English contact-clauses are extremely similar to Danish ones to the extent that ‘it is barely possible that these correspondences have developed independently in each language’ (135). Therefore, he assumes that the construction was very common in speech among the Danes during the Danish invasion and following settlement and it influenced English. He points out that contact-clauses are frequent after *it is*, *all*, *there is* and *have* in Modern English.

He is generally supportive to influences on the English language from foreign languages, especially Latin, French and Scandinavian languages, or at least refers to them often. For example, he indicates the possibilities of Latin or French influence on a construction of *wh*-forms alone as primaries, for example, *who* in *Who steal my purse steals trash* (61) and of Scandinavian influences on ME particle *sum* in *whosom* and *whatsom* (66). He refers to

similarities with or influences from foreign languages (especially French) when he talks about the insertion of *and* before a relative pronoun (78), the agreement of the predicative after *it is* with the verb in the following clause (90), the use of *who* and *whom* instead of *that* to avoid ambiguity (French *lequel/ laquelle* instead of *qui*) (122) and the difference between relatives and interrogatives (77).

He dedicates with abundant examples one chapter (Chapter III) to ‘Relative Clause as Primaries’, which we traditionally term nominal relative clauses. What Jespersen means by ‘primaries’ is that ‘the clause itself in its entirety that is the subject or object’ (53). He strongly disapproves of establishing one separate category of ‘indefinite relative pronouns’ and insists that nothing is omitted before a relative in the construction such as ‘to help who want, to forward who excel’ (Pope, § 64) because nothing can be inserted before its equivalent, ‘whoever’, as its antecedent. In the same way, as for *that* as relative ‘what’, as in *Is it possible he should know what hee is, and be that he is* (Sh Alls IV.1.49) <sup>11</sup>, he distinguishes its functions according to its pronunciation: when the form is pronounced as [ðæt], it is a demonstrative with a contact-clause, when [ðet], it is a relative without an antecedent (69). He says that metre can tell which function *that* takes in some examples.

Jespersen calls indeclinable *that* as a particle or a conjunction (or a connective), but not a relative pronoun, since it does not have a plural form as demonstrative *that* does (i.e. *those*) and it shares close similarities with conjunction *that* (165-7).

We find a preparatory *it* as in *because it is wrong what you are doing* (Maxwell EG 356) and resumptive pronouns as in *Who tels me true, though in his tale lye death, I heare him as he flatter’d* (Sh Ant I.2.102) <sup>12</sup> in Modern English. Consequently, Jespersen does not interpret the pronouns as

antecedents of the relative markers. Interestingly, Jespersen (1927:72) reports a resumptive pronoun without relative clauses as in *Our father he hath writ* (Sh Lr II.1.124).

#### 2.4.3. Curme (1931)

Curme concisely explains that '[t]he relative pronoun performs a double function: [i]t is a pronoun in the clause in which it stands and is also a connective joining the clause in which it stands to the governing noun[, and a]s pronoun it has the case required by its function in the relative clause' (230). The relative should, he says, immediately follow the antecedent to avoid ambiguity (232), though they are sometimes separated for emphasis.

He attributes the origin of the relative clause to appositional constructions. He calls the zero-relative 'asyndetical relative clauses' (204) and suggests that suppression of a personal pronoun connects the clause to the preceding clause and that 'this suppression of the pronoun is the old primitive way of indicating that the clause is subordinated to what precedes' (205), though he considers that the asyndetic relative construction is not a relative clause in a strict sense, since no relative marker appears in the structure (234). He points out that asyndetic relative clauses are hardly seen in Old English and old German but they are employed often later in Modern English while they disappeared in Modern German. In addition, such clauses have been used in Danish. Therefore, he assumes the Scandinavian influence on English asyndetic relative clauses. However, the suppression of a personal pronoun is not achieved or intentionally not operated in order to show the grammatical relation, especially in the genitive case or in long descriptive clauses (207).

Curme (1931:205) postulates that Old English preference toward double expression may have contributed to the origin of the relative clause. He

explains that when a noun accompanied by two determinatives, one before and the other after the noun like *the ... that*, the determinatives served to link the two clauses together. *Wh*-relatives also start in what Curme calls ‘the indefinite double determinative’, that is, a *wh*-form accompanied by *swa ... swa*, like *swa hwæne swa*. Curme interestingly suggests that the shift from the indefiniteness of *wh*-pronouns to the definiteness by the relative force has gained favour and replaces ‘definite *that*’ (209). The indefinite determinatives, he says, indicate the following clauses and thus achieve definiteness. He further explains that the indefiniteness of *wh*-relatives are sometimes followed and given definiteness by *that*-relative and that *wh*-relatives alone and with *that* used to be employed for indefinite and definite antecedents respectively.

Instead of the compound form, *swa hw- swa, the which, which that*, and *the which that* appear in Middle English. It is noteworthy that Curme gives the earliest example of *the which* from Old English (*an of þæm gebundenum, þone suæ huælcne hia gighuudon* (Mark, XV, 6, Lindisfarne MS., Curme (1931:216)). He assumes that *wh*-forms easily have obtained the relative function between antecedents and following adjective clauses (216).

In Modern English, *who* and *which* are employed for personal and non-personal antecedents respectively in current English. However, *which* is still sometimes used for personal antecedents in early Modern English. *Who* is rarely employed in Middle English, Curme says, as long as the form is still utilised as an indefinite pronoun. *Wh*-forms are used both in restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

On the other hand, relatives, *that*, *as* and *what*, have developed their functions as relatives from connectives. Thus, *that* is occasionally employed as a subordinator with a *wh*-form. *That* is used for both animate and inanimate antecedents except for certain (pro)nouns such as *that*, and is favoured in

restrictive relative clauses. *What* is also sometimes employed as a simple relative with antecedents such as *nothing*, *all*, *everything*, and *that*.

#### 2.4.4. Visser (1963-73)

In his *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Visser discusses various types of syntactical units with verbs. His approach is quite unique in that he categorises structures by verb types and that he presents a construction first and then traces back the history of the construction. Therefore, he limits himself to mentioning the situation of Old English relative pronouns very briefly in § 627 in order to explain the ‘apo koinou’ construction. He does not have an individual chapter for relative pronouns. Moreover, he does not list typical types of examples: rather, he focuses on rare types of examples which specialists would be very interested in. Therefore, there is no simple discussion of how to use English relative pronouns. However, he provides interesting discussions on ‘apo koinou’ constructions and on a tautological relative clause with a pronoun inside denoting its antecedent (pronoun retention), only which will be summarised below.

Visser defines ‘apo koinou’ constructions as two syntactical units with one element in common (11). There is nothing missing or omitted, but it is the construction which has just ‘one word less than the comparable utterances in contemporary or in later English’ (11). The ‘apo koinou’ structure with “understood” subject occurs already in Old English but almost exclusively with *hatan*. It is still frequent in Middle English. However, it becomes archaic in Modern English, and usually appears:

(a) when the first clause is *it is*, *this is*, *there is* and so on.

(b) when the second clause begins with *there is*, frequently following a superlative.

(c) in what Quirk defines ‘subject in a partially object environment’, that is, when the second adjectival clause begins with an insertion such as *I think*.

Visser cites Wright (*The English Dialect Grammar* (1905)) and mentions that this structure can be found not only in the literary language but also in Modern English dialects.

On the other hand, Visser states, the construction with “understood” object starts at the beginning of the thirteenth century and becomes very common in Modern English.<sup>13</sup> However, after mentioning that the only word which functions as a relative is *þe* in Old English, Visser interestingly categorises Old English relative constructions led by a demonstrative alone as a relative without *þe* as the ‘apo koinou’ construction (536). He suggests that this construction started with the ‘apo koinou’ construction with a demonstrative pronoun as an antecedent (*he ongan wyrcean woh on þam Δ he hatode*) and then extended antecedents to nouns later (*seofon ærendracan Δ he him hæfde to asend*)<sup>14</sup>. He adds that the construction is seen in Old Saxon and Old High German but not in Old Icelandic. It becomes common in Modern English: Shakespeare frequently employs it after *it is*, *that is*, and *what is*. Visser is doubtful that this construction with “understood” objects has a colloquial character in early Modern English. However, it is true, he points out, that the Authorized Version clearly avoids it. It is noteworthy that Visser attributes one of the reasons for this construction to the rhythmical pattern: an unstressed word often comes after the antecedent and eventually makes amphimacer. This expression declines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the influence of Latin syntax and grammarians’ attacks. However, it prevails again later and becomes very frequent both in literary and colloquial languages in the twentieth century.



Secondly, he provides abundant examples of relative structures in which the relative is recaptured by a redundant personal pronoun. They are, he says, not rare constructions in Old and Middle English. Visser asserts that it is clear that Old English employs the personal pronoun as a case marker to show such contrast as Middle English relative pronouns *who/whose/whom* do (58). He indicates that this personal pronoun appears even in *wh*-pronouns, especially when an *if* or *when* clause is inserted between the relative pronoun and the verb in the relative clause.

#### 2.4.5. Strang (1970)

She carefully reminds us of the transitional state of relative pronouns in early Modern English and of difficulty in describing precise rules. *That* is employed for both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. *Which* occurs for both animate and inanimate antecedent until the eighteenth century. She importantly suggests that ‘the feeling for case-specification’ caused the distinctive usage between *who* and *which*. Simple *wh*-forms are employed for generalising relatives along with compound forms with *-(so)ever*, though *wh*-forms with *-soever* is considered as a high-flown or archaic style. She agrees with Jespersen (1927) in that contact-clauses are old and independent constructions, not simply with omission of relative markers. Contact-clauses in the subject position become obsolete except for a certain expressions such as after *there is* because of the ambiguity. Frequent use of pronoun retention is recognised, she reports, until the eighteenth century. Finally, she mentions no more omission of prepositions in relative clauses due to speakers’ logical consideration toward the language.

#### 2.4.6. Traugott (1972)

According to the general tendency to evaluate “correct usages”, Traugott says, there raised extensive arguments on how to use relative markers properly in Modern English. *That* is the most frequent relative marker in the seventeenth century. Therefore, in the eighteenth century there occurs a feeling that ‘*that* should not be used too much’ (182). Thus, “correct” usages are established: *who/whom* for human antecedents, *which* for non-human antecedents, *that* for restrictive clauses and *wh*-forms for non-restrictive clauses. Furthermore, she observes a tendency in the eighteenth century that *whom* is employed if it is an object of preposition and *who* elsewhere. Thus, she suggests that it is according to their positions, rather than their functions, that the distinction between *who* and *whom* is made. The co-occurrence of a preposition and a relative is favoured by grammarians in the eighteenth century and preposition stranding is eventually deemed as “wrong usage” in the nineteenth century. However, this scholarly debate, she explains, does not gain ground in spoken English. Finally she mentions that, according to the growing feeling toward “correct usage”, pronoun retention is felt uneducated and the usage and limitation of reduced relatives differ in the written and spoken language.

#### 2.4.7. Barber (1976)

Before summarising Barber’s explanations on Modern English relative pronouns, it may be worth mentioning his description of some characteristic usages of early Modern English personal pronouns which seem important for the development of relative pronouns. First, a double subject, which is a tautological personal pronoun in the subject position, appears in early Modern English, often after a long noun phrase. On the other hand, omission of the subject is not uncommon and found in questions and not only in colloquial but

also sometimes non-colloquial sentences. Barber explains that frequent omission of the second person singular *thou* is possible in that period probably owing to the inflection of the verb. Personal pronouns appear so flexibly that the second subject in the latter clause of the two coordinated ones can be omitted, even though the two subjects in the coordinated clauses are not the same.

As for relative pronouns, Barber describes the early Modern English period as the one when we clearly see regulations in progress toward the usage of Present Day relative pronouns. By the seventeenth century, he says, the differences in use of *who*, *which* and *that* have become strong tendencies, though not definite rules: *who* for personal antecedents, *which* for non-personal antecedents, and *that* for restrictive clauses. However, even though *who* comes to be limited for personal antecedents, *which* is still freely employed for both personal and non-personal antecedents, retaining its ME usages. *Whom* frequently appears with a preposition. *The which* occasionally appears in early Modern English. Nevertheless, the most frequent relative marker is *that*, which is freely employed for any antecedent and for both restrictive and non-restrictive usages, though rarely for the latter. As *who* becomes more frequent in the course of the sixteenth century, there raise some stylistic differences between *wh*-forms and *that*. One of them is that *wh*-forms and *that* are favoured in formal and informal (colloquial) speeches respectively.

Barber refers to a relative clause without a relative marker as ‘the zero-relative’ because he thinks a relativiser can be inserted in the blank “missing” position. We find this zero-relative both in the subject and object positions in early Modern English. Unlike Present Day English, this construction can appear in formal literary prose and Barber cites some examples from Locke.

#### 2.4.8. Millward (1988)

Millward states that, even after the essential relative patterns are established, the practice still differs in early Middle English. *That* continues as an almighty relative and is sometimes followed by *which*, she says, to make a compound relative (*that which*). *Which* is still employed for both animate and inanimate antecedents as a simple and compound relative (*that which* and *the which*), while *whom* and *whose* become common, she explains, in Middle English. *Who* alone can stand in the subject position of both main and relative clauses to mean ‘he who’ in Present Day English, as in *Who steals my purse steals trash* (231). She considers contact-clauses as omission of the relative pronoun and the construction is still possible in both the subject and object positions in early Middle English. Finally, she mentions relative *as* and pronoun retention, which is frequent especially in lengthy clauses.

#### 2.5. Summary

It seems generally accepted that there are four kinds of Old English relatives: *se*, *þe*, the combination of the two and so-called ‘the zero-relative’<sup>15</sup> and that *wh*-forms come to be employed as relatives in Middle English along with particle *that*, which replaced OE *þe*. However, criteria for relatives are not clear and we feel confused in some contexts. Therefore, I will summarise below the previous studies we have seen and try to establish some criteria together with the results from my investigation. I will leave out ambiguous instances from my list of examples.

- (1) Demonstratives, particle *þe* and the combination of the two are employed as relative markers in Old English, when one of the items stands at the head of a clause and links the clause usually to its

antecedent or to another clause.

- (2) *That* and *wh*-forms are employed as relative markers in Middle English along with some remnants from Old English.
- (3) An element which is co-referential with the antecedent is usually lacking in the relative clause. Therefore, the antecedent is in general not repeated in a relative clause. When it is repeated in a form of a personal or demonstrative pronoun in the adjective clause, it is highly likely that it is an example of pronoun retention or simply a conjunctival clause. The judgement depends on context and sometimes on the mood of the verb in the adjective clause: if it is in the subjunctive mood, it is highly possible that the clause is a conjunctival clause. This ambiguity eventually shows a conjunctival characteristic of relative constructions.
- (4) Relative clauses do not always have antecedents. However, it is a relative when it links clauses and function as an element in both main and adjective clauses. Such relatives are called nominal antecedents, free relatives or by Jespersen 'primaries'.
- (5) Relative clauses do not necessarily immediately follow their antecedents: they can appear at the end of a sentence or even precede the main clause without being preceded by antecedents.
- (6) Relatives are sometimes recaptured by a personal or demonstrative pronoun in the main clause. The pronoun is called a resumptive pronoun
- (7) Relative clauses can be expressed without any marker (the zero-relative) in the both subject and object positions. The judgments mainly depend on context. However, it is highly likely that it is a zero-relative construction when the verb in the adjective

clause is *hatan* in Old English and when the main clause has *it is*, *that is*, and *there is* in Middle and Modern English.

- (8) Metre or metrical devices may help our understanding of closeness of two clauses, but cannot be a decisive device. Punctuation cannot be turned to, since the system is completely different from Present Day English.

In the next chapter, the central dispute on relative markers, the grammatical status of *that*, will be discussed with the results from my investigation made according to the criteria above.

## Notes for Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Baugh and Cable (1978:Chapter 9), Barber (1976:Chapter 2) and Blake (1996:Chapter 9).

<sup>2</sup> Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1070-1) explain that both nominal free relatives and questions with interrogative pronouns have variables and the variables are attached to the antecedent in the relative case and to the answer to the question in the interrogative clause. Some verbs in the main clause allow both interpretations. Thus, we have ambiguous examples, as is shown in the example that *I do not remember what my mother told me this morning*.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell quotes supports from Middle English for this idea from McIntosh (1947-8) and Kivimaa (1966).

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell (1985: § 1076) defines postposition as ‘those prepositional adverbs which follow (directly or not, as the case may be) a word which they may govern.’

<sup>5</sup> C. Sprockel, *The Language of the Parker Chronicle*, i. *Phonology and Accidence*; ii. *Word-Formation and Syntax*. (The Hague, 1965 and 1973).

<sup>6</sup> C.G. Harlow, ‘Punctuation in Some Manuscripts of Ælfric’, *Review of English Studies*, 10 (1959), 1-19.

<sup>7</sup> The abbreviations are: MC = main clause, RC = relative clause, RP = relative pronoun, RM = relative marker, and CP = correlative pronoun.

<sup>8</sup> Transformationalists seem to advance in this point by creating a category of Complementizer (COMP). Present Day English relative pronouns are much more like conjunctions with *that* being indeclinable and *whom* getting obsolete. Thus we may soon have indeclinable *who* and *which* for animate and inanimate antecedents respectively. Genitive (or possessive) *whose* is an exception here because of the characteristic of the genitive to show the relation between clauses or phrases.

<sup>9</sup> Romaine (1980) shows that results differ according to text types. It may be impossible to examine all texts in Medieval English to discuss Medieval English relatives. However, it is admitted that her survey is too partial; approximately 100 relatives each from long literary works.

<sup>10</sup> The examples are quoted from Traugott (1972:159), who cites them from *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>11</sup> This example is quoted from Jespersen (1927:69). The underline is inserted by the present writer for emphasis.

<sup>12</sup> The examples are cited as they are written from Jespersen (1927:3.7<sub>5</sub> and 3.7<sub>6</sub>).

<sup>13</sup> Visser says in the footnote 1 on page 404 that Old English has only forerunners of the construction with “understood” object. Consequently, we deduce that he considers that the construction with “understood” subject whose antecedent is a noun started earlier than that with “understood” object.

<sup>14</sup> The examples are quoted from Visser (1963-73:536). The triangle stands for absence of the relative.

<sup>15</sup> As is mentioned before, relative markers are limited to those which have demonstrative origin and to the particles, *þe* and *þæt*.



## Chapter 3

### The Syntactic Status of *Pe* and *Pet*

#### 3.1. A Pronoun or A Conjunction? : Theories

The relative particles *pe* and *that* had been traditionally defined as ‘relative pronouns’ until Jespersen suggested in 1885<sup>1</sup> that they were not actually pronouns but particles or conjunctions (or connectives) because of the syntactic similarity to conjunction *that*: no gender distinction, no plural form, no case, weak stress, and omissibility. In addition, they often follow relative pronouns (*who that* and *which that*) as well as conjunctions (*when that* or *though that*) especially in Middle English, but cannot follow prepositions (e.g. *\*the purse for that I have been looking*). Then, transformationalists followed him and this proposition aroused the subsequent long-time dispute on the syntactic status of the relative markers. As for Present Day English, Quirk, et al. (1985), Greenbaum (1996) and Biber, et al. (1999)<sup>2</sup> take the traditional line and call *that* a relative ‘pronoun’, while Huddleston and Pullum (2002) carefully distinguish *that* from *wh*-forms and term the former ‘subordinator’ (or ‘*that* relative’). Recent studies on diachronic development of the relative are taking a middle course; ‘intermediate between a relative pronoun and a conjunction’ (Zandvoort (1957:163)<sup>3</sup>), ‘a highly pronominal relativiser’ (van der Auwera (1985:170)), and, reanalysis and syntactic-semantic change of *pe* from a complementiser to a pronoun or an adverb (Seppänen (2004:99-100)). Is the middle position the final conclusion or is this a new category that we have not established by now?

Indeclinable relatives have been categorised as relative pronouns together

with declinable forms in the traditional grammar simply because they behave in similar ways as relative pronouns do. Even though they do not inflect according to the gender, number and case of the antecedent, they connect a clause to another clause, replacing the place of the antecedent at the head of the adjective clause. In many PDE cases, declinable and indeclinable forms are exchangeable:

(3.1) I like the man that/who has seen you.

I like the man that/who(m) you've seen.

[van der Auwera (1985:171)]

However, a long-term argument on the syntactic status of *that* has started with Jespersen. According to Jespersen (1927:8.7<sub>6</sub>), he has conceived this idea already in Jespersen (1885). The reason is the similarity in use of relative *that* and conjunction *that*. *That* does not inflect, as we have seen in (3.1), nor can it basically be preceded by a preposition (3.2.i).<sup>4</sup> It is weakly stressed and a subordinate clause can be introduced with or without *that* (3.2.ii).<sup>5</sup>

(3.2) (i) \* the knife with that he cut it

(ii) All (that) I ask for is a little peace and quiet.

(iii) February, that in other years held intimations of spring,  
this year prolonged the bitter weather.

(iv) He was due to leave the day that she arrived.

(v) She seems to be the happiest that she has ever been.

[Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1052-57)]

In addition, some behaviours of *that* deviate from those of *wh*-forms. *That* is

usually avoided in non-restrictive relative clauses but sometimes occurs as in (3.2.iii). It is noteworthy that *that* takes a wider range of antecedents than declinable relatives do. For example, *that* can be a relative adverb or take a non-pronominal element as its antecedent, as in (3.2.iv) and (3.2.v). Another morpheme such as *-ever* cannot be attached to *that*, but it is possible with *wh*-forms (*whichever*, *whatever*, etc.). Huddleston and Pullum (2002:3.5.6.) add that *that*-relative clauses always contain more than one finite verb, while *wh*-forms can occur with an infinite verb, as in *a knife with which to cut it*.

Recent studies show a compromise between the two sides, as is expressed ‘intermediate between a relative pronoun and a conjunction’ by Zandvoort (1957:163)) and ‘a highly pronominal relativiser’ by van der Auwera (1985:170)). Van der Auwera (1985:152) pays attention to some Dutch relative pronouns, which also do not allow pied-piping and suggests that if the Dutch relatives are pronouns, there is no reason why *that* cannot be a pronoun:

- (3.3) (a) \*De man aan die ik het boek gaf liep weg.  
           ‘the man to whom I gave the book ran away.’  
       (a’) De man aan wie / waaraan ik het boek gaf liep weg.  
           ‘the man to whom / whereto I gave the book ran away.’  
       (b) \*Het boek in dat ik de foto vond was uitverkocht.  
           ‘the book in which I found the picture was sold out.’  
       (b’) Het boek waarin ik de foto vond was uitvertocht.  
           ‘the book wherein I found the photo was sold out.’

[van der Auwera (1985:152)]

Seppänen (2004:77-8) supports him and suggests that Dutch relative pronouns do not allow pied-piping and, therefore, the English relative particles, which

also do not allow pied-piping, are relative “pronouns”.

### 3.2. A Pronoun or A Conjunction? : Discussion

All the explanations given in detailed studies above seem to be sound. However, none of them strikes the heart of the problem with accuracy. Where there is an argument, there is always a counterargument. First of all, the deduction about Dutch pronouns does not seem reasonable. Relative pronouns which do not allow pied-piping in Dutch cannot always have the same grammatical status in English. Moreover, Dutch has a personal pronoun which cannot occur with a preposition, while English has no such personal pronouns.<sup>6</sup>

(3.4) Dat is zijn nieuw auto.

Hij betaalde duizend gulden ervoor / \*voor het.

‘That is his new car. He spent 1000 guilders on it.’

[Shioya (1979:47)]

When van der Auwera gives a counterargument to Kruisinga and Jespersen, who refer to German, Dutch and Danish relatives, he says that we cannot always turn to other languages to judge a status of an English grammatical item and that ‘languages differ’ (1985:162). Nevertheless, it is he who gives the examples from Dutch in example (3.3) to support his view.

Seppänen (2004:80-1) argues that *he* seems to be inflectionless but in fact it takes a verb which agrees in number with its antecedent. The first relative in (3.5) takes *pu* as its antecedent and accordingly the verb in the relative clause is obviously a singular form of the second person, *hafaft*. The other relative in the example follows its antecedent, *we*, and, therefore, the verb in the adjective

clause takes a plural form, *synt*. He also points out (2004:79) that an indefinite pronoun, *man/mon*, neither inflects nor can be preceded by a preposition but is a pronoun not only in English but also in German (3.6) and, therefore, not showing inflections by form does not mean that the form cannot be a pronoun.

(3.5) *BlHom* 6. 81. 19-22

‘Hæl us on eorþan, þu þe godcund mægen hafast on heaofenum.’ Eac us is to ongytene þæt hie cwædon, ‘Hæl us on eorþan we þe synt on lichomum lifgende,’

“‘Save us on earth, thou who hast Divine power in Heaven.” We must also understand that they said, “Save us on earth, we who are living in the body,”’

(3.6) a. \*Mans/Seine Telefonnummer zu vergessen ist wohl nicht so merkwürdig.

‘To forget one’s telephone number is surely not that odd.’

b. Was kann man tun wenn die anderen \*mit man / mit einem nicht reden wollen?

‘What can one do when the others don’t want to talk to one?’

[Seppänen (2004:79)]

However, once we postulate that the verb agrees in form with the trace made by deletion of a NP, it becomes natural again that *þe* is a particle and therefore does not possess any grammatical information which requires agreement. On the contrary, *man* is an indefinite pronoun, which stands for a certain general concept. The word itself has some features, as the form implies. It basically denotes a person or somebody, that is, [+animate]. On the other hand, the form,

*þe*, itself does not imply any specific meaning.

Seppänen also argues that the particle, *þe*, can be ‘a meaningful item’ (2004:88), since *þe* can be used in nominal relative clauses, as in (3.7). Indeed, when we see examples of distinctive use of *þe* for animate and *þet* for inanimate antecedents in early Middle English, we are tempted to deduce that *þe* and *þet* show animacy, as we have seen in (1.11). Example (3.8) is another such example from *Ancrene Wisse*. We can see that *þe* and *þ* are employed for animate and inanimate antecedents (*þeo* ‘those (people)’ and *onde* ‘hatred’) respectively. On the other hand, *ðet* is used for both antecedents in the equivalent part of the Nero Version of *Ancrene Riwe*.

(3.7) *ÆCHom* I 31. 444. 135-6

7 for ði ic sprece þe he me het ?

‘and therefore I speak what he told me to speak.’ [Seppänen (2004:87)]

‘and therefore I speak as he told me to.’

(3.8) *AW* 84. f.43b. 26-8

ah he ouercom him. als wa forte schawin þ te feond fondeð muchel þeo  
þe leadeð anlich lif ? for onde þ he haueð to ham.

‘but he overcame him, to show also that the fiend tempts much those  
who lead a solitary life, because of the hatred which he has for them.’

Cf. *AR(N)* 71. 25-7

auh he ouercom hine. also uorte scheawen ðet te ueond fondeð muchel  
þeo ðet ledeð onlich lif. vor onde ðet he haueð to ham ?

Nevertheless, such a distinction between *þe* and *þet* is a later development in Middle English and it survived only for a short period of time in a certain

region. The particles may not be meaningful even when they are used as conjunctions such as ‘because’ or ‘as’, but the context allows us to assume that they can mean so. It simply indicates the beginning of a clause, and thus it is a subordinator. When used as a relative, it does not have a meaning as a relative. It simply has a function to signal the beginning of a subordinate clause. Therefore, when we just look at example (3.7) without any context, there are more than one interpretation as is given below the OE sentence. Seppänen interprets it as a relative in a nominal relative clause, while it is not impossible to take it as a conjunction, ‘as’. Only the context can tell which is right.

In fact, the most distinctive difference between relative *that* and conjunction *that* is the absence of pro-form of the antecedent. It is explained by an invisible anaphoric gap, which signals that the clause is a relative clause, as is also seen in the zero-relative construction. An element which is identical with the antecedent, *letter*, is not realised in the relative clause in (3.9.i), while no element is lacking in the subordinate clause in (3.9.ii).

(3.9) (i) I received a letter<sub>i</sub> that \_\_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> gave her a big shock.

(ii) I received a letter that the massive layoffs gave her a big shock.

It has been taken for granted that the relative particle replaces the anaphoric element, and therefore the particle can be a pronoun. However, as for relatives, it seems that context provides the anaphoric function to the particle and the particle does not “replace” any element. The relative particles, *þe* and *þæt*, have been the most frequent relative markers throughout the history of the English language since Old English. Therefore, this fact proves that overt

anaphoric marking may not necessarily be essential as long as the context identifies the antecedent. Ambiguity arises when context cannot provide the identification. Then, there are some other ways to supply it. For example, relatives with overt case-marking, such as *se* (*be*) in Old English, and *wh*-forms since Middle English, can be utilized. Even cases and genders sometimes cannot identify the antecedent, as in *I met my uncle and his friend who lived in the apartment*. It is highly likely that the antecedent is *his friend* in this context, but we cannot completely deny that the uncle also lived in the apartment. Such cases do not frequently occur, and if the information needs to be clarified, it can be made clear by adding more explanations or by using other constructions.

- (3.10) a. \*I can't say that *although's* appearance on the scene made much difference to us
- b. \*The assumption *that's* John would be interested turned out to be unfounded. [Seppänen (1999:29)]

- (3.11) a. \*They were all eager to take part, but *all's* guesses were completely wrong.
- b. \*Some of the boys wrote more or less acceptable essays, but *some's* productions were incredibly weak.
- c. \*That was the only entry *which's* date was not correct.
- d. \*In the same way, the temperature has been gradually rising during the same period, but *that's* reasons have never been fully explained. [Seppänen (1999:29)]



(3.12) a. *Who else's* name was missing on the list?

b. I know what city you mean, but I don't remember *its* name.

[Seppänen (1999:29)]

Seppänen (1999:29) tries to prove by the acceptability of the sentences above that relative *that* has the referential function of pronouns, which lacks in conjunctions. He reports that we can easily understand the sentences of (3.11) as well as (3.12), while the putative genitives in (3.10) does not make sense and therefore the difference between (3.12) and (3.10)/(3.11) can be if they have 'a reflection of the referential function of pronouns and the lack of such function in the case of conjunctions', or not (1999:29). He also argues that the genitive ending *-s* functions to show the genitive relation only when the word which is added the ending has a reference. However, it seems natural that the sentences of (3.10) do not make sense simply because there is no genitive relationship of the conjunctions with another word in the sentence. Conjunctions do not need to show the genitive relationship in sentences. Therefore, it is not certain if this result derived from the referential function of pronouns in relative *that*. It may be suggested that it is not *that* but the clitic *-s* which contains the referential function. Even if *that* does have the referential function, *that's* is a modern invention, as Seppänen explains in his article (1997a). Consequently, we cannot apply this theory to OE and ME *that*.

Another major reason why the particles, *þe* and *that*, are considered as non-pronouns is that they cannot be preceded by prepositions. Indeed, to my best knowledge, there are few such examples in Old English, some of which is exemplified in Kock (1897:35) <sup>7</sup>. Relative particles do follow, however, prepositions in Middle English, though rarely. More importantly, examining the rare examples closely, we find that most of them are used as nominal relatives.

That is, they have a nominal characteristic. Interestingly, manuscript readings differ in versions in the following example. In *Ancrene Wisse*, the relative is *hwat*, ‘what’ in the equivalent part of *Ancrene Riwle* (Nero), as is given in (3.13). The position after a preposition is the domain where *hw-* (*wh-*) forms encroach and gain ground, since the nominal quality and inflection with overt case-marking may be felt to be necessary after a preposition. It is interesting that even when some inflections of the demonstrative pronoun are still active, they are seldom used as relatives in early Middle English. Instead, *hw-* (*wh-*) forms start to occur after a preposition or where an inflected form is preferred.

(3.13) AW f. 16a. 36. 20-1

kimeð þe kaue ananriht & reaueð hire hire eairen. & fret of þ̅ schulde  
forð bringe cwiþe briddes.

‘The chough comes straight away and takes her eggs away from her and  
eats what should produce living birds.’

Cf. AR(N) 28. 35- 29. 2

kumeð þe coue anonriht & reueð hire. hire eiren. & fret al þ̅. of hwat  
heo schul-de uorð bringen hire cwiþe briddes.

When a relative particle is semantically governed by a preposition, it usually appears before the verb in the relative clause. At least, it generally occurs within the adjective clause. According to my investigation in Old and Middle English homilies, there is no example of pied-piping with simple relative particles and a preposition always remains before a finite verb or verbal element (Rel... prep. (p.p./inf) V) until the 13th century<sup>8</sup>, when a preposition starts to occur after a finite verb (Rel... V prep.).

(3.14) *VercHom* 10. 198. 42-4

ne us ðæs rices ne forwyne þe we to gesceapene syndon, ne us ne dwelle þæs rihtan geleafan þe we to gelærede syndon.

‘May he [the harmful enemy] not deny to us the kingdom which we are created into nor lead us astray with the true faith which we are guided to.’

(3.15) *ÆCHom* II 29. 256. 38-40

On ðisum twam geswustrum wæron getacnode twa lif. þis geswincfulle ðe we on wuniað. and þæt ece ðe we gewilniað;

‘In these two sisters two lives were signified; this painful (life) which we live in and that eternal (life) which we desire.’

(3.16) *Trin.Hom.* 30. 191.8-10

Swo haueð þe deuel nið. and onde to men for þan. hem is bi-hoten þe hege sete on heuene. þe he fel of. þurgh is oreȝel

‘Thus, the devil has malice and envy to men because to them is promised the exalted seat in heaven, which he fell from through his pride.’

There are two instances of preposition stranding in (3.14), the first of which is interesting in that the antecedent is in the genitive case but the relative is invariable *þe* with no accordance in form. A preposition appears before a past participle followed by a finite be-verb in both relative clauses. In late Old English, as is shown Ælfric’s instance (3.15), a preposition still usually occurs before a verb, but it starts to follow a verb in the thirteenth century, as in an example from the *Trinity Homilies*. In the homilies, however, many instances of preposition stranding still follow the old type (Rel...prep. V).

