

COMMENTARY ON THE LAEME GRAMMELS

0. INTRODUCTION

The items in the LAEME corpus are referred to as ‘tags’. A tag comprises two elements: (a) a lexical element (lexel), e.g. the modern English equivalent of the Middle English word being tagged, or (where this is lacking or ambiguous) a form of its etymon; (b) a grammatical element (grammel) indicating its function. Each tag is introduced by \$ and elements (a) and (b) are separated by / — e.g. \$heart/nOd = HEART noun in direct object function. Some words have no need of a lexel because the grammel is sufficient to describe them fully, e.g.

\$/P13NM, where P stands for personal pronoun, 1 for singular, 3 for third person, N for nominative and M for masculine, i.e. HE. Using the alphanumeric list of basic grammel elements in §0.1 below, one may similarly decipher any combination that is not independently defined. Tags have three functions: (1) they identify lexemes; (2) they identify grammatical categories/functions; (3) they identify meanings. Some grammels contain one or more lexel as part of their contextual description, as in \$/P13<prM+ward TO HIMWARD.

In the MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – MORPHOLOGY section of each CoNE etymology, the morphological endings of the forms attested for the item in LAEME CTT are commented on under their respective list of grammels. Reference is made to the shape of the endings in relation to the Old English suffixal endings given in the section PROBABLE OLD ENGLISH INPUT PARADIGM TO THE MIDDLE ENGLISH MORPHOLOGY. In §§1–9 below we explain why some LAEME grammels are treated as equivalent in CoNE, and also (the extent to) which (groups of) grammels correspond to members of the Old English nominal, pronominal, adjectival or verbal paradigms.

0.1 Alphanumeric list of basic LAEME grammel elements – core ones are shown in bold

+	joins a prefix to a base or a base to a suffix with no space in the manuscript. Also indicates that manuscript words preceding and following it that are normally separated have been run together, with or without modifications by external sandhi
-	joins a prefix to a base or a base to a suffix, but indicates a space in the manuscript between the two elements
>	points forward to a syntactically connected word e.g. >pr q.v. or in negative construction to following multiple negators, e.g. neg-v>av>neithernor etc.
<	indicates postposition of an expected preposed form and points backward to a syntactically connected word, e.g. in multiple negation.
>=	coordinating with <=
<=	coordinating with >= e.g. NEITHER...NOR, AS...AS, BOTH...AND, THEN...WHEN, etc.
01	polite 1 plural, the royal ‘we’.
02	polite 2 plural, i.e. plural for singular
11	singular 1 person
12	singular 2 person
13	singular 3 person
21	plural 1 person
22	plural 2 person
23	plural 3 person
A	(1) indefinite article
	(2) animate (human), e.g. RTA = relative marker WHO
aa	rare occasions when a participle is used like a Latin ablative absolute
ad	after dental (e.g. DisN-addemonstrative adj nom following final ‘t’ or ‘d’)

aj	adjective (nominative = default)
apn	after pronoun
av	adverb or adverbial function
bpn	before pronoun
+C	preceding a consonant initial word (not 'h'), e.g. P11GN+C = personal pronoun 1 person singular genitive (i.e. MY) as nominative adjective before a consonant initial word
cj	conjunction
cpv	comparative (e.g. aj-cpv)
D	(1) demonstrative
	(2) dual, e.g. P22ND = YE TWO
[D]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [t, d]
D-cpv	demonstrative + comparative e.g. THE BETTER
Dat	demonstrative THAT (default = adjective)
Dat-pl	demonstrative THAT with plural verb
def	definite, e.g. \$other/pn-def = THE OTHER
Des	demonstrative THESE (default = adjective)
Dis	demonstrative THIS (default = adjective)
Dos	demonstrative THOSE (default = adjective)
[F]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final "f"
F	(1) feminine reference (natural gender not grammatical gender)
	(2) following a verbal suffix label, French '-er' or '-re' type
Fier	following a verbal suffix label, French '-ier' type
Fir	following a verbal suffix label, French '-ir' type
G	genitive
[H]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [x]
+H	preceding a word initial 'h'
I	inanimate or non-human (except in the special cases of gendered non-human animals or of gendered personification)
im	infinitive marker, TO etc.
imp	imperative
indef	indefinite e.g. \$other/aj-indef = ANOTHER
[J]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [j]
[K]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final velar stop
k	compound (e.g. aj-k = compound adjective)
K2	attached to a verb suffix label, class 2 weak type '-ian' (though some verbs marked K2 may originally have belonged to class 3 weak type (see Campbell 1959: §763); the presence of '-i-' in the suffix is what is primarily being noted
K2[1]	attached to a verb suffix label, indicates a historical class 1 light root verb in [r], e.g. <i>herian</i> PRAISE
M	masculine reference (natural gender not grammatical gender)
MX	mental reflexive, e.g. TO BETHINK ONESELF. See also s.v. X
[N]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final nasal
N	nominative
NX	reflexive functioning as subject. See also s.v. X
n	noun (nominative = default)
neg-v	preverbal negative 'ne', etc.
neg-v>=	preverbal negator coordinating with postverbal negator 'not' (tagged as not/av-neg<=) i.e. 'ne..not'
neg-v>	preverbal negator followed by one or more negators other than 'not', as specified
Od	direct object
Oi	indirect object

[P]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [p]
P	personal pronoun
+P	attached to a verb label indicates a post-clitic pronoun
pl	plural
pn	pronoun (other than personal)
pr	preposition or postposition
pr+T	preposition elided with following definite article e.g. ATTE = AT THE
<pr	in the scope of a preposition (whether or not the preposition historically governs old accusative or old dative case)
>pr	in the scope of a postposition
qc	quantifier cardinal
qo	quantifier ordinal
[R]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final liquid
[r]	attached to the grammel of a suffix of a word with stem final 'r' where the suffix includes a superscript vowel (usually ^E, sometimes ^I, as abbreviations for 're' 'ri'), indicates that the ^E or ^I of the suffix includes the notional 'r' of the stem: e.g. MAIST^ES MASTERS – \$/pln[r]_^ES; yEOST+^IT (THEY) DARKEN – \$/vps23[r]K2_^IT.
{rh}	occurs in rhyming position
RT	relative marker
RTA	relative marker animate
RTI	relative marker inanimate (non-human)
[S]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [s, z]
S	after v (verb) indicates non-weak, i.e. strong or 'anomalous'
sup	superlative (e.g. aj-sup = superlative adjective)
T	definite article
t	title, e.g. \$king/n-t in KING HENRY
[V]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final vowel
+V	preceding a vowel initial word
v	verb
vi	verb infinitive
vi-m	verb infinitive following infinite marker, TO etc.
vn	verbal noun
voc	vocative (e.g. n-voc = noun used in vocative function)
vpp	verb non-strong past participle
vpp-aj	verb non-strong past participle functioning as adjective
vpp-pl	plural marked participle after auxiliary BE
vps	verb present tense
vps13-ct	verb present tense 3 singular with -ct (for 'contracted') indicating a syncopated form
vpsp	verb present participle
vpsp-aj	verb present participle functioning as adjective
vpt	verb past tense
vsjps	verb present subjunctive
vsjpt	verb past subjunctive
vSpp	verb non-weak past participle (either the past participle of a strong verb or any other non-weak participle)
vSpp-aj	verb non-weak past participle functioning as adjective
vSpp-pl	plural marked non-weak participle after auxiliary BE
[W]	attached to a suffix label, indicates a preceding stem final [w]
X	reflexive, either object with a coreferent subject e.g. THOU LETTEST THYSELF ALONE (\$/P12OdX), or appositional, e.g. I MYSELF (\$/P11X), cf. also MX and NX

xp	prefix
xs	suffix

1. NOUNS, GENERAL

Extra labels

Note that *any* noun grammel may be followed by one or more of the following:

-k indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached forms a non-initial element of a compound.

-t indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached is being used as a title, e.g. [=KING in KING HENRY would be tagged \$king/n-t when subject, \$king/nOd-t when direct object, etc.

{rh} indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached is attested in rhyme position.

In addition:

The extension aj indicates a noun being used in adjective function.

These labels are not further noticed in this commentary.

1.1 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English nominative case singular

/n

The basic label for a noun is n, which, with no further specification, indicates a singular subject, e.g. \$spouse/n in: AS GODES SPUSE SINGEd AS GOD'S SPOUSE SINGS.

/n-voc

Where a singular noun is used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic n grammel, e.g. \$sir/n-voc in: A SIRE AS yU DEST wEL AH, SIR, AS THOU DOST WELL.

/n-int

Where a singular noun forms part of an interjection, -int is added to the basic n grammel, e.g. \$mercy/n-int in: *MERCI HE Cr^IDE DEOLUOLICHE 'MERCY!' HE CRIED DOLEFULLY.

/naj

Labels a noun which modifies a singular subject noun, e.g. \$maiden/naj in: yIS MAIDEN CHILD RAN TO yE KING THIS MAIDEN CHILD RAN TO THE KING.

1.2 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English accusative case singular

/nOd

Labels a singular noun functioning as direct object, e.g. \$apple/nOd in: AN APPEL yerOF HE NOM AN APPLE THEREFROM HE TOOK. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Od show development from Old English accusative case whether or not they are objects of verbs that in Old English governed genitive or dative direct objects. Any singular noun in LAEME CTT with a clear genitive 's' ending, however, is tagged /nG on formal grounds.

/najOd

Labels a singular noun which modifies a direct object noun, e.g. \$easter/najOd in: HOLDE zOURe ESTER FESTE TO HOLD YOUR EASTER FEAST.

1.3 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English dative case singular

/nOi

Labels a singular noun functioning as indirect object, including semantic ablatives and locatives. We use the term ‘indirect object’ in more or less the traditional way, except for the fact that functional indirect objects marked with a preposition are treated separately, along with other prepositional phrases. The reason we make this distinction is that nouns in this function overlap formally with those in adverbial and other prepositional phrases.

E.g. \$ancra/nOi in: REAUI yE UUELE ANCRE yE-ILKE UNSELI GILE TO TAKE FROM THE EVIL ANCORESS THAT SAME UNHAPPY PRETENCE. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Oi show development from Old English dative case (the usual case of indirect objects in Old English).

1.4 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English accusative OR dative case singular

/n<pr, /n>pr

A singular noun governed by an adposition is given the label n<pr (preposition), e.g. \$folk/n<pr in: OF dE FOLC OF THE FOLK, or n>pr (postposition), hereafter referred to collectively as preposition: e.g. \$folk/n>pr in: FOLC A-MONG AMONG FOLK. <pr and >pr labels may attach to nouns showing reflexes of different cases, and usually it is not knowable from the reduced form of the reflexes, which case it might be. The most common adpositional cases in Old English were dative and accusative. In terms of development from Old English, the endings of nouns labelled n<pr or n>pr in LAEME CTT could be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings depending on the preposition used and also, where relevant, the context: e.g. ‘place where’ vs. ‘motion towards’. Even in Old English, however, the collocation of locative with dative or ‘motion towards’ with accusative is not at all regular (Mitchell 1968: 294, 1985: §1177(4). Cf. Traugott 1992: 202–203).

/naj<pr, /naj>pr

Labels a singular noun which modifies a noun functioning as the object of a preposition e.g. \$camel/naj<pr in: WIT CAMEL HARE WITH CAMEL HAIR.

/n-av

Labels an ungoverned singular noun in an adverbial noun phrase, e.g. \$day/n-av in: yE FERSTE DAY HIT SSAL REYNN BLOD (ON) THE FIRST DAY IT SHALL RAIN BLOOD. Any LAEME spellings that show clear genitive ‘s’ endings in such adverbials are assigned the /nG grammel (below) on formal grounds and the -av is then added: /nG-av. The endings of LAEME CTT forms with the plain n-av label are most likely to be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings.

1.5 NOUN GRAMMELS FOR WHICH THE ENDINGS ARE GIVEN SEPARATE TAGS

Extra labels in addition to those noted above

[r] indicates that in the form to which the grammel is attached superscript ‘e’ or ‘i’ indicating *re* or *ri* straddles the stem and the suffix in words with stem final [r]. E.g. ON wINT^r+[^]EN IN RESPECT OF WINTERS, where lower case ‘r’ in the transcription is an expansion of the abbreviation superscript ‘e’ ([^]E in the transcription) the separated ending +[^]EN would be tagged \$/pln<pr[r].

1.5.1 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English genitive case singular

/nG (or for the separately tagged ending /Gn)

The nG label with no further extension is assigned to singular nouns used in possessive or partitive functions, e.g. \$abbot/nG in: TO yE ABBOTES NEDE TO THE ABBOT'S REQUIREMENT.

/nG-av (or for the separately tagged separately tagged ending /Gn-av)

Labels a singular noun with a clear genitive 's' ending which appears in a phrase serving an adverbial rather than an argument function, e.g. \$night/nG-av in: *FOR yU FLYHST NYHTES EUER-MO FOR YOU FLY BY NIGHT EVERMORE.

