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ANALOGY IN THE INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS OF THE NOUN FORMS
OF THE SAINT KATHERINE GROUP

by

Nina Ingargiola

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November 29, 1971
date

Samuel R. Levin
Chairman of Examining Committee

November 30, 1971
date

Frank Brady
Executive Officer

Samuel R. Levin
Helaine Newstead
Winston Newoff
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

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PREFACE

My investigation into the study of the linguistic problems concerned with the workings of analogy in the Saint Katherine Group was begun in 1967 at the suggestion of Professor Samuel R. Levin of the City University of New York. The initial research was carried out during the summer of 1967 at the University of Boston, then completed at Hunter and Brooklyn Colleges and at the Graduate Center.

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the many people who have been, throughout my educational career, a source of inspiration and encouragement: Miss Elizabeth V. Rabe, Chairman of Foreign Languages at Manual Training High School and Professor Thelma B. De Graff, Chairman of the Department of Classics of Hunter College, whose scholarly achievements and warm friendship have for many years been an indispensable aid to me in my endeavors; Professor James Macris and Professor Cecilia Hotchner of Hunter College, language scholars who generously encouraged me in my linguistic interests.

More directly concerned with this dissertation, many thanks are due to Professor Helaine Newstead and Professor Miroslav Rensky for their incisive yet always positive criticisms. Particularly deep gratitude must be paid to Professor Samuel R. Levin, without whose

patience, encouragement and scholarly guidance this dissertation would never have reached its conclusion.

Finally, I could not close this preface without acknowledging the patience and kindness of my friends, of my colleagues at Erasmus Hall High School and Franklin D. Roosevelt High School, and, particularly, of my parents during this long period of study.

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INTRODUCTION

The famed Saint Katherine Group, whose texts include Hali Meidenhad, Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr, The Life of Saint Juliana, and The Life of Saint Katherine, provides a possible basis for study of the transitional state of the English language in the early half of the thirteenth century. One specific area for fruitful study is the role that analogy plays in the formation of the singular and plural forms of nouns as they appear in the different texts of the Saint Katherine Group.

The historical development of the noun from Old English to the late Middle English and Modern English period follows a process of radical simplification of the highly diversified Old English forms. The Old English noun system, a complex, highly inflected pattern, contained the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative cases, and sometimes the instrumental. The nouns were divided primarily into strong declensions (a-stem, ō-stem, i-stem), a weak declension (n-declension), and several minor declensions (u-declension, r-declension, nd-declension, er-declension, and the radical consonant declension). In the singular forms of the noun, the nominative-accusative of the different declensions ended in -∅ (zero) (engel, word); -e (wine); -u (sunu); -o (cnēo); -a (guma); the

genitive singular ended in -es (engles); -e (cwōne); -an (guman); -ǫ (dohtor). The dative singular ended in -e (worde); -a (sunna); -an (guman); -ǫ (bēc). In the plural noun, the nominative-accusative forms ended in -as (englas); -u (witu); -a (giefra); -e (byrþenne); -an (tungan); -ǫ (fēt). The genitive plural endings were -a (engla) or -ena (tungena); the dative plural ended in -um throughout (englum, tungum).

By the Late Middle English Period (fourteenth century), this complex inflectional system had been totally restructured. The singular forms of the noun ended in -ǫ or -e with the exception of the genitive singular ending -(e)s. Chaucer, however, occasionally employed feminine nouns with a genitive singular form without -(e)s (his lady grace). By the fifteenth century, the great majority of plural forms in all cases regularly ended in -es, with few exceptions, regardless of the original Old English noun classifications. It is evident that the singular and plural forms of nouns underwent an extraordinary evolution during the Middle English period as the old forms were replaced by a streamlined modern system.

The purpose of this dissertation will be to study the analogical changes occurring in the English language in the early half of the thirteenth century, specifically in the singular and plural forms of the noun as they occur in the Saint Katherine Group. The dissertation will consist

of two main parts. The first part will be theoretical in nature and will discuss the process of analogy, its definitions, history, and implementation in language, including its role in the noun inflections. The second part will concern itself specifically with the noun forms demonstrating analogy in the Saint Katherine Group. All forms illustrating analogical change in the singular and plural nouns will be analyzed. The analysis will employ a descriptive and a historical approach. Forms depicting analogical change will be described as to case, gender, and inflectional endings. These forms will also be viewed historically in the light of the original Old English forms, with consideration given to the appropriate noun classes to which each noun belonged in its original Old English or foreign form. All types of nouns demonstrating analogical change will be discussed and illustrated with significant passages from the texts. For purposes of comparison, some references will be made to nouns which have not undergone analogical change, but the primary concern of this dissertation is to show the broad sweeping influence that analogy exerted in the historical development of the noun as it evolved from Old to Middle English. Some aspects of the topic to be considered are: To what extent have nouns in the Saint Katherine Group changed analogically? Which nouns have adopted weak inflections, which

have adopted strong inflections, and which have adopted -þ inflections? What are the percentages of each noun class which have adopted analogical endings? What variations in analogical change can be observed in individual texts, in contrasting texts? What are the causes of analogical formations? What may account for particularly anomalous forms? What influences do French and Scandinavian forms have on the varying forms in the text?