If it is not preposition stranding, no preposition occurs at all and the particle is used in the similar way as a relative adverb, as in (3.17) and (3.18). When it is felt unnatural to have the object of a preposition empty, a personal pronoun which is co-referent with the antecedent occurs after the preposition to fill the empty gap. This phenomenon is seen already in Old English until the personal pronoun is felt tautological in the eighteenth century (Curme (1931)). We will come back to this point in Chapter 5.

(3.17) *ÆHom* 4. 267. 59-62

Ure Drihten gehælde þa þurh his heofonlican mihte þone earmann woda fram his wodnysse, and fram his dumbnysse þæs deoflican bendas, and fram þæræ blindnysse þe hine ablende se deofol,

‘Out Lord healed through his heavenly power the miserable madman from his madness, from his dumbness by the devilish fetter and from the blindness into which the devil blinded him.’

(3.18) *Peterb.Chron.* 265. 31-33 (1137)

On his time þe Iudeus of Noruic bohton an xpisten cild beforen Estren, 7 pineden him alle þe ilce pining ð ure Drihten was pined.

‘In his [King Stephen’s] time, the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter and tortured him with all the torture with which our Lord was tortured.’

In addition, Seppänen (2004:77-8) presents an interesting fact that a content *that*-clause does not allow pied-piping but always prepositional stranding, while *how* also does not inflect but can be preceded by a preposition, as in (3.19.a).

- (3.19) (a) He did not want to talk *about how he had managed it*.  
 (a') *How he had managed it* he did not want to talk about it.  
 (b) \*You can reply on *that Ken will help you*.  
 (b') *That Ken will help you* you can reply on.

[Seppänen (2004:77)]

The fact may suggest that only (pro)nominal elements can follow prepositions. We also know that *how* allows pied-piping (*Can I ask you how old you are?*). Otherwise, it may be a matter of obliqueness of each type of relatives. Indeclinable relatives, *he* and *that*, are obviously not able to show their obliqueness by inflectional endings. Overt case-marking itself is not the most important factor to relative clauses according to the fact that such particles has always been the most frequent relative markers. However, as we have seen, there are some cases in which other elements require explicit indication of case, especially in Old English which is an inflected language. Sentence elements are related to each other in a clause or sentence often by means of case-marking. How do relative particles deal with the situations without marked inflectional endings? To answer this question may help us comprehend the syntactic status of the particles better.

Deletion of relative NP is most characteristic of relative clauses in languages all over the world.<sup>9</sup> However, even though the *se*-type of relatives itself is a co-referential item with an antecedent and therefore it seems to replace a deleted NP, we cannot attribute the fact to a reason why *he* is a pronoun. *Se*-relative constructions may have derived from correlative constructions; a demonstrative pronoun which modifies a following noun or stands alone is linked to another demonstrative pronoun in the same form leading a clause.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the construction originally

does not involve any deletion in this case. On the contrary, it may also be assumed that the deletion of a NP does work even in *se*-relative clauses on condition that a *se*-relative is identical with its referent in the relative clause (deletion under identity). Thus, we find some examples in which the deletion fails, as in (3.20). A personal pronoun, also, sometimes appears in the case required by the following *se*-relative clauses (3.21). The personal pronoun is not deleted possibly because it is not identical with the relative. Example (3.22) from the *Blickling Homilies* is interesting in that the second element of *seo se* represents only the syntactic position, i.e. the nominative case, in the relative clause. The first element, *seo*, denotes *seo menigo*, a feminine noun, and thus *seo se* here should not be treated as a compound relative.

(3.20) *CP* 57. 6-7 <sup>11</sup>

ðyncð him ðæt se hie him niedscylde sceolde se se hie him sealed,  
 ‘it seems to him that he who granted it to him was bound to grant it of  
 necessity.’

(3.21) *Ex* 380 <sup>12</sup>

þæt is se Abraham se him engla god naman niwan asceop  
 ‘that is Abraham for whom the god of angels created a new name.’

(3.22) *BlHom* 6. 71. 9-11

Seo menigo þe þær beforan ferde, & seo se þær æfter fylgde, ealle hie  
 cegdon, & cwædon, ...

‘The multitude who went before, and those who followed after, all cried  
 and said, ...’

(3.23) *VercHom* 10. 205. 157-9

For [hwan] noldest ðu hit geþencan, gif ðu him mildheortnesse an  
gecyðdest, þonne ne sceoldest ðu ðæs naht forliosan ðæs ðu him  
dydest,

‘Why don’t you wish to think, if you show mercy toward him, that you  
must not lose anything of what you make for him?’

Example (3.23) is an interesting example in that the two identical elements occur separately from each other. They may not consist of a compound relative but simply of correlatives, the first being a demonstrative pronoun followed by a free or simple relative clause. More importantly, both forms take the genitive case to modify *naht* ‘nothing’, that is, the case in the main clause.

It must be true that syntactic statues of a grammatical item can be changed by analysis as Seppänen (2004) suggests.<sup>13</sup> Languages evolve. In early Middle English, there is some situation that the particles *þe* and *þet* may have gained pronominal characteristics. The conjunction *þæt* is morphologically identical with demonstrative *þæt* and *þe* also comes to be a part of the demonstrative pronoun after *se* is replaced by *þe*. *þe* is a relative particle as well as belonging to the paradigm of demonstrative pronoun, as Kock (1897:25) suggests. It is made possible by two such particles which exist at the same time and show a complementary distribution in the relative system which makes use of pronouns. As *þe* finally disappears and *wh*-forms gain ground as relatives, the situation is not sustainable any more. Therefore, *þet* probably remains as a subordinator, retaining the original function but with more functions. Thus, with the results from my investigation, I would rather conclude that the relative particles maintain many conjunctival features, and, therefore, they still behave like subordinators.

If we have to name *þe*, *þæt* and *that* with all the functions by one word, it may be better to call them “particles” simply because they are invariant and has many different functions. They are the words with multiple functions so that it is impossible to represent them with one function. Therefore, they are not categorised solely as pronouns in that sense and we had better not call PDE *that* a relative “pronoun”. Nevertheless, it is true that they have a function as relatives, which are also expressed by other pronouns. That is, syntactic features of pronouns fit the system and makes use of pronouns. In fact, it may be rather a matter of how we define “pronouns”. We should question if the fact that *that* does not inflect can be a reason for *that* being excluded from pronouns. One of the characteristics of pronouns is surely inflecting, but it comes from their representative, personal pronouns (Quirk (1985:335-6)). Moreover, some pronouns do not have as many distinctions as personal pronouns do. For example, *this* and *that* have only plural forms (i.e. *these* and *those*) but no gender or case distinctions, though there is some degree of gender preference.

There seem to be two traces of the origins of English relatives according to their forms. One is a pronominal origin (i.e. from *se*, *seo*, *þæt*) and the other is a conjunctival origin (i.e. from *þe*, *þæt*). Above all, we need to keep the zero-relative in mind since the deletion of a NP is the most characteristic of relatives. As the origins of the two types of OE relatives are different, their processes to gain the function as relatives must be different, too. Demonstrative pronouns may have achieved the function by two sentences appositively standing next to each other and gaining a certain flow in accent as a syntactic unit, while the deletion of a NP may have created lack of an element and united two sentences phonetically and syntactically closely to make one sentence together. In the latter process, *þe* may have functioned as a clause marker.<sup>14</sup> When the particle *þe* was replaced by *that*, which is a neuter



demonstrative pronoun of the singular as well as a conjunction in Old English, the streams of the origins may have integrated into one word, ‘a highly pronominal relativiser’ (van der Auwera (1985:170)). The name seems to solve the problem, but is the term “relativiser”, a “conjunction” or a “subordinator”? Or is it something else? It seems like going back to the first question.

First of all, what arouses this complicated long-lasting debate is the fact that the relative particles do not inflect and cannot be preceded by a preposition. Both domains are concerned with case-marking. In fact, it is clearly in these domains where new *wh*-forms gain ground first in early Middle English, as we have seen in Chapter 1. In addition, Modern Dutch relatives also support this fact: interrogative relative pronouns are usually employed after a preposition or for the genitive case.<sup>15</sup> Allen (1980:199-200) has already noticed that there must be something to do with the case, especially the genitive and dative cases, though she says she hasn’t found out the cause yet. There are some ways that are used to show inflections of the particles. Examining the ways may help us elucidate the status of the relative particles. Before studying the ways, we will first summarise the case system in Old and Middle English. The next section will explain how the case-marking system works in Old English, which is an inflected language, and how it decays and affects the English language. Demonstrative inflections are specially referred to since they are utilised as relatives as well.

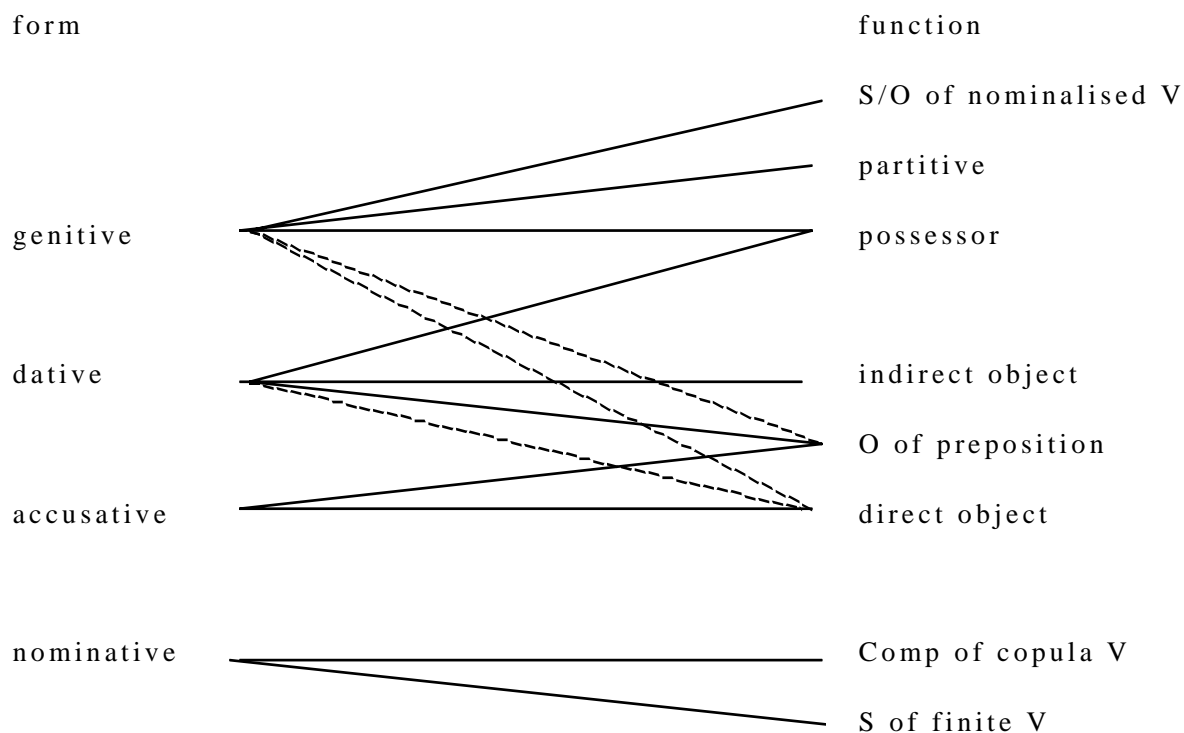
### 3.3. Changes in the Case-Marking System of Old and Middle English

In the previous section, both historical and non-historical studies on the relative particles, *þe*, *þet* and *that*, are shown, and we have found out that a study on two domains which are concerned with case-marking may help us

elucidate the statues of the particles. Before jumping to discussion on the specific domains of a specific grammatical item, I will summarise in this section historical changes in the case-marking system of the particles in Old and Middle English to understand how important the system is to Old English and how case categories are maintained or changed after the loss of morphological distinctions.

Old English is an inflected language: it mainly makes use of five cases, that is, the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and instrumental cases, though the last case is to be replaced by the dative case or prepositional phrases at an earlier stage of Old English.<sup>16</sup> Denison has a concise graph to show the relation between the forms and their functions, as in Figure 3.1. The dotted lines in the graph show that the case is used less frequently for the function than the non-dotted lines.

Figure 3.1. Form-Function Parings in Old English (Denison (1993:16))



This figure indicates that each case has more than one functions and that there is a clear difference between the nominative case and the other cases. Thus, the cases except for the nominative are called oblique cases altogether. In addition to the functions above, the nominative case is also used for the vocative. The accusative case is morphologically amalgamated with the nominative case already in Old English, as is seen in the tables in Appendix A. It can also be used adverbially in Old English, as *feowertig daga & feowertig nihta* ‘for forty days and forty nights’ (*BlHom* 3. 27. 3-4). In fact, all the oblique cases possess adverbial usage in Old English. *Py (ilcan) geare* ‘in the same year’ is a common phrase and *þæs ilcan gearas* is also seen in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. When the dative case is used adverbially, it is often accompanied by a preposition, but not always. For instance, to express ‘during those three years’, we find both *þæm þrim gearum* and *on þæm þrim gearum* under the same year (an. 895) of the *Parker Chronicle*. Dative phrases such as *anum*, ‘alone’, *micclum* ‘greatly’ and *hwilum*, ‘once, sometimes’ are also frequently used in Old English.

The oblique case can be an object of not only a verb or a preposition, but also of an adjective or a noun. The verbs, *þyncian*, ‘appear, seem’ and *lician*, ‘please’, are impersonal verbs and take the dative case for their object. Thus, *sumum* and *geleaffullum mannum* appear in the dative case as the object of the verbs in (3.24) and (3.25). The genitive form, *heora*, on the first line in (3.26) is a partitive genitive (‘of them’) and *þæs* on the second line is an object of the verb, *wundrodon* (< *wundrian*), which regularly takes a genitive object.

(3.24) *BlHom* 3. 33. 4-5

Ðonne þincþ þis geleaffullum mannum swiþe andrysnlicu wise to  
gehyrenne;

‘Then, to believers this appears very dreadful to hear.’

(3.25) *ÆCHom* II 31. 271. 104

hit sumum men licige;

‘it may be pleasing to some.’

(3.26) *ÆCHom* II 11. 101. 312-4

Pa ða hi awocon se ealdor and his profost. ða rehte heora ægðer oðrum  
hwæt hi on swefene gesawon. and þæs micclum wundrodon;

‘When the principal and the prior woke up, then they told each other [lit.  
either other of them] what they had seen in the dream, and were greatly  
surprised at it.’

*Gelice* ‘like’ and *wyrðne* (<weorð) ‘worthy’ are both adjectives. The former takes the dative object, *godum mannum*, as in (3.27), and the latter requires the genitive case, thus *m[i]nre swetnesse*, as in (3.28).

(3.27) *VercHom* 17. 284. 104-5

we beon godum mannum gelice,

‘we should be just as good men’

(3.28) *VercHom* 8. 146. 55-6

for þan þe ic þe dyde m[i]nre swetnesse wyrðne.

‘because I made you worthy of my sweetness.’

It is noteworthy that, when a verb takes both the genitive and dative cases for the object, the meanings sometimes differ according to the cases. It seems that the meaning of the verb requires a certain case. Therefore, cases are not

only syntactically but lexically/semantically related to certain grammatical items. Allen (1995:25-6) exemplifies this phenomenon with an OE verb, *afandian*. It means ‘to test’ with an object in the genitive case but ‘to prove’ when it takes an accusative object. This lexical/semantic relation is strong as long as the case-marking system is productive.

The genitive is not the only case which expresses possession, but the dative case can also express it (possessive dative) as in (3.29). It still remains in Present Day English, for example, as in *she hit him on the head*. The genitive can describe or define a word, as in *an lamb anes geares* ‘a one-year-old lamb’ (Mitchell and Robinson (2001:105)). The partitive genitive is fairly common in Old English. In (3.30), *heora bearna* is the partitive genitive and modifies *an*, ‘one’, and the next genitive form, *deofles*, ‘devil’s’ specifies in the genitive case whose instruction it was. There are a good number of verbs in Old English which regularly takes the genitive form as their object, such as *blissian* ‘to rejoice’, *brucan* ‘to enjoy’, and *wenan* ‘to expect’.

(3.29) *ÆHom* 4. 270. 103

þonne cymð heora sacu him to aworpennysse,

‘Then their conflict will result in their destruction.’

(3.30) *WHom* 6. 145. 53-4

Heora bearna an gedyde syððan eac þurh deofles lare deoflice dæde, þæt  
wæs Cain.

‘One of their children also did an evil deed through the devil’s  
instruction, that is, Cain.’

It shall be obvious from the tables of nominal inflections in Appendix A,

that nouns of different genders share the same inflectional endings. For instance, masculine and neuter nouns have *-es* for the genitive case, and all the three genders use *-e* for the dative ending in the singular even of the strong declension. Above all, plural forms are in a way genderless: genders are not differentiated in the plural. As for cases, nominative and accusative forms are identical in masculine and neuter nouns. Singular and plural forms in the nominative and accusative cases are occasionally the same in neuter nouns. All the case endings except for the nominative case are the same in feminine singular nouns. Likewise, there are many identical endings or forms in adjectival and pronominal inflections.

This syncretism together with some other intra- and extralinguistic factors led to drastic levelling and successive great reorganisation of the case-marking system. Levelling has spread from the North down to the South. Therefore, the Scandinavian influence is often suggested for the prime trigger. The confusion has started already in Old English, as is seen in the following examples.

(3.31) *VercHom* 10. 197. 30-3

ac þa se ælmihtega dryhten afyrde him þæt unrihte wrigels of hyra  
heortan, 7 onbyrhte hie mid leohte andgyte, þa hie þæt ongeaton 7  
oncnawan meahton hwa him to helpe 7 to feorhnere on þas woruld astah,  
'But when the Almighty God removed the wicket covering from their  
hearts and illuminated them with clear understanding, then they  
understood it and could perceive how He descended to this world as  
their help and as their comfort,'

(3.32) *ÆCHom* I 30. 435. 188

Soðlice maria is se mæsta frofer

‘Indeed Maria is the best comfort’

*Wrigels*, ‘covering’ on the first line of example (3.31) is a masculine noun in the accusative. Therefore, the form of the demonstrative pronoun which accompanies it should be *þone*, but it is *þæt* in the manuscript. Some may say that this is an early example of generalisation of *þæt* to other genders. *Frofer*, ‘comfort’ in (3.32) is usually interpreted as a neuter noun in *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies* (See Glossary, in Godden (2000), EETS, s.s.18). Although *CHM* indicates the possibility of *frofor* taking any gender (fmn.), the glossary of the work shows that it is a neuter noun but the form is modified by the masculine demonstrative pronoun in the nominative. Therefore, it may be an instance of gender confusion.

(3.33) *WHom* 13. 229. 65

Ac utan ... geearnian us mid þam ece blisse.

‘But let us merit ourselves with the eternal bliss.’

We find several examples of gender confusion in Wulfstan’s works. *Bliss* is a feminine noun but is modified by *þam*, which is a non-feminine form in the dative. It should be noted that this form may be triggered by the preposition which governs the noun. It can be a sign of generalisation of dative *þam* after prepositions.

It is reported by Smith (1996:147-8) that an attempt is made to systematically retain the case-marking system in some Anglian texts, as is shown in Table 3.1. This phenomenon is called ‘ambiguity in ending’ by Millar (2000). In this system in the table, a marked form is selected to represent the case of all genders possibly because of their phonetic distinctiveness. However, such attempts are not long-lasting, and the distinctive OE case-marking system

endings are lost with some exceptions such as genitive or dative forms especially after prepositions, or some frequently used phrases. The decay of declensions of the demonstrative pronoun is found in the tables in Appendix B, which is also useful to see a history of relatives since demonstrative pronouns are employed as relatives.

Table 3.1. Incipient restructuring in early Middle English originally ambivalent case- and gender-forms (Samuels (1972:156))

Original distribution of gender and case			
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Accusative	-ne →	→	→
Genitive	-es →	←	← -es
Dative	←	→ -re	→

Once morphological-inflectional endings are levelled and distinctive case-marking is largely lost in the nominal and adjective systems, the syncretism has syntactically influenced the language deeply. The distinction between the accusative and dative cases is collapsed and, as Allen (1995:159) suggests, there may be no clue for language-learners or -speakers to assume lexical case assignment. Then, verbs no longer take the genitive case for their object. This levelling has also affected some syntactic constructions such as impersonal and passive constructions. However, we need to keep in mind that this is a change of forms, not a loss of categories, as is seen in the pronominal system, which retains declensions except for the distinction between the accusative and dative cases.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, there appear some attempts and even some new ways to express case in Middle English, for example, as we have just seen in Table 3.1. Other instances are expression of the dative by *-e* ending and



seen in Table 3.1. Other instances are expression of the dative by *-e* ending and of generalisation of the demonstrative pronoun, *þa*, for the plural. The dative *-e* is often seen after prepositions, but it is optional.

(3.34) a. AR(N) 28. 29: ne tolde heo þen engle none tale.

b. AW 35. f.16a. 14: Ne talde ha þen engel na tale.

‘She did not tell any tale to the angel.’

*Engel*, ‘angel’ is a masculine noun in Old English and *þen* indicates that the indirect object is expressed in the dative case. The *engle* in AR(N) has the dative *-e* at its end, but the *engel* in AW does not. Allen (1995:182-4) reports that this ‘syntactic dative’, an indirect object with no preposition preceded, is no longer sustainable in *Ancrene Wisse*. On the other hand, my investigation reveals that it is still active in *Ancrene Riwe* (Nero). This result may support the opinion that the Nero text is older than CCCC402. Then, the somewhat complementary binary usage of *þe* and *þet* as relatives in *Ancrene Wisse* can be a later practice experimented by the scribe.

Generalised *þa* for the plural is attested in many works, for example, in the *Peterborough Chronicle* and Laȝamon’s *Brut*. We have to remember the distinction between spoken and written languages; what is left in documents does not always reflect the spoken language of that time. As for the First Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, Allen (1995:169-177) explains that the scribe seems to try to maintain the West-Saxon *Schriftsprache* in the part but wrong gender or case assignments arise because it is not his own speech. Accordingly she assumes that the actual determiner system is different from what is seen in the *Chronicle* and that the plural marker *þa* is merely spelling convention and is not phonologically different from *þe* [ðə], as is seen

in Table 3.2. Unique forms, says Allen (1995:174), may have been still used by older speaker of the community. Consequently, such forms are considered archaic and preferred in copying old documents such as the *Peterborough Chronicle*.

Table 3.2. Probable determiner system of the First Continuation scribe

(Allen (1995:175))

Living Form(s)		Regular (archaic) written substitution
Singular		
NOM	ðə	se(o)
ACC	ðə, ðone	þone
GEN	ðə, ðes	þes
DAT	ðə, ðone	se(o), þone
Plural		
NOM	ðə	þa
ACC	ðə	þa
GEN	ðə	þa
DAT	ðə	þa

*Peo* is also used to express the feminine gender or animacy in some literary works. There is an instance of *peo* as ‘she’ in contrast to *þe*, ‘he’ in *Ancrene Riwe* (Nero), as in example (3.35). Such a contrast is also seen in the equivalent part of *Ancrene Wisse* but not in the Vernon version of *Ancrene Riwe*, which is considered to have derived from a common exemplar with AR(N), though the Vernon text was transcribed about 150 years later than the Nero text. The part is replaced by *he. oþur heo* ‘he or she’ in the Vernon text. In

addition, it is reported by Ono (2004) that *þet* often occurs with inanimate nouns in the Nero text. Therefore, the Nero scribe may have used the spelling convention to make contrast among *þe* (masculine singular animate), *þeo* (feminine singular animate and plural largely animate), and *þet* (neuter singular inanimate).

(3.35) a. *AR(N)* 74. 16-9

auh hwo mei makien largere relef. þene ðe. oðer þeo ðet seið mid  
seinte peter. ... louerd forte voluwen ðe? we habbeð al bileaued.

b. *AW* 87. f.45a. 26-8

ah hwa mei makie largere þen þe oðer þeo þe seið wið seinte  
peter. ... Lauerd forte folhi þe ? we habbeð al forleauet.

c. *AR(V)* 60. 29-32

Ac who may make lagore. þen he. oþur heo ? þat seiþ with seint  
peter. ... Lord for to folwe þe ? we habbeþ al forleuet.

‘But who can be more generous than the man or woman who says  
with St. Peter: ... ‘Lord, to follow you, we have left everything?’

We can get an interesting result when we compare two manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*: British Library, Cotton MS. Nero A. xiv and Cambridge and Corpus Christi College 402. The former MS is said to be older<sup>18</sup> but there is much fewer examples of the *þe*-relative than CCCC402. Interestingly, on the other hand, much more OE inflections of the demonstrative appear in the Nero manuscript than in CCCC402, as seen in Tables 11 and 12 in Appendix B. Basically, the inflections are used according to OE grammatical genders in *AR(N)*; *þene* and *þeo* are used with masculine and feminine/plural nouns respectively. Nevertheless, as it is obvious from Table 12, the rule is not

consistent at all. It is noteworthy that *þen* seems to be a norm after prepositions. It seems understandable to generalise a certain form for a case in the middle of gender confusion; early Middle English is also a transitional period from grammatical gender to natural gender.

We have seen how productive inflectional endings are in the grammar of Old English and how successive confusion after the loss of overt case-marking has affected the language and how scribes struggle to adhere to the Old English inflectional system. Great confusion from the loss of overt case-marking has led to reorganisation of the case system. Then, we wonder how such important case-marking systems affect the status of the relative particles, *þe* and *þet*. It is admitted that there are more instances of relatives with overt case-marking in earlier Old English, when such case-marking plays essential roles in the language, as we have seen. However, *þe* is still a majority as a relative marker in the period as well. What does this fact mean to the grammatical system?

If generative grammarians are right, a (pro)noun is suppressed and the features of the suppressed (pro)noun leaves as an empty trace in the relative clause or are applied the deletion rule to make it phonetically unrealised. Therefore, the trace or the unrealised (pro)noun contains the information of the gender, number and case of the suppressed (pro)noun which is co-referent with its antecedent, though the features are not realised with overt forms. The relative particles themselves are merely subordinators and simply show the beginning of a subordinate clause. Nevertheless, it is also true that inflected relatives are almost always part of the relative system throughout the history of the English language. If overt case-marking is needed to the relative system, why are the relative particles the most popular forms at any period?

There has been some way, it is supposed, whether dialectally or not, to show the case of the relative particles throughout the history of the English

language. Is overt case-marking unnecessary or completely optional to the system? If it is optional, when does it tend to appear? I will examine examples of relative clauses with *pe* and *pet* preceded or followed by a pronoun which is said to appear to show the case of the particles and consider the relationship between relative markers and overt case-marking in the next chapters.

### Notes for Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Otto Jespersen, *Kortfattet Engelsk Grammatik for Tale- og Skriftsproget*, København: Carl Larsens Forlag, 1885. The first conception of the idea in this work is mentioned by Jespersen himself in Jespersen (1927:8.7<sub>6</sub>) and by van der Auwera (1985:149). The information is cited from the latter two works.

<sup>2</sup> Biber, et al. (1999) subcategorises relativisers into two: relative pronouns and relative adverbs. However, they generally use relativisers for both relatives in their explanations.

<sup>3</sup> R.W. Zandvoort, *A handbook of English grammar*, 12th ed., Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1972.

<sup>4</sup> According to Seppänen (1997a), there are some dialects in which the genitive case of *that* is expressed by *that's* through analogy. Therefore, pied-piping is possible there. However, this usage does not belong to Standard English and, therefore, we do not take this structure into consideration. See note 11 of Chapter 5.

<sup>5</sup> Many scholars explain that *that* is omissible in the same way as subordinator *that* is. Jespersen, however, disagrees with the description because he thinks there is nothing omitted between the antecedent and the relative clause: it is not omissible, but there is no element from the beginning. Therefore, he calls the construction 'contact-clause'.

<sup>6</sup> Dutch seems to make a clear distinction between the neuter singular and the other genders and numbers. In addition to the fact explained with example (3.4), the Dutch neuter relative pronoun of the singular has a unique form, *dat*, instead of *die* for the other genders and numbers. With all the distinctive characteristics English *that* has, we are tempted to conclude that neuter in the singular has a special status and, therefore, *that* has survived levelling and extended its function field. Though we need more investigations to make such a

conclusion, Dutch examples give us a clue to the use of the relatives in early English.

<sup>7</sup> The examples are as follows and are cited as they appear in Kock (1897:35).

þæt is seo lufe embe þæt he wite gode So. 341: 32. ASC 344 A: 13.

no þing for þat he bie unwurðere gode Sp. I 4 B: 38.

<sup>8</sup> Ono and Nakao (1980:323).

<sup>9</sup> Downing (1978) and Smits (1989).

<sup>10</sup> Hock suggests that early Germanic relative constructions are directly derived from ‘Proto-Indo-European “relative-correlative” structures’ (1991:56).

<sup>11</sup> This example is cited from Bodleian, Hatton 20. Another manuscript, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi, is as follows:

ðyncð him ðæt [se] hie him niedscylde [mid scyld] sceolde se se hie him  
salde, [CP 56. 6-7.]

*Se* in the square bracket was rendered from the other Cotton MS, Cotton Otho B. ii, which means that the word does not appear in the Tiberius version. Therefore, *se se* without another *se* in the Tiberius version may have stood for ‘he who’, one of the doubled *se* being simply an antecedent and the other a relative.

<sup>12</sup> Seppänen (2004:84).

<sup>13</sup> Park (1987:565-9) also suggests changes in syntactic behaviours of relative *that* through reanalysis. Moessner (1989:161-8) also admits that this ‘functional amalgamation’ is completely part of the relative system in Present Day English but it is not in Old English. It is interesting that she defines that a relativiser leads a relative complement which is realised by either clauses or predicative syntagms (164-5). The predicative syntagm ‘realises the position “predicate” in EME clauses’ (98) and is included in the definition for relativisation in the subject position.

<sup>14</sup> This process corresponds to that of relative constructions in pidgins and creole languages according to Romaine (1981:453), though we should not directly compare a system of languages with and without overt case-marking; the former is Old English and the latter is modern pidgins and creoles in this case.

<sup>15</sup> *Die z'n* and *dir d'r* can be used for *wiens* and *wier* respectively in daily speech in Dutch. See Shioya (1979:117).

<sup>16</sup> The vocative case is not included here because it is identical in form with the nominative case.

<sup>17</sup> The loss of the accusative forms of personal pronouns is exemplified in (3.8), in which the dative form of the third person singular appears in the object position of the verb *ouercome* in *Ancrene Wisse*, while the accusative form, *hine*, appears in the equivalent part of the Nero version of the work.

<sup>18</sup> As for the dates of the manuscripts, see Dobson (1976), Shepherd (1991), Wada (1994), Millett (1996), and Wada (2003).



## Chapter 4

### The Compound Relative

#### 4.1. The Compound Relative

One of the ways with case-marking, which seem to be systematic and functional, is the compound relative. It is expressed by combination of the two ways of relatives in Old English, that is, a demonstrative pronoun followed by a particle *þe*. Old English is not the only language which employs this system: thus we find OS *the the*, OHG *der de*, Goth *saei*, and ON *sa er* (Kivimaa (1966:28)). The first element inflects according to its function in either the main or the relative clauses in Old English. The origin of the structure is still open to dispute. Some assume that a demonstrative pronoun is added to a particle to show the case of the particle, while others think the combination itself is the original form.<sup>1</sup> Recent studies postulate that the relative construction started with an appositional construction: the demonstrative pronoun of the compound relative is the antecedent followed by a *þe* relative clause and it has gradually become associated with each other and thus made up the compound structure.<sup>2</sup>

We can think of two possible origins of the OE compound relative; a *þe* relative clause with a demonstrative pronoun added at the head to show the case of *þe* clearly or a *se*-relative clause with *þe* added to signal the relative clause clearly. It is difficult to decide which theory is right since it was already in the oldest records of Old English. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that, when we study the compound relative in whatever language and when the second element is an inflectionless particle, we feel that it appears as a clause marker

and that the first declinable element appears to show the case of the following particle.

It is pointed out by Kivimaa (1966:27) that there is a difference in use of the compound relative in OE poetry and prose and that Mitchell's *se'þe* type <sup>3</sup> is more common in poetry than in prose, probably because OE poetry retains the older language. Our text is homilies and homiletic corpus. They may show archaism partly because some texts are literal copies of older texts and partly because they are intended to expound biblical stories. However, some homilies are planned to teach the laity and, therefore, they must be written in the plain contemporary language for clear understanding. Indeed, many homilies and homiletic texts show a mixture of archaism and contemporaneity. At any rate, whether archaic or not, the language in texts for preaching were understood by priests, by readers, by transcribers, and possibly also by the audience. Therefore, it is important to know how archaic and how contemporary the language is in such works and it is useful to use a construction which has survived long enough to see changes.

As levelling progresses, *þe* is replaced by *þet* in the transitional period between Old and Middle English. The Old English type of the compound relative, *seþe*, is also levelled to *þe þe*, *þet þe* or *þe þet*. *þet þet* also survived as 'that which' in Present Day English. Seemingly, they are levelled and *þe* is to be replaced by *þet*. Therefore, the combinations with *þe* are considered to show earliness. In fact, there seems to be some distinctions in usage by means of the combinations.

Another combination as a relative in Middle English is a *hw-/wh*-form with particle *that*. Some may be disapproval of treating the combination as the compound relatives. However, as a set of a form showing case and gender followed by a relative particle, I would like to discuss the combination as a

compound form in this chapter to elucidate how compound forms function after great levelling in Middle English.

#### 4.2. The Old English Compound Relative

As we have seen Mitchell's explanation in Chapter 2, there are three (actually four as will be explained below) types of the compound relative in Old English. They are categorised according to which case the first element of the compound relative takes. We will first study each type with examples.

1. The demonstrative pronoun takes the case required only by the main clause (Mitchell's *se'pe*).

(4.1) *VercHom* 10. 202. 119-121

Nis urum hælende nanuht behyddes ne gediglodes þæs ðe men wyrcað  
on þysse worlde, for þan his eagan ofer eall gesioð.

'There is nothing concealed or hidden that people do in this world,  
because his eyes see beyond everything.'