1.5.2 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English nominative case plural

/npl (or for the separately tagged ending /pln)

The basic label for a plural noun.

/npl-voc (or for the separately tagged ending /pln-voc)

Where a plural noun is used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic npl grammel.

/najpl (or for the separately tagged ending /plajn)

Labels a plural noun which modifies a subject noun.

1.5.3 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English accusative case plural

/nplOd (or for the separately tagged ending /plnOd)

Labels a plural noun functioning as direct object. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Od show development from Old English accusative case whether or not they are objects of verbs that in Old English governed genitive or dative direct objects. Any plural noun in LAEME CTT with a clear genitive ending, however, is tagged /nplG on formal grounds.

/najplOd (or for the separately tagged ending /plajnOd)

Labels a plural noun which modifies a direct object noun.

1.5.4 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English dative case plural

/nplOi (or for the separately tagged ending /plnOi)

Labels a plural noun functioning as indirect object, including semantic ablatives and locatives (see further above under NOUNS /nOi). The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Oi show development from Old English dative case (the usual case of indirect objects in Old English).

1.5.5 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English accusative OR dative case plural

/npl<pr , /npl>pr (or for the separately tagged endings /pln<pr, /pln>pr)

A plural noun governed by an adposition is given the label npl<pr (preposition) or npl>pr (postposition), hereafter referred to collectively as preposition. The most common prepositional cases in Old English were dative and accusative. For further explanation see above under the description of noun singular /n<pr, /n>pr.

/najpl<pr (or for the separately tagged ending /plajn<pr)

Labels a plural noun which modifies a noun functions as the object of a preposition.

/npl-av (or for the separately tagged ending (/pln-av)

Labels an ungoverned plural noun in an adverbial noun phrase. The endings of LAEME CTT forms with this label are most likely to be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings.

1.5.6 Noun grammels corresponding to Old English genitive case plural

/nplG (or for the separately tagged ending /plnG)

The nplG label with no further extension is assigned to plural nouns used in possessive or partitive functions.

2. ADJECTIVES, GENERAL

Introduction

Attributive and predicative adjectives are tagged without differentiation. The extended labels of those used attributively match those of their head noun: /ajplOd, for example, indicates an adjective, which modifies a plural noun functioning as direct object. LAEME does not tag for the strong/weak adjective distinction, because by early Middle English (as evidenced by LAEME CTT) most adjectival inflexions are reduced to *-e* or *-Ø*. Any survivals of fuller inflection are commented on in individual cases.

Adjectival comparison is indicated by the labels -cpv (comparative) and -sup (superlative).

Extra labels

Note that *any* adjective grammel may be followed by one or more of the following:

-k indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached forms a non-initial element of a compound.

-t indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached occurs within a title phrase, e.g. \$proud/aj-t in: & BE ALFRIC BISCOP & TOFI PRUDE ... yESE GUIDES MUNDES AND LET BISHOP ÆLFRIC AND [=TOFI (THE) PROUD ... BE GUARDIANS OF THIS AGREEMENT.

{rh} indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached is attested in rhyme position. In addition:

The extension n indicates an adjective being used in nominal function.

These labels are not further noticed in this commentary.

Adjectival pronouns

Some adjectives can act either as adjectives or as pronouns depending on context. In LAEME CTT, the following lexels may take either /aj or /pn grammels: \$any/, \$both/, \$each/ \$eachone/, \$either/, \$severeach/, \$fela/, \$few/ \$geon/ \$geond/ \$hwo:n/, \$n+any/, \$neither/, \$other/, \$self/, \$some/, \$such/, \$what/ \$whether/ \$which/ (cf. also \$none/pn, the equivalent pronoun tag to \$no/aj). The pronominal uses of these words in LAEME CTT are given the grammel /pn with further extensions if relevant, e.g. \$either/pnOd, \$which/pnpl<pr. The inflectional morphology of such adjectival pronouns is assumed to be the same as the adjective.

2.1 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English nominative case singular

/aj (also /pn in relevant words only)

The aj label with no further extension is assigned to adjectives which modify or are predicates of a singular subject (pro)noun, e.g. \$alive/aj in: zIF HE IS ALIUE IF HE IS ALIVE.

/aj-voc

Where an adjective modifies a singular (pro)noun used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic aj grammel, e.g. \$fair/aj-voc and \$bright/aj-voc in: *IBLESSED BEO yU LAUED I SO FAIR AND SO BRIHT BLESSED BE YOU, LADY, SO FAIR AND SO BRIGHT.

/aj-int

Where an adjective modifies or is a predicate of a singular noun that forms part of an interjection, -int is added to the basic aj grammel, e.g. \$unworth/aj-int in: wEILAwEI IHesU GODD HwUCH UNwURdE CHAFFERE ALAS! JESUS GOD, WHAT WORTHLESS TRADE!

/ajn

Labels an adjective functioning as a singular subject, e.g. the first example of BLINDE in the phrase: dE BLINDE LATT dANE BLINDE THE BLIND (ONE) LEADS THE BLIND (ONE).

2.2 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English accusative case singular**/ajOd (also /pnOd in relevant words only)**

Labels an adjective which modifies a singular noun functioning as direct object, e.g. \$best/ajOd in: AND ICHELLE DO yE yE BESTE RED AND I WILL GIVE THEE THE =BEST ADVICE. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Od show development from Old English accusative case. Any singular noun in LAEME CTT with a clear genitive 's' ending, however, is tagged /nG on formal grounds and any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching /ajG grammel.

/ajnOd

Labels an adjective functioning as a singular direct object, e.g. the second example of BLINDE in the phrase: dE BLINDE LATT dANE BLINDE THE BLIND (ONE) LEADS THE BLIND (ONE).

2.3 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English dative case singular**/ajOi (also /pnOi in relevant words only)**

Labels an adjective, which modifies a singular noun functioning as indirect object, including semantic ablatives and locatives (see further above under NOUNS /nOi). E.g. \$sorrowful/ajOi in: yI SORFUL MODer yOU DO MerCI SHOW THOU MERCY TO THY SORROWFUL MOTHER. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Oi show development from Old English dative case (the usual case of indirect objects in Old English).

2.4 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English accusative OR dative case singular**/aj<pr, /aj>pr (also /pn<pr, /pn>pr in relevant words only)**

A singular noun governed by an adposition is given the label n<pr (preposition) or n>pr (postposition), hereafter referred to collectively as preposition, and any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching aj<pr or aj>pr grammel, e.g. \$blissful/aj<pr in: TO BLISFULE LI[UE] TO BLISSFUL LIFE. <pr and >pr labels may attach to reflexes of different cases, and usually it is not knowable from the reduced form of the reflexes, which case it might be. The most common prepositional cases in Old English were dative and accusative. In terms of development from Old English, the endings of adjectives labelled aj<pr or aj>pr in LAEME CTT could be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings depending on the preposition used and also, where relevant, the context: e.g. 'place where' vs. 'motion

towards'. Even in Old English, however, the collocation of locative with dative or 'motion towards' with accusative is not at all regular (Mitchell 1968: 294, 1985: §1177(4). Cf. Traugott 1992: 202–203).

/ajn<pr, /ajn>pr

Labels an adjective functioning as the singular object of a preposition, e.g. UNDER HwIT OdER BLAC UNDER WHITE OR BLACK.

/aj-av (also /pn-av in relevant words only)

Labels an adjective which modifies an ungoverned singular noun in an adverbial noun phrase, e.g. \$all/-aj-av and \$endless/aj-av: in AL yE ENDELESE DAI ALL THE ENDLESS DAY. Any LAEME spellings that show clear genitive 's' endings in such adverbials are assigned the /nG grammel on formal grounds to which the -av is then added. Any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching /ajG-av grammel. The endings of LAEME CTT forms with the aj-av label are most likely to be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings.

/ajn-av

Labels an adjective functioning as an ungoverned adverbial singular noun, e.g. \$dead/ajn-av in: INE yO STAT ME SSEL LOKI CHASTETE, OUT-YNOME yE DEDE IN THAT STATE ONE SHALL PRESERVE CHASTITY, THE DEAD [=EXCEPTED.

2.5 ADJECTIVE GRAMMELS FOR WHICH THE ENDINGS ARE GIVEN SEPARATE TAGS

Extra labels in addition to those noted above

[r] indicates that in the form to which the grammel is attached superscript 'e' or 'i' indicating *re* or *ri* straddles the stem and the suffix in words with stem final [r]. E.g. BITTr+^EN TER+IS LET+IN WEEP BITTER TEARS, where lower case 'r' in the transcription is an expansion of the abbreviation superscript 'e' (^E in the transcription) the separated ending +^EN would be tagged \$/plajOd[r].

2.5.1 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English genitive case singular

/ajG (also /pnG in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /Gaj and /Gajpn)

The ajG label with no further extension is assigned to adjectives modifying singular nouns used in possessive or partitive functions, e.g. \$christian/ajG in: CRESTEn MAN Pr^AIER (THE) CHRISTIAN MAN'S PRAYER.

/ajG-av (and for the separately tagged ending /Gaj-av)

Labels an adjective modifying a singular noun with a clear genitive 's' ending in a phrase serving an adverbial rather than an argument function or an adjective which itself has a clear genitive 's' ending and an adverbial function, e.g. HwEN HA ALLES wALDEN FALLEN DUNeWART WHEN THEY WOULD FALL ALTOGETHER DOWNWARD.

/ajnG (and for the separately tagged ending /Gajn)

Labels an adjective functioning as a noun in possessive or partitive function, e.g. \$righteous/ajnG in: dAS RIHTwISES SAULE THE SOUL OF THE RIGHTEOUS (ONE).

2.5.2 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English nominative case plural

/ajpl (also /pnpl in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plaj and /plajpn)
The ajpl label with no further extension is assigned to adjectives which modify or are predicates of a plural subject (pro)noun.

/ajpl-voc (and for the separately tagged ending \$/plaj-voc)
Where an adjective modifies a plural noun used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic ajpl grammel.

/ajnpl (and for the separately tagged ending \$/plajn)
Labels an adjective functioning as a plural subject.

2.5.3 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English accusative case plural

/ajplOd (also /pnplOd in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plajOd and /plajpnOd)
Labels an adjective which modifies a plural noun functioning as direct object. The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Od show development from Old English accusative case. Any plural noun in LAEME CTT with a clear genitive ending, however, is tagged /nG on formal grounds and any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching /ajG grammel.

/ajnplOd (and for the separately tagged ending \$/plajnOd)
Labels an adjective functioning as a plural direct object.

2.5.4 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English dative case plural

/ajplOi (also /pnplOi in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plajOi and /plajpnOi)
Labels an adjective, which modifies a plural noun functioning as indirect object, including semantic ablatives and locatives (see further above under NOUNS /nOi). The default assumption is that the endings of LAEME CTT forms with the label Oi show development from Old English dative case (the usual case of indirect objects in Old English).

2.5.5 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English accusative OR dative case plural

/ajpl<pr, /ajpl>pr (also /pnpl<pr, /pnpl>pr in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plaj<pr, /plaj>pr and /plajpn<pr, /plajpn>pr)
A plural noun governed by an adposition is given the label npl<pr (preposition) or npl>pr (postposition), hereafter referred to collectively as preposition, and any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching ajpl<pr or ajpl>pr grammel. <pr and >pr labels may attach to reflexes of different cases, and usually it is not knowable from the reduced form of the reflexes, which case it might be. The most common prepositional cases in Old English were dative and accusative. For further explanation, see above under the description of /aj<pr, /aj>pr.

/ajnpl<pr (and for the separately tagged ending /plajn<pr)
Labels an adjective functioning as the plural object of a preposition.

/ajpl-av (also /pnpl-av in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plaj-av and /plajpn-av)

Labels an adjective, which modifies an ungoverned plural noun in an adverbial noun phrase. Any LAEME spellings that show clear genitive endings in such adverbials are assigned the /nplG grammel on formal grounds to which the -av is then added. Any adjective modifying such a noun is given a matching /ajplG-av grammel. The endings of LAEME CTT forms with the ajpl-av label are most likely to be reflexes of either dative or accusative endings.

2.5.6 Adjective grammels corresponding to Old English genitive case plural

/ajplG (also /pnplG in relevant words only and for the separately tagged endings /plajG and /plajpnG)

The ajplG label with no further extension is assigned to adjectives modifying plural nouns used in possessive or partitive functions.

3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS, GENERAL

(For a full description see LAEME, Introduction, chapter 4, §4.4.2.1)

The basic label for a personal pronoun is P. The grammel is then built up in the following order: number, person, case, gender. Gender applies for third person singular only: F = feminine, M = masculine, I = inanimate or non-human (except in certain cases for which see below under **Personal pronoun grammels for third person singular**). Singular is designated by 1 and plural by 2; first person by 1, second person by 2 and third person by 3; for morphological reasons, which do not apply to nouns, nominative (i.e. subject position) is here specified by N. Other cases are characterised as with nouns and adjectives. For instance, P11N represents 'I', P13OiM represents 'him' as indirect object, P23Od represents 'them' as direct object. In early Middle English the dual still survives in some text languages. For operational convenience, and because it takes plural concord, we treat dual as a subcase of plural, marked under the relevant P21 and P22 grammels with D. E.g. \$/P21GD is the tag for UNKER OF US TWO. 'Royal we' and 'polite plural you' (where the subject is singular but both the personal pronouns and the verbal suffixes are plural) are marked by Ø: e.g. /PØ1 and /PØ2 respectively. Further explanation is found below under the individual grammels.