I have selected the Saint Katherine Group as the subject for this study for several reasons: its literary values, its similarities as to dialect and geography, its regularity of language, its disputed authorship, and its chronological position in a significant transitional period in the development of the English language from Old English to Middle English. The Saint Katherine Group, generally acknowledged as a significant contribution to the religious literature of the early thirteenth century, is a title given to a series of religious writings devoted to the lives and martyrdom of several early Christian saints and to the exaltation of virginity: The Life of Saint Katherine, Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr, The Life of Saint Juliana, and Hali Meidenhad. These religious works, according to Mack, reflected a new interest in the education of devout women and the Church's attempt to glorify the ideal of chastity and mystic communion with Christ.¹

Because of the nature of its subject matter, Bethurum classifies the Group as a part of the "Gilbertine Movement" along with the Ancrene Riwe and Sawles Warde. Stylistically, she considers the Group a descendant of the Old English tradition of ecclesiastical prose of Aelfric with his Lives of the Saints and his characteristic use of rhythm and alliteration.² The Saint Katherine Group has been praised for its "literary excellence" and also for the "quite extraordinary regularity and consistency of the English in which it is written."³

The question of the authorship of the Group has long been in dispute. The opinion of single authorship of the saints' lives (as well as of the Ancrene Riwe) as proposed by Hall⁴ and by Cockayne⁵ has been objected to by Einkenel, who credits three different authors with the Saint Katherine Group on the basis of linguistic analysis.⁶ Mack objects to the single authorship theory on the grounds of internal linguistic evidence and the distribution of foreign loan-words.⁷

The language of the Saint Katherine Group has been consistently praised for its regularity. Two of the primary manuscript sources of the Group are the Royal 17 A 27 c. 1230 and the Bodleian 34(B) c. 1210. The Bodleian manuscript has a language which is consistent and regular in phonology and accidence. The Royal manuscript is closer to the original than the Bodleian but has more

errors.⁸ Bodl. 34 bears a great resemblance to the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402 which contains the original Ancrene Wisse. Tolkien has analyzed the language of Bodl. 34 and C.C.C.C. 402 and has found a remarkable consistency and regularity of grammar and spelling which he ascribes to obedience to some school or authority so as to suggest a language "standard."⁹

The Saint Katherine Group provides a fruitful series of texts for study because of the Group's similarities in both geography and dialect. The question of the dialect of the Saint Katherine Group has been studied quite definitively by Serjeantson, who has localized the texts of the Bodleian and the Royal in Herefordshire in the Central West Midlands. The Titus manuscript has been classified in the North-west Midlands dialect. Serjeantson has attempted to be so precise as to pinpoint the area of the group in North Herefordshire somewhere between Hereford and Leomister, perhaps in the Bromyard and Bishop's Frome district.¹⁰

I have used the following editions of the Early English Text Society, Original Series, as texts of the Saint Katherine Group for this linguistic analysis:

The Life of Saint Katherine, which is 123 pages in length, has been edited by Eugen Eickenel from the Royal MS. 17 xxvii (EETS, 80). Alongside the Royal,

the editor has included the Latin original of the Cotton MS. Caligula, A. viii. The legend of Saint Katherine had never been, before the Royal text, the subject of an English legend.¹¹

In his edition of The Life of Saint Juliana (EETS, 51), Oswald Cockayne uses both Bodleian and Royal manuscripts as his texts, each of which is 40 pages long. I have analyzed Bodl. 34 of Cockayne as my primary source material, using the Royal 17 for purposes of comparative study. In her pe Liflade ant te Passium of Seinte Iuliane (EETS, 248), which I have used for supplementary study, d'Ardenne also employs both the Bodleian and Royal, but she has also included an emended text of Bodl. 34 and the Latin version Passio Sancte Iuliane Virginis from Bodl. 285. Earlier English treatments of the Juliana legend included the ninth century Juliana of Cynewulf.

Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr, 23 pages in length, has been edited by Oswald Cockayne (EETS, 13). His text relies primarily upon the Royal MS. 17 with occasional corrections based upon Bodl. 34. Cockayne also includes a 1330 text of Seinte Margarete pat Holi Maide from the Harl. 2277. fol. 84.b and Meiden Margrete, Trin. Coll. Cantab. I have also referred to Frances M. Mack's Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr (EETS, 193). The legend of Saint Margaret has had extraordinary popularity with several versions appearing in Old English,

Anglo-Norman, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and German.

Hali Meidenhad (EETS, 18A), a 32 page revision of Cockayne's EETS, 18, has been edited by F.J. Furnivall, who has included both the Bodl. 34 version and also Cotton MS. Titus D 18 (1220 A.D.). I have referred to both texts in this analysis, using the Cockayne for supplementary purposes.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

¹Frances Mack, ed., Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr, EETS, O.S. 193 (London, 1934), p. xii.

²Dorothy Bethurum, "The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose," JEGP, XXXIV (1935), 553-559.

³R.W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School, EETS, O.S. 186 (London, 1957), p. xciv.

⁴Joseph Hall, Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250, II (Oxford, 1920), 505.

⁵Cockayne's view of single authorship is discussed and disputed by Richard Wülker, "Über die Sprache der Ancren Riwe und die der Homilie: Hali Meidenhad," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (1874), pp. 209-211.

⁶Eugen Einenkel, ed., The Life of Saint Katherine, EETS, O.S. 80 (London, 1884), p. xix.

⁷Mack, p. xxii.

⁸Ibid., p. xiv.

⁹J.R.R. Tolkien, "Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad," Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, XIV (1929), 109-111.

¹⁰Mary Serjeantson, "The Dialects of the West Midlands in Middle English," RES, III (July, 1927), 323-324.

¹¹Gordon Hall Gerould, Saints' Legends (New York, 1916), p. 208.

CHAPTER ONE

ANALOGY

The process of analogical change, a universal phenomenon of language, is "the transfer of a linguistic feature from one part of a system to another part of that same system."¹ As languages evolve and sound change and borrowing take place, new formations which are not phonological continuants of existing linguistic forms appear both in the language creations of children and in the highly complex linguistic processes of the adult speaker. Such analogically created new formations may be an effort of the mind to achieve regularity in language, to reduce the incongruous elements of speech to systems and groups, and to bring uniformity into the paradigms of speech forms.² The first part of this chapter shall deal with theoretical aspects of the analogical process.