(4.2) *WHom* 20. 275. 200-1 <sup>4</sup>

utan ... geearnian us þa mærdā 7 þa myrhða þe God hæfð gegearwod þam  
þe his willan on worolde gewyrcað. <sup>5</sup>

'Let us earn the glory and joy that God has prepared for those who  
accomplish His wills on earth.'

*Behyddes* and *gediglodes* are used as substantives and modified by the compound relative clause in (4.1). They agree in form in the genitive though

the adjective clause requires the accusative case. On the other hand, the compound relative does not have a nominal antecedent and thus means ‘those who’ in example (4.2). The compound relative plays the role of the nominative case in the relative clause, but takes the dative case in the main clause. In fact, most examples of Wulfstan’s compound relative belong to this category and do not possess nominal antecedents. It may be suggested that Wulfstan employs the combination as a set of a demonstrative antecedent accompanied by a *þe* clause. We will come back to this point later again.

2. The demonstrative pronoun takes the case required only by the relative clause (Mitchell’s ‘*seþe*’).

(4.3) *BlHom* 6. 81. 8-11

buton þæt Iudisce folc on þæm wæs se halga heap hehfædera & witgena,  
þa þe Cristes tocyme wiston & foresægdon, & þa wundro þe he worhte,  
 & his þrowunga, & his æriste, & his upastignesse.

‘except for the Jewish people, among whom were the holy host of patriarchs and prophets that knew and prophesied of Christ’s advent, of the marvels that he wrought, of his passion, resurrection, and ascension.’

According to the demonstrative pronoun which modifies it, *heap* is a masculine singular form in (4.3). In addition, the verbs in the relative clause are plural forms, *wiston* & *foresægdon*. Therefore, the antecedents of the compound relative are *hehfædera & witgena*, which are plural forms in the genitive. *þa* of the compound relative is a nominative/accusative plural form. Consequently, the compound relative takes the case required by the relative clause.

Example (4.4) is an obvious instance from a late Old English work. The antecedent, *ðises mannes*, is in the genitive case, while the demonstrative pronoun of the compound relative is in the nominative case. Therefore, the compound relative agrees in case with the function required by the adjective clause.

(4.4) *ÆCHom* II 11. 106. 480-2

Min drihten ne beheald þu mine synna. ac geleafan ðises mannes. se ðe  
bitt aræran his sunu.

‘My Lord, may you not behold my sins but the faith of this man who  
prays for his son to be raised up.’

3. The same case is required by both the main and relative clauses (Mitchell’s *seþe*). This type is the most frequent type, possibly because this case in common is syntactically natural to both the main and relative clauses and, therefore, may help to retain this compound relative in the English relative system. The feminine accusative is required by the both main and relative clauses in (4.5) and the masculine nominative in (4.6). In the latter example, a resumptive pronoun, *se*, appears and creates a correlative effect: *se ... se ðe*. Mitchell (1985: § 2156) mentions that this *seþe* type is largely constituted of examples in the nominative singular.

(4.5) *VercHom* 17. 285. 118-120

7 nu gesegon mine eagan þine hælo ða ðe ðu gearuwadest to leohte 7 to  
frofre manigum þeodum 7 to wuldre þines folces.’

‘And now my eyes saw your salvation which you had prepared as light  
and comfort for many people and as glory of your people.’

(4.6) *WHom* 3. 126. 70-2

Forðam nis se man on life þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða þe se  
gebidan sceal se ðe on þa wita ealles behreoseð;

‘There is no one alive that can explain all the miseries which he who  
entirely falls into the tortures must endure.’

4. In the last type, the cases required by the main and relative clauses are different but the forms happen to be identical. Mitchell (1985: § 2159) subcategorises this fourth type together with the third type and gives no symbol to the fourth. However, I would like to distinguish them to elucidate the system better. Therefore, I categorise Mitchell’s third type into two groups and assign the symbol ‘*sepe*’ to this fourth type since it meets the requirements from both clauses with an identical form.

(4.7) *BlHom* 5. 61. 25-7

þær beoþ eac yfele gerefan þa þe nu on woh demaþ, & rihte domas  
soþfæstra manna onwendað, þa þe ær rihtlice gesette wæron.

‘There are also evil reeves who now give wrong judgements, and pervert  
the right laws of just men, which had been rightly instituted before.’

(4.8) *ÆCHom* I 30. 432. 83-4

we unrædlice hit geseþan. þæt ðe is uncuð buton ælcere fræcednysse;

‘We ill-advisedly assert that which is not known without any danger.’

When a form which is common in some cases is employed, this ‘*sepe*’ type can occur. Thus, the second instance of the compound relatives in (4.7) modifies *rihte domas* in the accusative. The compound relative is assigned the

nominative case by the relative clause, but the nominative and accusative forms of the plural are identical. Consequently, it belongs to this '*seþe*' type. In (4.8), the compound relative does not have a nominal antecedent but a resumptive pronoun, *hit*, in the main clause. *Hit* here is in the accusative, but the relative functions as the subject of the relative clause, and, therefore, this example belongs to this '*seþe*' type.

Of the four types, it is clear that the *seþe* type is the most frequently used of all. Therefore, whatever the origin is, this type may have sustained the compound relative. By the time of Ælfric, the '*seþe*' type is a norm, that is, the first element of the compound relative is analysed to belong to the relative clause. However, there are some examples whose first element is not co-referential with the case required by the adjective clause but with the antecedent among the examples even in late Old English. On the contrary, the *se'þe* instances of early Old English outnumber those of late Old English and, therefore, some assumes that the origin of the compound relative is the *se'þe* type and the first element is analysed later to belong to the relative clause.<sup>6</sup> This analysis seems highly sound. However, we have both *se'þe* and '*seþe*' examples in early records. Even early documents already contain a good number of '*seþe*' relatives. In addition, there seems no text which has only *se'þe* compound relatives without '*seþe*' ones. Consequently, we need other evidence to support this origin.

There are two kinds of the OE compound relative: the ones with and without a pronominal antecedent. The traditional explanation on Old English relatives gives us an impression that the compound relative is frequently used in Old English to modify a noun phrase. In fact, my investigation in the web corpus of *The Dictionary of Old English* shows that many instances are simply a

set of a demonstrative antecedent + particle *þe* without a noun phrase and, by the time of Ælfric, the set is the majority. The one without a noun antecedent may be regarded as a set of a demonstrative pronoun followed by a *þe* clause. Therefore, it may not be a compound relative in a strict sense but merely a demonstrative head modified by a relative clause. However, as Heltveit points out in his study on demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative force of the first element of the compound form is occasionally dubious and ‘it is not always the antecedent of the subsequent relative clause, but combines with the following particle to form a relative pronoun’ (1953:12). Therefore, I include all kinds of the compound relative in this chapter, that is, any compound form which consists of a demonstrative pronoun and a *þe/þæt*-relative clause, with or without a nominal antecedent, to examine the system closely. The types are treated separately to compare differences as well as similarities in them. I will not consider as an antecedent, however, a resumptive pronoun or a correlative pronoun which is linked with the first element of the compound relative. The types with pronominal or nominal antecedents are also treated separately.

As for case, it is interesting and indeed almost like a regular rule that when the compound relative does not have any antecedent, the first element of the compound almost consistently takes the case required by the main clause (Allen (1980:109)). The following instance from Wulfstan has *þæs ðe* ‘that which’ or ‘what’. The genitive case is required by the verb in the main clause, not in the adjective clause.

(4.9) *WHom* 13. 226. 14-5

Ac utan don swa us mycel þearf is, tylian þæs ðe us næfre ne ateorað,  
 ‘But as there is a great need for us, let’s strive for what never fails us.’



As was mentioned with example (4.2), it is interesting that Wulfstan only infrequently uses the compound relative with nominal antecedents. Kivimaa says that ‘he [Wulfstan] hardly used the compound relative at all; their absence can probably be attributed to his style’ (1966:129). However, even just taking a look at one homily, ‘Incipiunt Sermones Lupi Episcopi’, which has 217 lines according to Bethurum’s edition and is rather long as a Wulfstan’s homily but not particularly too long as a homily, we find 15 instances of the compound relative. The *seþe* type is surely not a minority.

Figure 4.1. Relatives in Wulfstan’s ‘Incipiunt Sermones Lupi Episcopi’ <sup>7</sup>

Type	þe	seþe	se	rel. adv.
Number	27	15	11	3

However, when we pay close attention to what type of *seþe* occurs in Wulfstan’s homilies, it is confirmed again that the compound relative in his work no longer takes nominal antecedents. It occurs with a demonstrative or personal pronoun as a resumptive or correlative pronoun in the main clause. Therefore, I agree with Kivimaa (1966) that it is without nominal antecedents that Wulfstan usually employs the OE compound relative, if she does not consider *seþe* without a noun antecedent as the compound relative. It is true that the first element of the compound relative generally takes the case in the main clause.

Yet, there are a few examples of Wulfstan’s ‘*seþe* compound relative with nominal antecedents. It is noteworthy that the demonstrative pronoun of such ‘*seþe* compound relatives is usually in the genitive case which is required by another element or according to its function in the sentence. Thus I still consider *seþe* in Wulfstan’s homilies as the compound relative.

(4.10) *WHom* 6. 147. 74-6

hy ðærto gebædon, 7 wendon þæt heom of ðam come bot 7 willa þæs ðe  
hy þonne wilniende wæron.

‘They worshipped to it [the idol] and thought that from the idol to them  
will come help and will which they were longing for.’

(4.11) *WHom* 13. 230. 82-4

Ac þænne we sculan habban anfeald lean þæs þe we on life ær  
geworhton.

‘However, then we are to have the invariable reward that we have  
strived after before in life.’

The first element of the compound relatives takes the genitive case both in (4.10) and (4.11), since the case is strongly required by *wilniende* (<*wilnian* ‘long for’) and *geworhton* (<*gewyrcean* ‘strive after’) in the adjective clauses respectively.

When does the compound relative appear first of all? It is traditionally explained that the compound relative shows the case of the particle, *þe*. Then, why are there two types of the compound relative, that is, one to show the case required by the main clause and the other by the relative clause? Secondly, is a demonstrative pronoun added to show case or *þe* inserted to show subordination? Do Mitchell’s four types function differently? We shall now look at Keenan and Comrie’s accessibility hierarchy (1977:66), which illustrates degrees of difficulty in relativisation and tells us that one case can be relativised more easily than another. According to the hierarchy, the subject position is the easiest to be relativised and the object of comparison is the most difficult.

(4.12) Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie (1977:66))

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object  
of Comparison

If there are differences in cases concerning relativisation, there may be some differences in case in the compound relative. For example, both main and subordinate clauses in general demand the nominative case (therefore, *seþe* type). Nevertheless, when the case is required only by one of the main and subordinate clauses, the first element often takes the nominative case, possibly because the nominative is the easiest case to be relativised according to the Accessibility Hierarchy above. Therefore, we shall examine each case in detail to test the validity of the Hierarchy. The following instances are listed according to the cases or types of examples. Consequently, they do not appear chronologically.

Basically, relativisation in Old English usually takes place in the following four cases: nominative, accusative, genitive and dative. It should be reminded again that a good number of compound relatives do not possess nominal antecedents and stand alone as a set of a demonstrative pronoun and the particle *þe*. The compound relative is not so productive any longer. In the following two examples, (4.13) and (4.14), Ælfric employs *þone þe* without any nominal antecedent. The compound relative stands in the subject position in the adjective clauses but is in the accusative case, which is required by the main clauses.

(4.13) *ÆCHom* II 28. 253. 121-2

and ic herode and wuldode þone \_ðe leofað on ecnysse.

‘And I praised and glorified the one who lives in eternity.’

(4.14) *ÆCHom* I 1. 180. 57-8

Ʒonne wite he Ʒ god gesceop to mæran engle þone þe nu is deoful. ac  
god ne sceop hine na to deofle.

‘Then he knows that God created as a great angel him who is now the  
devil, but God did not create him as the devil.’

The compound relatives function as the subject in the relative clause in (4.15) and (4.16), while it appears in the genitive and in the dative respectively since the former is an object of the adjective, *gemyndige*, ‘mindful’ and the verb in the main clause, *forgife* (<*forgiefan*), requires the dative case in the latter instance. Likewise, in (4.17), the first element takes the dative case because it is semantically related to *wa* ‘woe’. The phrase with *wa* ‘woe’ followed by a dative object, as in (4.17), is regular idiom. The last three instances have shown that it is a certain verb or expression that demands a certain case-marking.

(4.15) *BIHom* 4. 39. 13-4

& syn we gemyndige þæs þe us Crist sylfa bebead on þyssum godspelle;  
‘And let us be mindful of what Christ himself has commanded us in  
these gospels.’

(4.16) *VercHom* 3. 83. 156-7

oðer is gastlic, Ʒæt is Ʒæt man forgife þam þe wið hine gegylteð;  
‘The second is spiritually, that is, one should forgive him who commits  
sin with him.’

(4.17) *WHom* 3. 126. 68-9

Wa þam þe þær sceal wunian on wite.

‘Woe to those who shall live there in punishment.’

On the other hand, when the compound relative modifies a nominal antecedent or when a resumptive pronoun for the compound relative occurs in the main clause, we see a certain tendency, especially in early Old English. It seems that the case which the compound relative takes depends on which case is in a lower, or more marked, rank of Keenan and Comrie’s Accessibility Hierarchy, or whether there is an element which strongly requires a particular case. By the time of late Old English, the first element of the compound relative is analysed to belong to the subordinate clause (*‘se þe*). However, even in late Old English, when a case of the antecedent is in a lower rank of the Hierarchy, that is, especially the dative or genitive, the demonstrative element of the compound relative is sometimes attracted by the case and takes it. Thus, with a nominal antecedent in the dative, the compound relative is quite frequently in the dative. A resumptive pronoun, which is either a personal or demonstrative pronoun in the same case, often occurs in the main clause, which may create a correlative effect by sharing the same form appositively.

Allen is aware of this ‘case attraction’ especially by the accusative and dative cases in Old English (1980:87-8). The *se’þe* type with a nominal antecedent is (4.1), in which the genitive case of the antecedent seems to attract the case of the compound relative more strongly than the accusative case, which the relative clause requires, does. It appears even in Wulfstan’s works, in which we rarely find instances of the compound relative with a nominal antecedent, as is in (4.18). *Þæs* on the first line in example (4.19) is a resumptive pronoun and appositively corresponds to the compound relative in

the genitive case required by the verb, *þancian*.

(4.18) *WHom(N)* 29. 135. 21-3

and sceolon þær ðonne mid ure sawle riht agyldan ealra þinga gehwylces,  
þæs ðe we ær mid urum lichoman on uron life gefremedon.

‘And we must pay rightly back with our soul everything (lit. every of all things) that we had done with our bodies in life.’

(4.19) *VercHom* 16. 270. 93-6

Ac for þan we þæs sceolon, men þa leofestan, urum dryhtne a singalice  
mid eallre heortan þancian þæs þe he us þurh his mildheortnesse forgeaf  
7 forgifan wille,

‘But, therefore, we always, dear people, must thank God with all our hearts for what he has given and will give us through his mercy.’

When an antecedent is in the dative and has a characteristic dative ending, such as *-um* or *-e*, the case of the compound relative is often attracted to the dative. The antecedent is *æghwylcum men* in (4.20), the first of which has *-um* at the end.

(4.20) *VercHom* 9. 170. 119-121

7 for ðam is mycel þearf æghwylcum men to onwariganne, þam þe ænig  
andgit hæbbe oðð[e] wisdomes ænigne dæl, þæt he þis symle hæbbe on  
gemyndum þære egesfullan stowe.

‘And therefore there is great need for each man who would have any understanding or any portion of wisdom to beware that he should always have this in mind at the terrible place.’

A resumptive pronoun in the dative appears in (4.21). The antecedent is modified by a demonstrative pronoun in the dative in (4.22). Thus, the compound relative is attracted to the dative case of the antecedent.

(4.21) *ÆHom* 1. 199. 47-8

Swa fela swa hine underfengon, þam (he for)geaf anweald Godes bearn  
to beonne, þam\_þe on his naman gel(yfað;)

‘However many receive him, he gave the authority to be God’s children  
to them who believe in his name.’

(4.22) *BlHom* 3. 31. 4-7

ac se forhwyrfda gast spræc forhwyrfedlice word, þa he wolde þam  
hean cininge & þam heofonlican eorþlicu ricu syllan, þam\_þe þa  
heofonlican ricu gearwaþ eallum geleaffullum.

‘But the perverted spirit spoke perverse words when (he said) he would  
give earthly kingdoms to the exalted and heavenly king who shall  
prepare heavenly kingdoms for all believers.’

There are some instances in which the compound relative corresponds to a particular case required by a verb or another element in either the main or relative clause since the element strongly requires a particular case. It depends on the element to which case the demonstrative pronoun of the compound relative agrees. We have already seen such instances in examples (4.9), (4.10), (4.11), (4.16), (4.19), (4.21) and (4.22). In addition, the compound relatives in (4.23) and (4.24) do not have any nominal antecedents. As has been mentioned, the first element of the compound relative largely takes the case required by the main clause when the relative does not have a nominal antecedent. However,

there are also a good number of instances in which the cases of compound relatives are attracted by the case in the relative clause. Thus, the compound relative obviously adopts the case in the relative clause in (4.23), since the verb *hopian* requires the genitive case. On the other hand, the verb in the main clause, *bebead* (< *bebeodan*), demands the dative case for its object in (4.24). Thus, the first element of the compound relative is in the dative case.

(4.23) *ÆCHom* I 18. 321. 119-120

Ure hiht bið eac geendad? for ðon þe we beoð hæbbende þæs\_þe we ær hopedon;

‘Our hope is also fulfilled because we have what we had hoped.’

(4.24) *ÆHom* 17. 574. 180-1

Ða bebead se Hælend þam\_þe hine brohton þæt hi hit ne sædon nanum menn nateshwon;

‘Then the Lord ordered those who had brought him not to tell it to anyone at all.’

*Þære þe* in (4.25) is a compound relative which modifies its antecedent, *frofre* ‘comfort’. The first element of the compound relative creates a correlative effect by being identical in form with the demonstrative pronoun which modifies the antecedent: thus *þære ... þære*. The case may be attracted by the demonstrative pronoun in the dative case which is strongly required by the verb in the main clause, *bad* (< *beodan*).

(4.25) *VercHom* 17. 281. 14-5

7 he bad þære fr[o]fre þære þe he wiste þæt he his folce gehaten hæfde.



‘And he offered the comfort which he knew he had promised to his people.’

The following instance seems confusing at first glance, but the case attraction and the accessibility hierarchy explain well why the first element of the compound relative, which seemingly should take the nominative case especially without any nominal antecedent, is in fact in the dative case since it is strongly required by *forgifen* (< *forgiefan*) in the relative clause.

(4.26) *ÆHom* 19. 624. 42-3

Ða cwæð Crist, Ne underfoð ealle men þis word, ac þam þe hit forgifen byð.

‘Then Christ said “Not all men receive this word, all men, but those whom it is given”.’

The genitive is special for relativisation in that it has its own unique functions which strongly require overt genitive case-marking. The genitive case, which has become the possessive case later, is morphologically distinctive from the other cases, which have been formally amalgamated into the common case. The compound relative in the genitive is a partitive genitive with *ælc*, ‘each’, in (4.27) and is with *fela*, ‘many’, in (4.28).

(4.27) *ÆCHom* II 23. 214. 27

and ælc ðæra þe þæt bodað. is godes bydel.

‘And each of those who preach it is God’s messenger.’

(4.28) *WHom* 9. 186. 49-51

And se ðe Godes ege fullice hæfð, ne forlæt he na fela þæs þe his sawle  
þearf bið to hæbbenne 7 to healdenne.

‘And he who keeps God in awe does not neglect much of that which is  
necessary for his soul to have and hold.’

Of course, the case attraction is not a strict rule: there are some examples in which a more marked case in a lower rank of the Accessibility Hierarchy is not chosen in relativisation, as in the following instance. The antecedent is in the genitive, but the compound relative takes the accusative case required by the relative clause. However, the case attraction is still remarkably active even in late Old English works.

(4.29) *ÆCHom* I 31. 443. 116-8

Ic eom gebunden mid fyrenum racenteagum fram cristes englum. þone  
ðe þa iudeiscan on rode ahengon.

‘I am bound with fiery fetters by the angels of Christ whom the Jews  
hang on the rood.’

When a compound relative stands at the beginning of a sentence, it regularly takes the case required by the relative clause. Compound relatives are in the nominative and accusative cases respectively but are expressed by resumptive pronouns in the dative case in the main clause in (4.30) and (4.31). The dative cases are required by the verbs *forlætan* and *þenian* in the main clauses and, according to the ‘case attraction’ rule, the demonstrative pronouns of the compound relatives should take the dative case. However, at the beginning of a sentence, the first element takes the case required by the

relative clause.

(4.30) *VercHom* 10. 212. 250-2

7 þa þe to me cyrrað fram hyra gyltum, 7 geandettaþ on minum naman, 7  
bote mid fæstenum doð 7 mid tearum 7 mid gebedum, þonne ic him  
forlæte mine miltse to,

‘And those who turn to me from their sins, confess in my name and have  
remedy with fasting, with tears and with prayers, then I give my mercy  
to them.’

(4.31) *ÆCHom* I 15. 302. 77-8

7 þone þe hi lufedon on life: þam hi woldon deadum mid menniscra  
gecnyrdnysse þenian;

‘And him whom they had loved in life, they would serve him with human  
devotion when dead.’

When the compound relative is preceded by a preposition, the demonstrative pronoun always takes the case required by the preposition. Allen (1980:88) suggests that pied-piping is obligatory in Old English, as in (4.32) and (4.33), but preposition stranding is also not impossible, though pied-piping seems to be much more common, as in (4.34).

(4.32) *ÆHom* 4. 277. 235-6

Ðonne cweþ se fula gast þæt he faran wylle into his huse of þam þe he  
ut ferde

‘Then the foul spirit says that he will go into the house out of which he  
came.’

(4.33) *ÆCHom* I 32. 457. 198

Ge lufiað þis lif on þam þe ge mid geswince wuniað.

‘You love this life in which you live with toil.’

(4.34) *VercHom* 10. 208. 205-6

þam þe he micel [to forlæteð], mycel he to þam seceð.

‘He seeks much from him to whom he gave much.’

*Pam þe* in (4.34) is the *seþe* type and, therefore, we do not know whether it agrees to the case of the resumptive pronoun correlatively or to the case required by the preposition *to*, which is stranded in the relative clause. The words in the square bracket are reproduced from other manuscripts (IJkN)<sup>8</sup>. The language in the manuscripts is modernised or linguistically somewhat later. However, it is not a problem here since it is important even to know that there is such an example in Old English. Another instance is from Wulfstan. This compound relative in (4.35) does not have a nominal antecedent and the first element is the subject of the main clause. Therefore, preposition stranding is obligatory in this context.

(4.35) *WHom* 13. 225. 8-9

Of eorðan gewurdan ærest geworhte þa ðe we ealle of coman,

‘Those whom we all come from were made of earth first.’

In addition, Kivimaa (1966:45) points out that the antecedent is often a proper noun or more particularly the Deity, though Mitchell (1985: § 2162) dismisses the idea as a mere personal opinion. If the compound relative is considered less productive and archaic according to the fact that it modifies a

nominal antecedent less often in late Old English than in early Old English, it may be because later examples are used for something stylistically particular. However, the proportion that the compound relative takes a proper noun as its antecedent seems not so much greater than the rate that other relatives do. Therefore, at the moment, the supposition does not seem unbreakable, though interesting. The antecedents are the Deity in (4.36) and (4.37) and Mary in (4.38) and (4.39). The demonstrative element of the compound relative agrees in case with its antecedent *Marian* in the dative in (4.39), though the function in the relative clause is apparently the nominative. Thus, this example is Mitchell's *se'þe* type. The dative is selected here possibly owing to the case attraction by the dative.

(4.36) *VerHom* 17. 285. 121-2

Soðlice ure hælend is ðæt soðe leoht 7 þæt soðe ece se ðe inlihteð ælcne mannan ðe in middangeard cymeð.

‘Indeed our Lord, who enlightens each man that comes to the earth, is the true light and the true eternity.’

(4.37) *ÆCHom* I 16. 309. 64-5

Se ðe ne lufað his broðer þone þe he gesihð : hu mæg he lufian god.  
þone ðe he ne gesihð lichamlice.

‘If he does not love his brother that he sees, how can he love God, whom he does not see bodily?’

(4.38) *BlHom* 6. 73. 30-2

Maria seo þe sæt be Hælendes fotum þæt heo wolde geheran his word & his lara, heo tacnaþ þa halgan cyricean on þære toweardan worlde,

‘Mary, who sat at the Saviour’s feet to hear his words and his teaching,  
betokens the holy church in the future world.’

(4.39) *BlHom* 6. 75. 11-2

Nu we sceolan onherian Marian bære\_þe smerede Hælendes fet, & mid  
hire loccum drygde;

‘Now we must imitate Mary, who anointed the Saviour’s feet and dried  
them with her locks.’

We have seen that the OE compound relative is greatly influenced by the case system. There is a case hierarchy in relativisation and a lower or more marked case is often selected by the compound relative. When there is an element which strongly requires a particular case-marking, the case of the compound relative is also attracted to it. We call it ‘case attraction’. Therefore, the *se’þe* compound relative should not be the sole evidence for the origin of all kinds of compound relative, though a large number of *se’þe* relatives can be a sign of earliness.

#### 4.3. The Middle English Compound Relative

##### 4.3.1. The Old English Compound Type

Then, what happened to the compound relative after the great levelling of inflections? In the transitional period between Old and Middle English, we still find the OE type of the compound relative. As long as inflections of the demonstrative are retained, the first element of the compound relative inflects regularly according to the function in the relative clause in the transitional period, though this type of the compound relative hardly occurs already in this

period. Even if it does, it rarely takes a nominal antecedent, as in (4.40) and (4.41). We have already seen that the phenomenon has started already in late Old English. Examples (4.42) and (4.43) are two of the rare examples which modify a nominal antecedent. The equivalent part in the *Trinity Homilies* does not have the compound relative in (4.43).

(4.40) *Vsp.D.Hom.* 43. 137. 1-3

ac þeos na feorlucor bute of hire agene breostes meolca fedde, 7  
fostrode þone þe is God 7 mann, þa þa he wæs on mænniscen gecynde  
hunrig 7 þurstig.

‘But this woman unsociably only from her breast fed milk to and  
nourished the one who is God and man when he was hungry and thirsty  
among the mankind.’

(4.41) *Chad* 174. 131

þa cweð he cedda. fregn þes þe þu wille.

‘Then Chad said ‘Ask whatever you want.’

(4.42) *Chad* 172. 116-8

hi eac swylce þa gesettan þeodscipas 7 regolbeawas. þa þe hi et him  
geleornadon. 7 in him gesegen. oððe in foregongendra fedora dedum.

‘They also should see likewise in him or in preceding father’s deeds the  
established disciplines and rules which they had learnt from him.’

(4.43) *Lamb.Hom.* 17. 159. 1-2

þos fure kunnes teres boð þe fuwer wateres : þa þe beoð ihaten us on to  
weschen

‘These four kinds of tears are the four waters which we are commanded to wash in’

Cf. *TrinHom* 25. 149. 31- 151. 2.

Ðes fower kinnes teares. ... ben þe fower wateres þe we shulen us one wasshen.

It is important that we find only a few instances of the OE type of the compound relative in some works in which old inflections of the demonstrative are retained possibly for archaism. *St. Chad* is a good example, as is seen in Figure 4.2. As is proved with *se*-relatives, demonstrative inflections are still active and used as relatives, while *seþe* relatives are very few even in the work.

Figure 4.2. Relatives in *The Life of St. Chad*

Type	<i>þe</i>	<i>seþe</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>hw</i> -forms
Number	12	3	19	2

As levelling progresses, the first element of the OE compound relative is levelled to *þe*. Thus, the compound relative is levelled to *þe þe*, as in (4.44) and (4.45).

(4.44) *Bod.Hom.*(Bel) 9. 96. 2-4

To þæm us læde þe leofæ Drihten Crist, þe þe is soð wisdom 7 sawle lif; þe ðe mid his ece Fæder, 7 mid þam Halzæ Gaste leofað 7 rixað a on ecenesse.

‘May the dear Lord Christ lead us to this who is true wisdom and the life of the soul, who lives and rules with his eternal Father and the Holy Ghost for ever in eternity.’



(4.45) *Bod.Hom.* 3. 63. 54-5

Des mon is eower sunæ, þe þe 3e secgæð þæt wære soðlice blind  
accenned,

‘Is this man your son, who you say was truly born blind?’

The levelled form, *þe þe*, is first recorded in the North (Seppänen (2004:96-9)). However, Seppänen (2004:96) points out that we do not have much evidence that the form spread to the South. Allen (1980:206) reports that she has found no clear *seþe* instances in the thirteenth century, probably because she does not consider *þe þe* or *þe þet* as the compound relative. Nevertheless, as long as even one instance of the compound relative takes a noun antecedent in a work, however few examples there are, I consider such combinations as the compound relative. Furthermore, even though such a compound form does not take any antecedent, *þe* is hardly used independently as a pronoun.<sup>9</sup> That is, *þe þe* and *þe þet* are syntactically different from ‘he who’ in Present Day English. Therefore, such complex forms are in my list of the compound relative. However, I do not consider *þeo þe/þet* or a personal pronoun followed by a *þe/þet* clause as a compound relative since *þe* and *þet* may have a different degree of deixis and independence from *þeo* and personal pronouns.

The second element of the compound is to be replaced by *þæt/þet/pat/that* (hereafter, represented by *þet*) as *þe* is taken over by the particles. One of the variants of *þe* and *þet* is sometimes simply doubled to express the compound relative. Thus, we have as the OE type of the compound relative *þe þe*, *þet þe*, *þe þet*, and *þet þet*, the last three of which are found in the following examples. *þet þet* usually stands for *that which* or *what* in Present Day English, but is sometimes employed for an animate antecedent, as in (4.49).

(4.46) *AW* 133. f.70b. 16-9

for þa he wes iboren earst. þe þ wrahte þe eorðe. ne fond nawt on eorðe  
swa mucche place as his lute licome mahte beon ileid up on.

‘For when he was first born, he who made the earth did not find on the  
earth space enough for his little body to be laid upon.’

(4.47) *Trin.Hom.* 25. 147. 3-4

he spec of þat þe sholde wurðe also þehg hit wurðen were.

‘He spoke of what should happen as though it had come to pass.’

(4.48) *AR(N)* 67. 21-3

ðet tet heo wolden offren him. heo hit heolden euer ihud. vort tet heo  
comen biuoren him.

‘What they wanted to offer him they kept hidden all the time until they  
came into his presence.’

(4.49) *Lamb.Hom.* 2. 19. 11-2

Nimað gēme ... hwilche gife he us gefeð þet þet ear us bohte deore.

‘Note now ... what gifts he gives us who has bought us dearly.’

By the time of the thirteenth century, inflections are greatly levelled and case is no longer expressed by inflectional endings except for some convention or invention by composers or scribes. Interestingly, such convention and invention are hardly seen in any construction of relatives in early Middle English. One of the reasons may be that, as levelling progresses, other elements do not demand overt case-marking any more in Middle English, as we have seen in Chapter 3. Levelling has given sweeping reforms to the relation

between the case system and relative markers.

On the other hand, once demonstrative pronouns are levelled and only *þe* and *þet* have survived from the paradigm, it seems natural that a contrast between the two forms arise. Thus, McIntosh (1947-8) has found a distinctive contrast of *þe* and *þet* deducted from the works of the Katherine Group (summarised under Mustanoja in Chapter 2): *þe* is employed for animate, or otherwise OE masculine or feminine, antecedents, while *þet* occurs with inanimate, or OE neuter, antecedents. We can expect, therefore, to find the same distinction in usage with the OE compound relatives in West Midland. We should be reminded again that the OE compound relatives are no longer popular in Middle English. However, when they are employed, the tendency above seems applicable to the first element of the compound relative in some works in which OE compound relatives still appear. Occurrence seems to vary even according to the manuscripts of the same work. It is reported in Ono (2004) by comparing three versions of *Ancrene Wisse* (AW), Cotton Nero A xiv (AR(N)), and so-called the Vernon text (AR(V)) that OE compound relatives are most frequently used and even preferred to *hw-/wh-* generalising relatives in the Nero Version among the three versions. However, it is noteworthy that possible combinations are only *þe þe*, *þe þet* and *þet þet*, though there are a good number of OE demonstrative inflections in AR(N).<sup>10</sup>

Both *þe þ* and *þe þe* occur for animate antecedents in (4.50) and (4.51), while *ðet þet* represents relative ‘what’, which is inanimate, in (4.52). According to Table 4.1., there is only one instance of *þe* and *þet* each against this tendency. It looks as if *þe* is favoured for the subject position and *þet* for the object position. However, it can be a mere coincidence caused by the easiest position to relativise, that is, the subject position.

(4.50) AR(N) 35. 29-32

þe þ swuch fulðe speteð ut in eni ancre eare. me schulde dutten his muð.  
nout mid schearpe wordes. auh mid herde fustes.

‘The person who spits out such filth in any anchoress’s ears should have  
his mouth closed not with sharp babblings but with hard fists.’

(4.51) AR(N) 20. 14-7

Þe þe ne con oðer uhtsong. oþer ne mei hit siggen? uor uhtsong sigge  
þritti pater nosteres. & aue maria? efter euerich pater noster. & gloria  
patri? efter euerich aue maria.

‘Whoever either does not know Matins or cannot say it, let her say  
instead of Matins thirty Pater Noster and Ave Maria after each Pater  
Noster, and Gloria Patri after each Ave Maria.’

(4.52) AR(N) 159. 20-1

auh ðet þet limpeð to crist: þet ich i seo. & i here. and wurche? ine  
cwicnesse.

‘but what pertains to Christ, that I see and hear and do in life’

Table 4.1. The animacy and function of the compound relatives in Nero

	Animacy		Function		
	Animate	Inanimate	Subject	Object	OP
þe þe	2	0	2	0	0
þe þet	30	1	30	0	1
þet þet	1	8	3	4	2

N.B. (1) OP stands for ‘Object of Preposition’.