Extra labels

Note that *any* personal pronoun grammel may be followed by:

{rh} denoting that the form to which the grammel is attached is attested in rhyme position.

In addition:

-as or -ad. Any grammel of a pronoun historically beginning with [θ], e.g. any form in the 2 sg 'thou' paradigm (/P12) or any grammel of 3 pl 'they', 'them' or 'their' type, may carry the extension -as (for 'after 's') if the immediately preceding word ends with 's', or -ad (for 'after dental') if the immediately preceding word ends with 'd' or 't'. Either context can cause [θ] > [t] via ((ES)), e.g. yAT TE < *þat þe* THAT + complementiser.

+C +H or +V. The grammels of 1 and 2 sg possessive pronouns 'my' and 'thy' (/P11G and /P12G) carry the extension +C +H or +V indicating that the immediately following word begins respectively with a consonant, an 'h' or a vowel, which may affect the form of the preceding pronoun, e.g. MI vs MIN. For 1 sg subject pronoun 'I' the default unmarked grammel (P11N) indicates that the following word begins with a consonant, but the +H or +V extension are invoked if the following word begins respectively with 'h' or vowel because this too may affect the form of the preceding pronoun, e.g. *I as opposed to ICH.

-k normally indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached forms the first element of a compound. Personal pronouns do not normally form compounds. However in the case of

\$/P21G-k and \$/P22G-k only, -k indicates that the forms to which the grammels are attached form respectively the first element of the compound ‘ourlandish’ and ‘yourlandish’.

+P indicates that a following subject pronoun is cliticised to the verb.

+ward attached to pronoun grammels with the <pr, >pr (denoting the pronoun is governed by an adposition) or Oi (denoting the pronoun is an indirect object) indicates that the pronoun forms the first part of a compound with ‘-ward’ such as TO dEWARD TOWARDS THEE, FRO HImwARD FROM HIM.

These labels are not further noticed in this commentary.

Forms of the accusative and dative first and second person pronouns singular and plural were already identical in Old English (i.e. *mē*, *pē*, *ūs* and *ēow* respectively), as were forms of the third person feminine singular genitive and dative (i.e. *hire*). Between Old English and Middle English, reflexes of forms of the dative in third person singular and plural began increasingly to be used for direct object function instead of those of the accusative. It therefore makes no sense to list the personal pronoun grammels according to how they correspond to the Old English case system as we do above for nouns and adjectives. Instead we list them according to grammatical function regardless of what forms they take. The genitive is, however, treated differently because structurally, as in modern English, the genitives of early Middle English personal pronouns function as a special subclass of ‘personal adjectives’, rather than as true members of the pronoun paradigm as they did in Old English (e.g. they no longer generally serve as verb objects). Because of this adjectival function, genitive personal pronouns require a double case marking as will be explained under /P11G, /P12G etc. below.

Note on the tagging of ‘reflexives’

The grammel extension for ‘reflexive’ is X. This extension is invoked both for true reflexives (which can only be direct objects) and for emphatic reflexives, where the morphological shape of the reflexive is used for self-reference or for emphasis but not (specifically) for transitivity. X is also used to mark coreference with the subject, even when the relation is not interpreted by the grammar as being reflexive, e.g. HA BIHALT AL yE wORLT UNDER HIRE SHE BEHOLDS ALL THE WORLD UNDER HER, in which the grammel of the ‘her’ pronoun carries the X extension.

3.1 SINGULAR

3.1.1 Personal pronoun grammels for first person singular

3.1.1.1 Grammels indicating subject

/P11N

The basic label for first person singular pronoun in subject position ‘I’, e.g. \$/P11N in: ICH WILLE TELLE I WILL TELL and in: *I NE FASTE NEUerE I NEVER FAST. Note that in CoNE we normally ignore asterisks denoting in LAEME CTT manuscript capital letters (majuscule or *litterae notabiliores*) and treat capitalised forms along with uncapitalised. But with forms of 1 person sg subject pronoun *only* we preserve the LAEME asterisks. When the personal pronoun is spelled with a single ‘i’ *littera* rather than an *ich*-type form, capitalisation is often, though not always, used to signal the use of the *littera* as the first person pronoun rather than, say, the preposition ‘in’. This differentiation of *I* from *i* is the beginning of that still used in PDE to indicate the personal pronoun.

/P11X

The X extension indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the reflexive pronoun ‘me(self)’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P11X in: SWA IKe IT ME-SELF BEST HABBE AS I MYSELF HAVE IT BEST; and in: *IC ... EODE ME yIDER NORd I MYSELF WENT THITHER NORTH(WARDS); and in: WAN HIC MY-SELF STOND WHEN I MYSELF STAND.

/P11NX

The extension NX is adopted when the reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘I-self’, ‘myself’ or reflexive ‘me’: e.g. \$/P11NX in: *I-SELUE yE SEND AND SALE TE LEDE I (MY)SELF SEND THEE AND SHALL LEAD THEE; and in: NEUIR ME LEIDE MI YOUT TO LUST NEVER (I) MYSELF TURNED MY THOUGHT TO LUST (literally: NEVER ME LAID MY THOUGHT TO LUST).

3.1.1.2 *Grammels indicating direct object*

/P11Od

Labels first person singular pronoun ‘me’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P11Od in: y~ yU wITE ME THAT THOU MAY PROTECT ME.

/P11OdX

Labels first person singular reflexive pronoun ‘me(self)’, ‘myself’, functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P11OdX in: FOR ME-SELF *I HAF SWA SCHENT FOR I HAVE SO INJURED MYSELF; and in: WIT MY ROC Y ME FEDE I FEED MYSELF BY MEANS OF MY DISTAFF; and in: *ICH HEUEDE I-yOUT MI-SELF TO SLO I HAD THOUGHT TO SLAY MYSELF.

/P11MX

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. \$/P11MX in: yANNE IC ME BI-yANCHE WHEN I BETHINK MYSELF.

3.1.1.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P11Oi

Labels first person singular pronoun ‘me’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P11Oi in: ME yINCy IT COMy WEL LATE IT SEEMS TO ME IT COMES VERY LATE.

/P11OiX

Labels first person singular reflexive pronoun ‘me(self)’, functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P11OiX in: SO IT ME-SELUEN ON HANDE STOD IN THE SAME WAY AS IT WAS IN MY OWN POSSESSION (literally: AS IT TO MYSELF IN HAND STOOD); and in: NE CON ICH ME NO WONE I KNOW NO HOPE FOR MYSELF.

3.1.1.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P11<pr, /P11>pr

A first person singular pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P11<pr (preposition), e.g. \$/P11<pr in: yAT HE COME BE-FOREN ME THAT HE MAY COME BEFORE ME, or /P11>pr (postposition), e.g. \$/P11>pr in: yAT ME MID RITHTE TO BIREd THAT BY RIGHT TO ME PERTAINS.

/P11<prX

Labels first person singular reflexive pronoun ‘me(self)’ functioning as the object of a preposition e.g. \$ /P11<prX in: ALL yURRH ME-SELLFEN^N ENTIRELY THROUGH MYSELF; and in: zIF ICH MAY ENYMAN TO ME WYnNE IF I MAY WIN ANY MAN TO ME (MYSELF).

3.1.1.5 Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as genitive or as a possessive adjective

The basic label for first person singular pronoun in the genitive is /P11G, but because of its adjectival function it will always have extra grammatical marking.

/P11GN, /P11GN<, /P11Gpn

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular subject noun, e.g. \$/P11GN+C in: yIS IS MI LEOUE SONE THIS IS MY DEAR SON. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P11GN<{rh} in: AND yAT IS yOUzHT MIN AND THAT IS MY THOUGHT. The extension pn was chosen to indicate a perceived ‘nominality’ where the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In subject position it replaces N in the grammel, e.g. \$/P11Gpn in: zET IS MIN ON HORTE BETERE YET IS MINE AT HEART BETTER.

/P11GNpl, /P11Gpnpl

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural subject noun, e.g. \$/P11GNpl+C in: AN MINE BRIDDES DOy AL-SO AND MY NESTLINGS DO ALSO. The extension pn replaces N in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P11Gpnpl in: yE BEN GODES FREND AND MIN WHO ARE GOD’S FRIENDS AND MINE.

/P11G-voc, /P11G-voc<

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular noun used as a vocative, e.g. \$/P11G-voc+C in: *ICH AM GELUS OF yE SYON MI LEOFMON I AM JEALOUS OF THEE, ZION, MY BELOVED. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P11G-voc<{rh} in: SITTE NOU STILLE SONE MIN SIT STILL NOW, MY SON.

/P11G-vocpl

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural noun used as a vocative, e.g. \$/P11G-vocpl+C in: zE HAM HALDEd ALLE MINE LEOUE SUSTRES YE HOLD THEM ALL, MY DEAR SISTERS.

/P11GOd, /P11GOd<, /P11GpnOd

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular direct object noun, e.g. \$/P11GOd+V in: BER MIN ERENDE wEL CARRY MY MESSAGE WELL. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P11GOd<{rh} in: IN HONDES TINE *I BIQUEdE SOULE MIN INTO THY HANDS I BEQUEATH MY SOUL. The extension pn precedes Od in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P11GpnOd in: GODES GRITH AND MIN HABBEN HEO MAY THEY HAVE GOD’S PEACE AND MINE.

/P11GOdpl, /P11GOdpl< /P11GpnplOd

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural direct object noun, e.g. $\$/P11GOdpl+C$ in: MINE GLOUENE ICH BILEUEDE yER I LEFT MY GLOVES THERE. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. $\$/P11GOdpl<\{rh\}$ in: SAINTE MARIE UNDERSTOND NU SEONNE MINE SAINT MARY, PERCEIVE NOW MY SINS. The extension pnpl precedes Od in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. $\$/P11GpnplOd$ in: FOR-TO DREPE ME AND MINE TO KILL ME AND MINE.

$/P11GOi, /P11GpnOi$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular indirect object noun, e.g. $\$/P11GOi+C$ in: SO IT MINE MODER ON HANDE ISTOD IN THE SAME WAY AS IT WAS IN MY MOTHER’S POSSESSION (literally: AS IT TO MY MOTHER IN HAND STOOD). The extension pn precedes Oi in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. $\$/P11GpnOi$ in: NE SHOLEN yI WIF NO SHAME BEDE NO-MORE yAN MIN (THEY) SHALL NOT OFFER ANY SHAME TO THY WIFE ANYMORE THAN TO MINE.

$/P11GOipl$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural indirect object noun, e.g. $\$/P11GOipl+C$ in: SO HIT IS SOFTEST MINE BRIDDES SO IT IS SOFTEST FOR MY NESTLINGS.

$/P11G<pr, /P11G>pr, P11G<pr<, \$/P11Gpn<pr$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular noun, governed by an adposition, e.g. $\$/P11G<pr+H$ in: OPE MINE HEAUDE UPON MY HEAD; or $\$/P11G>pr+H$ in: MYN HERTE yUREy-UTE THROUGHOUT MY HEART. The further < extension indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. $\$/P11G<pr<$ in: TO FADER MIN TO MY FATHER. The extension pn precedes <pr in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. $\$/P11Gpn<pr$ in: ANT ICH TRUSTE ON MINNE AND I TRUST IN MINE (MINNE contrasting with previous ‘thy lord’)

$/P11G<prpl, /P11G<prpl<, \$/P11Gpnpl<pr$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural noun, governed by preposition, e.g. $\$/P11G<prpl+V$ in: IT BET IN MYN EIZNE IT BEATS IN MY EYES. The further < extension indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. $\$/P11G<prpl<\{rh\}$ in: OF CRAFTES MINE OF MY SKILLS. The extension pnpl precedes <pr in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. $\$/P11Gpnpl<pr$ in: NONE OF MINE CLERK NE KNITH NONE OF MINE, CLERK NOR KNIGHT (referring to people in the speaker’s household).

$/P11G-av$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies an ungoverned singular noun in an adverbial noun phrase, e.g. $\$/P11G-av+C$ in: *ICH HABBE BEN QUED AL MI LIF-DAIE I HAVE BEEN WICKED ALL THE DAYS OF MY LIFE.

$/P11GG, /P11GpnG$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a singular noun used in possessive or partitive function, e.g. $\$/P11GG+C$ in: TO MINE LIFES ENDE TO THE END OF MY LIFE. The extension pn precedes the second G in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. $\$/P11GpnG\{rh\}$ in: MAHONES LEUE HABBE zE & MYNE MAHOUN’S PERMISSION HAVE YE, AND MINE.