Analogical changes are frequently expressed in proportional formulae: $T:T':C:X$. T and T' are two type-forms associated in the linguistic consciousness. C is the existing form of the same type as T . X is the new form created on the model of T' .³ Thus in the speech of children the noun plural forms *mans and *gooses result from the proportional formulae:

girl: girls = man: X

dog: dogs = goose: X

Similarly, in the past tense of verbs the forms *taached, *brang are created on the model:

reach: reached = teach: X

ring: rang = bring: X

Some psychologists have objected to such proportional formulae on the grounds that not all speakers are capable of such reasoning prior to an utterance. The proportional formulae do serve, however, as a convenient linguistic statement describing a speech occurrence.

The description of the analogical process in terms of a proportional formula is the contribution of Hermann Paul, one of the significant grammarians of the nineteenth century. The Junggrammatiker of Germany (Brugman, Delbrück, Osthoff, Paul) accepted the theory of the blind operation of phonetic laws. According to them, sound laws admit of no exception.⁴ Faced with the fact that some forms did not seem to obey these laws, the Young Grammarians looked for explanations that would enable them to maintain their dictum; analogy was one such explanation. Before the Young Grammarians' concern with the importance of analogy, little attention had been paid to analogical forms, and they had been called "false analogies" and looked upon as corruptions or inorganic formations found only or chiefly in a degenerate age when

true meaning and composition of all forms were no longer understood.⁵

Georg Curtius was greatly concerned with the operations of analogy. Although he theoretically accepted the principle, he hesitated to accept its broad application, because it seemed to introduce an element of arbitrariness and uncertainty into the science of language,⁶ and he was scandalized at the Young Grammarians for explaining so many of the "noble forms of ancient Greek" as due to analogy.⁷

Hermann Paul was one of the first scholars to explode the pejorative term "false analogy" and to accept analogy as a vital principle of language. Paul stated that even in the parent Indogermanic language, "There were no longer any roots, stems, and suffixes, but only ready-made words which were employed without the slightest thought of their composite nature." From these ready-made words, everyone draws in human speech. The speaker has "no stock of stems and terminations at his disposal from which he could construct the form required for each separate occasion."⁸ He is able to form cases, tenses he has never heard "on the pattern of the other ready-made combinations." These are learned one by one, then are associated into groups which correspond to grammatical categories. This grouping aids the memory and makes it possible to produce other combinations. In speaking, everyone produces analogical forms, employing what Paul considers two indispensable factors: "reproduction by memory"

and "new formations by means of association." Paul considers the actual language as existing only in the individual, and to understand each form one must ascertain whether the individual speaker has had a form in his memory or has formed it himself for the first time, and if so according to what associations in his mind with existing forms.⁹

Paul defines analogy as the process of freely creating for a word already familiar, on the model of proportions also familiar, a second proportional member. In cases of nouns, the cases of the singular may be set in proportion with those of the plural.¹⁰ A new analogical formation is the solution of an equation between proportions. At least three terms must be present to enable such an equation to be instituted. Each term must be capable of being compared in some point with the other:

Lat. animus: animi = senatus: X

X = senati

The plural of senatus should historically be senatus. It is not possible, on the other hand, to compare the singular and plural of Latin nouns that have no common basis; therefore, the proportion animus: animi = mensa: X is not feasible. In the case of inflectional endings, an inflection may be felt to be the regular and usual ending, and it may then be extended to other words, even without the support of words similarly formed.¹¹

Ferdinand de Saussure analyzed in great detail the process of analogical creation and saw it as both a source of renovation and conservation. According to him, analogy serves to counteract the disintegrating effects of phonetic change and restores a regularity to the language. Phonetic change loosens the grammatical bonds between words, increases the number of forms, complicates the language, and leads to many irregularities. Analogy counterbalances the disturbing effects of phonetic change and restores order and unity out of chaos.¹² Saussure maintained that analogy is not technically a change. How then does analogy occur? The Latin nominative singular forms arbor, honor are analogical forms. Speakers originally said honōs, honōsem, arbōs, arbōsem. The -s in the accusative singular became -r by rhotacisation, resulting in a root with a double form (honōs, honōrem, arbōs, arbōrem). Analogy serves to simplify this double form into a single form. Arbor, honor are phonetically derived from an older arbōs, honōs but are new creations. When different forms of a root occur, it is difficult to determine in which direction imitation will occur, the most numerous forms not always determining the direction of analogical change. Arbor, honor have been created on the model of the already existing form ōrātor. Saussure discusses three conditions necessary for analogical change: the legitimate phonetic form

(honōs, arbōs) which plays no part in the analogy; the rival form (honor, arbor) which is the productive form; and a collective character made up of the forms that created the rival (honōrem, arbōrem, ōrātor, ōrātorem).¹⁴ Following Paul, the analogical process is expressed by the proportion:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{ōrātorem}}: \underline{\text{ōrātor}} & \underline{\text{honōrem}}: & X \\ & X & \underline{\text{honor}} \end{array}$$

Similarly:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{ōrātorem}}: \underline{\text{ōrātor}} & \underline{\text{arbōrem}}: & \underline{\text{arbor}} \\ & \underline{\text{labōrem}}: & \underline{\text{labor}} \\ & \underline{\text{vapōrem}}: & \underline{\text{vapor}} \end{array}$$

The forms arbor, honor, labor, vapor are analogical creations not evolved from earlier forms by the operations of a sound law. Paraplasme is de Saussure's term to describe the installation of a rival beside a traditional form.¹⁵ Analogy does not necessarily entail the disappearance of the historical form. Honor and honōs, arbor and arbōs probably existed for a time simultaneously and were probably used interchangeably until speakers of the language made a preference. One form ultimately falls into disuse and disappears. Honōs and arbōs disappeared and were superseded by the new analogical creations honor, arbor. The disappearance of the old form is independent of the creation of the new form.