(2) The two examples of *þe þe* are 20/14 and 37/25. The first *þe* in the latter

example is interlined probably by the same hand. Therefore, it could be either just a mistake by the scribe or his modification from an independent relative in the exemplar.

In addition, another combination, *þa þe*, is also found for plural antecedents in other works, as in (4.42) and (4.43). It is suggested, therefore, that the first element of the OE compound relative is no longer employed for case but for distinction in gender or number in early Middle English. Yet, we do not consider that a neuter form of *þe* is *þet* and a plural form is *þa*. These compound relatives are obviously indeclinable.

It is interesting, however, while overt case-marking is felt unnecessary, that interrogative pronouns as relatives come to be used in some domains where case-marking is shown, for example, in the genitive or after a preposition. We will then go on to discuss another combination of a *hw-/wh*-interrogative relative followed by a *þet*-relative clause. It may not be appropriate to call such a construction “a compound relative”. However, I will include a study on the construction in this chapter to understand how the combination works as a relative. Demonstrative inflections are lost at the beginning of Middle English and, therefore, we have learnt that the first element of the *seþe* compound relative no longer shows case. We can compare similarities as well as differences between the *seþe* type and the new *hw-/wh- þet* type and will see how the new forms work for the relative system.

#### 4.3.2. The Middle English Compound Type

Middle English (*the*) *wh-* *that* forms are studied as compound relatives here in this brief section in that more than two words, one declinable and the other

indeclinable, are used as a relative marker to lead a relative clause, as *se þe* does in Old English. This definition does not imply that the new ME compound has descended from OE *seþe* or that ME *(the) wh- that* and OE *seþe* have the same deep structure. This structure is briefly dealt with just to research the functional relation between the first and second elements of the compound form.

We have some examples of an interrogative relative alone as a relative but very few examples of a *hw-/wh*-relative followed by a *þet/that* clause in our corpus of homilies and homiletic works in the transitional period between Old and Middle English.

(4.53) AR(N) 72. 35- 73.2

Þe oðer reisun is. ðet hwo þet bere a deorewurðe licur. oðer a deoruwurðe wete as is bame in a feble uetles. healewi in one bruchele glese. nolde heo gon ut of þrunge bute 3if heo were fol:

‘The second reason is that someone who was carrying a costly liquid, a precious fluid such as balsam is, in a fragile container, lictus in a brittle glass, would she not go out of the crowd, unless she were a fool?’

Cf. AW f.44b.85. 8. þe bere a deore licur.

There is one example of *hwo* followed by a *þet*-relative clause in the Nero version of *Ancrene Riwe*. Kivimaa (1966:90) exemplifies it as a generalising relative. However, *hwo* in the example seems to be used merely as an indefinite pronoun, meaning ‘someone’, and, therefore, *hwo þet* here is not a compound relative. *Hwo* comes to be popular as a relative much later.

I agree with Allen (1980:204) in that the *wh- that* combination may not have descended directly from OE *seþe* relatives since there is a gap of periods

and regions between the two systems available. *Seþe* relatives disappear by the mid-thirteenth century and *wh- that* forms become popular in the fourteenth century. Chronologically, *wh*-forms come to occur without *that* first and then to be used with it later. If OE *seþe* relatives and ME *hw-/wh- that* relatives do not share the same origin, what maintained this construction and what role did it play in Middle English relatives?

The particle *þet* is generally considered as a complementiser by generative linguists.<sup>11</sup> This theory is mainly supported by the fact that *that* is widely used as a complementiser after adverbs or conjunctions in Middle English. *Þet* follows almost any adverb or conjunction. We will compare a conjunction or a conjunctive phrase in the three versions of *Ancrene Wisse*. The Vernon version is considered to be copied in the fourteenth century, that is, the newest version of the three, while the other two are said to belong to the early thirteenth century. The comparison does not mean that the conjunctive phrase in the later version is a direct development of the earlier forms. However, it is useful to see differences. We also need to keep in mind that some phrases may be archaic because they are transcriptions of the older text: archaic forms can be preferably retained in homilies.

We see old constructions as well as new ones in the three versions of the same work. For example, *for þui ðet* (< *for þy þæt*) ‘because’ is still used in all the versions (*for þat* in *AW* and *AR(V)*). In the transitional period we find both OE correlative conjunctions and new conjunctions which are to replace the OE conjunctions. An OE word for ‘when’, *þa*, as in (4.54), appears along with a ME word, *hwon*, as in (4.55). *Hwon/hwen/whon* as ‘when’ is followed by *þet* in none of the three versions of the work. That is, *þet* does not appear after *whon* even in the later version, which seems a little unusual since *that* after a conjunction is a popular custom of the fourteenth century, when the Vernon MS was copied.

(4.54) a. AW 39. f.18a. 17-8

ah þa. ha hefden alles bigunnen to speokene : þa ne cuðen ha  
neauer stutten hare cleappe.

b. AR(N) 31. 23-4

auh þeo. hefden alles bigunne uorto spekene : þeo ne kuþen heo  
neuere astunten hore cleppe.

c. AR(V) 27. 29-30

Ac þo. heo hedden alles bi gonne to speken : þo couþen heo  
neuere stunten heore clappe.

‘But when they had finally begun to speak, then they could never  
stop their racket.’

(4.55) a. AW 139. f.74a. 3-4

Iwis leoue sustren hwen 3e neh ow feleð him for hwon þ 3e  
habben hardi bileaue : nulle 3e bute lahhen him lude

b. AR(N) 121. 1-3

Iwis leoue sustren. hwon 3e iveleð him neih ou. vor hwon ðet  
3e habben herdi bileaue? nule 3e buten lauhwen him lude

c. AR(V) 96. 28-9

¶ I.wis leoue sustren. whon 3e neig ow feelep him. For whon  
3e habben hardi bileeue. nul 3e bote laugwhen him loude

‘Indeed, dear sisters, when you feel him near, since you have  
bold faith, you will simply laugh him loudly.’

There are four conjunctions in example (4.56), two of which are *if*. The first is not accompanied by a complementiser, while the other is in AR(N) and AR(V). *Per*, ‘there’, is not followed by any complementiser nor doubled in all



the versions. *Er*, ‘before’, takes the complementiser only in *AR(N)*. Another word for ‘before’, *biuoren*, occurs with *þet/þat* in (4.57). *Hwil*, ‘while’, can be followed by the complementiser (4.58) but usually it is not as in (4.59).

(4.56) a. *AW* 128. f.68a. 19-22

þer monie gað to gederes. & euch halt opres hond : æf eani feð  
to sliden : þe oðer hine breid up ear he ful falle. æf ha wergið  
euchan halt him bi oper.

b. *AR(N)* 112. 28-32

ter monie goð to gederes & euerichon halt oðres hond. zif eni  
uoð on uorte sliden. ðe oper breideð hine up : er þen he al-lunge  
ualle. & zif ðet heo wergeð : euerichon wreodeð him bi oðer.

c. *AR(V)* 90. 20-2

þer monye goþ to gederes. & halt opures hond : zif eny bi ginneþ  
to slyden : þe opur him breydeþ vp. er he fulliche falle. zif  
þat he weorieþ : vchon wrepeþ him bi opere.

‘Where many go together and each holds the other’s hand, if  
anyone starts to slide about, the next person pulls him up before  
he falls right over. If they get tired, each one holds himself up  
on the next.’

(4.57) a. *AW* 155. f.82a. 19-20

Schrift schal makie þe mon alswuch as he wes biuore þ he  
sunegede.

b. *AR(N)* 136. 11-3

schrift schal makien ðene mon alswuch ase he was biuoren ðet he  
sunege.

c. *AR(V)* 108. 6

Schrift schal make þeo mon. al such as he was ? bi foren þat he sungede.

‘Confession shall make the man just as he was before he sinned.’

(4.58) a. *AW* 15. f.6a. 10-2

non eauer efter mete. & hwæn 3e slepeð. efter slep hwil þ sumer leasteð bute hwæn 3e feasteð.

b. *AR(N)* 9. 8-10

non ? euer efter mete. auh hwon 3e slepeð siggeð non efter mete. þeo hwule þ sumer lesteð bute hwon 3e vesteð.

c. *AR(V)* 9. 30-1

¶ Non ? euer after mete. And whon 3e slepeþ. after slep ? whil þat somer lasteþ. but whon 3e fasteþ.

‘None always after food and when you sleep, after sleep, while summer lasts, except when you fast.’

(4.59) a. *AW* 131. f.69b. 11-2

Hwil 3e haldeð ow in an ? offearen ow mei þe feond 3ef he haueð leaue. ah hearmin nawt mid alle.

b. *AR(N)* 114. 12-4

þeo hwule ðet 3e habbeð ou in on offeren ou mei ðe ueond 3if he haueð leaue. auh hermen nout <mid> alle.

c. *AR(V)* 91. 26-7

¶ While 3e habbeþ ow in on. afferen ow may þe fend. 3if he hap leue. Ac harmen nougt mid alle.

‘While you keep yourselves together as one, the fiend may

frighten you if he has leave, but not harm you at all.’

It seems that, whatever the origin is, *that* which appears in *wh*-relative clauses is, or is analysed later, as a marker of subordination, since it is clear that *wh*-interrogative relative forms are not added to *that* to show case or animacy. I do not argue that the same process is applicable to the *seþe* construction. However, it may be at least safe to conclude that *wh*-forms can lead relative clauses without any subordinators in early Middle English and that the insertion of *that* as a relative marker is caused by later analogy with conjunctive constructions. Therefore, in some cases case-marking may be necessary to the relative system in early Middle English, when levelling rapidly progressed, and *wh*-interrogative pronouns extend their function to the relative. Then, *that* is added later to *wh*-forms by analogy with conjunctive phrases to show subordination. The new compound relative may not derive from the OE *seþe* compound relative and be made up by later analogy for different purposes from those of OE *seþe*.

This combination of an interrogative relative followed by *that* is still seen, though rarely, in Present Day English. The following examples are cited from Seppänen (2000:41 and 44). Seppänen and Trotta (2000) report that this structure is clearly much more common in spoken English than formal registers. It is also more frequent, they say, in free relatives than restrictive relatives.

(4.60) I’d take this opportunity to answer a few of the trickier questions which that often come my way. (the Cobuild *Direct* Corpus (hereafter CDC): today)

(4.61) I think it's probably moved into the policy field faster than any other area of research which that I can think of. (CDC: ukspok)

(4.62) The hills were seared to an ugly brown. What air that stirred was hot and muggy. (CDC: ukbooks)

(4.63) Whatever measure that one uses, government has grown rapidly during this century. (the British National Corpus (hereafter BNC): P. Furlong et al., Power in capitalist society, London 1986)

The following two examples are interesting in that the second element is an interrogative relative. They may have appeared by analogy with relative *that*. *Which* is employed in (4.65) probably because it is preceded by a preposition.

(4.64) Their idea of a family way was just literally that that (sic) the husband the wife the children whoever who was involved in that family living in a house should earn money. (CDC: ukspoken)

(4.65) 'Victoria, you're a sensible girl, you go first', was an order she heard often and with pleasure, for whatever ordeal into which she had to lead the rest... was always rewarded by authority's approval. (BNC: C. Brayfield, The prince, London 1990)

#### 4.4. Summary

We have studied three different types of compound relatives: *seþe* in Old English, *þe þe/þet* and *þet þe/þet* in Early Middle English, and *wh- that* in Late

Middle English. The purposes and usage of the constructions are all different in the development of the English language and it seems as if there were some changes in usage of the compound relatives in every few centuries. First, the *seþe* compound relative is common in Old English. However, as levelling progresses, there are much less examples of *seþe* compound relatives and such compound relatives are levelled to *þe þe/þet* or *þet þe/þet* in early Middle English. The construction has finally died out by the thirteenth century. Then, the new compound relative, *wh- that*, emerges as *wh*-forms has gained ground.

We have learnt that even in the usage of the *seþe* compound relative, which is constantly employed throughout Old English, there is a clear difference between early and late Old English; there are obviously more examples of the compound relatives with nominal antecedents and of the *se'þe* compound relative in early Old English, while the compound relative usually does not take any nominal antecedent and are largely the '*seþe* type, if not the *seþe* or '*seþe*' type, in late Old English. Thus, Hock (1991) suggests that re-bracketing occurs in the course of Old English (see Hock (1991) in Chapter 2).

My study has shown that the first element of the compound relative, whether *se'þe* or '*seþe*, is often triggered by an element which strongly requires a particular case-marking. That is, the case of the relative is sometimes lexically assigned by another grammatical element. There are many verbs which require nouns to be in the genitive or dative cases for their object, and prepositions assign particular cases to nouns which follow them. In addition, according to Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy, cases have a different degree of difficulty in relativisation. Thus, my study has revealed that the first element of the compound relative often depends on this Hierarchy, and a lower, or marked, case is chosen for the inflectional element of the compound relative, probably because of the functional and semantic

features the cases have.

Even if the hypothesis is right that the compound relative started with the correlative construction or *þe*-relative clauses preceded by a demonstrative pronoun which originally belongs to the main clause, and, therefore, the case of the demonstrative element of the compound relative is primarily assigned by the main clause, the case is attracted according to the case hierarchy or other grammatical elements which require particular case-marking. Thus, the genitive and dative cases in either clause tend to attract inflectional elements. This case attraction is proved by '*seþe* relatives in early Old English and *se'þe* relatives in late Old English. It is still influential even after Hock's re-bracketing occurs until overt case-marking becomes impossible in the Middle English period. What passivisation in Old English implies us seems very important. It is reported by Allen (1995:27) that the dative and genitive cases are usually retained in passivisation in Old English.

(4.66) *ÆHom* 11. 435. 369

hi ne demað nanum men, ac him bið gedemed.

'They will not judge any men, but they will be judged.'

Therefore, I have come to a conclusion that in Old English the case of the compound relative is greatly influenced by the case system: where there is a grammatical element which requires overt case-marking, the case frequently occurs with an inflectional ending or a form. In Old English, it is sometimes neither an antecedent nor the function in the relative clause but other elements or case itself that require a certain case-marking or decide which case to take.

Nevertheless, this situation does not last so long owing to levelling. As we have seen, case-marking of relatives is no longer necessary already in early

Middle English. Even in works which employ old inflections of the demonstrative, the relative particles, *þe* and *þet*, are most common. Later complex sets of relatives such as *þe þe/þet* and *hw-/wh- that* are not employed to show the case of the particles. On the contrary, the particles are considered as subordination markers. I have found out that the first element of *þe þe/þet* and *þet þe/þet* cannot show case distinction, since it is indeclinable, but sometimes shows gender distinction in some regions: *þe* and *þet* for animate and inanimate antecedents respectively.

Interrogative pronouns come to be used as relatives first as generalising relatives and then in a certain positions such as the genitive or after a preposition. The latter particular syntactic positions indicate that overt case-marking was still necessary to a certain extent after levelling of demonstrative pronouns and the introduction of interrogative pronouns as relative is a new strategy to compensate the relative system at that time. Yet, there are not many examples of *hw-/wh*-forms as relatives in my corpus of homilies and homiletic works in early Middle English. In addition, previous studies have revealed that the combination of a *wh*-form followed by a relative *that* clause becomes common much later when adverbs or conjunctions are often followed by *that*. Consequently, it is suggested that *that* plays a role of the marker to show subordination of *wh*-relative clauses and is inserted in *wh*-relative clauses by analogy. By the time when this construction becomes popular, case-marking is largely lost and it is impossible to show case by an inflectional ending except for pronouns. Overt case-marking by inflectional endings is no longer essential to the grammatical system itself.

There is another way that is said to show the case of the relative particles, *þe* and *þet*, namely, pronoun retention. We do not have many instances of this tautological pronoun throughout the history of the English language. It has

been always a minority and is considered as an incorrect usage or colloquial in Present Day English. However it is also true that it has always been there in the system. Is it just a mistake or can we find a particular usage for it? Can we find the same tendencies as the OE compound relatives and generalise a certain rules from the tendencies? To answer these questions, I try to show how pronoun retention works in the English language in the next chapter.



#### Notes for Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> The former is Einkenkel (*Geschichte der englischen Sprache II: historische Syntax*, 3rd ed., Strassburg, 1916, p. 119), Delbrück ('Zu den germanischen Relativsätzen', *Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist Klasse XXVII*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 685, 693 ff., and *Germanische Syntax V: Germanische Konjunktionssätze, Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist Klasse XXXVI*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 24) and Grossmann (*Das angelsächsische Relativ*, Berlin diss. 1906, pp.52-3), and the latter is Horn (*Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion*, 2nd ed., Palaestra 135, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 69 and 71) and Behaghel (*Deutsche Syntax III*, Heidelberg, 1923-8, p.766) according to Kivimaa (1966:28).

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell (1985: § 2175), Allen (1980:86-90), Hock (1991:73-6), and Seppänen (2004:96).

<sup>3</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 2, Mitchell's three types of the compound relatives are represented by *se'þe*, '*seþe and seþe*. Mitchell (1985) uses a small straight line instead of apostrophes in the symbols. However, I employ apostrophes in this thesis to represent the same symbols simply because of the difficulty in using the particular short line.

<sup>4</sup> This example is cited from the EI version of the text (E: Bodleian, Hatton 113, I: British Library, Cotton Nero A I). The other versions, BH and C, also have the same form, *þam þe*, in the equivalent parts (B: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 419, C: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 201, H: Bodleian, 343 (2406)).

<sup>5</sup> I have used straight and wavy underlines to indicate a relative and its antecedent respectively. It is difficult, however, to decide an antecedent when a compound relative does not have a nominal antecedent. Some may prefer to

underline only the particle of the combination, considering the demonstrative pronoun is the antecedent. Nevertheless, the compound relative always consists of two elements: a demonstrative pronoun followed by a relative particle. Therefore, even when a compound relative does not have a nominal antecedent, I underline both elements in this thesis to show that it is a compound relative.

<sup>6</sup> Ono and Nakao (1980), Kivimaa (1966:28), Allen (1980:89-90) and Hock (1991:73-6).

<sup>7</sup> In my investigation on relatives in this homily, the combination of a demonstrative pronoun modified by a *þe*-relative clause is considered as a compound relative, even though the two components are separated from each other, as in *God ... þe þam cwæð þe Godes folce bodian sculon* (5-6). On the other hand, the correlative combination of *þæt... þæt* is excluded from this table because the construction belongs to neither the compound relative nor *se*-relatives. Ambiguous *se* forms which can be taken as demonstrative pronouns alone or relatives are also excluded from this table.

<sup>8</sup> The manuscripts are as follows:

I: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (s.xii<sup>2</sup>)

J: BL, Cotton Faustina A. ix (s.xii<sup>1</sup>)

k: the second item in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302 (s.xi/xii)

N: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421 (s.xi<sup>1</sup>)

The main manuscript of the *Vercelli Homilies* is Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII, The Vercelli Book (s.x<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> *MED* has a heading of *þe* as a pronoun of the third person (*the*, pron. (1)). However, it is usually followed by a relative clause or correlatively used with the compound relative *þe þe* as a resumptive pronoun, as in the example below. That is, it hardly occurs alone as a demonstrative or personal pronoun but almost always appears with a relative clause. Therefore, I believe that *þe* still belongs to the system of the relative or at least is strongly connected to the

system.

*LambHom* 109. 32-3.

Eft þe ðe deleð elmessan for his drihtnes luuan : *þe* bihut his gold hord  
on heaouene riche.

‘Again, he who give alms for his Lord’s love hides his treasure in  
heaven.’ (The underline and italic are mine).

<sup>10</sup> The Nero version has a unique form, *þe*. It can be a combination of *þ þe*, but it is different from *þte*, which is considered as a normal combination of *þ* and *þe*. Therefore, it is excluded from the list.

<sup>11</sup> Allen suggests that the complementiser *that* started to appear in free relative constructions (1980:206-212). Free relatives are expressed by *hw*-forms accompanied by *swa* ... *swa* in Old English. The first *swa* was gradually dropped by the mid-thirteenth century. Then, the second *swa* was analysed as a complementiser and was finally replaced by another more popular complementiser, *that*.

## Chapter 5

### Pronoun Retention

#### 5.1. Pronoun Retention

Another way to show the case of the relative is pronoun retention; the case is realised by a personal pronoun, as in the following example.

(5.1) J. Taylor, *Worthy Communicant* 1678. IV. I. 197 <sup>1</sup>

For charity is that fire from heaven, which, unless it does enkindle the sacrifice, God will never accept it for atonement.

This construction is avoided as a tautological expression in Present Day English. Some scholars <sup>2</sup> consider the personal pronoun in the construction as a resumptive pronoun, and some discard it as a careless, clumsy or non-standard expression. However, we find examples of the idiom not infrequently in Old and Middle English, and it seems that we need to find some other way to explain the structure other than as a “careless” expression, especially when the personal pronoun occurs in the subject position, which is the easiest position for relativisation according to Keenan and Comrie’s Accessibility Hierarchy (1977), as we have seen in (4.12), which is reproduced in (5.2) below.

(5.2) Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie (1977:66))

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object  
of Comparison

It is also proved that pronoun retention occurs least frequently in the subject position in many languages (see Appendix D). Therefore, the examples are many enough to believe that it may have some kind of grammatical or stylistic roles (see Appendix C).

In Present Day English, however, pronoun retention is indeed considered as a careless expression. Curme's comment (1931:205) that '[t]his suppression of the pronoun is the old primitive way of indicating that the clause is subordinated to what precedes' is still open to dispute, but a sentence without a sentence element seems to indicate that there is a relative clause, as in *I liked the bag you had two days ago*, or;

(5.3) Christi, *Murder on the Orient Express* p.40 <sup>3</sup>

There isn't anybody knows a thing on this train.

Pronoun retention is a phenomenon that the suppressed pronoun is realised by a personal pronoun in a relative clause led by a relative marker.<sup>4</sup> Since the suppression is a rule in Present Day English, when the pronoun is realised by a personal pronoun, the personal pronoun is considered redundant and incorrect.

However, in Old and Middle English, we see more often a personal pronoun in a relative clause which is tautologically co-referential with its antecedent. Some grammar books on a history of the English language discuss the structure and give us many examples. First of all, Jespersen (1927:108-113) has a section titled 'Relative connective plus personal pronoun' and diachronically presents many instances from Old to Modern English. He explains that the function in the relative clause is sometimes filled by a personal pronoun for 'case relation' (1927:109). It was a 'regular idiom' in Old

English, he says, but is no longer frequent in Modern English. He points out that this construction is more commonly found in Romance languages and still remains in Scottish and Irish English. It should be noted that he distinguishes this construction with indeclinable relative markers, that is, the particles (*þe* and *that*) and *which*, which does not indicate its case on its own, from that of what he calls contact-clauses, namely, the zero-relative, since in the latter, ‘there is no necessity for indicating the case-relation, because it is easily implied’ but it is sometimes necessary to add a personal pronoun to make the case relation clear in more complicated sentences (1927:112).

Curme (1931:206-8) takes the same line and attributes the primary reason to showing the grammatical relation clearly. Importantly, Curme (1931:206-7) points out that relativisation is difficult in the genitive and dative in Old English and that the construction develops into other cases, ‘especially in long descriptive clauses’. According to Curme (1931:207), this redundant personal pronoun is found until the eighteenth century.

Visser (1963-73:58-60) also explains with abundant OE and ME examples that this construction is not uncommon in Old and Middle English in order to express the case relation when *wh*-relatives are not available.

On the other hand, Mitchell (1985: § § 2180-2200) gives us detailed examination on this structure not only in *þe/that*-relative clauses but also in other types of relative clauses in his monumental work on Old English. He finds out that the personal pronoun tends to occur next to *þe* and that we find all the three persons of the personal pronoun only in *þe*-relative clauses. Unlike Visser (1963-73), Mitchell considers this construction to be ‘not common’ and says that it is less common in prose than in poetry (§ 2198). He concludes that it occurs for stylistic, rhythmic, metrical purposes and for emphasis (§ 2200).

According to the studies above, it is generally agreed that the redundant personal pronoun appears to make the case relation clear. However, there are actually many examples without such a personal pronoun in which the case relation is not very clear at the first glance. For instance, in (5.4), the relative clause modifies not *efengelica* but *pæs*, ‘of the one’, before it. On the other hand, there are also some examples with a personal pronoun in which we could easily understand the relation between a relative and its antecedent without such a tautological personal pronoun, especially when it is in the nominative, as in (5.5).

(5.4) *WHom* 6. 144. 29-30

Ʒa þuhte him þæt he mihte beon pæs efengelica ðe hine gescop 7  
geworhte;

‘Then it occurred to him that he could be an equal fellow of the one who  
created him.’

(5.5) *Or* 1. 1. 17. 33-34

7 þær is mid Estum an mægð þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcean,

‘And there is with the Ests a race who can create the chill.’

Why does this personal pronoun occur in some examples and not in others? More importantly, why is this construction employed instead of *seþe* compound relatives, whose first element shows the relation to its antecedent? In this chapter, I will examine examples of pronoun retention in Old and Middle English, and then try to answer to the following questions; (1) does this personal pronoun really appear to show the case relation? (2) if so, what case relation does it show? (3) why is this construction preferred to more popular

*seþe* compound relatives?, and finally (4) is there any other purpose to employ this structure?

Three points that we need to keep in mind to deal with this construction should be mentioned. First, the construction I deal with here is not that of resumptive personal pronouns, as in (5.6), where *hi* recaptures a NP modified by a relative clause again outside of the clause. We focus on personal pronouns which appear inside of relative clauses and indicate their antecedents.

(5.6) *ÆCHom* I 30. 433. 130-3

Ealle þa gecorenan þe gode gepugon þurh martyrdom oððe þurh clænnysse: ealle *hi* siðodon mid þære eadigan cwene. for þan ðe heo sylf is æigðer ge martyr ge mæden;

‘All the chosen who have thriven to God through martyrdom or through chastity, (*they*) all journeyed with the blessed queen, for she is herself both martyr and maiden.’

Secondly, since the particles *þe* and *þæt/that* also have a conjunctival function and the personal pronoun in question plays a role of an element in the adjective clause, some instances are difficult to decide if they are examples of pronoun retention or simply subordinate clauses led by a conjunction. For example, Curme (1931:206) cites (5.5) as an example of pronoun retention in Old English, but Mitchell (1985: § 2195) disapproves of it and defines *þæt* in the instance as a mere conjunction. When some interpretations are presented, they will be given with the examples. This confusion is, first of all, derived from the fact that no definition is given to this construction. It is very difficult to define the structure syntactically. However, we may be able to use as one of the clues the mood of the verb in the relative clause; if the mood is subjunctive,



*þe/þæt* in Old English and *þet/þat* in Middle English may be a conjunction. Word order cannot always be turned to since the S...V order is not as fixed a rule in the relative clause as we think.

Finally, I would like to expand text types for this topic, although we have been discussing the language of homilies and homiletic prose, simply because there are too few example in texts of the genre to verify my ideas. Examples of pronoun retention are not many in total. Therefore, I would like to present instances from various genres in order to elucidate the syntactical construction related to case-marking. My examples are listed up in Appendix C, including the instances shown in this chapter.

## 5.2. Pronoun Retention in Old English

Examples of a redundant personal pronoun in the relative clause are found in all the cases in Old English, though there are more instances in the genitive and the dative because of the difficulty in relativisation, as Curme rightly states (1931:206). Examples (5.7) – (5.12) are those of the nominative. In (5.7) and (5.8), a personal pronoun in the *þe*-relative is co-referent with *he* in the main clause. The relative particles in these examples are, in fact, interpreted as a conjunction ‘because’ by the editors of the EETS editions. However, it is natural in Old English that “heavy” relative clauses tend to appear at the end of sentences, separated from their “light” antecedents. Therefore, they are included in the instances here.

(5.7) *CP* 26. 5-6

he æwfæst lareow sie, þe he wilnað micle worldare habban.

‘He, who desires great worldly honour, pretends to be a pious teacher.’

(5.8) *BlHom* 6. 69. 12-4

He wæs eac se wyresta gitsera, þe he gesealde wiþ feo heofeones  
Hlaford & ealles middangeardes.

‘He, who sold for money the Lord of heaven and of all the world, was  
also the worst covetous man.’

*Þone þe* in (5.9) is a compound relative according to my criteria in Chapter 4, but it does not take any noun antecedent and thus means ‘him who’. According to Keenan and Comrie’s Accessibility Hierarchy in (5.2), the nominative is the easiest to relativise, and it is proved in Appendix D that pronoun retention occurs least frequently in the nominative even among the languages which regularly employs pronoun retention for the other cases. Therefore, it does not seem likely that the case or ambiguity in the context caused pronoun retention in this instance; rather, it gives an impression that lack of the nominative caused *he* to appear here.

(5.9) *Bo* 4. 33-4

Hu se Wisdom lærde þone þe he wolde wæstmære land sawan, þ he  
atuhge of ærest þa þornas.

‘How Wisdom instructed him who would sow fertile land, that he should  
first take away the thorns’

*Hi* appears in the compound relative clause in example (5.10) and Mitchell (1985: § 2191)<sup>5</sup> interprets it as a redundant personal pronoun in the ‘*þe* + personal pronoun’ construction. However, together with the other *hi* just before the verb *hyddon*, it does not appear in another manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 41 (*ða þe*<sup>6</sup> *geleafullan þa ðe* *ær in þa tid ðære ehtnesse*

*in wudum 7 westenum 7 scræfum hyddon 7 bedylgedon ond*), and *hyddon* (< *hydan*) can take a reflexive as ‘hide oneself’. In addition, a personal pronoun quite frequently occurs in the first part of clauses. Therefore, *hi* in (5.10) can be simply a reflexive, which is tautologically repeated before the verb in the clause, possibly by mistake. If my interpretation is correct, this may be simply an example of a compound relative clause, not of the construction in question.

(5.10) *Bede* 42. 3-6

And þæs ðe þa seo costnung ðære ehtnesse gestilled wæs, þa wæron forðgongende þa cristenan men 7 ða geleafsuman, þa be hi ær on ða frecnan tid þære ehtnysse on wudum 7 on westenum 7 scræfum hi hyddon 7 digledon.

‘When the trials of this persecution quieted down, faithful Christians came forth, who previously, in the dangerous times of persecution, lay hid in woods and wastes and caves.’

We also find instances of personal pronouns of the first and second persons. The first and second person personal pronouns of the nominative singular, *ic* and *þu*, appear in the *þe*-clauses in the following examples respectively. We may be able to ascribe the reason of these occurrences to “agreement of the person to the verb”. It is obvious in (5.12), where the verb in the relative clause is *hafest*, which is evidently inflected for the second person singular, and, therefore, naturally and regularly, requires *þu* as its subject, as is seen in Modern German.<sup>7</sup> “Agreement” seems to be an important factor that makes a superfluous personal pronoun appear in the empty gap where it is not usually realised.

(5.11) *Rid* 12. 13-5

Saga hwæt ic hatte,  
þe ic lifgende    lond reafige  
ond æfter deaþe    dryhtum þeowige.  
‘Say what I am called, who, while living, plunder lands but after death  
serve to God.’

(5.12) *KtHy* 7-14

We ðe heriað    halgum stefnum  
and þe blætsiað,    bilewit fæder,  
and ðe þanciað,    þioda walden,  
ðines weorðlican    wuldordreames  
and ðinra miclan    mægena gerena,  
ðe ðu, god dryhten, gastes mæhtum  
*hafest* on gewældum    hiofen and eorðan,  
an ece fæder,    ælmehtig god.  
‘We praise you with holy voice and bless you, merciful father, and thank  
you for your dominion of people, your splendid heavenly rapture and the  
ornaments of your great power, (you) who, Lord Christ, have the power  
of souls in your control, in heaven and on earth, the only eternal father,  
Almighty God.’

Examples (5.13)    (5.17) are those of redundant personal pronouns in  
the accusative. In (5.13), (5.14) and (5.15), redundant accusative forms, *hiene*,  
*hine*, and *hi* respectively, appear in the *þe*-relative clauses. Pronoun retention  
also appears in compound relative clauses, as in (5.16). At first glance, these  
accusative forms seem to be unnecessary in the secondary clauses. However,

when we closely examine the elements in the clauses, we find some elements which cause the pronouns to appear there.

(5.13) *Or* 3. 57. 15-16

7 ic gehwam wille þærto tæcan þe hiene his lyst ma to witanne.

‘And I will direct everyone thereto who desires to know more of it.’

In (5.13), the verb in the relative clause is an impersonal verb, *lyst* (< *lystan*), which strongly requires an accusative form for its object of person. It is highly possible that the element in the subordinate clause brings about a redundant personal pronoun. The compound relative in (5.14) does not take any noun antecedent. The first element of the compound relative is in the nominative, but the relative clause requires the accusative case. *Deað* in the adjective clause is a masculine noun and the nominative and accusative forms are identical. Hence, with *hine* to show that the relative is in the accusative or *deað* is not in the accusative, it would be easier to understand the syntax. Without *hine*, it can be ‘he who takes death’ or ‘he whom death takes’. *Hine* helps interpret the construction more easily and clarifies the context. It may be used in order to make better understanding of the sentence.

(5.14) *Beo* 440-1

ðær gelyfan sceal

Dryhtnes dome se þe hine deað nimeð.

‘There he whom death carries off must resign himself to the judgment of the Lord.’

As Mitchell (1985: § 2185) suggests, redundant personal pronouns usually

appear right after the particle *þe* and it is one of the reasons why this personal pronoun is considered as part of a relative combination like the *seþe* compound relative. However, *hi* appears in a normal syntactical position as an object of the verb, *hatan*, in (5.15).

(5.15) *Or* 1 l. 11. 27-29

7 hie onginnað ærest eastane of þæm garsecge, 7 þonne licgað westryhte  
oþ Armenia beorgas, þe þa landleode hi hatað Parcoadras.

‘And they (the mountains) start first from the east of the ocean and then extend westwards to Armenian mountains, which the inhabitants of the country call Parcoadras.’

(5.16) *CP(H)* 73. 15-19

Sua hwelc ðonne sua ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið  
forboden ðæt he offrige [Gode] hlaf, forðæm hit is wen ðæt se ne mæge  
oðerra monna scylda ofaðuean, se se ðe hine ðonne giet his agena  
onherigeað.