$/P11GGpl$

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘my’, ‘mine’, when it modifies a plural noun used in possessive or partitive function, e.g. \$/P11GGpl+C in: MI FRENDES LOUE IS AL AGO THE LOVE OF MY FRIENDS IS ALL GONE.

/P11GX

This tag is used only once in text # 173 worcthrgrlt.tag, where it is attached to a form with no surrounding syntactic context but is simply a gloss of the Latin first person singular genitive emphatic pronoun *meimet*. So \$/P11GX in: MINES-SULUES OF MYSELF.

3.1.2 Personal pronoun grammels for second person singular

3.1.2.1 Grammels indicating subject

/P12N

The basic label for second person singular pronoun in subject position ‘thou’, e.g. \$/P12N in: yU SHALT UNDERSTONDE THOU SHALT UNDERSTAND; and \$/P12N-ad in: y~ TU wITE ME THAT THOU MAY GUARD ME.

/P12-voc

Where a second person singular pronoun is used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic grammel, e.g. \$ /P12-voc in: SEIE ME NU yU wRECCE WIZT TELL ME NOW, THOU WRETCHED CREATURE.

/P12X

The X extension indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the reflexive pronoun ‘thee(self)’ ‘thysel’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P12X in: dU WILT geBIDDEN dE THOU THYSELF WILT PRAY (literally THOU WILT PRAY THEE); and in: y~ ART yE-SELF MEIDENE MEDE WHO ART THYSELF MAIDENS’ REWARD; and in: yOU LOUerD yISULF WRITE THOU, LORD, THYSELF WROTE.

/P12NX

The extension NX is adopted when the reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘thouself’, ‘theeself’, ‘thysel’, e.g. \$/P12NX in: yU-SEOLF DEMEST THOU (THY)SELF DEEMEST; and in: BUTE yI-SEOLF (var. yE-SELF) HIT MAKIE UNLESS (THOU) THYSELF MAKE IT.

3.1.2.2 Grammels indicating direct object

/P12Od

Labels second person singular pronoun ‘thee’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P12Od in: ICH yE SO I SEE THEE.

/P12OdX

Labels second person singular reflexive pronoun ‘thee(self)’, ‘thysel’, functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P12OdX in: y~ TU yE-SELF SULEST FORE FOR THAT WHICH THOU SULLIES THYSELF and \$/P12OdX-ad in: HwIL yU SwENCHEST TE yER-wId WHILE THOU TROUBLES THYSELF WITH IT and in: yU DEST ME FREME & HERMEST yI-SELUEN THOU DOST ME BENEFIT AND HARVEST THYSELF.

/P12MX

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. \$/P12MX{rh} in: NOUT NE DREDE YOU YE DO NOT BE FRIGHTENED (literally NOT DREAD THOU THEE(SELF) in a system with ‘y’ for ‘þ’).

3.1.2.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P12Oi

Labels second person singular pronoun ‘thee’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P12Oi in: yINE SUNNES yE BUTH BI-NOME THY SINS ARE TAKEN FROM THEE.

/P12OiX

Labels second person singular reflexive pronoun ‘thee(self)’, ‘thysel’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P12OiX in: EUer yE-SEOLUE HIT TURNEY TO GROME ALWAYS IT TURNS TO INJURY TO THYSELF; and in: yU SAL PurUAI yE SUM MEN THOU SHAL SUPPLY SOME MEN FOR THYSELF; and in: yOU DOST yI-SELF WEL MUCHEL WROnG THOU DOST TO THYSELF VERY GREAT WRONG.

3.1.2.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P12<pr, /P12>pr

A second person singular pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P12<pr (preposition), e.g. \$/P12<pr in: WE SOLLEY BLUyELICHE Wly yE WENDE WE SHALL GLADLY GO WITH THEE, or /P12>pr (postposition), e.g. \$/P12>pr in: WE MOTEN COMEN yE TO WE MAY COME TO THEE.

/P12<prX

Labels second person singular reflexive pronoun ‘thee(self)’, ‘thysel’ functioning as the object of a preposition e.g. \$/P12<prX in: yU OF yISSE ERME LIUE TO dE-SULUEN US FECHE THOU FROM THIS WRETCHED LIFE MAY BRING US TO THYSELF; and in: yOU Br^INGST MID yE MI MESTE UO THOU BRINGEST MY GREATEST FOE WITH THEE (THYSELF); and in: dET MAKEDEST US OF yI-SEOLF SO MIHTI MEDICINE WHO MADEST FOR US SO POWERFUL A MEDICINE OF THYSELF.

Note also the unique tag:

/P12-av

which labels second person singular pronoun ‘thee’ in a translated ablative absolute, viz \$/P12-av in: yE SPEKINDE WEL MORE WE BY STILLE WHEN THOU ARE SPEAKING THE MORE WE MAY BE SILENT (literally: THEE SPEAKING, WELL MORE WE MAY BE SILENT).

3.1.2.5 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as genitive or as a possessive adjective*

The basic label for first person singular pronoun in the genitive is /P12G, but because of its adjectival function it will always have extra grammatical marking.

/P12GN, /P12GN<, /P12Gpn

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular subject noun, e.g. \$/P12GN+C in: yI BODI IS SCORT THY BODY IS SHORT. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12GN<{rh} in: LO HerE SUN yINE LO, HERE (IS) THY SON. The extension pn was chosen to indicate a perceived ‘nominality’ where the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In subject position it replaces N in the grammel, e.g. \$/P12Gpn in: yIN IS ILICHE ONE PYPE THINE IS LIKE A PIPE (referring to the Nightingale’s voice).

/P11GNpl, /P12GNpl<, /P12Gpnpl

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a plural subject noun, e.g. \$/P12GNpl+C in: yINE WORDES WEREN FALSE THY WORDS WERE FALSE. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12GNpl<{rh} in: BETERE IS MIN ON yAN ALLE yINE MY ONE (CRAFT) IS BETTER THAN ALL THINE. The extension pn replaces N in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P12Gpnpl{rh} in: LOUERD WE AREN BOyE yINE LORD, WE ARE BOTH THINE.

/P12G-voc

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular noun used as a vocative, e.g. \$/P12G-voc+C in: NE SEId URE Nan MI FEDER NE yIN FEDER AH URE FEDER yE ERT IN HEOUENE NONE OF US SAYS 'MY FATHER' NOR 'THY FATHER' BUT 'OUR FATHER, WHO ART IN HEAVEN'.

/P12Gint

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular noun that forms part of an interjection, e.g. \$/P12G-int+V in: IEMES HY SEDE yIN ORE 'JAMES' THEY SAID, 'THY MERCY!'.

/P12GOd, /P12GOd<, /P12GpnOd

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular direct object noun, e.g. \$/P12GOd+V in: BEI yIN EARE BOW THINE EAR. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12GOd<{rh} in: yE-WYLES ICH FECHE BROyER yIN WHILE I FETCH THY BROTHER. The extension pn precedes Od in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P12GpnOd in: HE .. FOLgEDE DIEULES LARE & FORwARP dINE HE .. FOLLOWED THE DEVIL'S TEACHING AND FORSOOK THINE.

/P12GOdpl, /P12GOdpl< /P12GpnplOd

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a plural direct object noun, e.g. \$/P12GOdpl+H in: yU wESCHEST yINE HONDEN THOU WASHEST THINE HANDS. < indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12GOdpl-as< in: SEI dU IN SCRIFTE TO dE PREST SINNES TINE TELL THY SINS TO THE PRIEST IN CONFESSION. The extension pnpl precedes Od in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P12GpnplOd{rh} in: BRINGEN ICH WILL OUT-OF PINE ABRAAM yE AND AND ALLE yINE I WILL BRING THEE, ABRAHAM, AND ALL THINE OUT OF TORMENT.

/P12GOi, /P12GpnOi

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular indirect object noun, e.g. \$/P12GOi-ad+C in: yET yI FLESCHE yUNCHEd SUR OdER BITTER WHICH SEEMS SOUR OR BITTER TO THY FLESH. The extension pn precedes Oi in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P11GpnOi in: gIF yU ME PUTTEST IN yET EgE IC yIN ALSwA IF THOU STRIKEST ME IN THE EYE I WILL STRIKE THEE IN THINE ALSO (literally I TO THINE ALSO).

/P12GOipl

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a plural indirect object noun, e.g. \$/P12GOipl+V in: gIF ME yE SOUEN SELI EADINESES y~ TU

HAUEST LOUerD BIHOTEN yIN ICORENE GIVE TO ME THE SEVEN BLESSED BEATITUDES THAT THOU, LORD, HAST PROMISED TO THY CHOSEN ONES.

/P12G<pr, /P12G>pr, P12G<pr<, \$/P12Gpn<pr

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular noun, governed by an adposition, e.g. \$/P12G<pr+C in: AGAIN YI WILL AGAINST THY WILL; or \$/P12G>pr+C in: YI FALSHEDE TO WERE YAM FRA TO DEFEND THEMSELVES FROM THY FALSEHOOD. The further < extension indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12G<pr<{rh} in: TO DEORE SUNE yINE TO THY DEAR SON. The extension pn precedes <pr in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P12Gpn<pr in: OF yINE NIS NOyING ISENE OF THINE NOTHING IS SEEN (yINE contrasting with previous ‘my house’).

/P12G<prpl, /P12G>prpl, /P12G<prpl<, \$/P12Gpnpl<pr

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a plural noun, governed by an adposition, e.g. \$/P12G<prpl+V in: WITH yIN EYEN WITH THINE EYES; or \$/P12G>prpl+C in: yINE MISDEDEN FORE BIDDaeN TO PRAY FOR THY MISDEEDS. The further < extension indicates that the possessive adjective is postposed, usually in rhyme position, e.g. \$/P12G<prpl<{rh} in: TO SAnTIS yINE TO THY SAINTS. The extension pnpl precedes <pr in the grammel when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P12Gpnpl<pr{rh} in: ALLE yAT yOU CLEPEDEST FOR yINE ALL THINGS THAT THOU COUNTEST AS THINE.

/P12G-av

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies an ungoverned singular noun in an adverbial noun phrase, e.g. \$/P12G-av+C in: AL yI LIF yU DRIST IN WOVE ALL THY LIFE THOU SUFFEREST IN WOE.

/P12GG

Labels second person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a singular noun used in possessive or partitive function, e.g. \$/P12GG-ad+C TINES in: FORzET TI FOLC & TINES FEADER HUS FORGET THY PEOPLE AND THY FATHER'S HOUSE.

/P12GGpl

Labels first person singular possessive adjective ‘thy’, ‘thine’, when it modifies a plural noun used in possessive or partitive function, e.g. \$/P12GGpl+C in: NAN yINRRE MANNA NONE OF THY MEN.

/P12GX

This tag is used only once in text # 173 worcthrgrlt.tag, where it is attached to a form with no surrounding syntactic context but is simply a gloss of the Latin second person singular genitive emphatic pronoun *tuimet*. So \$/P12GX in: yINES-SULFES OF THYSELF.

3.1.3 Personal pronoun grammels for third person singular

Unlike the first and second singular and the plural personal pronouns, the third person singular personal pronouns have the added variable of gender. The LAEME grammels mark semantic gender with the labels F for ‘feminine’, M for ‘masculine’ and I for ‘inanimate’ which is taken to include ‘non-human’ except in certain cases. That is: the definition of feminine covers: (a) a human female; (b) a non-human character presented as female in a fable, e.g. ‘the owl and the nightingale’; and (c) an abstract concept personified as female in

an allegory or extended metaphor, e.g. virtues, ‘the soul’. The definition of masculine covers: (a) a human male; and (b) a non-human character presented as male in a fable, e.g. ‘the fox and the wolf’. The grammatical gender systems in even the earliest Middle English texts are in transition to semantic ones. Marking forms for semantic gender regardless of morphology makes it possible to characterise the state of what grammatical gender system may still exist in a given text language. In the examples below, forms indicating survival of grammatical gender will not be commented on further.

3.1.3.1 Grammels indicating subject

/P13NM, /P13NM>=

The basic label for third person singular masculine pronoun in subject position ‘he’, e.g. \$/P13NM in: HE HIRE FOLEgEDE HE FOLLOWED HER. The extension >= indicates that ‘he’ is first element in the combination ‘he who’ where ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTA<=, e.g. \$/P13NM>= in: HE yE SHEWEy yOLEBURDNESSE HE WHO SHOWS PATIENCE.

/P13NF

The basic label for third person singular feminine pronoun in subject position ‘she’, e.g. \$/P13NF in: HEO OF yET FRUT ET SHE ATE OF THAT FRUIT.

/P13NI

The basic label for third person singular inanimate/nonhuman pronoun in subject position ‘it’, e.g. \$/P13NI in: HIT BI-LIMPEy TO yISSE DEIE IT PERTAINS TO THIS DAY.