Recent significant contributions to the theoretical

analysis of the process of analogy have been advanced by Jerzy Kuryżowicz and Witold Mániczak. Both have essayed to determine how the process of analogy operates and when analogy takes place. Kuryżowicz first sets up general rules based on linguistic principles, then on the observation of the relationships between forms. In Kuryżowicz' analysis, in the analogical process "the morphological patterns of language seem to stand in some kind of tension"¹⁶ which may be resolved in accordance with certain general principles of morphological change. Kuryżowicz has come to grips with the nature of the derivational morpheme which can be "bipartite," such as when the analogical process involves both the addition of a suffix and also a subsequent sound change. He illustrates this bipartite nature of the morphological change with the form Baum-chen. The suffix -chen is the fundamental change in the morphology of the base word; the umlaut is added later.¹⁷ Complex morphological forms can also undergo a "tripartite" series of morphological changes. Kuryżowicz' order of occurrence in a tripartite form is: base word (brahman), 1. the addition of a suffix (brahman-a), 2. accentual change (brahman-á), 3. vr̥ddhi (br̥hman-á).¹⁸ For purposes of morphological analysis, Kuryżowicz suggests that the paradigm is equivalent to a single morpheme: lupulus is derived from lup; the entire paradigm of lupulus is derived from the entire paradigm of lupus:

lupus, -i, -o, -um, orum, is, os → lupulus, -i, -o,
-orum, -is, -os

A difference between the structure of the paradigm and that of a complex morphemic form is that the second is always constructed upon the principle of "hierarchy," a principle concerned with the relationship among the various elements of a complex morphological form, among the base word and its derivatives, and among the forms of a paradigm.¹⁹

Changes in morphological structure are a result of either phonological or semantic changes, which upset the balance of a morphological system, necessitating a rearrangement which Kurylowicz calls "actions analogiques." Following phonetic or semantic changes, the laws of morphological structure are born, change, or disappear.²⁰

Kurylowicz employs the traditional proportional formula with certain limitations. Morphological balance consists of the proportion between the base form and derived forms. Proportion implements the rule of derivation:

$$A_1 : B_1 = A_2 : B_2 = A_3 : B_3$$

In terms of specific structures:

work: worker= talk: talker= sing: singer

The change of a morphological rule is equivalent to a change of proportion: i.e. the relationship between the base form and the derived form.²¹

In inflectional categories, however, according to Kurylowicz, the marked members, such as the plurals, are not based upon the unmarked members in the same way as base word and derived forms:

word₁+ ending of the singular: word₂+ ending of the
singular = word₁+ ending of the plural: word₂ X²²

For Kurylowicz, the mandatory requirement for a correct proportion is the subordination of B to A, which may be subordination in the relation of base word and derivative (where A is neutral and negative, B, positive) as in lupus-lupulus.²³ The subordination may also be explained by syncretism, "the suppression of a relevant opposition under certain determined conditions, which is secondary with regard to opposition." Generally, the basic form dominates its derivative although the reverse phenomenon does sometimes occur.²⁴

Kurylowicz' first rule states that a twofold morphological marker tends to replace one that is single. In analogy, the complex morphological change carries more weight in influencing change than the single morpheme: Gast, pl. Gäste, which adds both the inflectional -e and later the umlaut of the root vowel.²⁵ Rule two states that analogy proceeds from the base forms to derived forms: sputnik, sputniks.²⁶ By rule three, any construction composed of a constant form plus a variable one forms a pattern

for an isolated structure of the same function.²⁷ Constructions like wrongly from wrong were used as patterns for the constructions of such adverbs as slow, slowly.²⁸ The fourth rule concerns itself with the results of analogy. Following a morphological change, when a form undergoes differentiation, the new analogical form is used for the primary function of a contrast while the replaced form serves a secondary function.²⁹ Brothers is used for the plural of brother while the replaced form brethren maintains a marginal function.³⁰

In contrast with de Saussure, Kuryłowicz stresses the importance of the individual speaker in deciding between alternate forms and in controlling the selection of competing forms. The extension of morphological changes is both externe, within a linguistic community (parole) and interne, within a grammatical system (langue).

Witold Mánczak has examined innumerable forms which have undergone analogical change and has made general observations to explain the changes of greatest frequency. His first hypothesis states that long words, except in paradigms, are more frequently remodeled on the analogy of short words rather than the reverse: acquérir from popular Latin acquaerere from Latin acquierere, based on the simple form quaerere.³² Mánzak also argues that the alternation of roots is more often abandoned than introduced.³³ His hypothesis can be observed in the regularization of English

strong verbs. The root vowels in the Class IV Old English strong verb beran, bâer, bâeron, boren have been simplified to Modern English bear, bore, borne. His third rule states that a long inflectional form is more often remodeled after a short one (excluding forms of which one has an ending, another no ending). French chauffeur is from calefare, which was built on the present calfat, and replaced calefacere.³⁴ Zero endings are more often replaced by full endings than not,³⁵ as evidenced in the evolution of the English noun inflection: gŷar: gŷar, word: word have been replaced by the full endings years, words. In addition, monosyllabic endings are more often replaced by polysyllabic endings.³⁶ Mánczak also argues that the base forms are more often than not the sources of analogy, i.e. the indicative mood, the present tense, and common nouns will more frequently be sources of analogy than are the other moods, tenses, and geographical terms.³⁷ Finally, Mánczak urges caution in any rigid application of the traditional proportional formula for expressing analogy.³⁸

Robert D. King, like Mánczak, has seriously questioned the validity of the proportion method put forth by Paul and employed by students of analogy since Paul's analyses. King suggests that it is not always clear what conditions must be or can be imposed upon the forms in the

proportion. No matter what conditions can be agreed upon in the elements of a proportion, it is nearly impossible to produce proportions for all the forms which are undergoing analogical change. Also the proportion is unable to account for the regularity of many analogical changes.³⁹ King virtually rejects analogy as a separate force in language change and considers it a part of simplification.⁴⁰