‘Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God, for it is to be expected that he, who is harassed by his own [lit. whom his own (sins) harass], will not be competent to wash away the sins of others.’

*Hine* occurs in the *seþe* compound relative in example (5.16) quoted from Bodleian, Hatton 20, while it was added by a later hand in the other manuscript, Cotton Tiberius B xi. The editor of the EETS text, Sweet (1958), translates *se ðe* into a conjunction, ‘while’, probably to help readers understand the story easily. However, it is obviously syntactically a compound relative modifying a

demonstrative pronoun *se*, which is correlated with another *se*.

A personal pronoun in the accusative case appears in the object position of a preposition, *wið* in (5.17).

(5.17) *GuthA* 715-7

Ic þæt gefremme, þær se freond wunað  
on þære socne, þe ic þa sibbe wið hine  
healdan wille,

‘I will bring it about where the friend, whom I would like to keep a  
relationship with, lives in the asylum,’

Examples (5.18) to (5.25) are those of tautological personal pronouns in the genitive. As Curme (1931:206) rightly states, there are most examples in the genitives of all the cases. Furthermore, instances of the genitive remain long until Modern English. What causes this phenomenon? Let us take a look again at Keenan and Comrie’s Accessibility Hierarchy in (5.2). According to the hierarchy, the subject position is the easiest to be relativised and the object position of comparison is the most difficult. This is also proved to be correct in the table in Appendix D about pronoun retention in various languages all over the world. It is observed that almost all the languages with pronoun retention have pronoun retention in the genitive, and also that the subject position is the least frequent where pronoun retention occurs. Since the object position of comparison is not expressed by the relative particles, the genitive case is the most difficult case to relativise in my study. The genitive case itself is a good factor to cause pronoun retention.

Then, we now go back to examples of the genitive case. Examples (5.18) and (5.19) are typical of pronoun retention of the OE genitive. Especially when

someone's name is introduced, a personal pronoun of the genitive, as in (5.18), is frequently employed, as some other examples found in Appendix C.<sup>8</sup>

(5.18) *OE Mart* 118. 3-4

On þone ilcan dæg bið þære fæmnan tid þe hire noma wæs sancta  
Anatolia.

‘On the same day is the festival of the virgin whose name was St.  
Anatolia.’

(5.19) *ChronA* 78. 26-7 (885)<sup>9</sup>

se wæs Karles sunu þe Æþelwulf West Seaxna cyning his dohtor hæfde  
him to cuene;

‘He was the son of Charles, whose daughter Æthelwulf, king of Wessex,  
had as queen.’

Example (5.20) is another interesting instance in which a name is introduced. It is interesting in that the subordinate clause contains a phrase like *this is*. When secondary clauses contain a phrase like *this is*, *that is*, or *it is*, a redundant personal pronoun occasionally occurs. A genitive construction, like *whose names are these* in the Present Day English translation, is extremely rare in Old English.

(5.20) *Num* 1. 4-5

7 ðæra mægða ealdras beoð mid inc mid heora hiredum, / ðe ðis synd  
heora naman : of Rubene, Elisur, Sedeures sunu.

‘And the leaders of the tribes shall be with you two with their retinues,  
whose names are these: from Reuben, Elizur, the son of Shedeur.’



In (5.21), *hiora*, which anaphorically indicates the antecedent, *men*, modifies the object noun in the adjective clause. The subject in the relative clause is an indefinite pronoun, *mon*, ‘man’ or ‘one’ in Present Day English. This indefinite pronoun, *man*, is used along with the passive construction in Old English. The passive structure in relative clauses led by relative markers in the genitive like *whose kinsmen were killed* is extremely rare in Old English.

(5.21) *Or* 2 5. 46. 25-28

Ac gesette þa men on ænne truman þe mon hiora mægas ær on ðæm londe slog, 7 wiste þæt hie woldon geornfulran beon þære wrace þonne oþere men, 7 hie swa wæron oð hie þær mæst ealle ofslægene wurdon.

‘But (he) appointed the men whose kinsmen were killed [lit. whose kinsmen one killed] on the land before and knew that they would more eagerly revenge than other men, and they thus stayed until most of them were killed there.’

A tautological personal pronoun also appears in the compound relative, as in (5.22). The first element of the compound relative, *se þe*, is appositively correlated to its antecedent, *se*, which is co-referential with *his* in the relative clause.

(5.22) *CP* 66. 24- 68. 1

Se ðonne bið siwenigge se þe his ondgit bið to ðon beorhte scinende ðæt hie mæge ongietan soðfæstnesse, gif hit ðonne aðistriað ða flæsclican weorc.

‘He, whose mind is clear enough to perceive the truth, is blear-eyed if it (his mind) is obscured by fleshly works.’

A redundant personal pronoun in the genitive case is a part of an object of a preposition in (5.23). So is *þinre*, a second person personal pronoun in the genitive, in (5.24). A personal pronoun of the second person plural is a part of subject nouns in (5.25).

(5.23) *Gen* 45. 8

Ðæt næs na eowres þances ac þurh God, þe ic þurh hys willan hider asend wæs: se dide me swylce ic Pharaones fæder wære 7 hys hyredes hlaford, 7 he sette me to ealdre ofer Egypta land.

‘It was not by your favour but by God, by whose will I was sent forth hither. He made me Pharaoh’s father and lord of his household. He ordained me as king over the land of Egypt.’

(5.24) *Gen* 48. 15

7 he bletsode Iosep hys sunu, 7 cwæþ : Drihten, þu þe mine fæderas on þinre sihðe eodon, Abraham 7 Isaac ; God, ðu þe me feddest fram cyldhade oþ ðysne dæg :

‘And he blessed Joseph, his son and said, “Lord, you in whose sight my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, walked. God, you who has fed me from my childhood until today.’

(5.25) *CP* 180. 23-4

Wa eow welegum, þe eower lufu eall and eower tohopa is on eowrum worldwelum,

‘Woe to you rich men, whose whole love and hope is in your worldly riches;’

Examples from (5.26) to (5.32) are those of pronoun retention of the dative. The dative case is one of the two cases that are, Curme (1931:206) says, difficult to relativise. Therefore, first of all, the dative case itself can cause a redundant personal pronoun to appear in a relative clause, especially when it functions as an indirect object of a verb, as in (5.26) A redundant personal pronouns is an indirect object of the verbs, *asecgan* in the example.

(5.26) *Wand* 9-11

Nis nu cwicra nan  
þe ic him modsefan minne durre  
 sweotule asecgan.

‘There is no living man to whom I dare speak my mind openly.’

A superfluous personal pronoun also occurs in the OE compound relative, as in (5.27) and (5.28). *Him* is an indirect object of *gifð* (< *giefan*) and *syleð* (< *sellan*), both of which require the dative case for the object of things.

(5.27) *CP* 42. 5-9

Gif ðonne sio feding ðara sceapa bið þære lufan tacen, hwy forcwið  
 ðonne se þe him God swelce cræftas gifð þæt he ne fede his heorde,  
 buton he cweðan wille þæt he ne lufige ðone Hlaford & ðone hean Hirde  
 ealra gesceafta?

‘If, then, the feeding of the sheep is the sign of love, why does he, to whom God has given such qualities, refuse to feed his flock, unless he wishes to say that he does not love the Lord and high Shepherd of all creatures?’

(5.28) *Wid* 131-4

Swa ic þæt symle onfond on þære feringe,

þæt se biþ leofast londbuendum

se þe him god syleð gumena rice

to gehealdenne, þenden he her leofað.

‘Thus I always found out in the journeying that the one to whom God grants the kingdom of men to hold while he lives here is the dearest among the inhabitants in the land.’

In (5.29), the relative clause has a verb, *miltsian*, which regularly takes the dative case for its object. The dative case is strongly needed by the verb, as the accusative case is demanded by the verb, *lystan*, in (5.13). When there is an element which strongly requires certain morphological case-marking, a tautological personal pronoun appears in a relative clause to show the case.

(5.29) *BlHom* 4. 47. 5-9

& þis weorc biþ deoflum se mæsta teona ; forþon þe hi habbaþ manega saula on heora gewaldum þe him wile git God miltsian for heora mægena weorþunga, & for eorþlicra manna gebedum, & ealra haligra, & for his mycclan mildheortnesse.

‘And this work is the greatest source of annoyance to devils, because they have many souls in their power to whom God will yet show mercy on account of their powerful supplications, and on account of the prayers of earthly men, and of all saints, and for his great mercy.’

In (5.30), the compound relative, *þara þe* is appositive to its antecedent in the genitive and *him* appears to express dative of interest.

(5.30) *Dream* 85-6

ond ic hælān mæg

æghwylcne anra, þara þe him bið egesa to me.

‘And I can heal every one of those who has awe towards me.’

A superfluous personal pronoun may appear for emphasis as in (5.31). Underlined *him* refer not only to *þa þre fæmnan* but also to *þa apostolas*. Therefore, *him* may have been inserted for emphasis. The verb *bebead* (<*bebeodan*) in the adjective clause also often takes the dative of person for its object.

(5.31) *BlHom* 13. 145. 30-3

& þa apostolas onfengon þære eadigan Marian & þa þre fæmnan þe him  
Crist ær bebead, þæt hie wacedon buton forlætnesse & þæt hie cyþdon  
Drihtnes wuldor [be hire] & ealle medemnesse be þære eadigan Marian.  
‘And the apostles and the three women whom Christ had commanded  
before to watch without intermission and to declare the glory of the  
Lord with respect to her and all his kindness to the blessed Mary, took  
charge of Mary.’

The question marks in (5.32) indicate that there are two possible interpretations. The one is that *me* is the antecedent, modified by *þe ic*. This is the editor, Sedgefield’s interpretation. The other is to take *rædes 7 frofre* as the antecedent, followed by *þe ... him*. *Him* may be required by the verb in the subordinate clause, *truwian*, which usually takes the dative case for its object. Both interpretations seem possible in this example.

(5.32) *Bo* 154. II<sup>b</sup>. 10-14

me þas woruldsælða welhwæs blindne  
on ðis dimme hol dysine forlæddon,  
7 me(?) þa berypton rædes 7 frofre(?)  
for heora untrewum, þe ic(?) him(?) æfre betst  
truwian sceolde.

‘This worldly prosperity nearly misled me, blind and foolish, into this dim hole, and deprived me, who should ever trust them best, of reason and consolation because of their unfaithfulness.’

OR ‘and deprived me of reason and consolation which I should ever trust best, because of its unfaithfulness.’

To sum up Old English examples, we have observed that there are some factors for a redundant personal pronoun to occur in relative clauses led by a relative marker. It surely shows the case of relativisers. However, it does not appear to indicate the case relation to the antecedent, but in most cases the case is required by some element in relative clauses. A verb, noun, or preposition can trigger pronoun retention. Certain cases themselves can also set it off. It is agreement with other elements that matters, especially in Old English, an inflected language. Pronoun retention is occasionally used for stylistic effects, such as emphasis.

It is sometimes strongly required by an element or sometimes purely natural to have a tautological personal pronoun in relative clauses. It may be supported by the fact verified by Mitchell (1985: § 2191) that there is no instance of pronoun retention in ‘*seþe* compound relative clauses. If the case of *þe* is expressed by another element, a tautological personal pronoun need not appear. When it is not expressed, it is sometimes preferable to have a personal

pronoun taking the case. Of course, there are many relative clauses in the same situation yet without such a redundant personal pronoun. Therefore, it is when some element strongly requires an overt case that pronoun retention often occurs in relative clauses.

Lastly, it is worth noting that we have more examples in verse than in prose (Mitchell (1985:§2198)). It is sometimes more difficult in verse examples to judge if it is pronoun retention or not. However, taking into account that we find more verse examples and that there is only one instance in the *Parker Chronicle* (Mitchell (1985: § 2187)), a redundant personal pronoun may possibly be used for metrical purposes. When we talk about a “relation” expressed by a relative, we tend to think of the relation between a relative and its antecedent. However, I have come to a conclusion that pronoun retention frequently occurs for agreement with another element in a relative clause as well as for stylistic effects in Old English.

### 5.3. Pronoun Retention in Middle English

One may think, if pronoun retention serves as a means to show a grammatical case clearly, there should be more examples found in Early Middle English, when demonstrative pronouns are greatly levelled to *þe* and *þet* but *wh*-interrogative pronouns has not prevailed yet as relatives. In fact, it becomes more difficult in the period to decide if a particle, *þe* or more often *þet*, is a relative or a conjunction since the forms have both functions. Then, the confusion seems understandable when *þet* obtains many more functions in Middle English.<sup>10</sup> However, excluding ambiguous instances, we still find tautological personal pronouns throughout Middle English until, according to Curme (1931:207), the eighteenth century.

Pronoun retention is also found in all the cases in Middle English. First, we shall take a look at examples of redundant personal pronouns in the subject position.<sup>11</sup> It is noteworthy that, in Middle English, we often find instances of pronoun retention in the subject position, which is the easiest position to relativise, as has been seen in Accessibility Hierarchy in (5.2). It appears often in constructions like *it is ... þæt ...*, *þis is ... þæt ...*, *þæt is ... þæt ...* and *þere is/are ... þæt ...*. A typical example is shown in (5.33), in which *hit* in the relative clause is co-referential with its antecedent, *dæl*. *Dæl* is interpreted as a neuter noun in this work. We find instances of these constructions throughout Middle English, as in (5.34), (5.35) and also examples of the other positions. The frequent occurrence in the structures is interesting in that the zero-relative is also often seen in such structures. However, pronoun retention may have a different origin from that of the zero-relative and be derived from Old English correlative constructions such as *þæt ... þæt*.

(5.33) *Vsp.D.Hom.* 43. 139. 1

Ðiss is þ̅ seleste dæl þ̅ hit næfre ne byð hir[e] wiðtogen,

‘This is the noblest part which will never be taken away from her.’

A phrase *my uncle swears* is inserted between *which that* and the rest of the elements in (5.34). No element is added but a redundant personal pronoun follows right after the relative in (5.35), as in (5.33).

(5.34) Chaucer *TC* II 653-4

“Lo, this is he

Which that myn uncle swerith he moot be deed,”

‘Lo, this is he who, my uncle swears, must be dead.’



(5.35) Chaucer *CT.Kn.A* 2125

Ther is no newe gyse that it nas old.

‘There is no new fashion that has not been old.’

It is pointed out that a tautological personal pronoun tends to appear when a clause or a phrase is inserted between the relative and the rest of the elements of the clause in order to make the grammatical relation clearer, as we have seen in (5.34).<sup>12</sup> Most of the examples of pronoun retention in the subject position in Middle English are categorised into this kind; it serves as a means to clarify the context. A long *when* clause appears right after the relative *þet* in (5.36). The clause is so long that it is a little difficult to figure out who does what. It seems that, in this instance, *hi* is inserted after the *when* clause to make the grammatical relation clearer.

(5.36) *Ayenb.* 59. 28-34

Þe vifte is yet more sotil / of ham þet huanne hi willeþ þet me hise  
praysi / and hi nolleþ zigge aperteliche : hi hit makeþ a naȝt / and  
makeþ zuo moche ham milde / and ziggeþ þet hi byeþ zuo kueade / and  
zuo zenuol / and zuo onconnynde : þrisiþe more / þanne hi by. vor þet  
me ham hereþ / and hyealde : uor wel boȝsam.

‘The fifth is yet more subtle of them that when they wish that one  
should be of his value and they won’t say it clearly do quite contrary  
and make themselves very humble and say that they are too evil, sinful  
and ignorant: three times as much as they are so that one hears and holds  
them for they are so humble.’

A redundant personal pronoun immediately follows the relative in (5.37).

This case is interesting in that a subordinate clause, which belongs to the relative clause according to the meaning, appears outside of the relative clause. According to the criteria we have established so far, there is no reason why a tautological personal pronoun needs to appear there. The relative does occur far from its antecedent but nothing prevents us from understanding the relation between the relative and the other elements of the clause. On the contrary, if we simply delete the relative, they can be two sentences without any grammatical problems. Therefore, I suggest that in this example not *he* but *þe* is added to show a grammatical link between the two sentences. It is a looser link than a usual restrictive relative clause. I will come back to this point later.

(5.37) *Chad* 196-200

Ic wat enne man in þisum ealonde. mittes se halga wer ceadda se biscop ferde of þisum middangearde. þe he geseh his broðor saule mid micle engla werode niðer astigan of heofone. 7 genam mid hine his saule. 7 to þam heofonlican rice eft gecerde.

‘I know a man in this land who, when the holy man, Chad, the bishop, departed from this world, saw his brother’s soul descend from Heaven with a great host of angels and took his (Chad’s) soul with him and returned to the heavenly kingdom again.’

Redundant *hie* appears in the relative clause in (5.38). The insertion of the phrase, *ðe Salamun seide* (‘as Solomon said’) possibly caused *hie* to appear in the clause. Likewise, owing to the insertion of a phrase, *for her lodlych laykez*, *þay* (‘they’), which is co-referential with the antecedent of *þat*, that is, *men*, appears in the subordinate clause in (5.39).

(5.38) *Vices & V.* 59. 19-20

TIMOR domini is an oðer hali mihte, þat ðe Salamun seide hie is initium sapientie, ‘Anginn of wisdom.’

‘Timor domini is another holy virtue, which, as Solomon said, is initium sapientiae, “the beginning of wisdom”’.

(5.39) *Cleanness* 273-4

Þose wern men meþelez and maȝty on vrþe,  
þat for her lodlych laykez alosed þay were;

‘Those were immoderate and powerful men on earth who were famed for their horrible practice.’

A *when* clause follows particle *that* in (5.40), and a tautological personal pronoun occurs in the adjective clause. However, no element intervenes between particle *that* and redundant *he* in (5.41). This subordinate clause may be a noun clause which explains about *Sir Blamoure de Ganys* as well as is an object of the verb *knew*.

(5.40) Malory *Wks.* 640. 1-3

So turne we to the damesell of the castell, that whan Alysaunder le Orphelyne had forjusted the four knyghtes she called hym to her

(5.41) Malory *Wks.* 405. 7-8

for he knew sir Blamoure de Ganys that he was a noble knyght, and of noble knyghtes comyn.

Relativisation of the genitive case is still difficult until *whose* gains

ground in late Middle English. Therefore, it seems natural that we often see pronoun retention in the genitive case until then. Example (5.42) is a typical instance in the *Trinity Homilies*, in which *wh*-forms are hardly used as relatives. Moreover, as is pointed out in Mustanoja (1960:159-62), Seppänen (1997a:160 and 1997b:201-2) and Amano (2003:96-8), a pronoun in the genitive case sometimes follows a noun to show that the noun is in the genitive in Medieval English, as in *Affrica 7 Asia hiera landgemircu* (*Or* 1.1.9.11) and *Felyce hir fayrnesse* (*PPL* B xii 47). Seppänen (1997a:160-4) suggests that pronoun retention in relative clauses takes the same line and it even served in part to develop dialectal genitive forms such as *that's*, *at's* and *what's*.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, this addition of the genitive case is rare until the fifteenth century according to Mustanoja (1960:161). Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that they have the same origin, though Seppänen accounts for it with ‘cultural lag’ (1997a:163).

(5.42) *Trin.Hom.* 12. 69. 15-7

Edie ben alle þo : þe here giltes ben atleten, and helid here sinnes. þat  
ben þo þe hem rihtlecheð. also þe prophete dauid hem lerde.

‘Blessed are all those whose trespasses are remitted and their sins  
hidden, that is those who amend their lives, as the prophet David taught  
them.’

Example (5.43) is cited from *Ancrene Riwe* (BL, Cotton MS. Nero A xiv), and it is the only possible instance of pronoun retention in this work.<sup>14</sup> *Wh*-/*hw*-forms are employed as relatives there, but they are mainly used as generalising relatives, or they follow prepositions as simple relatives. It is actually not impossible to use *hwas* to show the genitive relation in this

manuscript: e.g. *nere þet þing sulf grislich hwas scheadewe 3e ne muhte nout for grislich biholden?* (AR(N) 84. 22-3). However, the scribe prefers pronoun retention in this case. Otherwise, it can simply be a matter of our interpretation. Referring to the equivalent part in *Ancrene Wisse* (CCCC402), we find out that it does not have an indefinite pronoun, *me*, and accordingly *þe* is a simple relative in the part. It may be possible that the insertion of a subordinate clause, *ase ofte ase me euesede him*, caused the indefinite pronoun to appear in the subject position and the genitive form is interpreted as redundant.

(5.43) AR(N) 182. 2-4

and absalones schene wlite. þet ase ofte ase me euesede him. me solde his euesunge ðeo her þet me kerf of : uor two hundred sicles of seol-ure.  
 ‘The radiant beauty of Absalom, whose clippings were sold as often as his hair was cut the hair which he cut off for two hundred shekels of silver weighted out;’

Cf. AW 203. f. 108a. 5-7

Absalones schene wlite. þeas ofte as me euesede him. salde his euesunge. þe her þ he kearf of : for twa hundret sicles of seoluer iweiet.

(5.44) *Havelok* 27-9

IT was a king bi are dawes,  
That in his time were gode lawes  
 He dede maken, an ful well holden;  
 ‘There was a king in former days, in whose time there were good laws (which) he caused to be made and held very well.’

It seems natural to have pronoun retention in (5.44), in which the case to be

relativised is in the genitive as well as an object of a preposition, since the Modern English expression such as *in whose time* is extremely uncommon even in Middle English.

In (5.45), alliteration requires the subject at the beginning of the b-verse, and therefore pronoun retention occurs in the position. Pronoun retention occurs with *wh*-relatives, as is seen in (5.46).

(5.45) *St.Erk.* 153-4 <sup>15</sup>

Queþer mony porer in þis place is putte into grave

þat merkid is in oure martilage his mynde for euer;

‘Yet there is many a poorer man buried here whose memory is set down in our burial-register for ever.’

(5.46) Chaucer *TC* II 316-20

Now, nece myn, the kynges deere son,

The goode, wise, worthi, fresshe, and free,

Which alwey for to don wel is his wone,

The noble Troilus, so loveth the,

That, but ye helpe, it wol his bane be.

‘Now, my good niece, the king’s dear son, the good, wise, worthy and fresh and free, whose custom is always to do well, the noble Troilus, loves you, so that if you do not help, it will be his destruction.’

Lastly, we will take a look at examples in the objective case. As is pointed out in the Old English section, there is a case hierarchy for relativisation; the genitive and dative cases are difficult to relativise and the nominative case is rather easy. As is seen in the development of *wh*-forms, which first start as

generalising relatives and also occur after prepositions, there are some cases in which overt case-marking is preferable. One of them is the position after prepositions. A redundant personal pronoun which is co-referential with its antecedent appears after a preposition in examples (5.47) (5.50). *MED* (*that* rel. pron., 2d (a)) interprets (5.47) as an instance of pronoun retention. However, according to the subjunctive form of the auxiliary verb in the subordinate clause, the clause can be a purpose clause, ‘so that they can live by them’. Moreover, the pronoun is a demonstrative pronoun, not a personal pronoun, as in many other examples.

(5.47) *Vsp.D.Hom* 3. 4. 15-6

Gyf þu bearn habbe, lær heo þa cræftes, þ heo mugen beo þan libben.

‘If you have children, teach them the skills, by which they can live.’

(5.48) *SWard* 245. 21-4

Þis hus þe ure lauerð spekeð of : is seolf þe mon inwið þe monnes wit.

In þis hus. is þe huse lauerd. ant te fulitohe wif : mei beon wil ihaten.

þat ga þe hus efter hire : ha diht hit al to wundre.

‘This house which our Lord speaketh of is man’s self within; the man’s wit within this house is the house-lord (master of the house), and the untoward wife may be called Will. Should the house go after her (obey her) she bringeth it all to ruin.’

In (5.48), a tautological pronoun appears after a preposition, *after*. The translation given below the text is the editor Morris’ (1868:244). He translates as if underlined *þat* were a conjunction in order to make the context clearer. Nevertheless, *þat* here is a relative cataphorically modifying *ha* in the

following main clause, and thus it means ‘She, whom the house obeys, bringeth it all to ruin’. This cataphorical reference by a relative standing at the beginning of the sentence is not exceptional especially in the transitional period between Old and Middle English.

Visser (1963-73:59) takes *that he* in (5.49) as a relative combination, while the editor Skeat (1868) interprets *that ... with him* as the combination in his Glossary. Both interpretations are grammatically possible.

(5.49) *Havelok* 949-51

It ne was non so litel knaue,

For to leyken, ne forto plawe,

þat he(?) ne wo[l]de with him(?) pleye:

‘There was no child however little that [desired] to sport and play with whom he (or who ... with him) would not spend time.’

After the accusative and dative cases amalgamate into the objective case, it does not seem difficult to relativise the new case except for the position after a preposition. However, we still find instances of pronoun retention, which often confuse us. *MED* (*that* rel. pron., 1c (a)) has the following instance (5.50) as an example of pronoun retention.

(5.50) *St. Marg.* 32. 6-8

Ich leote oðer-hwiles a cleane mon wunien neh a cleane wummon, þet ich nawhit towart ham ne warpe ne ne weorri, ah leote ham al iwurðen.

‘I sometimes let a pure man stay near a pure woman, whom I do not attack or make war against at all but I let them all alone.’



However, if so, the combination takes not only *woman* but also *man* as its antecedent, since the personal pronoun, *ham*, denotes ‘them’. This instance may support Mitchell and Robinson’s suggestion (2001:89) that Old English *þe* originally means ‘namely’ (Cf. OE example 34 in Appendix C).

(5.51) *Gawain* 2195

Þis is a chapel of meschaunce, þat chekke hit bytyde!

‘This is a chapel of disaster which bad luck befalls!’

(5.52) *Malory Wks.* 180. 21-3

For this was drawyn by a knyght presoner, sir Thomas Malleorré, that God sende hym good recover. AMEN.

(5.51) and (5.52) are quoted from Tolkien and Gordon (1967) and Visser (1963-73:59) respectively. Both *þat* and *that* can be either relatives with pronoun retention or conjunctions leading optative clauses since both verbs in the subordinate clauses are in the subjunctive mood. If they are optative clauses, (5.51) and (5.52) mean ‘May bad luck befall it’ and ‘May God send him good recover’ respectively. Especially as for (5.52), I should take *that* as a conjunction with *sende* in the subjunctive mood and *AMEN* after the sentence.

A tautological *him* occurs in the manuscripts except for the Trinity version in (5.53). It is noteworthy that it appears in the *it is ... that* construction mentioned with the nominative examples in this section. It seems that the structure in (5.53) is not as complex as it requires a redundant personal pronoun in the relative clause to show the case relation with the antecedent. Pronoun retention in the *it is ... that ...* clause may have a stylistic effect.

(5.53) *Cursor* 15995-6

(Cotton)

¶ þis it was þat ilk cok,  
þat petre herd him crau,

(Göttingen)

[þ]is it was þat ilke coke,  
þat petir herd him crau,

(Fairfax)

¶ þis hit was þat ilk cok.  
þat petre herde him craw.

(Trinity)

¶ þis was þe same cok :  
þat petur herde crowe

‘This was it, the same cock, which Peter heard crow.’

To sum up pronoun retention in Middle English, we have observed that it is used to make the context clear, especially when a phrase or clause is inserted between a relative and the rest of the clause. It serves to make the syntactical relation clear. On the contrary, we cannot deny the possibility that it appears by mistake because of a long or even short insertion, as Jespersen (1927:112-3) points out. He calls it ‘a careless relative word’ (1927:112).<sup>16</sup> It is also admitted that it is more difficult after great levelling to decide if it is pronoun retention or a conjunctive clause led by *that*, the latter of which is used in various ways. However, as in Appendix C, there are enough instances to support that this structure plays a certain role in the English syntax. In early Middle English, even though levelling has progressed to a great extent, there are some conditions that inflections of the demonstrative pronoun appear, for example, after a preposition or in a certain phrases that are frequently used. In the same way, there must be some conditions that a relative particle is required overt case-marking. It is employed to make the context clear, to relativise the genitive case, to express overt case-marking, and, in addition, for stylistic purposes, as Mustanoja (1960:203) comments that it is frequently found in

Spenser's works. It is interesting that pronoun retention occurs often in *it is ... that* or *this/that is ... that* structures in which a pronoun seems unnecessary to make the context clear.

#### 5.4. Summary

The relative originally has two aspects of functions; the linking function of one clause to another and the pronominal function of playing a role of an element in the subordinate clause, occasionally co-referential in number and gender with its antecedent.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, we should keep in mind that, though the frequency varies according to literary works, the most frequent relative markers are *þe* in Old English and *þet* in early Middle English. That is, they are particles with no inflectional endings. Therefore, as is explained above, morphological agreement in gender, number and case is not always essential. On the contrary, relative constructions are marked by the lack of an element in them. Rhythm and style may also trigger pronoun retention. However, there must have been some cases in which overt case-marking of a relative particle is required. Some cases are difficult to relativise by nature. Yet, moreover, I have found out that agreement by overt case-marking to an element which strongly requires a certain case is one of the most important elements to show syntactical relations in English. In that sense, pronoun retention may serve as a means to indicate cases.

##### 5.4.1. Agreement

It has been observed in this chapter that pronoun retention is sometimes employed especially when the context needs to be made clear or when another element entails a particular case inflection. In Old English, which is an

inflected language, prepositions and particular verbs in subordinate clauses require overt case-marking by form. Consequently, when there is no other element in the relative clause that can show case inflections, a tautological personal pronoun could occur to demonstrate them.

As levelling progresses, it becomes more difficult to decide if a clause led by *þe* or *þet* with a redundant personal pronoun is an example of pronoun retention or simply a conjunctive clause. Some verbs and prepositions still need overt case-marking in early Middle English. However, inflections are largely lost and formal case-marking becomes simpler. Consequently, pronoun retention changes its roles and it comes to be employed to make the context clear, especially when a phrase or clause is inserted between a relative and the rest of the relative clause. It survives long until Modern English.

Morphological agreement is a very important factor and explains a large number of examples of pronoun retention. Nevertheless, there are still some instances that cannot be explained by it. Do they occur by mistake, as Jespersen (1927:112-3) points out, or is there any other usage of pronoun retention?

#### 5.4.2. Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

Lastly, it may be suggested that this construction expresses non-restrictive relative clauses. We have detailed explanations on restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in almost all Modern English grammar books. Yet, this topic seems to be avoided in Medieval English grammar books. Consequently, we are given an illusion that Old and Middle English do not have such a distinction or that they are too primitive to establish it. Although it is admitted that all grammatical rules for the constructions are not applicable to Old and Middle English, yet there must also have been at least a difference in

usage between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Medieval English. Moreover, the particle's conjunctive force and a pause between the particle and the rest of the sentence effectively enable pronoun retention to express non-restrictive relative clauses.

Applying the rule to the instances we have seen, I find it quite effective especially in Old English. A large number of the OE examples except for the one in which an element strongly requires a certain case for agreement show that they are non-restrictive relative clauses. As is explained above, *þe* in (5.7) and (5.8) is translated into 'because' by the editors of the texts. However, they are surely relatives with superfluous *he* according to the context and syntactical constructions. This usage thus explains why the easiest case for relativisation causes pronoun retention. Example (5.15) shows pronoun retention in the accusative case. A tautological personal pronoun occurs not after the relative but between the noun subject and the verb, which is a usual word order in the affirmative statement. With *þe* showing a loose connection of its following clause to the main clause, pronoun retention effectively expresses a non-restrictive relative clause in this instance. A compound relative is employed in (5.16), and therefore we have no doubt that it is a relative. As the editor Sweet (1958) translates, the compound relative may imply 'while' as relatives in non-restrictive relative clauses carry conjunctive meanings. Mitchell (1985: § 2187) mentions the possibility that *þe* in (5.17) may introduce a causal clause. It can be interpreted as a non-restrictive relative clause with causal force. Example (5.20) is an instance of the genitive case, which is difficult to relativise by nature. Names are additionally given, led by *this is*. The compound relative in (5.22) is appositively correlated to its antecedent, *se*, implying a concessive clause. Example (5.27) also implies a concessive clause, as Sweet (1871:42) and Ono and Nakao (1980:322) translate

it so.<sup>18</sup> In (5.32), if the relative clause modifies *me*, it may express a non-restrictive relative clause with a concessive meaning. The information about *me* was added at the end of the sentence. Examples (5.19) and (5.23) are non-restrictive relative clauses by nature of their antecedents, i.e., proper nouns.

This usage may still continue in Middle English. It is difficult to explain why a tautological personal pronoun appears in (5.37) unless it is a non-restrictive relative clause, loosely linking the subject in the second clause to the noun which is co-referential with it in the first clause. Also, *þat* in (5.48) precedes its antecedent and, as Morris (1868:244) suggests, may have a conditional meaning.

## Notes for Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Curme (1931:207).

<sup>2</sup> For example, Greenbaum (1996:189), and Biber, et al. (1999:8.7.2.1.)

<sup>3</sup> Agatha Christie, *Murder on the Orient Express*, London: Harper Collins, 1934, rpt. 1994.

<sup>4</sup> If the suppression of a pronoun indicates subordination, a personal pronoun can lead an adjective clause when the suppressed relative is realised by the personal pronoun in the zero-relative construction. The personal pronoun eventually fulfils two functions, as an inflected relative marker and as an embodied trace. The possibility that a personal pronoun can be used as a relative is pointed out by Seppänen (1997a:166, note 2). However, I treat only pronoun retention in relative clauses led by relative markers since this chapter discusses if a tautological personal pronoun shows the case of the relative marker or not.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell (1985: § 2191) quotes the example from Bede (Ca) 42. 3, that is, Kk. 3. 18 Cambridge University Library. However, my example is cited from the EETS edition, which is based on Bodleian, Tanner 10. The sentences cited are identical.

<sup>6</sup> *þe* is given a stroke and a dot beneath it to show that it is to be omitted. See Miller (1898), Part II, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> See Curme (1952:196).