/P13XM

The label X before the gender marker indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun ‘him(self)’ ‘his-self’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P13XM in: HIM FOR-TO PLEIzE yANNE EODE HE HE WENT TO PLAY (literally THEN HE WENT HIM TO PLAY); and in: ORE LOUERD HIM-SELF WEPT SORE OUR LORD HIMSELF WEPT PITEOUSLY; and in: Nan OyER MAN BOTEN LOKEWO YSSELF WOLLE NO OTHER MAN EXCEPT WHOEVER HIMSELF WISHES.

/P13XF

The label X before the gender marker indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the third person singular feminine reflexive pronoun ‘her(self)’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P13XF in: yAH HEO HIRE ANE WERE AzEIN SO KENE KEISERE THOUGH SHE HERSELF ALONE WERE AGAINST SO FIERCE AN EMPEROR; and in: HEO wES HIRE-SEOLF yER-IMONG SHE HERSELF WAS AMONGST THEM.

/P13XI

The label X before the gender marker indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the third person singular inanimate/non-human reflexive pronoun ‘it(self)’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P13XI in: ILKE SUIKE IT-SELUE BISUIKIS EACH STRATAGEM IS ITSELF A DELUSION; and in: ALSO HIM SEYTz yE ProFECIE AS THE PROPHECY ITSELF SAYS; and in: TUNKE BREKIT BOn & NAUID HIRE-SELWE NON TONGUE BREAKS BONE AND ITSELF HAS NONE.

/P13NXM

The label NX before the gender marker is adopted when the third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘he-self’, ‘him(self)’, e.g. \$/P13NXM in: HE-SEOLF NULE DON HE (HIM)SELF WILL NOT DO; and HIm in: HIS MEMBRES y^T HE OF

CARF EUerE-EFT HIm DUDE MISSE HIS MEMBER, THAT HE CUT OFF, EVER AFTERWARDS HE (HIMSELF) DID LACK and in: HIM-SELUE IT Wr^OzTE (HE) HIMSELF MADE IT.

/P13NXF

The label NX before the gender marker is adopted when the third person singular feminine reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘she-self’. This occurs only once in text # 173 worcthgrglt.tag glossing Latin *ipsa*. So \$/P13NXF in: HEO-SULF *vel* yEO-ILKE SHE (HER)SELF OR THAT SAME (feminine).

LAEME CTT has no examples of the third person singular inanimate/non-human reflexive pronoun serving as the unsupported subject.

3.1.3.2 *Grammels indicating direct object*

/P13OdM

Labels third person singular masculine pronoun ‘him’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdM in: ME LUUEd HIM ONE LOVES HIM.

/P13OdF

Labels third person singular feminine pronoun ‘her’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdF in: yAH HE HIRE SCHUNIE THOUGH HE MAY SHUN HER.

/P13OdI

Labels third person singular inanimate/non-human pronoun ‘it’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdI in: HA HIT BREKEd SHE BREAKS IT.

/P13OdXM

Labels third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun ‘him(self)’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdXM in: HIm-SULF HE SLOU HE KILLED HIMSELF; and in: HE BLESSEDE HIm HE BLESSED HIMSELF.

/P13OdXF

Labels third person singular feminine reflexive pronoun ‘her(self)’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdXF in: TO LOKIN BUTEN HIRE-SELUEN TO PROTECT ONLY HERSELF; and in: HA BINT HIRE yER-TO SHE BINDS HERSELF TO IT.

/P13OdXI

Labels third person singular inanimate/non-human reflexive pronoun ‘it(self)’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P13OdXI in: ELCH SINNE yare HIM-SELUEN BISEId THERE EACH SIN REVEALS ITSELF; and in: yE SE yAN SAL IT DRAW DOUN THEN THE SEA SHALL DRAW ITSELF DOWN.

/P13MXM

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. masculine singular \$/P13MXM in: wIS IS yE HIM-SULF BE-yENy HE IS WISE WHO BETHINKS HIMSELF; and in: NE yERF HE HIM ADREDE HE NEED NOT BE FRIGHTENED (literally NOT NEEDS HE HIMSELF TO DREAD).

/P13MXF

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. feminine singular \$/P13MXF in: yE VLE ONE-HWILE HI BIHOUHTE THE OWL BETHOUGHT HERSELF A WHILE.

/P13MXI

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. inanimate/non-human singular \$/P13MXI in: yE POKOC HIm PRETTE THE PEACOCK PRIDES ITSELF.

3.1.3.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P13OiM, \$/P13OiM>=

Labels third person singular masculine pronoun ‘him’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P13OiM in: SEIDE HIM A SwEUEN (SHE) TOLD HIM A DREAM. The extension >= indicates that ‘him’ is first element in the combination ‘him who’ where ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTAOi<=, e.g. \$/P13OiM>= in: AS HIm yE HOKOR yUHTE AS TO HIM WHOM IT SEEMED AN INSULT.

/P13OiF

Labels third person singular feminine pronoun ‘her’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P13OiF in: yE DEaeDE HEORE WaeS LEUERE THE DEAD (SON) WAS DEARER TO HER.

/P13OiI

Labels third person singular inanimate/non-human pronoun ‘it’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P13OiI in: LAUERD BEO HIT yONKED MAY THE LORD BE THANKED FOR IT; and in: BUTE yU HIm BIE HIER TEIdIND^E UNLESS THOU HERE BE OBEDIENT TO IT (i.e. HOLY WRIT).

/P13OiXM

Labels third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun ‘him(self)’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P13OiXM in: yE MAN Kid HIM-SELUEN MILDHERTNESSE THE MAN SHOWS MERCY TO HIMSELF; and in: HE wANDREDE wIDE ... SECHENDE HIM ODER STEDE HE WANDERED WIDELY ... SEEKING FOR HIMSELF ANOTHER PLACE.

/P13OiXF

Labels third person singular feminine reflexive pronoun ‘her(self)’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P13OiXF in: HIRE-SEOLUE zEO WAS LOy SHE WAS HATEFUL TO HERSELF; and in: AND HOyzENEDE HIRE AL yIS LOND AND APPROPRIATED TO HERSELF ALL THIS LAND.

LAEME CTT has no examples of the third person singular inanimate/non-human reflexive pronoun functioning as indirect object.

3.1.3.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P13<prM, /P13>prM, \$/P13<prM>=

A third person singular masculine pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P13<prM (preposition), e.g. \$/P13<prM in: OC HE FLEd FRO HIM BUT HE FLEES FROM HIM, or /P13>prM (postposition), e.g. \$/P13>prM in: HI LEIDE yE yRIDDE HIm UPON THEY LAID THE THIRD UPON HIM. The extension >= indicates that ‘him’ is first element in the combination ‘him who’ where ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTAOi<=, e.g. \$/P13<prM>= in: AzEN HIm y^T yOU HAST BIGOnNE AGAINST HIM WHOM THOU HAST BEGUN (TO FIGHT).

/P13<prF, /P13>prF

A third person singular feminine pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P13<prF (preposition), e.g. \$/P13<prF in: HE wULE CARIE FOR HIRE HE WILL CARE FOR HER, or /P13>prF (postposition), e.g. \$/P13>prF in: & BROHTE HIRE TO TIDINGE AND BROUGHT TIDINGS TO HER.

/P13<prI, /P13>prI

A third person singular inanimate/non-human pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P13<prI (preposition), e.g. \$/P13<prI in: & TE SwETE BREAd OF HIRE AND THE SWEET BREATH OF IT (i.e. HOPE) ; or /P13>prI (postposition), e.g. \$/P13>prI in: wE HIT HABBED wEILAwEI IHERD OF INOHE ALAS! WE HAVE HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT IT.

/P13<prXM /P13>prXM

Labels third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun ‘him(self)’ governed by an adposition, e.g. \$ /P13<prXM (preposition) in: yE MAN WENy MORE OF HIm-ZELUE yAnNE HE SSOLDE THE MAN THINKS MORE OF HIMSELF THAN HE SHOULD; and in: yE DYEUEL DRAzy TO HIM ASE AL yE WORDLE THE DEVIL DRAWS TO HIMSELF AS IT WERE ALL THE WORLD; or /P13>prXM (postposition), e.g. \$/P13>prXM in: & DRIFeyy OyRE NOwwT HImm FRA AND DRIVES OTHER CATTLE FROM HIM.

/P13<prXF /P13>prXF

Labels third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun ‘her(self)’ governed by an adposition, e.g. \$ /P13<prXF (preposition) in: GODES SPUSE SINGEd BI HIRE-SEOLUEN GOD’S SPOUSE SINGS CONCERNING HERSELF; and in: HA BIHALT AL yE WORLT UNDER HIRE SHE BEHOLDS THE WHOLE WORLD UNDER HER; or /P13>prXF (postposition), e.g. \$/P13>prXF in: HEO NOM HIRE ON ANNE CURTEL SHE PUT A KIRTLE ON HER(SELF).

P13<prXI

Labels third person singular feminine reflexive pronoun ‘it(self)’ governed by a preposition, e.g. \$ /P13<prXI in: yAT SCHIP WENDE FORTH BI HM-SEOLF THAT SHIP WENT FORTH BY ITSELF; and in: yE BENE IS GUOD HUAnNE HI HEy MID HIRE ELMESSE THE PRAYER IS GOOD WHEN IT HAS ALMS WITH IT. LAEME CTT has no examples of reflexive ‘it(self)’ governed by a postposition.

Note also the unique tag:

/P13-avF

which labels third person singular feminine pronoun ‘her’ in a translated ablative absolute, viz \$/P13-avF in: HIS WIF COME HIR UNWITAND HIS WIFE CAME ALL UNAWARE (literally: HER(SELF) UNKNOWING).

3.1.3.5 Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as a genitive or as a possessive adjective

The basic label for third person singular pronoun in the genitive is /P13G, followed as relevant by the M, F and I gender markers. In OE, the genitive pronouns *his* and *hire* are functionally equivalent to the first and second person possessive adjectives *mīn* and *pīn*, the OE third person possessive adjective *sīn* HIS, HER being rarely used (Campbell 1959: §705, Mitchell 1985: §§289–92). Unlike first and second person, however, third person pronouns did not inflect as adjectives. Their grammels are therefore not given the extra grammatical markers found with the first and second person pronouns. The exception is the pl extension that is invoked only for a *his*-type pronoun when it refers to a plural noun. In eME this pronoun sometimes attracts the commonly used adjectival plural marker *-e*. The pn extension is invoked, as with first and second person pronouns, when the essentially adjectival genitive

stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In these cases further grammatical marking is given where relevant.

/P13GM, /P13GMpn, /P13GMpnOd, /P13GMpn<pr

Labels third person singular masculine genitive ‘his’ when it refers to a singular subject noun, e.g. \$/P13GM in: TO HIS WEYUE TO HIS WIFE. The extension pn was chosen to indicate a perceived ‘nominality’ where the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively, e.g. \$/P13GMpn in: yE HOND NE CUME UT. NE OwER UT NE HIS IN LET NOT THE HAND COME OUT: NEITHER YOURS OUT NOR HIS IN; and \$/P13GMpnOd in: IESUS WUSTE WEL IOSEPES yOUzT AKE IOSEP NUSTE HIS JESUS KNEW JOSEPH’S THOUGHT VERY WELL BUT JOSEPH DID NOT KNOW HIS; and \$/P13GMpn<pr in: HE LET HEM DONE IN BOLEN OF BRAS EUERICH IN HIS HE CAUSED THEM TO BE PUT IN BOWLS OF BRASS, EACH ONE IN HIS OWN.

/P13GF, /P13GFpn, /P13GFpn<pr

Labels third person singular feminine genitive ‘her(s)’, e.g. \$/P13GF in: EVCHAN SEGGE HIRE VRES EACH ONE MAY SAY HER HOURS. The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P13GFpn in: yE TWENTEUyE DAI IS HIRE THE TWENTIETH DAY IS HERS; and \$/P13GFpn<pr in: FOR MINE SOULE AND FOR HIRE FOR MY SOUL AND FOR HERS.

/P13GI, /P13GIpn

Labels third person singular inanimate/non-human genitive ‘its’, e.g. \$/P13GI in: yE BODY NYMy HIS METE OF ONE HALF THE BODY TAKES ITS METE FROM ONE HALF. The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P13GIpn in the continuation of the previous example: yET yE HERTE NYME HIS OF OyER HALF SO THAT THE HEART MAY TAKE ITS FROM THE OTHER HALF.