In terms of transformational grammar, analogy is reflected in rule re-ordering and rule loss. Rule re-ordering is evident in analogical leveling caused by the pressure of other forms within a paradigm: the plural form horses used throughout the plural paradigm on an analogy with masculine a-stem nouns. Rule loss is demonstrated in the reintroduction in Gothic of voiceless stem-final fricatives throughout the strong verbs, the source being the voiceless stem-final fricatives in certain principal parts: kiusan, kaus, kusum, kuzans reverted to kiusan, kaus, kusum, kuzans.⁴¹

King has discussed analogy in the noun plural, for example, in transformational terms. In Old English, each noun had a marker for stem-class signaling the transformational rules for the correct ending:

<u>dag</u> <u>a</u> -stem	+ nominative + plural → <u>dagas</u>
<u>caru</u> <u>o</u> -stem	+ nominative + plural → <u>cara</u>

daed + nominative + plural → daede
i-stem

tunge + nominative + plural → tungen⁴²
n-stem

Modern English nouns do not require a special marker for stem-class (with the exception of certain plurals like sheep, oxen, men). This simplification in the lexicon is paralleled by a simplification in the number of rules of pluralization. All but the first of the above four rules have been deleted from the grammar. The a-stem rule remains as the model for nearly all other plural forms. Much of analogy, especially analogical leveling, is of this type of deletion, whereby the lexicon is simplified and a rule or set of rules are lost from the grammar while others survive.⁴³

The process of analogy can occur on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels. I shall very briefly illustrate the operation of analogy on the phonological, syntactic, and semantic levels before discussing in greater detail analogy on the morphological level, the primary emphasis of this dissertation. On the phonological level, analogy may operate whereby an allophone acquires phonemic value. In the varieties of Puerto Rican Spanish where [x] is still a voiceless velar fricative, the aspirate [h] is an allophonic variant of /s/ in final syllables: losómbres [lo' sɔmbreh]. The plural ending /-s/ has two allophonically conditioned allomorphs:

[ə] before a vowel in close juncture and [h] before consonant or pause in a final syllable. Many speakers, however, have transferred the [-h] allomorph of the plural suffix to pre-vocalic position and form plurals like [lo' hɒbrɛh] and [lo' hɒtrɒh]. For these speakers, [-h], occurring in an intervocalic position, has acquired phonemic status since it contrasts with intervocalic [-s] as in [ˈoso], and the plural suffix has only one allomorph [-h] occurring in all positions.⁴⁴

New phonemic combinations can be created by the extension of phonemes to positions to which they are not historically justified (over-correction or hyperurbanism): /njúwn/ instead of /húwn/⁴⁵ on the analogy of /tjúwn/, /njúw/, /tjúwzdij/. The extension of r before vowels in New England English is an additional illustration of analogy at the phonological level:

water was: water is

the idea was: X

On the basis of this proportion, the intrusive r is introduced in the idea-r is.⁴⁶

On the syntactic level, analogy can lead to grammatical change on the phrase and clause-structure levels. At the phrase-structure level, an entire phrase can be restructured on the model of another already existing phrase-structure. Bloomfield has illustrated analogical change at the phrase-structure level with the German phrase ein

Trunk Wasser based on the following proportion:

Milch trinken: ein Trunk Milch =

Wasser trinken: ein Trunk Wasser

The genitive form Wassers is the expected form.⁴⁷ The substitution of a non-genitive form is modeled on the analogy of forms (feminine and plural nouns) which have endings which have been reduced to zero as a result of phonetic change. The replacement was probably furthered by the existence of nouns with genitives ending in both zero and -es and by the gradual weakening of the genitive case.⁴⁸ Loan-shifts are another illustration of analogy at the phrase-structure level. Marriage of convenience is a phrase constructed on the model of the French mariage de convenance.⁴⁹ Another syntactic borrowing from the French is the combination of two nouns in a phrase such as in the form Operation Bootstrap.⁵⁰

At the clause-structure level, an entire clause is remodeled on the analogy of clauses already existing in the language. Bloomfield explains the usage of like as a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause with the following proportion:

to do better than Judith: to do better than

Judith did =

to do like Judith: X

The result is the construction: to do like Judith did.⁵¹

An incorrect construction such as It's for she is explained by the formulae:

John is wanted on the phone: It's for John

You are wanted on the phone: It's for you.

She is wanted on the phone: X 52

Hall describes such usage of the nominative forms of pronouns as objects of prepositions as "analogical over-correction." Since a speaker ordinarily will say he and I are going to the movies, the over-correction results in the usage: for you and I, with you and she, between you and I.⁵³

Analogical change at the clause-structure level often replaces losses brought about by evolutionary developments. In Old French as in Latin, the use of the predicate alone without a subject pronoun was common because the inflectional ending of the verb form itself indicated the actor's person and number. In Middle French, phonological changes resulted in leveled verb endings so that the verb no longer clearly indicated person and number. As a result, the subject pronouns came to be used to clarify the person and number of the verb.⁵⁴

On the semantic level, analogy involves the extension of the situations in which words are used. The central meaning of a word can become marginal while a marginal meaning becomes central. Analogy bringing about semantic change also takes into consideration the connotations as well as the forms of words themselves. The Old English word bede meant a 'prayer.' While praying, one used a rosary, composed of little spheres as a part of the praying

procedure. Counting one's bedes came to mean not so much counting the prayers themselves as counting the little spheres of the rosary. Thus bead came to mean 'a small sphere' and not a 'prayer':

to count pearls: to string pearls =
to count beads: X ⁵⁵

Bead can now refer to any small sphere: perspiration beads, beads of jewelry, love-beads, etc. Similarly Middle High German kopf 'cup, bowl, pot' shifted its meaning in the Middle Ages to 'head.' Kopf was first used marginally to signify 'head' in specific situations: in battle describing a warrior smashing another's kopf. The meaning was then extended analogically to other situations in which heads were referred to:

to smash a head: to nod one's head =
to smash a kopf: X

Until recently, a house was a structure with rooms, doors, and windows in which one might live; home connoted not only a place of residence, but a place of warmth and family relationships. A real-estate advertisement for a lovely new eight-room home instead of a lovely new eight-room house demonstrates a shift in the meaning of the word home even though the reference is to a bare, uninhabited structure.⁵⁶