<sup>8</sup> It may be interesting to investigate structures in which a name is introduced. In some constructions without particle *þe* or demonstrative *þæs*, *þære* or *þara*, but simply with a personal pronoun, *his/hire/hiera*, some editors translate the pronoun as a relative pronoun, *whose*, for instance, in Thorpe (1844:2-3), which we have seen in (1.3) in Chapter 1. It seems to me that it is simply a matter of the translator's choice to make the phrase more modern English for

readers, rather than he interprets it as a personal pronoun functioning as a relative or as an asyndetic construction without an overt relative. Another editor, Jonathan Wilcox (1994:108), also employs a comma (,) before *his* in his text, *Ælfric's Prefaces*. Whether it is possible to take a personal pronoun in a certain construction as a relative or not is still open to question. Therefore, as I have already mentioned, personal pronouns are excluded from my list of relative markers.

<sup>9</sup> This example is reproduced here from (1.6).

<sup>10</sup> According to *MED*, *that* is employed as a demonstrative pronoun, a relative, a definite article, an adverb, a conjunction with various meanings, and a particle, and so is *þe*.

<sup>11</sup> Visser (1963-73) does not have a section for *þe he*, although he has separate sections for *þe his*, *þat his*, *þe hine/him* and *þat him*. It may give readers an impression that there is no instance of *þe he*. It is, of course, not true, as Visser himself has an example of *þe he* from *Ælfric's, Colloq.* 116, in the section for *þat he*.

<sup>12</sup> Jespersen does not mention particular constructions but states that 'it becomes necessary to insert a pronoun for that purpose [case-indication] when the relation is somewhat more complicated' (1927:112). Curme says that other than examples of pronoun retention of the genitive case, it appears 'especially in long descriptive clauses' (1931:207). Visser refers only to an insertion of an *if* clause after a relative (1963-73:60). Seppänen (2004:84) mentions the situation in which some elements appear between a relative and a redundant personal pronoun.

<sup>13</sup> In some dialects, 's is added to relative particles to express its genitive status as in the examples below. However, it is a recent development and has gained ground in the 20th century according to Seppänen (1997a:158-9). Therefore, it is not our concern.



(a) That's the chap *that's* uncle was drowned. (Seppänen (1997a:153))

(b) That's the girl *what's* mum loves horror films (Seppänen (1997a:156))

<sup>14</sup> Jespersen (1927:109) and Visser (1963-73:59) quote the following sentence from *AR(N)* as an example of pronoun retention.

Iacob, *þe* vre loured scheawede *him* his nebschaft. (*AR* 154)

However, they use Morton's old edition and Day (1952) corrects italicised *þe* into *þo* in his edition (*AR(N)* 58. 25-6). I checked the original manuscript in the British Library and made sure that the correct manuscript reading is *þo*, not *þe*, in the example. Therefore, it is not an instance of pronoun retention.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted from *MED* (*that*, rel. pron., 1c (b)).

<sup>16</sup> Jespersen (1927:108-13) treats pronoun retention with and without a relative differently. The latter is pronoun retention in the zero-relative construction. Greenbaum (1996:189) regards this kind of tautological pronouns in Modern English as resumptive pronouns. So do Biber, et al (1999:8.7.2.1.). They further explain that it is non-standard and a disfluency.

<sup>17</sup> Quirk, et al. (1985:1245) explain that '[p]art of the explicitness of relative clauses lies in the specifying power of the relative pronoun. It may be capable of (i) showing concord with its antecedent, i.e. the preceding part of the noun phrase of which the relative clause is a postmodifier [external relation]; and (ii) indicating its function within the relative clause either as an element of clause structure (S, O, C, A) or as a constituent of an element in the relative clause [internal relation]'. A very similar definition is given by Jespersen (1927:108-9). *OED* (s.v. *pronoun*) defines that 'RELATIVE pronouns (who, which, that) combine the function of a personal or demonstrative pronoun with that of a conjunction, and subordinate one sentence or clause to another'.

<sup>18</sup> If *se þe* in this example is a non-restrictive relative clause, then it may not be a compound relative but a combination of a demonstrative pronoun followed by a *þe*-relative clause.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

The relative subordinates a clause to another clause, standing at the head of the clause. It has been traditionally defined that Old English relative markers are demonstrative pronouns, *se*, the particle, *þe*, and the combination of the two, and that, as demonstrative pronouns are levelled, interrogative pronouns come to be used as relatives and *þe* is replaced by *that* in Middle English. The new relative markers and *that* have survived in Present Day English. Therefore, I considered the transitional period between Old and Middle English as a new start of relative markers.

Despite the seemingly well-established definition, looking closely at grammar books, we have learnt in Chapter 2 that scholars' individual definitions vary, especially on Old English relatives. Some even carefully state that there is no relative in Old English. In fact, the additional definition on forms, such as *se*, *þe*, and the combination of the two forms, shows that it is difficult to define the relative only by the function and that there is no marker that is exclusively used for the relative construction. We still do not have such markers in Present Day English: *that* is used as a demonstrative pronoun and a conjunction, and *wh*-forms as interrogative pronouns. I believe that the relative construction has been a part of English syntax since Old English, depending on another construction, even though it is different from that of Present Day English in respect of subordination. Language changes and evolves.

I supported Curme in that 'th[e] suppression of the pronoun is the old primitive way of indicating that the clause is subordinated to what precedes'

(1931:205), except that it is an ‘old primitive’ way. The mechanism seems to be the core of the system and has actually been active still now. The relative construction is marked by suppressing a pro-form of the antecedent. A particle, *þe* in Old English and *that* through Middle to Present Day English, can appear at the head of the clause to signal where the relative clause starts. Most importantly, this explains the mechanisms of relative clauses with and without relative markers, the latter of which is called the zero-relative or contact-clauses.

There is another way to express relative clauses, that is, by means of demonstrative pronouns. There is no instance of a demonstrative pronoun used alone as a relative which takes the case required only by the main clause, though we have some such examples with a tautological pronoun taking the case in the relative clause. Demonstrative pronouns are suggested to gain the relative function through correlative constructions and the latter case also tends to occur to make correlative constructions with a demonstrative pronoun which modifies the antecedent. This fact may prove that demonstrative pronouns start to function as relatives where two clauses are correlatively or appositionally adjunct to each other. The subject position is the easiest to be relativised, and, therefore, the demonstrative pronoun in the second sentence originally standing at the head of the clause may be analysed as a relative and serve to connect two sentences closer. The demonstrative force enables them to have the function and correlative pronouns may also serve to link two clauses closely together. As for the compound relative, it is often suggested that the system also starts as an appositional or correlative construction and, therefore, *se’þe* is older. It is true that we find more examples of *se’þe* in older texts. However, there is no period which has only *se’þe* instances and *se’þe* compound relatives do not outnumber those of ‘*seþe* in most works.

In any case, other grammatical items are employed as relatives and the original functions of the items extended their functions to the relative. Therefore, it was suggested that the original functions always influence the use of relative markers.

There has been a long-lasting argument about the grammatical status of the indeclinable relative, *that*, in Modern English. Examining the characteristics of the particle, Jespersen first suggested that it should not be called a “pronoun” but a “conjunction”. Generative grammarians followed him, while many grammar books still term it a “pronoun” according to the traditional grammar. Recent studies take a middle position, namely, a ‘highly pronominal relativiser’ (van der Auwera (1985:170)), but the compromise does not seem satisfactory. Summarising previous studies, we have found out that the key point to the argument is the fact that the relative particles do not inflect and cannot be preceded by a preposition. Therefore, I have chosen for my corpus homilies and homiletic prose in the transitional period between Old and Middle English, which are suggested to maintain the Old English tradition down to early Middle English, and have studied two kinds of combinations containing a relative particle with a pronoun which is said to show the case of the particle. The one is the compound relative and the other is pronoun retention.

My study has revealed that the system working in common to both combinations is the English case system. Old English has grammatical items such as verbs and prepositions that strongly require particular overt case-marking. The pronouns in the combinations are suggested to show the case of the particles, *þe* and *þet*. However, the two systems proves that pronouns appear not to show the case of the relative but to meet requirements given by the Old English case system in general. I have also shown that Keenan and

Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (1977) is applicable to the two combinations. A lower, or marked, case in the Hierarchy tends to be chosen and shown by a pronominal element. The demonstrative pronoun of the compound relative may be a case indicator leading a *þe*-relative clause. This case indicator inflects basically according to the antecedent in early Old English and according to the information of the suppressed pronoun, that is, of the trace, in the adjective clause, by late Old English. However, it is attracted to another case when the antecedent has a lower, or more marked, case in the Hierarchy or when there is another element which strongly demands certain overt case-marking. Listing examples of pronoun retention in Old English, I suggested a possibility that it may also be used to show non-restrictive relative clauses.

With all the evidence, I have come to a conclusion that overt case-marking in the compound relative and pronoun retention is operated in most cases not by the relative system alone but by the English syntax on the whole. Therefore, we cannot conclusively state that overt case-marking is necessary to relative particles. Consequently, this result led me to the deduction that the relative particles, *þe* and *that*, may not be 'highly pronominal' relativisers, but, rather, if I am allowed to make a small modification, "highly conjunctival relativisers" by nature.

In fact, it is simply a matter of terminology. It seems quite natural and important to realise that it does not affect our literary judgement what syntactic status the particles have, as Mitchell (1985: § 2110) points out. There are many other words which show multiplicity in syntactic status. However, most native speakers will not stop and think over and over again what status a word has in a sentence, unless they study the word. It is interesting that Hock (1991) points out different attitudes toward the origin of the relative marker between Indo-European linguists and Germanic linguists. Even specialists'

views differ.

However, the fact that relative markers are either pronouns or particles in European languages means something to the system. It is traditionally defined that neither Proto-Indo-European relative nor Proto-Germanic has relative markers but their daughter languages developed their own relatives later. Kock points out that '[i]f we peruse some thirty or forty thousand pages of [M]od[ern] English literature and struggle through, in addition, the collection of curiosities stored up in the various [M]od[ern] grammars, we shall find ex[ample]s almost for everything' (1897:36). The scarcity of OE texts may have given us wrong impressions on the system, and so may the wide variety of ME texts, in contrast. Some usages can be regional and last only for a certain period of time. Even so, however, it may be safely stated at least that relative markers are either pronouns or conjunctival particles and that the latter seems to be always a majority of the system. In other words, the relative is always expressed by another system, a pronoun or conjunction, because the system expanded its function to the relative system. The relative construction is expressed by means of the markers' original functions. In that sense, some scholars state that there is no relative in Old English, and, to me, there is still no relative marker in Present Day English if we accept the definition.

Some may argue that pronominal forms, that is, *wh*-forms, are used more often than *that* in certain contexts in Present Day English (See Quirk (1957) and Biber, et al. (1999:8.7.1)). Looking closely at the development of Present Day English relative markers, however, we find that even *wh*-forms are on their way to become case-less except for the marked case, the genitive. *Which* is used for both the subject and object cases. *Whom* is getting obsolete and now *who* is preferably used for the object case as well. Thus, there seems to be a repetition of two tendencies of relative markers, that is, either frequent and

infrequent use of inflected forms as relatives in the course of the development of relative markers: thus, along with the particle, *þe*, *se*-relatives full of inflections in Old English, prosperity of *þe* and *þet* in the transitional period between Old and Middle English, introduction and establishment of *wh*-forms in Middle English, triumph of *that* and successive avoidance of the form in Modern English, and finally relatives without case-distinction in Present Day English.

Along with the tendency, there have always been relative particles with high frequency. As Samuels puts it, '[t]he origin of change, variation, consists of departures from existing norms' (1972:177). What is the norm of the relative marker? It must be indeclinable relative particles. They are always there and the most frequent forms throughout the history of the relative system. When the particles do not fit the context, some attempts are even made to make them fit it. Two of such attempts are the compound relative and pronoun retention and both systems have shown that the relative system itself does not need overt case-marking.

Old English *þe* is obviously not a pronoun. It does not stand alone in co-reference in form with what is mentioned before. Occasionally, it does stand alone as a conjunction, but the meaning is provided by the context. It is possible, however, that such particles gained a pronominal status later. A grammatical item can change its status for both intra- and extralinguistic factors. Analogy is one of such factors. Perhaps it is when *þe* is replaced by *þet* that the latter has gained its pronominal status by analogy between conjunctival *þet* and pronominal *þet*. *Þet* and *þe* are complementarily employed for gender distinction in some regions for a short time, which supports a pronominal status of the forms. However, after *þe* disappears and interrogative pronouns come to be used as relatives, *that* seems to get back to the original



position and is employed as frequently as was blamed in the *Spectator* in 1711. Finally, even *wh*-forms are in the course toward case-less relatives now. Thus, I have come to a conclusion that the relative particles may be “highly conjunctival” relativisers. Examining relatives with overt case-marking has helped us elucidate the grammatical system of relatives.

I focused on the relation between relative markers and the case system and left some problems untouched in this thesis. Verse texts are intentionally avoided except in Chapter 5, but it is surely worth studying relatives in verse as well as in other types of prose texts. Word order in the relative clause is not mentioned, since the final position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses is, I think, not as consistent as we think. None the less, detailed study on the topic may shed a new light. It is admitted that the stylistic development of the relative, as in the title of this thesis, can be sought only from changes in the use of relative constructions we have dealt with, from some characteristics the compound relative and pronoun retention have, and from the suggestion that pronoun retention may be employed for non-restrictive relative clauses. More study on relative from stylistic perspective will surely be of interest. The complexity of the system keeps creating various effects and usages. Moreover, as is mentioned in Introduction, the topic can be applied not only to diachronic and synchronic linguistics but to many other fields, such as stylistics, language acquisition and, accordingly, bilingualism. The relative system and the markers are still evolving in Present Day English. This topic will never cease to interest us. I hope this thesis will contribute to elucidate some mysteries of the relative system.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

Tables of Old English noun and adjective inflections are given in Appendix A for reference. There are some more variants of the inflections in actual OE texts, as you can see in Appendix B below. However, only typical forms are shown here to highlight the inflectional systems of each category. The tables are cited from Davis (1953).

#### A.1. Old English Nominal Inflections

##### Weak Declensions

	Sing.			Pl.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
Nom.	nam-a	ēag-e	sunn-e	nam-an
Acc.	nam-an	ēag-e	sunn-an	nam-an
Gen.	nam-an	ēag-an	sunn-an	nam-ena
Dat.	nam-an	ēag-an	sunn-an	nam-um

##### Strong Declensions

###### Masc.

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	stān	stān-as	engel	engl-as
Gen.	stān-es	stān-a	engl-es	engl-a
Dat.	stān-e	stān-um	engl-e	engl-um

# Neut.

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	scip	scip-u	hūs	hūs
Gen.	scip-es	scip-a	hūs-es	hūs-a
Dat.	scip-e	scip-um	hūs-e	hūs-um

# Fem.

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.	ġief-u	ġief-a, -e	lār	lār-a, -e
Acc.	ġief-e	ġief-a, -e	lār-e	lār-a, -e
Gen.	ġief-e	ġief-a, -ena	lār-e	lār-a, -ena
Dat.	ġief-e	ġief-um	lār-e	lār-um

# Minor Declensions

## -u Declension

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	sun-u	sun-a	hand	hand-a
Gen.	sun-a	sun-a	hand-a	hand-a
Dat.	sun-a	sun-um	hand-a	hand-um

## Mutation Plurals: some of their cases inflect by change of root-vowels

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	fōt	fēt	burg	byriġ
Gen.	fōt-es	fōt-a	byriġ, burg-e	burg-a
Dat.	fēt	fōtum	byriġ	burg-um

*-r* nouns, all denoting relationship

	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	brōþor	brōþor, brōþr-u	fæder	fæder-as
Gen.	brōþor	brōþr-a	fæder, fæder-es	fæder-a
Dat.	brēþer	brōþr-um	fæder	fæder-um

*-nd* nouns: formed from the present participle of verbs: only frēond, ‘friend’ and fēond ‘enemy’

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	frēond	frīend, frēond-as
Gen.	frēond-es	frēond-a
Dat.	frīend, frēond-e	frēond-um

Other nouns from participles, in *-end*

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom./Acc.	būend	būend, būend-e, būend-as
Gen.	būend-es	būend-ra
Dat.	būend-e	būend-um

## A.2. Old English Adjectival Inflections

### Strong Declension

	Sing.		
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	cwic	cwic	cwic-u
Acc.	cwic-ne	cwic	cwic-e
Gen.	cwic-es	cwic-es	cwic-re
Dat.	cwic-um	cwic-um	cwic-re
Instr.	cwic-e	cwic-e	(cwic-re)
	Pl.		
	all genders		
Nom./Acc.	cwic-e	cwic-u	cwic-a, -e
Gen.		cwic-ra	
Dat.		cwic-um	

### Weak Declension

	Sing.			Pl.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
Nom.	gōd-a	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-an
Acc.	gōd-an	gōd-e	gōd-an	gōd-an
Gen.	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-ra (-ena)
Dat.	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-um

### A.3. Old English Pronominal Inflections

#### A.3.1. Personal Pronouns

##### First Person

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	ic	wit	wē
Acc.	mē	unc	ūs
Gen.	mīn	uncer	ūre
Dat.	mē	unc	ūs

##### Second Person

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	þū	git	gē
Acc.	þē	inc	ēow
Gen.	þīn	incer	ēower
Dat.	þē	inc	ēow

##### Third Person

	Sing.			Pl.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
Nom.	hē	hit	hēo	hie
Acc.	hine	hit	hie	hie
Gen.	his	his	hi(e)re	hi(e)ra
Dat.	him	him	hi(e)re	him

#### A.3.2. Simple Demonstrative and Definite Article

	Sing.			Pl.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
Nom.	sē <sup>v</sup>	þæt	sēo	þā
Acc.	þone	þæt	þā	þā
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære	þāra
Dat.	þæm	þæm	þære	þæm
Instr.	þȳ	þȳ, þon	(þære)	

# Compound Demonstrative

	Sing.			Pl.
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	
Nom.	þes	þis	þēos	þās
Acc.	þisne	þis	þās	þās
Gen.	þisses	þisses	þisse	þissa
Dat.	þissum	þissum	þisse	þissum
Instr.	þȳs	þȳs	(þisse)	

## Appendix B

Inflections of the demonstrative pronoun in Old and Middle English homilies are given in the tables below. The genders in ME works are OE grammatical genders to understand changes. Thorn (*þ*) in the tables represents both *þ* and *ð* in actual texts. Some investigations are partial so that more variants may appear in some works.

### 1. The *Vercelli Homilies*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se	þæt	sio, seo	þa
Acc.	þone, þæne, þæt, þa	þæt	þa	þa
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære	þara
Dat.	þam, þan	þam	þære, þam	þam
Instr.	þe, þy	þy, þe		

### 2. The *Blickling Homilies*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se	þæt	seo,	þa
Acc.	þone, þæne	þæt	þa	þa
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære	þara
Dat.	þæm, þam, þon, þone	þæm, þam, þon	þære	þæm, þam, þære, þon
Instr.	þy, þe			



### 3. Ælfric's Homilies

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se	þæt, se	seo	þa
Acc.	þone	þæt	þa	þa
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære	þæra, þære
Dat.	þam	þam	þære	þam

### 4. Wulfstan's Homilies

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se	þæt	seo	ða
Acc.	þæne, þone	þæt	þa	þa
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære	þæra
Dat.	ðam	þam	prep. + þam þære	ðam
Instr.	þy			

### 5. Vespasian D XIV (ME Compositon)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se, seo, þ	þ, þæt	seo	þa
Acc.	þone, þæt	þ	þa, þ	þa
Gen.	þæs		þære, þere	þære, þæra
Dat.	þan, þære	þan	þære, þær	þan

6. *The Life of St. Chad*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Nom./Voc.	se	þet	seo	þa
Acc.	þone	þet	þa	þa
Gen.	þes	þes	þere	þera
Dat.	þam	þam	þere	þam
Instr.	þy			

7. *The Lambeth Homilies, The Fifth Sunday in Lent*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þe	þe, þet		þa
Poss.	þes	þes	þere	
Obj.	þene, þan	þet	þa	
Prep. +	þene, þan, þa	þet, þan	þere	þan

N.B. The demonstrative pronoun is not levelled to *þe* except for the nominative forms of masculine and neuter singular in this homily.

N.B. The demonstrative pronoun is generally levelled to *þe* in the following texts. Therefore, *þe* is not given in the tables. Demonstrative pronouns which modify loan words are not in this table.

8. *The Lambeth Homilies*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.		þet	þeo	þeo
Poss.	þos, þes	þeʒs		þere
Obj.	þet	þet, þeo	þeo	þet, þeo
Prep. +	þene	þet, þan	þet, þere	þa, þon

9. *The Trinity Homilies, Hand A*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.		þat		
Poss.	þes			
Obj.	þene	þat	þat	þo
Prep. +	þat			

10. *The Trinity Homilies, Hand B*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þat	þat		þo
Poss.				
Obj.				þo
Prep. +	þat		þat	þo

11. *Acrene Wisse*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þet	þet	þet	þeo
Poss.				
Obj.	þen, þet	þet	þet	
Prep. +	þet	þet	þer, þet	

N.B. *þ* is spelt as *þet* in this table.

12. *Ancrene Riwle* (Nero)

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þet	þet	þeo	þeo
Poss.	þes			
Obj.	þene, þen, þet	þet, þene, þeo	þene, þet, þeo	þeo
Prep. +	þen, þet, þene	þen, þet	þen, þer, þere, þet	þen, þer, þeo

13. The works by the second scribe of Cotton Nero A xiv

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þet	þet, tet		þeo
Poss.				
Obj.	þene, þet	þet		þeo
Prep. +	þet, þene		þere	þeo

14. *Seinte Margaret*

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Pl.
Subj.	þet	þet	þet	þa
Poss.	þes	þet		
Obj.	þet, þen, þene	þet	þet, þer	

## Appendix C

Examples of pronoun retention in relative clauses led by relative markers are listed up in Appendix C. The examples cited in Chapter 5 are given the instance numbers next to the title. Explanations are further added when needed.

### C.1. Old English Poetry

#### 1. *ChristA* 22-32

Huru we for þearfe þas word sprecað,  
ond m[...]giað þone þe mon gescop  
þæt he ne [...]ete[...]ceose weorðan  
cearfulra þing, þe we in carcerne  
sittað sorgende, sunnan wenað,  
hwonne us liffrea leoht ontyne,  
weorðe ussum mode to mundboran,  
ond þæt tydre gewitt tire bewinde,  
gedo usic þæs wyrðe, þe he to wuldre forlet,  
*þa we* heanlice hweorfan sceoldan  
to þis enge lond, eðle bescyrede.

‘However, we say these words in need, and entreat him who created men, that he may not choose wrathfully more sorrowful things, (we) who sit in prison grieving and think of the sun, when God displays light for us, may he be a guardian to our mind, and may he surround (wrap) the feeble mind with glory and make us worthy whom He admit unto his glory, when we, derived of their native land, must turn to this narrow land.’

Mitchell (1985: § 2181) explains about *þe we* on l. 25 that the personal pronoun follows the relative particle *þe* so that it cannot be an antecedent and, therefore, it is an example of pronoun retention. The incomplete sentences make it difficult to interpret this construction properly. *Þe* here may be a mere conjunction, ‘as’, or can be a relative, representing a non-restrictive clause. In addition, Mitchell translates the last three lines into ‘... may make us --- people who have had to turn away abjectly into this narrow land, bereft of home--- thus worthy, us whom he admitted

to glory’, and says that it is not *þa we* but *þa þe* and ‘we can justify the usual use of a relative compound of *se* and *þe* referring back to a first or second person pronoun antecedent’ (1985: § 2194). He also mentions the possibility that ‘the poet could have written *þe we* (as in *ChristA* 25) instead of *þa þe* [, b]ut *þa* could be said to have a generalising force which is brought out in the translation by the word “people”’. However, *þa þe* is amended into *þa we* in the *ASPR* edition. It can be a matter of the scripts, if it is *ƿ* or *þ*. It is to be noted that *þa* is often doubled (thus *þa þa*) when it means ‘when’.

## 2. *ChristC* 1093-99

þæs he on þone halgan beam ahongen wæs  
fore moncynnes manforwyrhtu,  
þær he leoflice lifes ceapode,  
þeoden moncynne, on þam dæge,  
mid þy weorðe, þe no wom dyde  
his lichoma leahtra firena,  
mid þy usic alysde.

‘as He, whose body has never done anything of crimes and sins, when He released us, was crucified for mankind’s sins on the holy beam, where He, ruler of mankind, gladly traded his life with ransom on that day.’

## 3. *GuthA* 715-18 (5.17)

Ic þæt gefremme, þær se freond wunað  
on þære socne, þe ic þa sibbe wið hine  
healdan wille, nu ic his helpa mot,  
þæt ge min onsynn oft sceawiað.

‘I will bring it about where the friend, whom I would like to keep a relationship with, lives in the asylum, now that I may help him, so that you shall often see my figure.’

4. *GuthB* 923-5

Nænig forþum wæs,  
þæt he æwiscmod eft siðade,  
hean, hyhta leas,

‘There was already none that departed, abashed and devoid of hope.’

According to Kock (1897:78), *þæt he* equals Latin *qui* in this example, but Mitchell (1985: § 2195) disapproves of the idea and considers *þæt* here as a conjunction. Thus, it means that ‘there was already none so that he departed, ...’ I agree with Mitchell judging from the context. However, it is true, as we have seen in Chapter 5, that pronoun retention occurs often in this *there is/are...* construction. The underlines are according to Kock’s interpretation.

5. *Wand* 9-11 (5.26)

Nis nu cwicra nan  
þe ic him modsefan minne durre  
sweotule asecgan.

‘There is no living man to whom I dare speak my mind openly.’

6. *Sea* 12-17

þæt se mon ne wat  
þe him on foldan fægrost limpeð,  
hu ic earmcearig iscealdne sæ  
winter wunade wræccan lastum,  
winemægum bidroren,  
bihongen hrimgicelum;

‘The man whom it befalls most pleasantly on land does not know how I lived in the winter in the icy cold sea, in the track of wanderers, deprived of kinsmen, hung around with icicles.’

7. *Wid* 131-4 (5.28)

Swa ic þæt symle onfond on þære feringe,  
þæt se biþ leofast londbuendum  
se þe him god syleð gumena rice  
to gehealdenne, þenden he her leofað.

‘Thus I always found out in the journeying that the one to whom God grants the kingdom of men to hold while he lives here is the dearest among the inhabitants in the land.’

8. *Rid* 12. 13-5 (5.11)

Saga hwæt ic hatte,  
þe ic lifgende lond reafige  
ond æfter deaþe dryhtum þeowige.

‘Say what I am called, who, while living, plunder lands but after death serve to God.’

9. *Dream* 85-6 (5.30)

ond ic hælæn mag  
æghwylcne anra, þara þe him bið egesa to me.

‘And I can heal every one of those who has awe towards me.’

Mitchell includes this example in ‘a few [examples] with an antecedent additional to a demonstrative’, and explains it as one of the ‘examples of *se*’*þe* + personal pronoun’ in which ‘*se* element has the case of the principal clause and is followed by *þe* + personal pronoun as a relative combination in the case of the adjective clause’ (1985: § 2192). *Him* appears in the function of the dative of interest.



10. *El* 157-65

Ða þæs fricggan ongan folces aldor,  
sigerof cyning, ofer sid weorod,  
wære þær ænig yldra oððe gingra  
þe him to soðe secggan meahte,  
galdrum cyðan, hwæt se god wære,  
boldes brytta, “þe þis his beacen wæs  
þe me swa leoht oðywde ond mine leode generede,  
tacna torhtost, ond me tir forgeaf,  
wigsped wið wraðum, þurh þæt wlitige treo.”

‘Then the leader of the people, victorious king, lord of the house, asked of it, if there was anyone, whether old or young, who could truly tell him and say with songs what God, lord of the house, was “whose beacon this was and who appeared so bright to me, saved my people, brightest of signs, granted me honour and success in war with cruelty through the radiant tree”.’

11. *El* 725-34

“Dryhten hælend, þu ðe ahst doma geweald,  
ond þu geworhtest þurh þines wuldres miht  
heofon ond eorðan ond holmþræce,  
sæs sidne fæðm, samod ealle gesceaft,  
ond þu amæte mundum þinum  
ealne ymbhwyrft ond uprador,  
ond þu sylf sitest, sigora waldend,  
ofer þam æðelestan engelcynne,  
þe geond lyft farað leohte bewundene,  
mycle mægenþrymme.

‘Lord Christ, you who possess the power of judgments, and you made, by your power of glory, heaven and earth, and restless sea, wide surface of the sea, and all creatures together, and you measured, with your hands, all circles and the ether, and you yourself sit, lord of victory, over the noble orders of angels who

go beyond the sky, surrounded by light and great glory.’

Mitchell explains that ‘[w]hen two or more clauses joined by *and* contain the relative combination *þe* + personal pronoun, *þe* ... appears only in the first[, and w]hen the clauses require the same case, the personal pronoun may occur in all of them’ (1985: § 2188). This formula seems like a rule. However, it may also be possible to take *þu* as a simple personal pronoun being one of the elements in simple sentences coordinated by *ond*.

12. *El* 924-33

ic awecce wið ðe  
oðerne cyning, se ehtað þin,  
ond he forlæteð lare þine  
ond manþeawum minum folgaþ,  
ond þec þonne sendeð in þa sweartestan  
ond þa wyrrestan witebrogan,  
þæt ðu, sarum forsoht, wiðsæcest fæste  
þone ahangnan cyning, þam ðu hyrdest ær.

‘Against you I will raise up another king, who attacks you and (he) neglects your teaching and follows my customs, and sends you two into the darkest and worst tormenting dread, so that you, afflicted by bodily pains, will speedily abandon the crucified king, whom you have obeyed before.’

Mitchell explains that ‘we occasionally find *se* taken up by the personal pronoun in the second of two co-ordinate adjective clauses’ (1985: § 2197). However, it may also be possible to interpret that the relative clause led by *se* ends with *þin* and a new simple sentence starts with *ond*.

13. *Beo* 440-1 (5.14)

ðær gelyfan sceal  
Dryhtnes dome se þe hine deað nimeð

‘There he whom death carries off must resign himself to the judgment of the Lord.’

14. *Dan* 188-92

þær þry wæron on þæs þeodnes byrig,  
eorlas Israela, þæt hie a noldon  
hyra þeodnes dom þafigan onginnan,  
þæt hie to þam beacne gebedu rærde,  
ðeah ðe ðær on herige byman sungon.

‘There are three leaders of Israel in the king’s borough, who would never approve of their king’s judgments, nor who lifted up the prayers to the beacon though the trumpets resounded there in the temple.’

Kock (1897:87) takes *þæt hie* as a combination representing Latin *qui*. However, Mitchell (1985: § 2195) disagrees with him, interpreting *þæt* as a mere conjunction. *Þæt* seems like a conjunction to me as well, but I am not sure what the conjunction means here. According to the context, it seems best to interpret it as a relative explaining about *eorlas*. Visser (1963-73:59) takes it as a relative. Pronoun retention occurs frequently in what we call *there is/are* constructions in Modern English, as we have seen in Chapter 5.

15. *KtHy* 7-14 (5.12)

We ðe heriað halgum stefnum  
and þe blætsiað, bilewit fæder,  
and ðe þanciað, þioda walden,  
ðines weorðlican wuldordreames  
and ðinra miclan mægena gerena,  
ðe ðu, god dryhten, gastes mæhtum  
hafest on gewældum hiofen and eorðan,  
an ece fæder, ælmehtig god.

‘We praise you with holy voice and bless you, merciful father, and thank you for your dominion of people, your splendid heavenly rapture and the ornaments of your great power, (you) who, Lord Christ, have the power of souls in your control, in heaven and on earth, the only eternal father, Almighty God.’

Dobbie points out in notes that this construction corresponds with ‘the Modern

German *der du* construction' (1942:190).

16. *GDPref* 8-11

Þæt mæg se mon begytan,    se þe his modgeðanc  
æltowe byþ,    and þonne þurh his ingehygd  
to þissa haligra    helpe geliefeð,  
ond hiora bisene fulgað,    swa þeos boc sagað.

‘The man can find it, whose mind is sound and who then through his sense believes in the help of the holy ones and follow their examples, as these books say.’

17. *PPs* 64. 4

He weorðeð eadig,    se þe hine ece god  
cystum geceoseð    and hine clæne hafað,  
and on his earduncgstowum    eardað syððan.

‘Blessed is he whom the eternal God chose among choices and whom He keeps clean and therefore whose tabernacle He dwells in.’

Mitchell explains that ‘the personal pronoun occurs to signal the case of a co-ordinate relative clause, e.g. *se þe hine ... and hine ... and on his*’ (1985: § 2193).

Cf. Vulgate: *Beatus quem elegisti et assumpsisti Inhabitabit in atriis tuis.*

18. *PPs* 93. 11

Þæt bið eadig mann,    þe þu hine, ece god,  
on þinre soðre æ    sylfa getyhtest  
and hine þeodscipe    ðinne lærest  
and him yfele dagas    ealle gebeorgest,  
oðþæt bið frecne seað    þam fyrenfullan  
deop adolfen    deorc and ðystre.

‘That is a blessed man to whom You, the eternal God, Yourself instruct in Your law, teach your discipline and save from miserable days until the terrible pit is dug deeply, dark and gloomy, for the sinful ones.’

Mitchell explains that ‘[w]hen there is a change of case, it can be signalled by using the personal pronoun in all the clauses’ (1985: § 2189). The verb *getyhtan* ‘instruct’ occasionally requires the dative case for its object.

19. *PPs* 117. 21

Ðone sylfan stan    þe hine swyðe ær  
wyrhtan awurpan,    nu se geworden is  
hwommona heagost;

‘The stone itself which the workers had rejected earlier has now become the chief cornerstone.’

Mitchell comments that ‘the antecedent appears first in the case of the adjective clause, is picked up by *hine* in the same case, and is then repeated by *se* in the case of the principal clause’ (1985: § 2200). When the compound relative stands at the beginning of a sentence, it regularly takes the case required by the relative clause, which we have learnt in Chapter 4. The antecedent at the beginning of the sentence also takes the case in the subordinate clause in this example and the case is recaptured by *hine* in the following clause. The syntax may have been influenced by the Latin original: *Lapidem quem reprobarerunt aedificantes, Hic factus est in caput angli.*

20. *PPs* 145. 4

Ðonne bið eadig    þe him æror wæs  
Iacobes god    geara fultumiend,  
and ær his hiht on god    hæfde fæste,

‘Then blessed is he for whom Jacob’s God had been a helper before and who firmly had his trust in God.’