/P13GMpl, /P13GFpl, /G13GIpl, /P13GMplpn, /P13GMplpnOd, /P13GMplpn<pr

Labels third person ‘his’-type singular genitive, usually with the sense ‘his’ or ‘its’ but also occasionally ‘hers’, when it refers to a plural subject noun, e.g. \$/P13GMpl in: HYSE ARMES WEREN SPRADDE WIDE HIS ARMS WERE SPREAD WIDE; and \$/P13GFpl, with apparent survival of grammatical gender, in: A MEIDEN zUNGLING IN zERES AH SE SwIdE wITTI & wIS ON HISE wORDES A MAIDEN YOUTHFUL IN YEARS BUT SO VERY WITTY AND WISE IN HER WORDS; and \$/G13GIpl in: EUYCH yING yAT LUUEy MISDED^E HI LUUEy yUSTER TO HIS DEDE EACH THING THAT LOVES MISDEEDS IT LOVES DARKNESS FOR ITS DEEDS. The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P13GMplpn in: TO SAUE yO-yAT HISE BEN TO SAVE THOSE THAT ARE HIS; and \$/P13GMplpnOd in: HIM AND HISE HELPEN AND wEREN TO HELP AND DEFEND HIM AND HIS (PEOPLE); and \$/P13GMplpn<pr in: HAUELOK HAUEDE WITH A CLUBBE OF HIS SLAWEN SIXI-AND-ON HAVELOK HAD SLAIN WITH A CLUB SIXTY-ONE OF HIS (MEN).

/P13GM-Gn, /P13GF-Gn, /P13GI-Gn, /P13GI-Gpn

This tag refers specifically to the so-called separated genitive (also referred to as the detached or *his*-genitive). It is characterised by what appears to be a possessive pronoun following the possessor noun (very often a proper noun) e.g. \$/P13GM-pn in: yIS HIS GEMAGOG HIS LEOPE THIS IS GEMAGOG HIS (i.e. GEMAGOG’S) LEAP; and in: AS OURe LOUeR D IS WILLE WAS AS OUR LORD HIS (i.e. LORD’S) WILL WAS; and \$/P13GI-pn in: FOR ANY WORLDE HIS WIN FOR ANY JOY OF THE WORLD (literally FOR ANY WORLD HIS (i.e. WORLD’S) JOY). Whether the separated genitive is a reflex of OE genitive singular *-es* or of third singular possessive *his* (as implied by this tag) is not knowable. Its use with a feminine possessor noun might favour the former explanation, e.g. \$/P13GF-Gn in: OURe LEUED I IS MILDE DEDE

OUR LADY HIS (i.e. LADY'S) MILD DEED. It is also used once in LAEME CTT with a pronoun e.g. \$/P13GI-Gpn in: ECH ON IS SIDE WAS IN FERE EACH ONE HIS (i.e. EACH ONE'S) SIDE WAS IN FEAR. All such forms in CoNE are given the special code ([SG]). For a study of the history of the separated genitive and a survey of the literature see Allen (2008).

3.2 PLURAL

In early Middle English the dual still survives in some text languages. Because it takes plural concord, we treat dual as a subcase of plural, marked under the relevant P21 and P22 grammels with D. Both the 'royal we' and the 'polite plural' also take plural concord and are therefore treated here. Because they both refer to a single person rather than to a plurality, they are not given the marker 2 indicating plural but are marked by 0: e.g. /P01 and /P02 respectively.

3.2.1 Personal pronoun grammels for first person plural

3.2.1.1 Grammels indicating subject

/P21N, /P21N>=

The basic label for first person plural pronoun in subject position 'we', e.g. \$/P21N in: WE BEN SEP WE ARE SHEEP. The extension >= indicates that 'we' is first element either in the combination 'we who' where 'who' is tagged \$/RTAp1<=, e.g. \$/P21N>= in: wEdE BREKEd GODES HExSE WE WHO BREAK GOD'S COMMAND; or in the combination 'we ... selves' where the reflexive 'self' part is separated from the 'we', e.g. \$/P21N>= in: yIDER WE SENDEy AND SEOLF BEREy TO LITTLE THITHER WE SEND AND OURSELVES BEAR TOO LITTLE.

/P21ND

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the subject pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21ND in: WIT SPOKEN HABBEN WE (TWO) HAVE SPOKEN.

/P01N

Labels 'royal we' in subject position, e.g. \$/P01N in: WE HOATEN ALLE VRE TREOWE WE (i.e. KING HENRY III) COMMAND ALL OUR TRUE PEOPLE.

/P21X

The X extension indicates 'reflexive' and without further case specification is used when the reflexive pronoun 'us(-selves)' is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P21X in: HUS-SEOLF WE HABBEy BERMEN WE OURSELVES HAVE WAITERS; and in: BUTE WE WURyE VS IWAR UNLESS WE OURSELVES ARE AWARE.

/P01X

Labels 'royal we' when the reflexive pronoun 'us-selves' is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P01X in: WITNESSE VS-SELUEN aeT LUNDEN~ WITNESS OURSELVES (i.e. KING HENRY III) AT LONDON.

/P21NX

The extension NX is adopted when the reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: 'we-selves', 'us-selves', e.g. \$/P21NX WE-SELF in: IF WE-SELF VS UNDErSTOD IF WE OURSELVES UNDERSTOOD OURSELVES; and US-SELUEN in: NO-MAN US NE wEREd NE US-SELUEN NE MUGEN NO MAN PROTECTS US NOR MAY (WE) OURSELVES DO SO.

3.2.1.2 *Grammels indicating direct object*

/P21Od

Labels first person plural pronoun ‘us’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P21Od in: AUSTIN US LEOFLICHE LERED AUGUSTINE KINDLY TEACHES US.

/P21OdD

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the direct object pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21OdD in: IC ... wENDE HELPE_n UNC BA_dE I ... THOUGHT TO HELPEN US BOTH.

There are no examples in LAEME CTT of the ‘royal we’ functioning as direct object.

/P21OdX

Labels first person plural reflexive pronoun ‘us(-selves)’, functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P21OdX in: wE AHEN wEARLICHE TO BI_wITEN US-SEOLUEN WE OUGHT TO GUARD OURSELVES VIGILANTLY; and in: wE BEON yE wARRE & wAKERE TO wITEN US WE MAY BE THE MORE WARY AND WAKEFUL TO GUARD OURSELVES.

/P21OdXD

Labels first person plural reflexive pronoun ‘us’, functioning as direct object in dual form, e.g. \$/P21OdXD in: wE SULEN UNC TO-DELEN WE (TWO) SHALL DIVIDE OURSELVES.

/P21MX

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. \$/P21MX in: WE MOWEN VS SORE ADREDE WE MAY BE SORELY AFRAID (literally WE MAY SORELY DREAD US(SELF)).

3.2.1.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P21Oi

Labels first person plural pronoun ‘us’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P21Oi in: yARyURW US KAM ALLE BOT THROUGH THAT CAME REMEDY FOR US ALL.

/P21OiD

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the indirect object pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21OiD in: HUNKE SCHAL ITYDE HARM & SCHONDE HARM AND DISGRACE SHALL COME FOR (BOTH OF) US.

/P01Oi

Labels ‘royal we’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P01Oi in: IN yE TREOWyE yaeT HEO VS OgEN IN THE TRUTH THAT THEY OWE TO US (i.e. KING HENRY III).

/P21OiX

Labels first person plural reflexive pronoun ‘us(-selves)’, functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P21OiX in: & US-SELUAN TO HELPE AND AS A HELP FOR OURSELVES; and in: HABBAN US ON ENDE yENE ECHE wURdME_nT TO HAVE FOR OURSELVES AT THE END (THE) EVERLASTING HONOUR.

3.2.1.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P21<pr, /P21>pr, /P21<pr>

A first person plural pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P21<pr (preposition), e.g. \$/P21<pr in: GODD ... STONT BI US GOD STANDS BY US, or /P21>pr (postposition), e.g. \$/P21>pr in: BA BEOd US INwId BOTH ARE WITHIN US. The extra > indicates the pronoun is governed by both preposition and postposition, e.g. \$/P21<pr> in: HE IS BUUEN US & BINEdEN HE IS ABOVE US AND BENEATH (US).

/P21<prD, /P21>prD

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the pronoun governed by an adposition is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21<prD (preposition) in: BITwEONEn UNC TwA BETWEEN US TWO, or \$/P21>prD (postposition) in: UNC BI-TwEN BETWEEN US (TWO).

/P01<pr

Labels ‘royal we’ functioning as the object of a preposition, e.g. \$/P01<pr in: yURg US THROUGH US (i.e. KING HENRY III).

/P21<prX

Labels first person plural reflexive pronoun ‘us(-selves)’ functioning as the object of a preposition e.g. \$ /P21<prX in: gIF wE ARST HIm MAKIEd RESTE ON US-SELUEEn IF WE FIRST MAKE AN ABODE FOR HIM IN OURSELVES; and in: WE NE BROzTE WIy US yIS LUyER WIzT WE DID NOT BRING THIS EVIL CREATURE WITH US (OURSELVES).

3.2.1.5 Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as genitive or as a possessive adjective

The basic label for first person plural pronoun in the genitive is /P21G. In spite of the fact that the possessive adjective *ūre* declined in OE, apart from occasional gen. sg. *-es*, very little inflectional material survives in the ME pronoun, and the genitive grammel does not therefore carry any extra grammatical marking. The pn extension is invoked, as explained above, when the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In these cases further grammatical marking is given where relevant.

/P21G, /P21Gpn, /P21GpnOd, /P21Gpn<pr, /P21Gpnpl

Labels first person plural genitive ‘our(s)’, ‘of us’, e.g. \$/P21G in: VRE LOUERD IS TE LEUN OUR LORD IS THE LION. The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P21Gpn in: SO OG2 UR ILK TO DON SO OUGHT EACH OF US TO DO; and \$/P21GpnOd in: UOR-TO WRY HIS conFUSION AND OURE IN ORDER TO COVER HIS CONFUSION AND OURS; and \$/P21Gpn<pr in: zEF yU wULT yI wIL IwENDEN TO URE IF THOU WILT BEND THY WILL TO OURS; and \$/P21Gpnpl in: yINE SUNNEN yE BEd FORGIUENE SwO BEO US ALLE URE THY SINS ARE FORGIVEN THEE. SO MAY ALL OURS BE TO US.

/P21G-voc

Labels first person plural genitive ‘our’, when it forms part of a vocative expression, e.g. \$/P21G-voc+C in: VRE FADER IN HEUENE YHALzED BO yY NAME OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED BY THY NAME.

/P21GD /P21GDpn

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the pronoun governed by an adposition is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21GD in: AH HIT wAS UNKER UOREWARD BUT IT WAS OUR AGREEMENT (referring to the agreement between the Owl and the Nightingale). The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P21GDpn in: VNKER OyER ONE OR OTHER OF US (TWO) (glossing Latin *uter, utra, utrum*).

3.2.2 Personal pronoun grammels for second person plural

3.2.2.1 Grammels indicating subject

/P22N

The basic label for second person plural pronoun in subject position ‘ye’, e.g. \$/P22N in: zE MOUWEN NOUyE ISEO YE MAY NOW SEE.

/P22-voc

Where a second person plural pronoun is used as a vocative, the annotation -voc is added to the basic grammel, e.g. \$ /P22-voc in: ze ATELICHE wIHTEs YE WICKED CREATURES.

/P22ND

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the subject pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P22ND in: gIT SCULEN BAdE .. FOLgIn GODES WILLE YE (TWO) SHALL BOTH .. FOLLOW GOD’S WILL.

/P02N

Labels ‘polite plural you’ in subject position, e.g. \$/P02N in: AND YE HIS EYR AND YE (ARE) HIS HEIR.

/P22X

The X extension indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the reflexive pronoun ‘you(-selves)’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P22X in: OU-SELF zE WEREN SO FREC YE YOURSELVES WERE SO BOLD; and in: DAyEIT HWO YOU HEnNE FLE CURSED BE (YE) WHO YOURSELVES HENCE FLEE.

/P22NX

The extension NX is adopted when the reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘ye-selves’, e.g. \$/P22NX in: HaeLDEd zE-SEOLF EOWRE LOND YOURSELVES HOLD YOUR LAND.

3.2.2.2 Grammels indicating direct object

/P22Od

Labels second person plural pronoun ‘you’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P22Od in: Nan ISEO Ow NONE MAY SEE YOU.

/P22OdD

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the direct object pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P22OdD in: *IC INC HABBE BEIENE AN INNE MINE BENDEn I HAVE YOU BOTH ONLY IN MY BONDS.

/P02Od

Labels ‘polite plural you’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P02Od in: LEUE FADER HE SEDE yO WAT EILEy zOU ‘DEAR FATHER’ HE SAID THEN, ‘WHAT AILS YOU?’

/P22OdX

Labels first person plural reflexive pronoun ‘you(-selves)’, functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P22OdX in: zE yAT WILEN OU-SELVEN CNOWE YE WHO WILL KNOW YOURSELVES and in: BLISCId Ow BLESS YOURSELVES.

/P02OdX

Labels ‘polite plural you’ reflexive functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P02OdX in: DRINKEZ NOU SIRE AND MAKIEZ EOv BLIyE DRINK NOW, SIR, AND MAKE YOURSELF HAPPY.

/P22OdDX

Labels second person plural reflexive pronoun ‘you-selves’, functioning as direct object in dual form, e.g. \$/P22OdDX in: yU MIHT WEL HELPEN INC-SELUEN THOU MIGHT WEL HELP YOURSELVES (referring to Brutus and his lord).