On the morphological level, which is the primary emphasis of this dissertation, analogy involves the exten-

sion of individual morphemes from one sub-class to another. At this level, analogy can involve the simple transfer of allomorphs and morphemes and can also lead to new combinations and divisions of morphemes. Morphological forms can undergo analogical shift within an individual paradigm (analogical leveling) and also from one declension, one conjugation, or one gender to another (analogical transfer) under the general influence of the forces of analogical change. At the morphological level, analogy also plays a significant role in derivational sets and in the analogical creations of new forms brought about by back-formation, recutting, and folk etymology. The following section of this chapter shall be divided into two parts. The first part shall be a general discussion of the analogical processes at the morphological level: analogical leveling, analogical transfer, analogy at the derivational level, back-formations, recutting, and folk etymology. Some consideration shall also be given to the forces resisting the analogical processes. Since this dissertation deals primarily with analogical change affecting the English nominal system, the final part of this chapter shall then deal with the application of the various analogical processes upon the English noun paradigm in general and upon the morphology of the noun during the period 1050-1300 in particular.

Analogical leveling is a regularizing of the differences in a paradigm or an inflectional set. After the

occurrence of sound change, analogy can serve to regularize the system by either restoring a contrast or totally eliminating a contrast and achieving complete regularization. The Old English strong verb beran, as a result of sound change (pre-Old English sound change of e to i before i), had a present indicative with a vowel variation in the stem:

Sg. <u>bere</u>	Pl. <u>berað</u>
<u>bir(e)st</u>	<u>berað</u>
<u>bir(e)ð</u>	<u>berað</u>

Analogical leveling caused the extension of e throughout both the singular and plural of the paradigm, resulting in the Modern English form bear. Similarly, almost total analogical leveling can be seen in the current usage in substandard speech of one form of the verb, in this case the infinitive, to include all persons, numbers, and moods: I be, you be, we be.

In the preterite of Old English strong verbs, a difference in internal vowel existed in the root of certain verbs:

Sg. <u>sang</u>	Pl. <u>sungon</u>
<u>sunge</u>	<u>sungon</u>
<u>sang</u>	<u>sungon</u>

The vowel of the first and third singular was extended to the second person singular and to the entire plural, resulting in a totally regularized preterite form sang on the analogy of the first and third person singular paradigm

forms. This instance of analogical leveling occurred in Old English strong verbs containing a vowel gradation. Alternating second singular and plural preterite forms in both u and a probably existed simultaneously for a time and were used interchangeably until the stem in a gained total dominance and replaced stem forms in u.

In some instances, the reverse could hold true and the Old English vowel of the preterite plural was substituted for the vowel of the preterite singular:

Sg. <u>band</u>	Pl. <u>bundon</u>
<u>bunde</u>	<u>bundon</u>
<u>band</u>	<u>bundon</u>

became in Middle English:

Sg. <u>bond</u>	Pl. <u>bounden</u>
<u>bounde</u>	<u>bounden</u>
<u>bond</u>	<u>bounden</u>

The Modern English preterite form bound is an analogical form based on the leveling in the total preterite of the stem vowel of the plural forms of the paradigm.

Analogical leveling frequently regularized the vowels of the preterite plural with that of the participle: Middle English crope(n) displaced the preterite plural crupe(n). Conversely, Class V strong verbs adopted the o from the past participle of Class IV verbs of Old English, replacing the original vowel e. Spoke(n) replaced speke(n) on the analogy of bore(n).⁵⁷

Analogical leveling within a paradigm can be seen in languages other than English. The German ich war is analogous with the first person plural form wir waren (whereas Old High German and English have retained the earlier form without analogy was (OE wāes). French speakers used to say: il prouve 'he proves' and the plural forms: nous prouvons, ils prouvent. Today, the forms are all regularized to ou in both the singular and the plural (il prouve, ils prouvent) because of the analogical influence of the first person plural form of the paradigm.⁵⁸

Analogical transfer, in contrast with analogical leveling, is the extension of a morphological ending from one inflectional set to another rather than the regularization within an inflectional set or paradigm. This transfer is dramatically demonstrated in the great tendency for Old English strong preterites to be replaced by weak preterites. In all probability, both strong and weak preterite forms existed side by side until the weak form dominated and replaced the great majority of strong verb forms:

<u>Old English</u>	<u>crupōn-terites</u>	<u>Modern English Preterites</u>
<u>slēp</u>	<u>slēpon</u>	<u>crept</u>
<u>healp</u>	<u>hulpon</u>	<u>slept</u>
<u>wēop</u>	<u>wēopon</u>	<u>helped</u>
<u>wēop</u>	<u>wēopon</u>	<u>wept</u>
<u>sweal</u>	<u>swulon</u>	<u>swelled</u>
<u>scraēp</u>	<u>scraēpon</u>	<u>scraped</u>
<u>bōc</u>	<u>bōcon</u>	<u>baked</u>

Under the influence of analogical transfer, new words entering the language form their preterites on the model of the weak verb type. The French borrowings: change, study, flourish, perish, perceive, join, cry, etc. all form their preterites on the weak verb model. Similarly, in children's substandard speech, preterites of currently strong verbs are often formed on the analogy of weak preterites: I see'd it; I know'd it.

The reverse process of weak verbs changing on the analogy of the strong verb type is less frequent. The verb wear (OE weak verb werian, preterite werede, weredon) became a strong verb, possibly because of the influence of the rhyming strong verbs bear and tear.⁵⁹ Generally, however, the strong verb type ceased to be a productive model for new formations.