Mitchell comments that ‘the second clause requires a nominative [‘who’] which has to be supplied from *þe him* “whom”’ (1985: § 2189). The particle *þe* is employed as a nominal relative without any (pro)noun antecedent in this example. The construction is made syntactically clearer by inserting a personal pronoun *him*. Cf. the Latin equivalent: *Beatus cuius Deus Iacob adiutor eius Spes eius in Domino Deo ipsius:*

## C.2. Old English Prose

### 21. CP 26. 2-6 (5.7)

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Ac forðæm þe nu eal se weorðscipe ðisse worlde is gecyrred, Gode ðonc, to weorðscipe ðæm æwfæstestan [æwfestum], þæt þa sindon nu weorðoste þe æwfæstosðe sindon, forðon licet swiðe monig ðæt he æwfæst lareow sie, þe he wilnað micle worldare habban.

[Hatton 20 (27. 4-5): forðon licet suið[e] monig ðæt he æwfæsð lareow sie, ðe he wilnað micle woroldare habban.]

‘But since now all the honour of this world is turned by the grace of God to the honour of the pious, so that now the most pious are in greatest estimation, he, who desires great worldly honour, pretends to be a pious teacher.’

### 22. CP 42. 5-9 (5.27)

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Gif ðonne sio feding ðara sceapa bið þære lufan tacen, hwy forcwīð ðonne se þe him God swelce cræftas gifð þæt he ne fede his heorde, buton he cweðan wille þæt he ne lufige ðone Hlaford & ðone hean Hirde ealra gesceafta?

[Hatton 20 (43. 5-8): Gif ðonne seo feding ðara sceapa bið ðære lufan tac[e]n, hwi forcwīð ðonne se ðe him God suelce cræftas giefð ðæt he ne fede his heorde, buton he cweðan wille ðæt he ne lufige ðone Hlaford & ðone hean Hierde eallra gesce[a]fta?]

‘If, then, the feeding of the sheep is the sign of love, why does he, to whom God has given such qualities, refuse to feed his flock, unless he wishes to say that he does not love the Lord and high Shepherd of all creatures?’

### 23. CP 66. 24- 68. 1 (5.22)

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Se ðonne bið siwenigge se þe his ondgit bið to ðon beorhte scinende ðæt he mæge ongieta soðfæstnesse, gif hit ðonne aðistriað ða flæsclican weorc.

[Hatton 20 (67. 24- 69. 1): Se ðonne bið siwenige se ðe his &git bið to ðon beorhte scinende ðæt he mæge ongieta soðfæstnesse, gif hit ðonne aðistriað ða

flæsclican weorc.]

‘He, whose mind is clear enough perceive the truth, is bear-eyed if it (his mind) is obscured by fleshly works.’

Sweet translates that ‘He is bear-eyed whose mind is clear enough to perceive the truth, but is obscured by fleshly works’ (1871:67).

24. CP 72. 11-2

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Se bið eac eallunga healede se þe eal his mod bioð aflowen to gæglbærnesse & to dole,

[Hatton 20 (73. 10-2): Se bið eac eallunga healede [se] se ðe eall his mod bið aflogen to gæglbærnesse & to dole,]

‘He whose whole mind is addicted to wantonness and folly is altogether hydrocelous.’

25. CP 72. 16-9 (5.16)

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Swæ hwelc ðonne swæ ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið forboden ðæt he offrige Gode hlaf, forðæm hit is wen ðæt se ne mæge oðerra monna scylde ofaðwean, se se þe [hine *added*] ðonne giet his agna on herigeað.

[Hatton 20 (73. 15-9): Sua hwelc ðonne sua ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið forboden ðæt he offrige [Gode] hlaf, forðæm hit is wen ðæt se ne mæge oðerra monna scylða ofaðuean, se se ðe hine ðonne giet his agena onherigeað.]

‘Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God, for it is to be expected that he, who is harassed by his own [lit. whom his own (sins) harass], will not be competent to wash away the sins of others will not be competent to wash away the sins of others.’

Sweet translates that ‘while he is harassed by his own’ (1871:73). Since antecedent *he* is already specified in the first part of the sentence, the relative clause is a non-restrictive clause, implying a causal relationship (‘because he is harassed by his own (sins)’). In addition, the construction, *se... se* correlative plus *se ðe*, cannot

show the object of the verb *onherigeað*.

26. CP 104. 19-21

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Oft eac gebyreð ðonne se scrift ongit ðæs costunga þe he him ondetteð ðæt he eac self bið mid ðæm ilcum gecostod.

[Hatton 20 (105.19-21): Oft eac gebyreð ðonne se scrift ongit ðæs costunga ðe he him ondetteð ðæt eac self bið mid ðæm ilcum gecostod.]

‘It often happens also that when the confessor hears the temptations of him who confesses, he is himself assailed with the same temptations.’ (Sweet (1871:105))

‘when the confessor hears the temptations of the man who confesses to him’ (*BT* *þe*, indecl. particle, I (3))

There is another interpretation of relative *þe*, being an direct object of the verb *ondetteð*, with *costunga* as its antecedent. If so, it is not an example of pronoun retention. *Ðæs* makes this interpretation unlikely unless we explain that *contunga* is separately modified by both *ðæs* and the relative clause, thus, ‘his temptation which he confesses to him (i.e. the confessor)’. We sometimes see examples of *þæt* clauses whose element appears outside of the clauses. In this example, according to Modern English, the *ðonne* (‘when’) clause should appear in the following *ðæt* clause. Cf. Example 37 from *St. Chad* in Middle English prose.

27. CP 180. 23– 182. 2 (5.25)

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Wa eow welegum, þe eower lufu eall and eower tohopa is on eowrum worldwelum, & ne giemað ðæs ecean gefean, ac gefioð ealle mode ðisses ondweardan lifes genyhte.

[Hatton 20 (181. 23- 183.1.): Waa ieow welegum, ðe lower lufu eall & eower tohopa is on eowrum woruldwelum, & ne giemað ðæs ecan gefean, ac gefeoð ealle mode ðisses andweardan lifes genyhte.]

‘Woe to you rich men, whose whole love and hope is in your worldly riches; ye care not for the eternal joys, but ye delight with all your heart in the enjoyments of this present life.’



28. CP 294. 18-20

(Cotton Tiberius B xi) Hwæs onlicnesse hæfde Assael ða buton ðara þe hiera hatheortnes hie swiðe hrædlice on forspild gelæt?

[Hatton 20 (295. 18-20): Hwæs onlicnesse hæfde Assael ða buton ðara ðe hiera hatheortnes hie suiðe hrædlice on færspild gelæd?]

‘Of whom was Asahel the type, but of those whose hastiness very soon draws them into destruction?’

29. Or 1 1. 11. 27-29 (5.15)

7 hie onginnað ærest eastane of þæm garsecge, 7 þonne licgað westryhte oþ Armenia beorgas, þe þa landleode hi hatað Parcoadras.

‘And they (the mountains) start first from the east of the ocean and then extend westwards to Armenian mountains, which the inhabitants of the country call Parcoadras.’

30. Or 1. 1. 17. 32-34 (5.5)

7 gyf þar man an ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan. 7 þær is mid Estum an mægð þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcean,

‘And if one finds a bone unburnt, they must restore it. And there is with the Ests a race who can create the chill.’

Mitchell (1985: § 2195) cites Kock (1897:78), who interprets *þæt hi* here as Latin *qui*. However, Mitchell disagrees with him and takes *þæt* as a conjunction. With *magon* in the adjective clause, I agree with Mitchell and interpret it as a conjunction. Therefore, this example may not be that of pronoun retention. The underlines represent Kock’s interpretation.

31. Or 2 5. 46. 25-28 (5.21)

Ac gesette þa men on ænne truman þe mon hiora mægas ær on ðæm londe slog, 7 wiste þæt hie woldon geornfulran beon þære wrace þonne oþere men, 7 hie swa wæron oð hie þær mæst ealle ofslægene wurdon.

‘But (he) appointed the men whose kinsmen were killed [lit. whose kinsmen one

killed] on the land before and knew that they would more eagerly revenge than other men, and they thus stayed until most of them were killed there.’

32. *Or* 2 5. 48. 13-18

Hu God þa [mæstan] ofermetto 7 þæt mæste angin on swa heanlice ofermetto geniðerade, þæt se, se þe him ær gepuhte þæt him nan sæ wiþhabban ne mehte þæt he hiene mid scipun 7 mid his fultume afyllan ne mehte, þæt he eft wæs biddende anes lytles troges æt anum earman men, þæt he mehte his feorh generian!

‘How God brought the highest pride and the greatest perseverance low into such shameful pride! that he, to whom no sea seemed to be able to withstand, could not equip himself with a ship and his army, so that he was again asking for a little boat from a poor man to save him!’

33. *Or* 3 3. 57. 15-16 (5.13)

7 ic gehwam wille þærto tæcan þe hiene his lyst ma to witanne.

‘And I will direct every one thereto who desires to know more of it.’

34. *Or* 3 9. 71. 27-30

[Chalisten þone filosofum he ofslog, his emnscolere, ðe hi ætgædere gelærede wæron æt Aristotolese heora magistre, 7 monege men mid him, for þon hie noldon to him gebiddan swa to heora Gode.

‘He killed Chalisten, the philosopher and his fellow scholar, who (both) were taught together by Aristotle, their teacher, and many men with them because they did not want to pray to him as to their God.’

The tautological pronoun in the plural resumes not only *Chalisten* but also the subject *he*. This may be a good instance of *þe* meaning ‘namely’, what Mitchell and Robinson (2001:89) suggest the original force of *þe*. This force supports my idea of the possibility of pronoun retention used as a means of expressing non-restrictive relative clauses.

35. *Or* 6 30. 148. 11-3

þa sende Galerius him ongean Seuerus mid fierde, þe him se onweald ær geseald wæs, 7 he þær beswicen wearð from his agnum monnum, 7 ofslagen neah [Rafenna] þære byrig.

‘Then Galerius sent him with an army to Seuerus, to whom the power had been given earlier, and he was deceived there by his own men and killed near the town of Rafenne.’

36. *Bo* 4. 33-4 (5.9)

Hu se Wisdom lærde þone þe he wolde wæstmbære land sawan, þ he atuhge of ærest þa þornas.

‘How Wisdom instructed him who would sow fertile land, that he should first take away the thorns.’

37. *Bo* 154. II<sup>b</sup>. 10-14 (5.32)

me þas woruldsælða welhwæs blindne  
on ðis dimme hol dysine forlæddon,  
7 me(?) þa berypton rædes 7 frofre(?)  
for heora untreowum, þe ic(?) him(?) æfre betst  
truwian sceolde.

‘This wordly prosperity nealy misled me, blind and foolish, into this dim hole, and deprived me, who should ever trust them best, of reason and consolation because of its unfaithfulness.’

OR ‘and deprived me of reason and consolation which I should ever trust best, because of its unfaithfulness.’

38. *Bede* 42.3-6 (5.10)

And þæs ðe þa seo costnung ðære ehtnesse gestilled wæs, þa wæron forðgongende þa cristenan men 7 ða geleafsuman, þa þe hi ær on ða frecnan tid þære ehtnysse on wudum 7 on westenum 7 scræfum hi hyddon 7 digledon. [*þa ðe ær* in MS B]

‘When the trials of this persecution quieted down, faithful Christians came forth, who previously, in the dangerous times of persecution, lay hid in woods and wastes and caves.’

39. *Bede* 376. 23-5

Ond se bið swiðe eadig se ðe him Drihten, se is ord 7 sylrend ealra eadignessa, forgifeð, þætte he in ðære stowe restan mote.

‘And most blessed is he, to whom the Lord, who is author and giver of all blessedness, allows to rest in that place.’

40. *BlHom* 4. 47. 5-9 (5.29)

& þis weorc biþ deoflum se mæsta teona ; forþon þe hi habbaþ manega saula on heora gewaldum þe him wile git God miltsian for heora mægena weorþunga, & for eorþlicra manna gebedum, & ealra haligra, & for his mycclan mildheortnesse.

‘And this work is the greatest source of annoyance to devils, because they have many souls in their power to whom God will yet show mercy on account of their powerful supplications, and on account of the prayers of earthly men, and of all saints, and for his great mercy.’

41. *BlHom* 6. 69. 12-4 (he = Judas Iscariot) (5.8)

He wæs eac se wyresta gitsera, þe he gesealde wiþ feo heofeones Hlaford & ealles middangeardes.

‘He, who sold for money the Lord of heaven and of all the world, was also the worst covetous man.’

42. *BlHom* 13. 145. 30-3 (5.31)

& þa apostolas onfengon þære eadigan Marian & þa þre fæmnan þe him Crist ær bebed, þæt hie wacedon buton forlætnesse & þæt hie cypdon Drihtnes wuldor [be hire] & ealle medemnesse be þære eadigan Marian.

‘And the apostles and the three women whom Christ had commanded before to watch without intermission and to declare the glory of the Lord with respect to

her and all his kindness to the blessed Mary, took charge of Mary.’

43. *ÆCHom* I. 33. 459. 17-9

Se deada cniht þe on manegra manna gesihðe wæs geferod getacnað gehwyrcne synfulne mannan þe bið mid healicum leahtrum on þam inran menn adyd. 7 bið his yfelnyd mannum cuð;

‘The dead man who was carried into many people’s sight signifies every sinful man who is killed with major sins in the inner man, and whose wickedness is know to people.’

Mitchell (1985: § 2189) suggests that change of case is signalled by a personal pronoun. I am not sure if the change is “signalled” by a personal pronoun at least in this example. *His* may have been inserted merely to express the genitive, which is the second most difficult case to relativise. Otherwise, more simply, a new sentence begins with 7 and *his* can be a pure personal pronoun. Thorpe (1844:493) translates *his* here as a simple personal pronoun.

44. *ÆCHom* II. 40. 339. 129-31

Soðlice se ðe ealle þa gebytlu hylt. and hine nan ne berð. se is hælend crist þe us ealle gehylt. and ure nan hine healdan ne þearf;

‘Indeed, He who guards all the buildings but whom none bears is Lord Christ, who guards us all but whom none of us needs to guard.’

Each relative clause has two coordinated clauses, and a seemingly tautological personal pronoun appears in the following clauses. However, the cases are different in the first and second coordinated clauses. Therefore, the personal pronouns occur to signal change of the cases, or simply because the required cases are different.

45. *ChronA* 78. 26-7 (885) (5.19)

se wæs Karles sunu þe Æpelwulf West Seaxna cyning his dohter hæfde him to cuene.

‘He was the son of Charles, whose daughter Æthelwulf, king of Wessex, had as queen.’

46. *OE Mart* 118. 3-4 (5.18)

On þone ilcan dæg bið þære fæmnan tid þe hire noma wæs sancta Anatolia.

‘On the same day is the festival of the virgin whose name was St. Anatolia.’

47. *Gen* 45. 8 (5.23)

Ðæt næs na eowres þances ac þurh God, þe ic þurh hys willan hider asend wæs:  
se dide me swylce ic Pharaones fæder wære 7 hys hyredes hlaford, 7 he sette me  
to ealdre ofer Egypta land.

‘It was not by your favour but by God, by whose will I was sent forth hither. He  
made me Pharaoh’s father and lord of his household. He ordained me as king over  
the land of Egypt.’

48. *Gen* 48. 15 (5.24)

7 he bletsode Iosep hys sunu, 7 cwæþ : Drihten, þu þe mine fæderas on þinre  
sihðe eodon, Abraham 7 Isaac ; God, ðu þe me feddest fram cyldhade oþ ðysne  
dæg :

‘And he blessed Joseph, his son and said, “Lord, you in whose sight my fathers,  
Abraham and Isaac, walked. God, you who has fed me from my childhood until  
today.’

49. *Lev* 11. 2-3

Secgað Israhela bearnum, / ðæt hi eton þa nytenu ðe heora clawa todælede beoð 7  
ceowað.

‘Say to the children of Israel that they ate the animals whose hooves are cloven  
and which chew.’

50. *Num* 1. 4-5 (5.20)

7 ðæra mægða ealdras beoð mid inc mid heora hiredum, / ðe ðis synd heora  
naman : of Rubene, Elisur, Sedeures sunu.

‘And the leaders of the tribes are with you two with their retinues, whose names

are these: from Reuben, Elizur, the son of Shedeur :’

51. *Deut* 1. 13

Ceosað eow wise men of eowrum cynne 7 gleawe 7 ða ðe heora drohtnung si afandod ; 7 ic gesette hig eow to ealdrum.

‘Choose wise and keen men from your tribes for you and those whose reputation is approved, and I will appoint them as your leaders.’

C.3. Middle English Poetry

1. *Lay.Brut* A 15356-7

þa hit wes dai a-marge : þat Drihten hine sende.

þe king lette feden alle : þa neode hafden.

‘When it was the day that the Lord sent, the king let feed all who had need.’

2. *Gen.&Ex.* 2280

Wot ic ðor non ðat he ne biueð

‘I know none there who trembles.’

3. *Havelok* 27-9 (5.44)

IT was a king bi are dawes,

That in his time were gode lawes

He dede maken, an ful well holden;

‘There was a king in former days, in whose time there were good laws (which) he caused to be made and held very well.’

The third line is an example of the zero relative, following the *there is/are* construction, in which context the zero relative is said to appear often in Modern English as well.

4. *Havelok* 949-51 (5.49)

It ne was non so litel knaue,

For to leyken, ne forto plawe,

þat he ne wo[l]de with him pleye:

‘There was no child however little that [desired] to sport and play with whom he (or who ... with him) would not spend time.’

Visser (1963-73:59) takes that he as a relative combination, while the editor Skeat (1868) interprets that ... with him as an instance of pronoun retention in his Glossary.

5. *Havelok* 1808-9

Was non of hem þat his hernes

Ne lay þer-ute ageyn þe sternes.

‘There was none among them whose brains did not lay out exposed to the open air.’

6. *Havelok* 1855-7

For was þer non, long ne lite,

þat he Mouthe ouer-take,

þat he ne garte his croune krake;

‘For there was none, whether tall or little, whom he came up with, whose crown he did not make cracked.’

7. *Havelok* 2391-3

Cum to þe king, swiþe and raþe.

þat sendes he þe word, and bedes,

þat þu þenke hwat þu him dedes,

‘Come to the king quickly and immediately who sends you word and commands you to think what you have done to him.’

8. *Havelok* 2684-7

Þer was swilk drepung of þe folk,

þat on þe feld was neuere a polk

þat it ne stod of blod so ful,



þat þe strem ran intil þe hul.

‘There was such killing of the people that there was no puddle in the field which never remained so full of blood that the stream ran downhill.’

9. *Havelok* 2964-8

and was þer-inne

Sixti winter king with winne,

And Goldeboru quen, þat I wene :

So mikel loue was hem bitwene,

þat al þe werd spak of hem two :

‘And for sixty years the king and Queen Goldeboru stayed there in joy, between whom, I suppose, there was so much love that all the world spoke about them two.’

Skeat (1915:160) interprets this construction as pronoun retention, that is, particle *that* with a redundant personal pronoun, *hem*. So does Sands (1986:128). This is what we call *there is/are* constructions in Modern English. Therefore, Skeat’s interpretation is highly likely according to my survey. However, it is also possible that the part can consist of two sentences and *þat* is a conjunction, ‘as’, according to the context and, interestingly, to punctuation of the EETS text. Thus, ‘the king and Queen Goldeboru stayed there in joy, as I suppose. There was so much love between them...’

10. Chaucer *BD* 693-6

For there nys planete in firmament,

Ne in ayr ne in erthe noon element,

That they ne yive me a yifte echone

Of wepynge whan I am allone.

‘For there is no planet in the sky, no element in the air or on earth, which do not give me every gift of weeping when I am alone.’

11. Chaucer *Anel.* 113-5

Ther nas to her no maner lettre sent  
That touched love, from any maner wyght,  
That she ne shewed hit him er hit was brent;  
‘There was not any kind of letters sent to her from anyone concerning love to  
whom she had never showed it before it was burnt.’

12. Chaucer *PF* 626-8

Thanne wol I don hire this favour, that she  
Shal han right hym on whom hire herte is set,  
And he hire that his herte hath on hire knet:  
‘And he who has his heart joined to her (will have) her.’

13. Chaucer *TC* II 316-20 (5.46)

Now, nece myn, the kynges deere son,  
The goode, wise, worthi, fresshe, and free,  
Which alwey for to don well is his wone,  
The noble Troilus, so loveth the,  
That, but ye helpe, it wol his bane be.  
‘Now, my good niece, the king’s dear son, the good, wise, worthy and fresh and  
free, whose custom is always to do well, the noble Troilus, loves you, so that if  
you do not help, it will be his distruction.’

14. Chaucer *TC* II 653-5 (5.34)

“Lo, this is he  
Which that myn uncle swerith he moot be deed,  
But I on hym have mercy and pitee.”  
‘Lo, this is he who, my uncle swears, must be dead,  
but I have mercy and pity on him.’

15. Chaucer *CT.Prol.A.* 43-6

A Knyght ther was, and that a worthy man,

That fro the tyme that he first bigan

To riden out, he loved chivalrie,

Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie.

‘There was a knight, a worthy man, who, from the time when he began to ride a horse, loved chivalry, fidelity and honour, freedom and courtliness.’

16. Chaucer *CT.Prol.A.* 603-4

Ther nas baillif, ne hierde, nor oother hyne,

That he ne knew his sleighte and his covyne;

‘There is no baillif, no hersman, nor any other servant that did not know his trickery and treachery.’

17. Chaucer *CT.Kn.A.* 2125 (5.35)

Ther is no newe gyse that it nas old.

‘There is no new fashion that has not been old.’

18. Chaucer *CT.Kn.A.* 2709-10

Al were they soore yhurt, and namely oon,

That with a spere was thirled his brest boon.

‘They were all sorely hurt, and especially the one whose rib was pierced with a spear.’

19. Chaucer *CT.Mil.A.* 3429-30

I saugh today a cors yborn to chirche

That now, on Monday last, I saugh hym wirche.

‘I saw today a body carried to church, which I saw working last Monday.’

20. Chaucer *CT.Sq.F.* 69-71

Eek in that lond, as tellen knyghtes olde,  
Ther is som mete that is ful deynte holde  
That in this lond men recche of it but smal;  
‘Also in that land, as old knights tell, there is some food which is esteemed fully,  
which is esteemed only little in this land.’

21. Chaucer *CT.Fkl.F.* 779-80

For in this world, certain, ther no wight is  
That he ne dooth or seith somtyme amys.  
‘For in this world, for sure, there is none  
that does not do or say amiss sometimes.’

22. Chaucer *CT.Pard.C.* 861-4

In al this world ther is no creature  
That eten or dronken hath of this confiture  
Noght but the montance of a corn of whete,  
That he ne shal his lif anon forlete;  
‘In this world, there is no one who has eaten or drunk nothing of this concoction  
except for the amount of a grain of wheat and who shall lose his life at once.’

Visser (1963-73:59) takes *that he* in this example as pronoun retention. However, it is more likely with the auxiliary verb, *shall*, that this is a purpose clause. Thus, it means that ‘in order to lose his life at once’. The underlines are according to Visser’s interpretation.

23. *Cleanness* 273-4 (5.39)

Pose wern men mepelez and magty on vrpe,  
Pat for her lodlych laykez alosed pay were;  
‘Those were immoderate and powerful men on earth who were famed for their  
horrible practice.’

24. *Cleanness* 951-2

Clowdez clustered bytwene kesten vp torres,

þat þe þik þunder-þrast þirled hem ofte.

‘Clouds clustered among the towers standing out which the frequent thunder pierced repeatedly.’

*MED* (*that*, rel. pron., 2d (a)) takes this instance as that of pronoun retention. It may also be possible to take *þat* as a conjunction indicating a result clause. Thus, it may be translated as ‘so that the frequent thunder thrust pierced them repeatedly.’

25. *Gawain* 27-9

Forþi an aunter in erde I attle to schawe,

þat a selly in sigt summe men hit holden,

And an outrage awenture of Arthurez wonderez.

‘Therefore, I actually intend to show an adventure which some people consider as a wonder and an exceedingly strange adventure from among the marvelous tales concerning King Arthur.’

*Pat* can also be interpreted as a conjunction, explaining the *aunter*.

26. *Gawain* 910-3

And all þe men in þat mote maden much joye

To apere in his presense prestly þat tyme,

þat alle prys and prowes and pured þewes

Apendes to hys persoun, and praysed is euer;

‘And all the men in that castle were delighted to appear promptly at that time in the presence of him to whose person all excellence, prowess and refined manners belong and who is always praised.’

27. *Gawain* 2103-5

He cheuez þat chaunce at þe chapel grene,

þer passes non bi þat place so proude in his armes

bat he ne dynges hym to deþe with dynt of his honde;

‘He brings it to pass at the green chapel where no one so proud in his arms passes  
by the place whom he smites to death with the dints of his hands.’

Tolkien and Gordon (1967:221) explain *hym* as a redundant pronoun in pronoun retention. *bat* can be a correlative conjunction with *so*, meaning ‘so...that’, and, thus, ‘one one so pround in his arms passes by the place without being smitten to death with the dints of his hands’. The underlines are according to Tolkien and Gordon.

28. *Gawain* 2195 (5.51)

Þis is a chapel of meschaunce, bat chekke hit bytyde!

‘This is a chapel of disaster which bad luck befalls!’

29. *Cursor* 10743-4

(Cotton)

And quilk man bat his wand suld blome

Suld maria haf wit rightwis dome.

(Fairfax)

And what mannys verd bat did blome

Shuld mary wedde by dome

(Göttingen)

And quilk man bat his wand suld blome,

Suld mari haue, wid rightwis dome.

(Trinity)

And what monnes verde bat dud blome

Shulde marie wedde bi dome

‘And a man whose rod should bloom should have Mary by (right) judgement.’

30. *Cursor* 15995-6 (5.53)

(Cotton)

¶ þis it was þat ilk cok,  
þat petre herd him crau,

(Göttingen)

[þ]is it was þat ilke coke,  
þat petir herd him crau,

‘This was it, the same cock, which Peter heard crow.’

(Fairfax)

¶ þis hit was þat ilk cok  
þat petre herde him craw.

(Trinity)

¶ þis was þe same cok :  
þat petur herde crowe

31. ?Rolle *Luf es lyf* 35-6

Swylk es þis worlde ... All in travel and tene ; fle þat na man it maye.

Cf. Ogilvie-Thomson (1988:43)

Such is þis world, I wene, and shall be to domys daye,

In trauaille and in tene, for fle no man hit may.

‘Such is this worlds, I know, and shall be until Doomsday,

in labour and vexation, for no one can free from it.’

This example is cited from *MED* (*that* rel. pron., 2d (a)) and, therefore, the underlines are according to the source. *þat* was added in DdLa. It seems like a conjunction to me with *may* in the *þat*-clause.

32. *PPL.B* XVII 98-101

For went neuere wy in þis worlde þorw þat wilderness,

þat he ne was robbed or rifled rode he þere or gede,

Saue faith, & his felaw *spes*, and my-selue,

And þi-self now, and such as suwen owre werkis.

‘Not one man in the world has passed through that wilderness, who whether walking or riding, was not robbed and rifled, except faith and his friend Hope and myself, and now yourself, since you follow suit with us.’

Mustanoja (1960:202) has this example as that of pronoun retention. However, it is also possible to interpret *þat* as a conjunction and thus ‘without being robbed or

rifled'. The underlines are according to Mustanoja (1960:202).

33. *PPL.C* II 59

Ther-ynne wonyep a wyȝt bat wrong is his name,

'Therein lives a man whose name is Wrong.'

34. *St.Erk.* 153-4 (5.45)

Queþer mony porer in þis place is putte into grave

bat merkid is in oure martilage his mynde for ever;

'Yet there is many a poorer man buried here whose memory is set down in our burial-register for ever.'

C.4. Middle English Prose

35. *Vsp.D.Hom.* 3. 4. 15-6 (5.47)

Gyf þu bearn habbe, lær heo þa cræftes, þ heo mugen beo þan libben.

'If you have children, teach them the skills, by which they can live.'

OR 'If you have children, teach them the skills so that they can live by them.'

36. *Vsp.D.Hom.* 43. 139. 1 (5.33)

Ðiss is þ se leste dæl þ hit næfre ne byð hir[e] wiðtogen,

'This is the noblest part which will never be taken away from her.'

37. *Chad* 196-200 (5.37)

Ic wat enne man in þisum ealonde. mittes se halga wer ceadda se biscop ferde of þisum middangearde. þe he geseh his broðor saule mid micle engla werode niðer astigan of heofone. 7 genam mid hine his saule. 7 to þam heofonlican rice eft gecerde.

'I know a man in this land who, when the holy man, Chad, the bishop, departed from this world, saw his brother's soul descend from Heaven with a great host of angels and took his (Chad's) soul with him and returned to the heavenly kingdom again.'



38. *Trin.Hom.* 12. 69. 15-7 (5.42)

Edie ben alle þo : þe here giltes ben atleten, and helid here sinnes. þat ben þo þe hem rihtlecheð. also þe prophete dauid hem lerde.

‘Blessed are all those whose trespasses are remitted and their sins hidden, that is those who amend their lives, as the prophet David taught them.’

39. *Vices&V.* 59. 19-20 (5.38)

TIMOR domini is an oðer hali mihte, þat ðe Salamun seide hie is initium sapientie, ‘Anginn of wisdom.’

‘Timor domini is another holy virtue, which, as Solomon said, is initium sapientiae, “the beginning of wisdom”.’

40. *AR(N)* 182. 2-4 (5.43)

and absalones schene wlite. þet ase ofte ase me euesede him. me solde his euesunge ðeo her þet me kerf of : uor two hundred sicles of seol-ure.

‘The radiant beauty of Absalom, whose clippings were sold as often as his hair was cut — the hair which he cut off — for two hundred shekels of silver weighted out.’

Cf. *AW* 203. f. 108a. 5-7

Absalones schene wlite. þeas ofte as me euesede him. salde his euesunge. þe her þ he kearf of : for twa hundret sicles of seoluer iweiet.

41. *SWard* 245. 21-4 (5.48)

Þis hus þe ure lauerð spekeð of : is seolf þe mon inwið þe monnes wit. In þis hus. is þe huse lauerd. ant te fulitohe wif : mei beon wil ihaten. þat ga þe hus efter hire : hæ diht hit al to wundre.

‘This house which our Lord speaketh of is man’s self within; the man’s wit within this house is the house-lord and the untoward wife may be called Will. She, whom the house obeys, bringeth it all to ruin.’

42. *St. Marg.* 32. 6-8 (5.50)

Ich leote oðer-hwiles a cleane mon wunien neh a cleane wummon, þet ich nawhit towart ham ne warpe ne ne weorri, ah leote ham al iwurðen.

‘I sometimes let a pure man stay near a pure woman, whom I do not attack or make war against at all but I let them all alone.’

43. *Ayenb.* 59. 28-34 (5.36)

Þe vifte is yet more sotil / of ham þet huanne hi willeþ þet me hise praysi / and hi nolleþ zigge aperteliche : hi hit makeþ a naȝt / and makeþ zuo moche ham milde / and ziggeþ þet hi byeþ zuo kueade / and zuo zenuol / and zuo onconnynde : þrisiþe more / þanne hi by. vor þet me ham hereþ / and hyealde : uor wel boȝsam.

‘The fifth is yet more subtle of them that when they wish that one should be of his value and they won’t say it clearly do quite contrary and make themselves very humble and say that they are too evil, sinful and ignorant: three times as much as they are so that one hears and holds them for they are so humble.’

44. *Malory Wks.* 97. 16-9

I love Gwenyvere, the kynges doughtir of Lodegrean, of the londe of Camelerde, the whyche holdyth in his house the Table Rounde that ye tolde me he had hit of my fadir Uther.

45. *Malory Wks.* 180. 21-3 (5.52)

For this was drawyn by a knyght presoner, sir Thomas Malleorré, that God sende him good recover. AMEN.

46. *Malory Wks.* 405. 7-8 (5.41)

for he knew sir Blamoure de Ganys that he was a noble knyght, and of noble knyghtes comyn.

47. Malory *Wks.* 432. 28-30

And so happynde there cam to sir Trystrames a man that he had slayne his brothir.

48. Malory *Wks.* 441. 27-9

Now turne we unto sir Trystrams, that uppon a day he toke a lytyll barget and hys wyff Isode le Blaunche Maynys wyth syr Keyhydyus, her brother, to sporte hem on the costis.

49. Malory *Wks.* 447. 1-3

Now turne we unto sir Lameroke that whan he was departed frome sir Trystrames he rode oute of the foreste tyll he cam to an ermytage.

50. Malory *Wks.* 535. 24-7

sir Palomydes shall repente hit, as in hys unknyghtly delynge so for to folow that noble knyght that I be misfortune hurte hym thus.

51. Malory *Wks.* 538. 27-9

Now woll we speke of sir Lucan de Butler, that by fortune he cam rydyng to the same place thereas was sir Trystram, and in he cam for none other entente but to aske herberow.

52. Malory *Wks.* 553. 28-30

Now turnyth thys tale unto sir Trystram, that by adventure he cam to a castell to aske lodgyng, wherein was quene Morgan le Fay.

53. Malory *Wks.* 640. 1-3 (5.40)

So turne we to the damesell of the castell, that whan Alysaunder le Orphelyne had forjusted the four knyghtes she called hym to her

54. Malory *Wks.* 982. 29-30

‘and speke with a jantyllwoman that semyth she hath grete nede of you.’

55. Malory *Wks.* 1183. 9-13

Alas, my good knyghtes be slayne and gone away fro me, that now within thys two dayes I have loste nygh forty knyghtes and also the noble felyshyp of sir Launcelot and hys blood, for now I may nevermore holde hem togydirs with my worshyp.