/P22MX

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. \$/P22MX in: UNDERSTONDET EOUSELUEN UNDERSTAND YOURSELVES; and in: IF GIE WILL GIU REPENTE IF YOU WILL REPENT (literally REPENT YOU(RSELVES)).

3.2.2.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P22Oi

Labels second person plural pronoun ‘you’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P22Oi in: ICH wRITE OU I WRITE TO YOU.

/P22OiD

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the direct object pronoun is dual in form, e.g. \$/P21OiD in: y~ IC MOTE FOLgIn & BUHSUm BIEn gING BAM THAT I MAY FOLLOW AND BE OBEDIENT TO YOU BOTH.

/P02Oi

Labels ‘polite plural you’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P02Oi in: MAnREDE LOUERD BIDD I YOU LORD, I OFFER YOU HOMAGE.

/P22OiX

Labels second person plural reflexive pronoun ‘you(-selves)’, functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P22OiX in: gIE ... DOd SCAME gEw-SELUEN YE ... DO SHAME TO YOURSELVES; and in: NIMEy zOU SELUer & GOLD TAKE SILVER AND GOLD FOR YOURSELVES.

3.2.2.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P22<pr, /P22>pr

A second person plural pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P22<pr (preposition), e.g. \$/P22<pr in: NON OF zOU NONE OF YOU, or /P22>pr (postposition), e.g. \$/P22>pr in: DEy zOU IS BIUORE DEATH IS BEFORE YOU.

/P22<prD

Labels second person plural pronoun functioning as the object of a preposition, with the addition of D to the grammel indicating that it is dual in form, e.g. \$/P22<prD in: dIS HALI TEMPLE IS ARARD ON gINC THIS HOLY TEMPLE IS RAISED UP IN YOU (BOTH).

/P02<pr /P02>pr

Labels ‘polite plural you’ governed by an adposition, e.g. \$/P02<pr{rh} (preposition) in: LOUERD ... FOR yE HOLI MILCE OF YOU LORD, ... FOR THE HOLY MERCY OF YOU, or /P02>pr (postposition) in: LAUerD IC AM AL YARE FOR BE BOXOM YOU TO LORD, I AM ALL READY TO BE OBEDIENT TO YOU.

/P22<prX, /P22>prX

Labels second person plural reflexive pronoun ‘you(-selves)’ governed by an adposition e.g. \$/P21<prX (preposition) in: TILL gUw-SELLFEN^N TO YOURSELVES; and in: POUERE MEN zE SCHULLE EUERE A-MONG OU HABBE YE SHALL ALWAYS HAVE POOR MEN AMONG YOU; or \$/P22>prX (postposition) in: gURE PRE<O<ST & gE yUSS FAREN^N gUw BITwENENN YOUR PRIEST AND YE THUS GO BETWEEN YOU.

/P22>prDX

Labels second person plural pronoun functioning as the object of a postposition, with the addition of D to the grammel indicating that it is dual in form, and the X indicating coreference of the pronouns, e.g. \$/P22>prDX gUNG in: gIT wInNED gUNG BETwEN YE (TWO) STRIVE BETWEEN YOU (BOTH).

3.2.2.5 Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as genitive or as a possessive adjective

The basic label for second person plural pronoun in the genitive is /P22G. In spite of the fact that the possessive adjective *ēower* declined in OE, apart from occasional gen. sg. *-es*, very little inflectional material survives in the ME pronoun, and the genitive grammel does not therefore carry any extra grammatical marking. The pn extension is invoked, as explained above, when the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In these cases further grammatical marking is given where relevant.

/P22G, /P22Gpn, /P22GpnOd, /P22pn<pr

Labels second person plural genitive ‘your(s)’, ‘of you’, e.g. \$/P22G in: WAKYEy UOR YOURE UO yE DYUEL KEEP AWAKE FOR YOUR FOE THE DEVIL. The extension pn is invoked either for genitive ‘of you’ or when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P22Gpn in: yE HOND NE CUME NAWT UT NE OWER UT NE HIS IN LET THE HAND NOT COME OUT, NEITHER YOURS OUT NOR HIS IN; and \$/P22GpnOd in: Y-HYREy MY RED AND YUEy YOURE HEAR MY ADVICE AND GIVE YOURS; and \$/P22Gpn<pr in: FOR GODES MUCHELE MILDCE & FOR gEwER FOR GOD’S GREAT MERCY AND FOR YOURS.

/P22GD /P22GDpn

The addition of D to the grammel indicates that the pronoun governed by an adposition is dual in form, e.g. \$/P22GD in: LEDED SAMEN GUNKER LIF LEAD YOUR LIFE TOGETHER

(referring to Adam and Eve). The extension pn is invoked when the personal pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P21GDpn in: gUnKER NOdER NEITHER OF YOU.

/P02G

Labels ‘polite plural you’ genitive ‘your’, e.g. \$/P02G in: GRAUNT MERCI SIRE EOUWER GUODE WILL GRANT MERCY, SIR, YOUR GOOD WILL.

Note also the unique tag:

/P22Gpn-avX

which labels second person plural genitive pronoun ‘your’ in a translated ablative absolute, with self-reference, viz \$/P22pn-av in: GIE IT DIDE GIUR UNWITAnD YE DID IT UNKNOWN TO YOURSELVES (literally: YE DID IT YOUR UNKNOWING).

3.2.3 Personal pronoun grammels for third person plural

3.2.3.1 *Grammels indicating subject*

/P23N, /P23N>=

The basic label for third person singular masculine pronoun in subject position ‘they’, e.g. \$/P23N in: HEO yE DRYUEy HEONNE THEY DRIVE THEE HENCE. The extension >= indicates that ‘they’ is first element in the combination ‘they who’ where ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTApI<=, e.g. \$/P23N>= in: HEO yAT BEOy In HEUENE BLISSE THEY WHO ARE IN HEAVEN’S BLISS.

/P23X

The label X before the gender marker indicates ‘reflexive’ and without further case specification is used when the third person plural reflexive pronoun ‘them(-selves)’ is in apposition to a subject, e.g. \$/P23X in: IC wILLE SEGGEN HIT yO-yE HIT HEM-SELF NESTEN I WILL SAY IT TO THOSE WHO THEMSELVES DID NOT KNOW IT; and in: VN-BUXUMHED HE HAUEN HEM DON THEY THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN DISOBEDIENT (literally DISOBEDIENCE THEY HAVE THEM DONE).

/P23NX

The label NX before the gender marker is adopted when the third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun itself serves as the subject: ‘they-selves’, ‘them-selves’, e.g. \$/P23NX in: HEO-SEOLF NOMEN HEORE LOnD THEY (THEM)SELVES TOOK THEIR LAND; and in: HEM-SELUEN NABBET yer-OF NO GOD (THEY) THEMSELVES HAD NO GOOD OF IT.

3.2.3.2 *Grammels indicating direct object*

/P23Od, /P23Od>=

Labels third person plural pronoun ‘them’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P23Od in: HE BAR HOM VORy HE BORE THEM FORTH. The extension >= indicates that ‘them’ is first element in the combination ‘they who’ where ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTApI<=, e.g. \$/P23Od>= in: yU FOLUS yAIM yAT yE WALD FLE THOU FOLLOWEST THEM WHO WOULD FLEE FROM THEE.

/P23OdX

Labels third person plural reflexive pronoun ‘them(-selves)’ functioning as direct object, e.g. \$/P23OdX in: yA-yAT yAIM-SELF SUA BOWED THOSE WHO SO ABASED THEMSELVES; and in: HEO VNwRIzEN HEOM THEY UNCOVERED THEMSELVES.

/P23MX

The extension MX for ‘mental reflexive’ is adopted for self-referring constructions of an essentially ‘middle voice’ type, e.g. \$/P23MX in: yER ENGLES HEOM DREDE WHERE ANGELS ARE AFRAID (literally WHERE ANGELS DREAD THEM(SELF)).

3.2.3.3 *Grammels indicating indirect object*

For further explanation of our definition of ‘indirect object’ see above under NOUNS /nOi.

/P23Oi, \$/P23Oi>=

Labels third person plural pronoun ‘them’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P23Oi in: wA HEm dATT H>I>E aeURE ISCAPENE wAREN WOE TO THEM THAT THEY WERE EVER CREATED. The extension >= indicates that ‘them’ is first element in the combination ‘them whom’ where ‘whom’ is tagged \$/RTApIoi<=, e.g. \$/P23Oi>= in: MIKIL WA SAL TAIM BITDIE yATE yAT TIME SET ES FORTO BIDE GREAT WOE SHALL HAPPEN TO THEM TO WHOM THAT TIME IS SET TO ENDURE.

/P23OiX

Labels third person plural reflexive pronoun ‘them(-selves)’ functioning as indirect object, e.g. \$/P23OiX in: VN-wREON HIT HAM-SEOLUEN LET THEM UNCOVER IT TO THEMSELVES; and in: HI LETE HOM MAKE AGRET SCHIP THEY CAUSED A GREAT SHIP TO BE MADE FOR THEMELVES.

3.2.3.4 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is governed by an adposition*

/P23<pr, /P23>pr, \$/P23<pr>=

A third person plural pronoun governed by an adposition is given the label /P23<pr (preposition), e.g. \$/P23<pr in: yE yRIDDE MANERE OF GAUELINGE IS INE HAM THE THIRD KIND OF USURY IS IN THEM, or /P23>pr (postposition), e.g. \$/P23>pr in: HAM ZET BEUORE yE DYEUEL THE DEVIL SETS BEFORE THEM. The extension >= indicates that ‘them’ is first element in the combination ‘them (to) who(m)’ where the ‘who’ is tagged \$/RTApI(..)<=, e.g. \$/P23<pr>= in: TO HAM yET ME SSOLDE RIzTUOLLICEH BOUzE TO THEM TO WHOM ONE SHOULD RIGHTFULLY BOW.

/P23<prX /P23>prX

Labels third person plural reflexive pronoun ‘them(-selves)’ governed by an adposition, e.g. \$/P23<prX (preposition) in: BOTE HOM SOLUE TWEIE EXCEPT THEIR TWO SELVES (literally BUT THEMSELVES TWO); and in: HI HOR DOM WIy HOM BERE THEY BORE THEIR OWN DOOM WITH THEM; or /P23>prX (postposition), e.g. \$/P23>prX in: GRET IOIE HY MADE HAM BITWENE THEY MADE GREAT JOY BETWEEN THEM.

3.2.3.5 *Grammels indicating the pronoun is functioning as a genitive or as a possessive adjective*

The basic label for third person plural pronoun in the genitive is /P23G. In OE, the genitive pronoun *hiera*, *hira*, *heora* is functionally equivalent to the first and second person plural possessive adjectives *ūre* and *ēower*. The third person pronoun did not inflect as an adjective, however. Its grammels are therefore not given any extra grammatical markers. The pn extension is invoked, as explained above, when the essentially adjectival genitive stands for a noun supplied by the context and is used substantively. In these cases further grammatical marking is given where relevant.

/P23G, /P13Gpn, /P23GpnOd, /P23Gpn<pr, /P23Gpnpl, /P23GpnplOd, /P23Gpnpl<pr
 Labels third person plural genitive ‘their(s)’ ‘of them’, e.g. \$/P23G in: IN HERE CRAFT IN
 THEIR SKILL. The extension pn is invoked either for genitive ‘of them’ or when the personal
 pronoun is used substantively, e.g. \$/P23Gpn in: FOR HARE OyRES UUEL FOR THE HARM
 OF OTHERS OF THEM; and \$/P23GpnOd in: LEIDEN HUERE ON HORDE (THEY) LAID UP
 THEIRS IN HOARD (referring to property); and \$/P23Gpn<pr in: MID GODES FULTUME &
 MID HERE WITH GOD’S HELP AND WITH THEIRS; and \$/P23Gpnpl in: ER yAI GODDIS AIRIS
 HEUIn A~ ERyE ALL ES yAIRIS THEY ARE GOD’S HEIRS, HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE ALL
 THEIRS; and \$/P23GpnplOd in: SwO FORGIUE US URE GULTES SwO wE DON HEm
 HERE SO FORGIVE US URE SINS AS WE DO THEM THEIRS; and \$/P23Gpnpl<pr in: HARE
 wEDEN NE MAHEN EUENEn TO HARE THEIR GARMENTS MAY NOT COMPARE TO THEIRS.

4. INDEFINITE ARTICLE, GENERAL

This is a place holder

5. DETERMINERS, GENERAL

This is a place holder

6. RELATIVE PRONOUNS, GENERAL

This is a place holder

7. NUMBERS, GENERAL

This is a place holder

8. VERBS, GENERAL

(For a full description see LAEME, Introduction, chapter 4, §4.4.4.)

Every verb etymology in CoNE is supplied with a complete paradigm in the section MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – PROBABLE OLD ENGLISH INPUT PARADIGM TO MORPHOLOGY. The paradigm makes it clear what the presumed Old English sources were for LAEME CTT reflexes of any paradigm members for all seven classes of strong verb, all three classes of weak verb, preterite present verbs and all other irregular and anomalous verbs. Verb grammels in LAEME CTT correspond more directly to their equivalents in the Old English verb paradigms than those of the nouns and adjectives. The basic label for a verb is v. Verb features tagged include tense, number and person. The marking of mood is confined to forms of the subjunctive where it differs from the indicative; that is, a subjunctive flag is assigned on formal grounds rather than by semantic context. Also tagged are past and present participles, verbal nouns and infinitives.