Analogical transfer can be seen in several Indo-European language verb forms. Indo-European -mi verbs extended in Sanskrit to all verbs (cf. bhārāmi in contrast with the Greek ἔειπε)⁶⁰ In Attic Greek, the tendency was for verbs to pass over from -mi verbs to the -ω conjugation. In Aeolic Greek, however, the tendency is in the other direction. In Latin, all verbs of the original -mi conjugation except sum have gone over to the -o conjugation.⁶¹

On the morphological level, analogy plays a significant role in language change not only in inflectional sets, but in derivational sets as well, sets which involve many variables in an open class (in contrast with the closed

inflectional system). Old elements and patterns of compounding and affixing are lost; new ones are created. Phonemes can be replaced or new morphophonemic relationships can originate as the analogical processes operate. The English language is particularly rich in its ability to extend derivational endings to words or groups of words where they are not historically expected. At the derivational level, all analogical operations are of the analogical transfer type, the extension of derivational endings to classes where they do not historically belong.

Derivational suffixes which already have a specific meaning can be utilized as a creative force in language to form innumerable new words on an analogical model. Leonard Bloomfield terms as "living" an analogy that permits of new formations.⁶² The suffix -er indicating an agent gradually became the model for most agent nouns. OE hunta, the agent of huntian, was replaced by hunter⁶³ on the model of fiscere. We now regularly form new agent nouns in -er, regardless of the derivation based on the following proportional model:

hunt: hunter- teach: X

X= teacher

Since Modern English is capable of such great morphophonemic variation, extensive flexibility is allowed in the patterning of native and borrowed derivational affixes. The -er suffix can now readily be applied to verbs of nearly every

origin, such as the non-Germanic: conjurer, harrasser, destroyer, commissioner, reformer, examiner, etc.

The Old English suffix -ig regularly combined with Old English nouns to form adjectives (meantig, grāedig, sārig). The suffix remained living although it had no specific meaning and now patterns regularly with words of Germanic or non-Germanic origin, such as the French derivatives: noisy, sugary, flowery, etc. Similarly, Old English -full formed adjectives from nouns: andgietfull, hyhtfull, scyldfull. Modern English -full patterns easily with non-Germanic nouns, such as the French doubtful, flavorful, joyful.

The converse process is demonstrable as new analogical formations become evident when foreign loan-words with derivational elements become a model for new formations. The French suffixes -ess, -ette have been extended analogically to words of any origin: huntress, seamstress, or in new coinages like farmerette, nymphette, usherette.⁶⁴

Just as the Old English suffix can demonstrate great variation in its ability to create new word patterns, the Old English noun may also serve as a creative force, assuming the role of a living suffix in Modern English and serving as a model for analogical transfer. In Old English dōm was an independent noun or the final part of a compound and is now used as a suffix (Germ. kingdom; Rom. princedom, popedom, dukedom).

Back-formations, analogical extensions made from

inflected or derived forms rather than from base forms,⁶⁵ can lead to new combinations and divisions of morphemes. The verbs back-bite, housekeep, typewrite, baby-sit are shorter forms resulting from the derived nouns back-biter, housekeeper, typewriter, baby-sitter.⁶⁶ New singular forms have been created on the mistaken notion that the original spellings of the singular seemed to be plurals ending in the regular plural inflection -s. New plurals are then created for the new singulars on the analogy with other plurals in -s: cherry, cherries (OFr. cerise), pea, peas (OFr. pise, pease), riddle, riddles (OE rædela).⁶⁷ The reverse of this process can occur when a new singular is formed from an old plural form with a new plural being created in -s: invoice (OFr. envois, pl. of envoi), quince (OFr. coins, pl. of coin).⁶⁸

Another form of analogy at the morphological level is recutting, which involves a form which historically had a morpheme boundary in one place but is treated as though the boundary were somewhere else,⁶⁹ a kind of false analogy. Recutting reshapes morphemes rather than bringing new ones into existence. The t in argentier (argent) belongs historically to the stem, not to the derivational suffix. Since the loss by sound change of the t of the underlying noun argent, the point of morpheme division in argentier has been shifted and the new suffix -tier appears with stems that never had a final -t: bijoutier

(bijou), ferblantier (ferblanc).⁷⁰

Folk or popular etymology, the remodeling of less frequent or favored pattern in the language in accordance with more highly favored patterns,⁷¹ can also influence analogical change (transfer). Similarities of form can lead to a resemblance of meaning: OE brydguma should have become *bridegroom. The resemblance of the form to groom (Early ME grome 'boy') led to the adaptation of bridegroom on the analogy of the form of the similar groom although the meanings of the two words were originally quite far apart.⁷² The word cutlet has nothing to do with the verb cut. The meaning has shifted from the original Fr. côtelette, Lat. costa 'rib.'⁷³ Shame-faced is from sham-fast (ME scham-fast, OE scam-faest 'modest.' It originally had nothing to do with the face.⁷⁴ The substandard speech form sparrowgrass for asparagus is formed on the model of grass. Crayfish, crawfish are formed from OFr. crevisse, ME crevise, both of which had no connection with fish.⁷⁵

In the general workings of analogy at the morphological level, other factors are at work in addition to analogical leveling and analogical transfer. Sound changes occur within a paradigm; analogy regularizes the paradigm both from within the paradigm and from without it as well. In addition, however, necessary contrasts of gender, number, and case continue to resist regularization. While on the

one hand, regularization of grammatical forms is continually occurring, the opposite analogical function is at the same time resisting regularization so as to achieve a differentiation of forms rather than a similarity. E. Prokosch calls such forms "contrast forms" or forms of "negative association or differentiation."⁷⁶ Significant noun contrasts of number, gender, and case will, as a rule, resist reduction or modification of inflection in order to preserve some significant morphological differentiation. Saussure also suggests that some forms resist analogy because the analogical processes are sometimes capricious.⁷⁷ Germ. Tag: Tage, Salz: Salze have resisted analogy while forms like Kranz: Kränze and Hals: Hälse are analogical forms.⁷⁸ The tendency to resist analogy will be discussed in greater detail in the following section dealing with the morphology of the noun paradigm.