56. Caxton *Blanch.* 84. 9-15

Thenne answerd Rubyon to blanchardyn, that the daughter of the myghty kynge Alymodes, the euen byfore had gyuen vnto hym her sleue, the whiche in presence of her fader she had taken it from her ryght arme, to thende that for the loue of her he shuld doo some thyng wherby she myghte the better haue hym in her grace.

## Appendix D

### Pattern of Pronoun Retention in Relative Clauses (Keenan and Comrie (1977:93))

2 Language	Subj	DO	IO	Obl	Gen	OComp
Aoban (North-East)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
Arabic	—	+	+	+	+	+
Batak	—	0	+	+	+	
Chinese (Pekingese)	—	+/-	+	+	+	+
Czech (colloquial)	—	+/-	+	+	+	+
Fulani (Gombe)	—	—	*	+	+	
Genoese	—	(+)	+	+	+	
Gilbertese	—	+	+	+	+	+
Greek (Modern)	—	—	+(?)	+(?)	+	+
Hausa	—	—	(+)	+	+	
Hebrew	—	+	+	+	+	+
Japanese	—	—	—	—	+/-	
Javanese	—	—	—	—	+	
Kera	—	+	+	+	+	*
Korean	—	—	—	—	+	0
Malay	—	—	—	—	+	*
Minang-Kabau	—	—	—	-/+	+	*
Persian	—	(+)	+	+	+	+
Roviana	—	—	—	—	+	0
Shona	—	—	—	(+)	+(?)	*
Slovenian	—	+	+	+	+	+
Turkish	—	—	—	—	+	+
Urhobo	+	+	+	+	+	+
Welsh	—	—	+	+	+	+
Yoruba	—	—	*	*	+	*
Zurich German	—	—	+	+	+	+

*Key:* + means that personal pronouns are normally present in that position when it is relativized, using that RC-forming strategy which admits of pronoun retention. (+) means optional retention. +/- means that in some cases the pronoun is retained and in others it is not. – means that pronouns are usually not retained. \* means that that NP position does not naturally exist in that language. 0 means that that position is not relativizable, and a blank means that we [Keenan and Comrie] lack the relevant data. An entry of the form *x*(?) means that our data are uncertain but *x* is our best guess.

## Select Bibliography

N.B. The main editions for my investigation are followed by the abbreviations of the works in square brackets.

### Primary Sources

Andrew, Malcolm and Ronald Waldron (eds.) 1978. *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript, Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. York Medieval Texts, second series. London: Edward Arnold.  
[*Cleanness*]

Bately, Janet (ed.) 1980. *The Old English Orosius*. EETS, s.s. 6. London: Oxford University Press. [*Or*]

Belfour, A. O. (ed.) 1909. *Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343*. Part I, Text and Translation. EETS, o.s. 137. rpt. 1962; London: Oxford University Press. [*Bod.Hom.(Bel)*]

Benson, Larry D. (ed.) 1988. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Third ed. Based on *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by F. N. Robinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Chaucer *BD, Anel., PF, TC, CT*]

Bessinger, Jr., J. B. (ed.) 1978. *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Bethurum, Dorothy (ed.) 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [*WHom*]

Brook, G.L and R.F. Leslie (eds.) 1963-78. *Laȝamon : Brut, Edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Caligula A. ix and British Museum MS. Cotton Otho*

- C. *xiii*. 2 Vols. EETS, o.s. 250 and 277. London: Oxford University Press. [Lay.*Brut*]
- Clemons, Peter (ed.) 1997. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*. The First Series, Text. EETS, s.s. 17. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [ÆCHom I]
- Crawford, S. J. and N. R. Ker (eds.) 1922. *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch: Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*. EETS, o.s. 160. London: Oxford University Press. rpt. 1990; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [*Gen, Exod, Lev. Num, Deut*]
- D'Ardenne, S. R. T. O. (ed.) 1961. *Be Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne*. EETS, o.s. 248. London: Oxford University Press. [*St.Juliana*]
- Day, Mabel (ed.) 1952. *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV*. EETS, o.s. 225. rpt. 1957; London: Oxford University Press. [AR(N)]
- Dobson, E. J. (ed.) 1972. *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. VI*. EETS, o.s. 267. London: Oxford University Press. [AR(C)]
- Furnival, F. J. (ed.) 1969. *Hali Meidenhad, An Alliterative Homily of the Thirteenth Century, From MS. Bodley 34, Oxford, and Cotton MS. Titus D. 18, British Museum*. EETS, o.s. 18. New York: Greenwood Press. [*HMeið*]
- Godden, Malcolm (ed.) 1979. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*. The Second Series Text. EETS, s.s. 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [ÆCHom II]
- . (ed.) 2000. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*. EETS, s.s. 18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gradon, Pamela (ed.) 1965 and 1979. *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*. 2 Vols. EETS, o.s. 23, 278. London and Oxford: Oxford University Press. [*Ayenb.*]



- Herzfeld, George (ed.) 1900. *An Old English Martyrology, re-edited from Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Museum and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*. EETS, o.s. 116. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. [OE Mart]
- The Holy Bible, 1611 Edition, King James Version*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, n.d. [AV]
- Holy Bible, The New King James Version containing The Old and New Testaments*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982.
- Holthausen, F. (ed.) 1888. *Vices and Virtues, Being A Soul's Confession of its Sins with Reason's Description of the Virtues, A Middle-English Dialogue of About 1200 A.D.* Part I: Text and Translation. EETS, o.s. 89. rpt. 1967; London: Oxford University Press. [Vices&V.]
- Irvine, Susan (ed.) 1993. *Old English Homilies From MS Bodley 343*. EETS, o.s. 302. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Bod.Hom.]
- Kellner, Leon (ed.) 1890. *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine, c. 1489: From Lord Spencer's Unique imperfect copy completed by the original French and the second English version of 1595*. EETS, e.s. 58. rpt. 1962; London: Oxford University Press. [Caxton Blanch.]
- Klaeber, Fr. (ed.) 1950. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Third ed. Lexington: D.C. Heath. [Beo]
- Krapp, George Philip and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (eds.) 1931-53. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, I-VI*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York: Columbia University Press. [ASPR, ChristA, ChristC, Dan, Dream, El, GDPref, GuthA, GuthB, KtHy, PPs, Rid, Sea, Wand, Wid]
- Langland, William. 1867-84. *The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman: together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest Secundum Wit et Resoun*. Ed. Skeat, Walter W. 4 Parts. EETS, o.s. 28, 38, 54, 67, 81. rpt.

- 1956-73; London: Oxford University Press. [PPI]
- 1995. *The Vision of Piers Plowman, A Critical Edition of the B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 15. 17.* Second ed. by A.V.C. Schmidt. London: Everyman.
- Mac, Frances M (ed.) 1934. *Seinte Marherete, þe Meiden ant Martyr, re-edited from MS. Bodley 34, Oxford and MS. Royal 17A xxvii, British Museum.* EETS, o.s. 193. London: Oxford University Press. rpt. 1990; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [St.Marg.]
- Miller, Thomas (ed.) 1890-98. *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* EETS, o.s. 95, 96, 110, 111. rpt. 1959-63; London: Oxford University Press. [Bede]
- Millett, Bella and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds.) 1990. *Medieval English Prose for Women, Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Morris, Richard (ed.) 1868. *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure lefdi, &c.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* First Series. EETS, o.s. 29, 34. unaltered rpt. 1998; Suffolk and New York: Boydell & Brewer. [Lamb.Hom., SWard]
- (ed.) 1873. *The Story of Genesis and Exodus, An Early English Song, About A.D. 1250.* Second and revised ed. EETS, o.s. 7. London: N. Trübner. rpt. 1969; New York: Greenwood. [Gen.&Ex.]
- (ed.) 1873. *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, From the Unique MS. B. 14. 52. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.* Second Series. EETS, o.s. 53. London: N. Trübner. unaltered rpt. 1998; Suffolk and New York: Boydell & Brewer. [Trin.Hom.]
- (ed.) 1874-93. *Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century.*

- 7 Parts. EETS, o.s. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101. rpt. 1961-66; London: Oxford University Press. [*Cursor*]
- (ed.) 1967. *The Blickling Homilies with a translation and index of words together with the Blickling Glosses*. EETS, o.s. 58, 63 and 73. London: Oxford University Press. rpt. 1990; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [*BlHom*]
- Napier, Arthur S. (ed.) 1883. *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien Nebst Untersuchungen Über ihre Echtheit*. rpt. 1967; Dublin/Zürich: Weidmann. [*WHom(N)*]
- Ogilvie-Thomson, S. J. (ed.) 1988. *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse edited from MS Longleat 29 and related manuscripts*. EETS, o.s. 293. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Plummer, Charles (ed.) 1892. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. A Revised Text. Vol. 1, Text, Appendices and Glossary. On the basis of an edition by John Earle. Reissued in 1952 with a Bibliographical note by Dorothy Whitelock. rpt. 1972; Oxford: Clarendon Press. [*ChronA, Peterb.Chron.*]
- Pope, John (ed.) 1968. *Homilies of Ælfric, A Supplementary Collections*. EETS, o.s. 259 & 260. London: Oxford University Press. [*ÆHom*]
- Scragg, D.G. (ed.) 1992. *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*. EETS, o.s. 300. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [*VercHom*]
- Sedgefield, Walter John (ed.) 1899. *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius, De consolazione philosophiae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. rpt. 1968; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. [*Bo*]
- Skeat, Walter W. (ed.) 1868. *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*. EETS, e.s. 4. rpt. 1973; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [*Havelok*]
- (ed.) 1915. *The Lay of Havelok the Dane, re-edited from MS. Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. Second ed. rev. by K. Sisam. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Sweet, Henry (ed.) 1871. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. 2 Parts. EETS, o.s. 45 and 50. London: Oxford University Press. rpt. 1988; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [CP]
- (ed.) 1883. *King Alfred's Orosius*. Part I, Old English Text and Latin Original. EETS, o.s. 79. rpt. 1959; London: Oxford University Press.
- Szarmach, Paul E. (ed.) 1981. *Vercelli Homilies ix xxiii*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Thorpe, Benjamin (ed.) 1844-46. *The Homilies of The Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part, containing The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric, in the Original Anglo-Saxon with an English Version*. 2 Vols. London: the Ælfric Society. rpt. 1983; Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Tolkien, J.R.R. (ed.) 1962. *The English Text of the Ancrêne Riwle, Ancrêne Wisse, edited from MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402*. EETS, o.s. 249. London: Oxford University Press. [AW]
- Tolkien, J.R.R. and E.V. Gordon (eds.) 1967. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Second ed. Rev. Norman Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [Gawain]
- Vinaver, Eugène (ed.) 1967. *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. Second ed. 3 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [Malory Wks.]
- Vleeskruyer, R. (ed.) 1953. *The Life of St. Chad, An Old English Homily*. Amsterdam: North-Holland. [Chad]
- Warner, Rubie D-N. (ed.) 1917. *Early English Homilies From the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV*. EETS, o.s. 152. rpt. 1981; Millwood: Kraus Reprint. [Vsp.D.Hom.]
- Zettersten, Arne and Bernhard Diensberg (eds.) 2000. *The English Text of the Ancrêne Riwle, the 'Vernon' Text, edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. a. I*. EETS, o.s. 310. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [AR(V)]

Zupitza, Julius (ed.) 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar, Text und Varianten*. rpt. 1966; Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

#### Website

*The Dictionary of Old English* <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/>

#### Secondary Sources

Allen, Cynthia L. 1995. *Case marking and Reanalysis: Grammatical Relations from Old to Early Modern English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 2000. 'Obsolescence and sudden death in syntax: The decline of verb-final order in early Middle English', in Bermúdez-Otero, Denison, Hogg and McCully (2000), 5-25.

Alston, R. C. 1967. *An Introduction to Old English*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson.

Amano, Masachiyo. 2003. 'On the Historical Role of the *His*-Genitive in the Development of 'S'', in *Studies in Modern English: The Twentieth Anniversary Publication of the Modern English Association*, 95-108. Tokyo: Eichosha.

Andrew, S.O. 1940. *Syntax and Style in Old English*. rpt. 1966; New York: Russell & Russell.

Araki, Kazuo. 1958. 'Pronoun or Conjunction? Relative *That, As, But, Than* ', in Kazuo Araki, et al. (eds), *Studies in English Grammar and Linguistics, A miscellany in Honour of Takanobu Otsuka*, 81-90. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Auger, Julie. 1995. 'On the History of Relative Clauses in French and Some of Its Dialects', in Henning Andersen (ed.), *Historical Linguistics 1993*,

- Selected Papers from the 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Los Angeles, 16-20 August 1993*, 19-32. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- van der Auwera, Johan. 1985. 'Relative *that* a centennial dispute'. *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 149-179.
- Baker, Peter S. 2003. *Introduction to Old English*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Barber, Charles. 1976. *Early Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- . 1993. *The English Language: a Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barrow, Julia. 1992. 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in the Twelfth-Century Europe*, 53-74. London: Hambledon Press.
- Baugh, Albert and Thomas Cable. 1978. *A History of the English Language*. Third ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bermúdez-Otero, Richard, David Denison, Richard M. Hogg and C.B. McCully (eds.) 2000. *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: A Dialogue from 10 ICEHL*. Topics in English Linguistics 31. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Biber, Douglas, et al. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Foreword by Randolph Quirk. Essex: Longman.
- Black, Merja. 1999. 'AB or Simply A? Reconsidering the Case for a Standard'. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100: 155-74.
- Blake, N. F. 1972. 'Middle English Prose and its Audience'. *Anglia* 90: 437-55.
- . 1974. 'Varieties of Middle English Religious Prose', in Rowland (ed.), 348-56.
- . 1996. *A History of the English Language*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

- Brunner, Karl. 1960. *Die englische Sprache I und II, Ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. [in Japanese] Tokyo: Taishukan, 1973.
- Burrow, J. A. 1982. *Medieval Writers and Their Work, Middle English Literature 1100-1500*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burrow, J. A. and Thorlac Turville-Petre. 1996. *A Book of Middle English*. Second ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cameron, Angus F. 1974. 'Middle English in Old English Manuscripts', in Rowland (ed.), 218-29.
- Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chalker, Sylvia and Edmund Weiner. 1994. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clanchy, M. T. 1993. *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*. Second ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Clark Hall, J. R. 1960. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Fourth ed. With a Supplement by Herbert D. Meritt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Classidy, Frederic G. and Richard N. Ringler (eds.) 1971. *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*. Third ed. Second Corrected Printing. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Clemons, Peter. 1952. *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*. Department of Anglo-Saxon Occasional Papers I. Cambridge: the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Cambridge.
- . 1994. 'History of the Manuscript, Origin and Contemporary Correction and Revision' and 'Punctuation', in Mary P. Richards (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Basing Readings in Anglo-Saxon England Vol.2), 345-64. New York: Garland.

- Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Curme, George O. 1912. 'A History of the English Relative Constructions'. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 11: 10-29, 180-204, 355-80.
- . 1931. *Syntax. A Grammar of the English Language* Vol. 3. Boston: D.C. Heath.
- . 1935. *Parts of Speech and Accidence. A Grammar of the English Language* Vol. 2. Boston: D.C. Heath.
- . 1952. *A Grammar of the German Language*. Second revised ed. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Dance, Richard. 2003. 'The AB Language: the Recluse, the Gossip and the Language Historian', in Wada (2003), 57-82.
- Davis, Graeme. 1997. *The Word-Order of Ælfric*. Studies in British Literature 28. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Davis, Norman (rev.) 1953. *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer*. Ninth ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Denison, David. 1993. *English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions*. Longman Linguistics Library. London and New York: Longman.
- Diekstra, F. N. M. 1984. 'Ambiguous *That*-Clause in Old and Middle English'. *English Studies* 65: 97-110.
- Dobson, E. J. 1962. 'The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*', in Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn (eds.), *English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, 128-163. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- . 1976. *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Donoghue, Daniel and Bruce Mitchell. 1992. 'Parataxis and Hypotaxis, A Review of Some Terms Used for Old English Syntax'. *Neuphilologische*



*Mitteilungen* 93: 163-183.

- Downing, Bruce T. 1978. 'Some Universals of Relative Clause Structure', in Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Human Language*, Vol. 4: Syntax, 375-418. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Edwards, A.S.G. 2003. 'The Middle English Manuscripts and Early Readers of *Ancrene Wisse*', in Wada (2003), 103-12,
- Flom, George T. 1930. *Introductory Old English Grammar and Reader*. Boston: D. C. Heath.
- Franzen, Christine. 1991. *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester, A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fujiwara, Hiroshi (ed.) 1994. *Word Order in English*. Tokyo: Gakushobo. [in Japanese]
- Garmonsway, G. N. (trans. and ed.) 1953. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. rpt. 1972; London: J.M. Dent & Sons.
- Gatch, Milton McC. 1977. *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Givón, T. 1993. *English Grammar, A Function-Based Introduction*. 2 vols. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Godden, Malcolm. 1978. 'Aelfric & the Vernacular Prose Tradition', in Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Húppe (eds.), *The Old English Homily & its Backgrounds*, 99-117. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Goh, Gwang-Yoon. 2004. 'The Difficulty of Prepositional Stranding and Relative Obliqueness in Old English'. *English Studies* 85: 481-497.
- Gordon, Pamela. 1983. 'Punctuation in a Middle English Sermon', in E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (eds.), *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, 39-48. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Greenbaum, Sidney. 1996. *The Oxford English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press.

- Handley, Rima. 1974. 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian D. xiv'. *Notes and Queries*, New Series, 21: 243-50.
- Harlow, C.G. 1959. 'Punctuation in Some Manuscripts of Ælfric'. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 10: 1-19.
- Heltermann, Jeffrey and Jerome Mitchell (eds.) 1994. *Old and Middle English Literature*. Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 146. Detroit: Gale Research.
- Heltveit, Trygve. 1953. *Studies in English Demonstrative Pronouns, A Contribution to the History of English Morphology*. Oslo: Akademisk.
- Hickey, Raymond and Stanisław Puppel (eds.) 1997. *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*. Vol. I: Language History. Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 101. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hock, Hans Henrich. 1991. 'The Origin and Development of Relative Clauses in Early Germanic, with Special Emphasis on Beowulf', in Elmer H. Antonsen and Hans Henrich Hock (eds.), *Stæfcræft: Studies in Germanic Linguistics: Select Papers from the First and the Second Symposium on Germanic Linguistics, University of Chicago, 24 April 1985, and University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 3-4 October 1986*, 55-89. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hogg, Richard (ed.) 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. 1: The Beginnings to 1066. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollebrandse Bart. 2000. 'Temporal Dependencies Complement and Relative Clauses Compared', in Catherine Howell, Sarah A. Fish, and Thea Keith-Lucas (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th annual Boston University*

- Conference on Language Development*, 430-7. Somerville: Cascadilla Press.
- Howe, Stephen. 1996. *The Personal Pronouns in the Germanic Languages, A study of personal pronoun morphology and change in the Germanic languages from the first records to the present day*. Studia Linguistica Germanica 43. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, Anne. 1966. 'Tradition and Innovation in Some Middle English Manuscripts'. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 17: 359-72.
- Ikegami, Yoshihiro. 1988. 'Se and He in Personal Reference in Old English: A Text-Linguistic Approach', in Oshitari, *et al.* (eds.), 43-52.
- Irvine, Susan. 2000. 'The compilation and use of manuscripts containing Old English in the twelfth century', in Swan and Treharne (eds.), 41-61.
- Jack, G. B. 1975. 'Relative Pronouns in Language AB'. *English Studies* 56: 100-7.
- . 1988. 'Relative Pronouns in Lagamon's Brut'. *Leeds Studies in English* 19: 31-66.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1924. *The Philosophy of Grammar*. rpt. 1963; London: George Allen & Unwin.
- . 1927. *A Modern English Grammar, on Historical Principles*. Part III. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie. 1977. 'Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 63-99.
- Ker, N. R. 1932. 'The Scribes of the *Trinity Homilies*'. *Medium Ævum* 1: 138-140.
- . 1957. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford:

- Clarendon Press.
- van Kerckvoorde, Colette M. 1993. *An Introduction to Middle Dutch*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Kivimaa, Kirsti. 1966. 'Pe and Pat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Special Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic Pat'. *Commentationes Humarum Litterarum* 39: 1-271.
- Kock, Ernest Albin. 1897. *The English Relative Pronouns, A Critical Essay*. Lund: Hjalmar Möller.
- Koopman, Willem F. 1997. 'Topicalization in Old English and its effects: Some remarks', in Hickey and Puppel (eds.), 307-21.
- Kruisinga, E. 1924. 'On the origin of the anaphoric relative that'. *English Studies* 6: 141-4.
- Kubouchi, Tadao and Keiko Ikegami (eds.) 2003. *The Ancrene Wisse, A Four-Manuscript Parallel Text*. Preface and Parts 1-4. *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature* 7. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Kurath, Hans, et al. (eds.) 1956-2001. *Middle English Dictionary*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Laing, Margaret. 1993. *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- . 2000. 'Never the twain shall meet, Early Middle English — the East-West divide', in Taavitsainen, Nevalainen, Pahta and Rissanen (eds.), 97-123.
- Lapidge, Michael, et al (eds.) 1999. *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lightfoot, David W. 1979. *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lowth, Robert. 1791. *A Short Introducton to English Grammar*. A New Edition. Printed for William Osborne. Introduction by David A. Reibel. rpt. 1995; London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press.
- McIntosh, Angus. 1947-8. 'The Relative Pronouns *þe* and *þat* in Early Middle English'. *English and Germanic Studies* I: 73-87.
- McIntosh, Angus, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 4 Vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Millar, Robert McColl. 2000. *System Collapse, System Rebirth, the Demonstrative Pronouns of English 900-1350 and the Birth of the Definite Article*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- . 2002. 'Language, Genre, and Register: factors in the use of simple demonstrative forms in the South-West Midlands of the thirteenth century', in Rosamund Allen, Lucy Perry, and Jane Roberts (eds.), *La 3amon, Contexts, Language and Interpretation* (King's College London Medieval Studies XIX), 227-39. London: King's College London, Centre for late Antiques and Medieval Studies.
- . 2002. 'After Jones: Some thoughts on the final collapse of the grammatical gender system in English', in Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Studies in English Historical Linguistics and Philology: A Festschrift for Akio Oizumi*, 293-306. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Millett, Bella. 1996. *Ancrene Wisse, the Katherine Group and the Wooing Group*. With the assistance of George B. Jack and Yoko Wada. Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature Volume II. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Millward, C. M. 1988. *A Biography of the English Language*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1988. 'Relative and Personal Pronouns in *Beowulf*: Eight Notes', in Oshitari, *et al.* (eds.), 3-12.
- . 1994. 'The Englishness of Old English', in Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray and Terry Hoad (eds.), *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English, Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, 163-81. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1997. 'The Sign 7 in the Annal for 871 in the Parker Chronicle, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173', in Jane Roberts, Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (eds.), *Alfred the Wise, Studies in honour of Janet Bately on the occasion of her sixty-fifth birthday* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 127-133.
- Mitchell, Bruce, and Fred C. Robinson. 2001. *A Guide to Old English*. Sixth ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miyabe, Kikuo. 1959. 'A Note on the Relative Pronouns in Early ME'. *Anglica* 4: 56-69.
- Moessner Lilo. 1989. *Early Middle English Syntax*. Linguistische Arbeiten 207. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Molencki, Rafal. 1987. 'Some Observations on Relative Clauses in the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*'. *Studia anglica posnaniensia: an international review of English studies* 20: 83-99.
- Moore, Samuel. 1951. *Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections*. Rev. Albert H. Marckwardt. Ann Arbor: George Wahr.
- Moore, Samuel, and Thomas A. Knott (eds.) 1977. *The Elements of Old English, Elementary Grammar, Reference Grammar and Reading Selections*. Tenth ed. Rev. James R. Hulbert. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr.
- Mossé, Fernand. 1952. *A Handbook of Middle English*. Trans. James A. Walker.

- Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Mustanoja, Tauno F. 1960. *A Middle English Syntax*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 23. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Nakao, Toshio. 1972. *History of English II*. [Eigoshi II.] Outline of English Linguistics Vol. 9. Tokyo: Taishukan. [in Japanese]
- Nelson, Gerald. 2001. *English: An Essential Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Offir, Carole E. 1973. 'Recognition Memory for Presuppositions of Relative Clause Sentences'. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 12: 636-643.
- Ogawa, Hiroshi. 2000. 'Problems of Old English Syntax — Elizabeth C. Traugott, 'Syntax' (*The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. I): A Review', in Hiroshi Ogawa (ed.), *Studies in the History of Old English Prose*, 26-47. Tokyo: Nan'un-do.
- Ogura, Michiko. 1988. 'Direct or Indirect? — *þæt* as a Quotation Indicator', in Oshitari, *et al.* (eds.), 88-105.
- . 1994. 'Some problems on prose word order', in Fujiwara (1994), 43-70. [in Japanese]
- . 1998. 'The grammaticalization in Medieval English', in Jacek Fisiak and Marcin Krygier (eds.), *Advances in English Historical Linguistics* (1996), Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 112, 293-314. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2000. '7/and/ond in Some Old English Manuscripts'. *Jimbun Kenkyu* 29, Chiba: 327-344.
- Ogura, Michiko, Ono Akiko and Ishiguro Taro, comp. 2003. *A Concordance to Select Homilies in MS Lambeth Palace 487 and MS Trinity College Cambridge B.14.52*. Chiba: Yamatoya for the Graduate School of Social

Science and Humanities, Chiba University.

- Ono, Akiko. 2001. “‘Archaic or Archaism?’ ---In the View of Relative Pronouns in Laȝamon’s *Brut* (MS Caligula A )---’. *The Bulletin of the Graduate School of Chiba University* 5: 69-80.
- . 2001. ‘In What Case Do Demonstrative or Personal Pronouns Function as Relative Pronouns in Old English? ---Need for New Criteria to Distinguish the Functions---’. *Claritas* 14: 27-33.
- . 2004. ‘The Relative Markers *þe* and *þet* in *Ancrene Riwe* (Cotton MS Nero A. xiv), in Michiko Ogura (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Studies*, Report on the Research Projects No. 80, 50-69. Chiba: Yamatoya for Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Chiba University.
- Ono, Shigeru and Toshio Nakao. 1980. *History of English I*. Outline of English Linguistics Vol. 8. Tokyo: Taishukan. [in Japanese]
- Oshitari, Kinshiro, *et al.* (eds.) 1988. *Philologia Anglica, Essays Presented to Professor Yoshio Terasawa on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
- Park, Young-Bae. 1987. ‘An Historical Study of the Syntactic Status of Relative *that*’. *English Language and Literature* 33: 547-73. [in Korean]
- . 1988a. ‘Preposition Stranding in Middle English’. *Language* 9.10: 75-90. [in Korean]
- . 1988b. ‘On the Case System in Old English’. *Language and Literature Research* 8: 185-205. [in Korean]
- . 1989. ‘On Old English Word-Order’. *Language Research* 25: 61-80. [in Korean]
- Parkes, M. B. 1978. ‘Punctuation, or Pause and Effect’, in James J. Murphy (ed.), *Medieval Eloquence, Studies in the Theory and Practice of*



- Medieval Rhetoric*, 127-42. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Quirk, Randolph. 1957. 'Relative Clauses in Educated Spoken English'.  
*English Studies* 38: 97-109.
- Quirk, Randolph and C. L. Wrenn (eds.) 1957. *An Old English Grammar*.  
Second ed. rpt. 1960; London: Methuen.
- Quirk Randolph, *et al.* 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 2000. 'WHICH and THE WHICH in Late Middle English: Free variants?', in Taavitsainen, Nevalainen, Pahta and Rissanen (eds.), 209-225.
- Reynolds, Suzanne. 1996. *Medieval Reading: grammar, rhetoric and the classical text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rissanen, Matti, *et al.* (eds.) 1992. *History of Englishes, New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*. Topics in English Linguistics 10. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1997. 'Optional *THAT* with subordinators in Middle English', in Hickey and Puppel (eds.), 373-83.
- Robertson, Jr., D. W. 1949. 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England'. *Speculum* 24: 376-88.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1980. 'The relative clause marker in Scots English: Diffusion, complexity, and style as dimensions of syntactic change'.  
*Language in Society* 9: 221-47.
- . 1981. 'Towards a typology of relative-clause formation strategies in Germanic', in Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Syntax*, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 23, 437-70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1984. 'Some Historical and Social Dimensions of Syntactic Change in

- Middle Scots Relative Clauses', in N.F. Blake and Charles Jones (eds.), *English Historical Linguistics: Studies in Development*, CECTAL Conference Papers Series No.3, 101-122. Sheffield: Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield.
- Rothwell, W. 1968. 'The Teaching of French in Medieval England'. *The Modern Language Review* 63: 37-46.
- Rowland, Beryl (ed.) 1974. *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Salu, M. B. (trans.) 1955. *The Ancrene Riwele*. rpt. 1990; Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Samuels, M.L. 1972. *Linguistic Evolution, with Special Reference to English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sands, Donald B. (ed.) 1986. *Middle English Verse and Romances*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Scahill, John. 2002. 'A Saner, Kinder Nero?', in Wada (2002), 75-94.
- Seppänen, Aimo. 1997a. 'The genitives of the relative pronouns in present-day English', in Jenny Cheshire and Dieter Stein (eds.), *Taming the Vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*, 152-169. London and New York: Longman.
- . 1997b. 'The genitive and the category of case in the history of English', in Hickey and Puppel (eds.), 193-214.
- . 1999. 'Dialectal variation in English relativization'. *Lingua* 109: 15-34.
- . 2000. 'On the history of relative *that*', in Richard Bermúdez-Otero *et al.* (eds.), *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: A Dialogue from 10 ICEHL*, 27-52. Topics in English Linguistics 31. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- . 2004. 'The Old English relative *þe*'. *English Language and Linguistics* 8: 71-102.
- Seppänen, Aimo, and Joe Trotta. 2000. 'The *wh*- + *that* Pattern in Present-day English', in John M. Kirk (ed.), *Corpora Galore, Analyses and Techniques in Describing English, Papers from the Nineteenth International Conference on English Language Research on Computerised Corpora (ICAME 1998)*, 161-175. *Language and Computers: Studies in Practical Linguistics* 30. Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Shepherd, Geoffrey (ed.) 1991. *Ancrene Wisse, Parts Six and Seven*. Rev. ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Shioya, Yutaka. 1979. *Inleiding tot de nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Tokyo: Daigakusyoin. [in Japanese]
- Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner (eds.) 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick. 1990. *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800*. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sisam, Celia. 1951. 'The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*'. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 6: 105-113.
- Sisam, Kenneth. 1955. *Fourteenth Century Verse & Prose*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smith, Gregory (ed.) 1964. *Addison & Steele and Others, The Spectator*. Vol. 1. Introduction by Peter Smithers. London: J.M. Dent & Sons.
- Smith, Jeremy J. 1991. 'Tradition and Innovation in South-West-Midland Middle English', in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts, Essays Celebrating the Publication of A*

- Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English, 53-65. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- . 1992. 'A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English: tradition and typology', in Matti Rissanen, *et al* (eds.), *History of Englishes, New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics* (Topics in English Linguistics 10), 582-591. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1996. *An Historical Study of English: Function, form and change*. London: Routledge.
- . 2000. 'Standard language in Early Middle English?', in Taavitsainen, Nevalainen, Pahta and Rissanen (eds.), 125-39.
- . 2001. 'Pronominal Systems in the Auchinleck Manuscript', in Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester (eds.), *Lexis and Texts in Early English, Studies presented to Jane Roberts*, 225-235. Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Smits, R. J. C. 1989. *Eurogrammar, The Relative and Cleft Constructions of the Germanic and Romance Languages*. Dordrecht and Providence RI: Foris.
- Stenton, F. M. 1971. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Third ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stevick, Robert D. 1965. 'Historical Selection of Relative *þat* in Early Middle English'. *English Studies* 46: 29-36.
- Strang, Barbara M. H. 1970. *A History of English*. London: Methuen.
- Stuurman, Frits. 1981. 'On Items Introducing Finite Relative and Interrogative Clauses in English and Dutch'. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 13: 175-184.
- Swan, Mary and Elaine E. Treharne (eds.) 2000. *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sweet, Henry. 1891-98. *A New English Grammar Logical and Historical*. 2 Parts. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taavitsainen, Irma, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta and Matti Rissanen (eds.) 2000. *Placing Middle English in Context*. Topics in English Linguistics 35. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Toller, T. Northcote (ed. and enlarged.) 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth. rpt. 1954; London: Oxford University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A History of English Syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Treharne, Elaine M. 2000. 'The production and script of manuscripts containing English religious texts in the first half of the twelfth century', in Swan and Treharne (eds.), 11-51.
- Visser, F. Th. 1963-73. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*. 3 Parts. Leiden: Brill.
- Wada, Yoko. 1981. 'Relative Pronouns *þe* and *þet* in the *Katherine*-Group'. *Poiesis* 9: 144-62. [in Japanese]
- . 1983. 'Relative Pronouns in *Ancrene Wisse* and *Ancrene Riwe*'. *Kansai University Studies in English Language and Literature* 22: 70-9.
- . (ed. and trans.) 1994. '*Temptations*' from *Ancrene Wisse*. Vol. 1. Osaka: Kansai University Press.
- . (ed.) 2002. *A Book of Ancrene Wisse*. Osaka: Kansai University Press.
- . (ed.) 2003. *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- White, Hugh. 1993. *ANCRENE WISSE, Guide for anchoresses*. London: Penguin Books.
- Wilcox, Jonathan (ed.) 1994. *Ælfric's Prefaces*. Durham Medieval Texts, No. 9. Durham: Durham Medieval Texts.

- Wilson, R. M. 1943. 'English and French in England 1100-1300'. *History, the Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, New Series, 28: 37-60.
- . 1968. *Early Middle English Literature*. Third ed. London: Methuen.
- . 1970. *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*. Second Ed. London: Methuen.
- Yanagi, Sayo. 1988. 'The Relative Pronouns *þe* and *þ* in the *Ancrene Riwe*'. *Fukuoka University review of literature & humanities* 20: 1293-1321, and 21, 207-235 and 713-733.
- . 2003. 'Old English Repeated Prepositions', in *Studies in Modern English: The Twentieth Anniversary Publication of the Modern English Association*, 309-22. Tokyo: Eichosha.