Tense, number and person

We assume a two-tense system: vps = verb present, vpt = verb past/preterite. Grammels are built up in the same way as they are for other categories, as concatenations of features. The order is tense followed by number followed by person: e.g. /vps13 = verb present singular third person; /vpt21 = verb past plural first person. ‘Royal we’ and ‘polite plural you’, where the subject of the verb is singular but the personal pronouns and the verbal suffixes are plural, are marked by 0: e.g. /vps01 and vps02 respectively.

Extra labels

Note that *any* verb grammel may be followed by either or both of:

-k indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached forms a non-initial element of a compound, e.g. the second (verbal) element of ARFed-TELLEN, a form of ME *arveð-telle(n)* DIFFICULT TO COUNT, includes -k in its grammel.

{rh} indicates that the form to which the grammel is attached is attested in rhyme position. These labels are not further noticed in this commentary.

S (for ‘strong’) is added to the basic v label in the grammels of strong verbs in the parts of the paradigm where the morphology is distinct from those of weak verbs: viz. all past tense indicatives and past participle. For other paradigm members the endings in strong verbs do not differ from those of weak verb class 1, so present indicative suffixes do not carry the S label and strong and weak endings are not distinguished. Similarly undifferentiated are strong and weak class 1 grammels for present and past subjunctive and for present participle and verbal noun (gerund).

-ct (for ‘contracted’) is added to the basic /vps13 grammel of 3rd person singular present indicative syncopated forms; e.g. BIT ([=HE) BIDS, STANT ([=HE) STANDS are tagged \$bid/vps13-ct and \$stand/vps13-ct respectively.

K2 (for ‘class 2’) is added to all grammels of verbs that in Old English were weak class 2, ending in *-ian* rather than *-an*. The morphology of these verbs may be affected by the presence of original thematic *i*, whether or not the *i* itself remains in Middle English.

K2[1] is added to all verb grammels of verbs that in Old English were weak class 1 with thematic *i*, e.g. *werian* WEAR. The morphology of these verbs may be affected by the presence of original thematic *i*, whether or not the *i* itself remains in Middle English.

-apn (for ‘after personal pronoun’) is added to any plural present indicative grammel when the verb follows the personal pronoun subject and is immediately adjacent to it (see further ((NPTR))). -apn is also added to the grammels of plural present subjunctive and plural imperative verbs when they are immediately adjacent to a preceding personal pronoun subject. In these cases ((NPTR)) is not relevant, but the pronoun adjacency may possibly affect the form of the verbal ending.

-bpn (for ‘before personal pronoun’) is added to any plural present indicative grammel when the verb immediately precedes the personal pronoun subject (see ((NPTR)) and ((PPAR))). -bpn is also added to the grammels of 1 and 2 present plural subjunctive and plural imperative and plural past tense verbs when they are immediately adjacent to a following personal pronoun subject. In these cases ((NPTR)) is not relevant, but ((PPAR)) is.

For extra labels in the grammels of separately tagged inflections only, and marking stem final elements of the verbs to which the inflections belong, see the separate section below.

8.1 Verb paradigm members and equivalent grammels

The following lists all the paradigm members found in the MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – PROBABLE OLD ENGLISH INPUT PARADIGM TO MORPHOLOGY sections of CoNE etymologies for verbs with their equivalent LAEME CTT grammels.

8.1.1 Present

Indicative

Sg.

1. /vps11 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

2. /vps12 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
 3. /vps13 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
- Pl.
1. /vps21 or /vps01 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn
 2. /vps22 or /vps02 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn
 3. /vps23 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn

Subjunctive

Sg.

1. /vsjps11 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
2. /vsjps12 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
3. /vsjps13 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Pl.

1. /vsjps21 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn
2. /vsjps22 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn
3. /vsjps23 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn

Imperative

Sg. /v-imp with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Pl. /v-imp22 or /v-imp02 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]; -apn or -bpn

8.1.2 Past

Indicative

Sg.

1. /vSpt11 or /vpt11 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
2. /vSpt12 or /vpt12 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
3. /vSpt13 or /vpt13 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Pl.

1. /vSpt21 /vpt21 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
2. /vSpt22 /vpt22 or with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
3. /vSpt23 or /vpt23[D] or /vpt23 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Subjunctive

Sg.

1. /vsjpt11 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
2. /vsjpt12 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
3. /vsjpt12 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Pl.

1. /vsjpt21 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
2. /vsjpt22 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]
3. /vsjpt23 with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

8.1.3 Non-finite verb parts

8.1.3.1 Infinitives

/vi with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1].

The first infinitive form listed in the probable Old English input paradigm is the variant that occurs *without* an infinitive marker such as ‘to’. The ending of this variant — traditionally

referred to as the bare infinitive — goes back to OE *-(i)an* and the corresponding LAEME CTT grammel is:

/vi-m (m for ‘marked’) with K2 or K2[1] added (between vi and -m) where relevant. The second infinitive form listed in the probable Old English input paradigm is the variant that occurs *with* an infinitive marker such as ‘to’. The ending of this variant — traditionally referred to as the *to-* or marked infinitive — goes back to OE *-(i)enne* and the corresponding LAEME CTT grammel is:

8.1.3.2 Participles

Participles are non-finite verbs that can function also as adjectives. When they are used as attributive adjectives this function is noted by the addition of the label -aj, the grammel being built up thereafter like any other adjective (see above under ADJECTIVES and cf. the examples below). When they are used predicatively no further label identifying them as adjectives is added.

Pres. part.

The basic LAEME CTT grammels for present participles are:

/vpsp with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

/vpsp-pl with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1] signals that the participle predicates a plural. These two tags are treated together in CoNE’s MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – MORPHOLOGY section.

The -aj extension.

When used attributively participles can decline strong or weak like ordinary adjectives. In the following example the first present participle is an attributive adjective and is tagged \$burn/vpsp-ajpl; the second is a plural present participle used predicatively and is tagged \$gli:dan/vpsp-pl.

& ALLE HEORE TERES BEOd BERNInDE GLEDEN GLIDEnDE OUER HEORE AgENE NEBBE

AND ALL THEIR TEARS ARE BURNING COALS, GLIDING OVER THEIR OWN FACES

Past part.

The basic LAEME CTT grammels for past participles are:

/vSpp for strong verbs

/vSpp-pl signals that the strong past participle is used with the copula, and that the copula is plural. Past participles with ‘have’ do not function as predicates so are not marked for plural. These two tags are treated together in CoNE’s MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – MORPHOLOGY section.

/vpp for weak verbs with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

/vpp-pl (with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]) signals that the weak past participle is used with the copula, and that the copula is plural. These two tags are treated together in CoNE’s MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – MORPHOLOGY section.

Note that /vpp is the default grammel for any past participle that is not formally strong, e.g. weak forms of the past participle found in verbs that are normally strong in early Middle English and also for irregular past tenses such as ME *did* DID and *ēode* WENT.

The -aj extension.

When used attributively participles can decline strong or weak like ordinary adjectives. The weak past participle, like the present participle, may also be assigned the label *aj* when it is used as an attributive adjective. In the following example the past participle *FORGILTE* is tagged *\$forguilt/vpp-ajOi*, which indicates its use as an adjective (specifically as an adjective modifying an indirect object):

SwA dU DEDEST dE FORGILTE MARIE MAGDALENE SO THOU DIDST TO THE GUILTY
MARY MAGDALENE

8.1.3.3 Verbal noun

The basic LAEME CTT grammel for the gerund or verbal noun is:

/vn with addition, where relevant, of K2 or K2[1]

Apart from the leading *v*, identifying it as being derived from a verb (and, where relevant, the K2 or K2[1] addition), the grammel for a verbal noun is built up in other respects like the grammel for any noun, eg. /vnOd, /vnpl<pr, /vnplK2, etc. (see further above, under NOUNS).

8.2 Extra labels marking stem final elements

(See further, LAEME Introduction, Chapter 4, § 4.4.4.2 and Laing 2009)

The grammels for the separately tagged endings of some parts of the verb paradigm are marked in the LAEME tag system for stem final vowels of the verbs to which they belong. This is because vocalic stems very frequently trigger syncope in the inflection. Stem final vowels are marked for the following numbers, tenses and derived forms: *vps12*, *vps13*, *vps2* (all present indicative plurals) *vpt* (all weak past tense forms). Also *v-imp22* (imperative plurals), *vpp* (weak past participles), *vSpp*, *vSpt* (all strong past tenses), *vi* (infinitive), *vn* (verbal noun = gerund), *vpsp* (present participles). The extra label to indicate that the inflection has been separated from a vowel stem is [V] after the main part of the grammel.

In 2nd and 3rd person singular indicative and in all weak past tense persons and numbers and in weak past participles, a number of other stem finals may also cause syncope in some text languages. In these cases we therefore mark the detached ending with a label, indicating the nature of the preceding stem final element as follows (examples are drawn from 3 person present indicative singular forms in LAEME):

- (a) nasals marked [N] — cf. CUM+y and CUM+Ey
- (b) [r] marked [R] — cf. BER+ST and BER+EST
- (c) [l] marked [L] — cf. FAL+y and FALL+ES
- (d) [x] marked [H] — cf. BOUz+y and BUG+Ed
- (e) velar stops marked [K] — cf. BREC+ST and BREK+EST, BRING+Ey and BRENG+y
- (f) sibilants marked [S] — cf. CUS+T and CUSS+ES
- (g) [p] marked [P] — cf. LHAP+y and LEP+Ed
- (h) <f> marked [F] — cf. B+LEF+y and BI-LEAF+EST. Compare also BE-LEU+y and BI+LEU+Ed (not marked [F]).
- (i) <w, p> are marked [W] — cf. BLAW+S and BLOUw+ET.
- (j) [j] marked [J] — SEg^g+y.
- (k) [t, d] marked [D] — cf. HALD+ST and HOLD+EST. This marker is confined to *vps12* and /vpt12 forms as dental stems in the 3rd person are either assimilated, providing no detachable ending (in the present marked /vps13-ct), or are unsyncopeated and as such are fully comparable to other unmarked unsyncopeated endings.

The stem-finals listed in (a)–(k) above are the only ones whose detached endings are given descriptive markers. The endings are marked in all cases, whether or not the stem-final

element has in fact triggered syncope. The default is lack of marking, whether or not, in exceptional cases, the detached ending is syncope.

Under (b), the [R] label is also invoked in the grammel for the separately tagged ending of the strong past participle (vSpp) when its stem ends with [r].

Under (d), [x] is a cover term for both [x] and [ɣ]. In phonemic terms, [ɣ] is an intervocalic allophone of /x/.

Under (h), note that we assign the [F] marking according to spelling, not presumed phonology. We wish to mark the use of <f>, because during the early Middle English period its use intervocalically is beginning to wane in favour of <v, u>. The inference is that stem-final <f> implies voicelessness, which might trigger syncope. However, it is impossible to tell whether graphic ‘voicelessness’ predicts syncope or vice versa. The source of this problem is the relatively recent phonemicisation of the fricative voice contrast in the early Middle English period, and the fact that there is sufficient scribal memory of OE <f>-spellings to allow them still to be used in some text languages. In the unsyncope form, therefore, <f> may well represent intervocalic [v]. Conversely while <u> in BI+LEU+Ed may be taken to represent [v], in BE-LEU+y it is possible that it represents [f] as the ‘underlying’ stem final. In these complex circumstances we have decided to use the [F] marker simply to draw attention to retained <f>-spellings without making a commitment as to whether they stand for [f] or [v].

Under (i), note that syncope spellings with preceding <w, p> are very rare. In almost all cases of syncope the ‘w’ has overtly ‘vocalised’ and is written <u>. In such cases the detached ending is therefore marked with [V] (for vowel) not [W]. Uncertainty as to whether coda vocalisation has happened or been completed in particular cases is of potential historic interest. It is for this reason that we mark ‘w’ stem finals still written <w, p>: these spellings may imply continuing [w].

Under (j), the form is from the Ormulum and the combination <gg> in Orm’s orthography always implies [j]. The detached +y therefore has the tag \$/vps13[J]. In some text languages the present singular indicative forms for ‘say’ retain <-gg->, e.g. SEGG+Ed; the detached endings in these cases are left unmarked since [dʒ] does not normally trigger syncope. In others, the forms show vocalisation with or without a retained affixal vowel (SEI+d/SEI+Ey); the detached endings being marked [V].

These stem final labels are only relevant in the CoNE etymologies of the verbal inflectional endings. They are retrievable in the MIDDLE ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY – MORPHOLOGY section of the relevant etymologies where the variants forms of each inflection are listed by individual grammel.

9. NEGATION, GENERAL

This is a place holder