This final section concerns itself with the morphology of the noun paradigm, stressing primarily the general processes of analogy and also the specific effects of these analogical processes on the English noun, particularly as they occur in Middle English. Within the framework of the morphology of the noun, both analogical leveling and analogical transfer have been strongly at work in the development of the noun inflection. After sound changes have occurred, their effects may result in analogical leveling or analogical transfer. If phonetic differences caused by

phonological changes were not leveled, many morphological irregularities would remain. The following Primitive Germanic declension had a single stem vowel:

Sg. Nom.-Acc.	<u>fōt</u>	Pl. Nom.-Acc.	* <u>fōtiz</u>
Gen.	* <u>fōtaz</u>	Gen.	* <u>fōtōn</u>
Dat.	* <u>fōti</u>	Dat.	* <u>fōtumiz</u>

Because of the i-umlaut, the accented vowels are palatized in the dative singular and nominative plural by the following -i, resulting in the irregular Old English paradigm:

Sg. Nom.-Acc.	<u>fōt</u>	Pl. Nom.-Acc.	<u>fēt</u>
Gen.	<u>fōtes</u>	Gen.	<u>fōta</u>
Dat.	<u>fēt</u>	Dat.	<u>fōtum</u>

The o/e alternation served a useful function because it provided some distinction between the singular and plural. The dative singular fōt was replaced by a new analogical dative fōte on the analogy of the nominative and genitive singular in o, thus regularizing the entire singular paradigm as a result of analogical leveling. In order to preserve the singular-plural distinction, the genitive and dative plurals followed by analogy the nominative fēt, resulting in a regularized plural in e throughout the entire plural paradigm.⁷⁹

According to Edward Sapir, sound change ("drift") occurs in one direction. A readjusting tendency aims to restore a regularized phonetic pattern to the language. A preservative tendency then sets in when a too serious morphological unsettlement is threatened by the main drift.⁸⁰

Such instances of changes within the paradigm of a noun are illustrations of analogical leveling, the replacement within a paradigm of morphophonemically irregular forms by more regular ones.⁸¹ Irregular forms of high frequency are not as likely to be replaced as are forms of less frequency. Less obtrusive forms are more likely to remain in the language than a noticeable innovation.⁸² Analogical leveling within a particular paradigm is to be contrasted with analogical transfer that occurs when a morphological ending reflects the adoption of a set of endings on the model of a different class of nouns: e.g. word: word to word: words on the analogy of a-stem nouns. Evidence of this second type of analogy will be strongly present in the major discussion of this dissertation which concerns itself with the analogical transfer demonstrated within the inflections of the noun forms in the Saint Katherine Group.

Analogical leveling can occur if in the noun paradigm there are differences in the stem of the nominative and oblique cases. The tendency is for differences in the stem to disappear and for a uniform paradigm to result as analogical change occurs and leads to regularization of the paradigm:

OE Sg. Nom.	<u>sinu</u> , <u>sionu</u> 'sinew'
Acc.Gen.Dat.	<u>sinwe</u> , <u>sionwe</u>

OE Pl. Nom.-Acc. sinwa, -e, sionwa, -e

Gen. sinwa, sionwa

Dat. sinwum, sionwum

In this illustration, analogy is again rebuilding what phonetic change has tended to pull down, regularity. The original Primitive Germanic nominative singular wō-stem inflectional ending was -wō which became -wū, the w disappearing before the u. After long vowels plus a consonant, the u also disappeared. Sound change broke down a regular paradigm in which all cases of the noun contained a w. In Middle English, analogy restored uniformity by creating a new nominative singular with w on the model of the rest of the paradigm. The new analogical form gives us Middle English sinewe. In the Modern English sinew, the final w has been retained in spelling but is no longer heard in the pronunciation of the modern word. A similar analogical formation occurs in the Old English wa-stem pyle, pylu 'pillow,' *pulwi, West-Germanic *pulwī(n), Latin pulvīn-us. The normal Old English development would have given nominative *pulwi, genitive *pulwes. Form leveling gave a new nominative pylu (while Old High German maintained the w in pfuliwi). In Middle English a new nominative form pilwe was created on the analogy of the oblique cases. In Modern English pillow the w is merely retained in the spelling. It is interesting to observe the inflection of the word maed:

OE Sg. Nom.	<u>mæd</u>
Acc.Gen.Dat.	<u>mædwe</u>
OE Pl. Nom.-Acc.	<u>mædwa</u>
Gen.	<u>mædwa</u>
Dat.	<u>mædwum</u>

Two forms have survived with a lexical difference. The words mead and meadow are derived from different forms of a single noun paradigm of Old English. Both forms, mead and meadow, have been generalized for the entire singular and form the basis of new plural forms meads and meadows. The divergent and earlier forms of the paradigm resulted in two entirely different words which bear meaning similarities. The word mead, however, appears to be becoming obsolete except in literary usage and may give way completely in time to the form derived from the oblique cases (OE sceadwe, sceadwa, sceadwum) while shade derives from the nominative sceadu. This paradigm also resulted in a lexical differentiation, but unlike mead-meadow, both shade and shadow have been fully accepted into the lexicon.

Similar instances of analogical leveling within the paradigm can be seen in the final -e of Middle English nominative forms like bride, lore, tide, while, which are formed analogically from the oblique cases of Old English nouns. The Old English nominative singular forms brȳd, tīd, hwīl, and lār all had oblique cases ending in -e.⁸³ It is possible, however, as Moore suggests, that these

feminine nouns may have also been influenced analogically by other feminine nouns already historically ending in -e in the nominative singular in Middle English such as love (OE lufu).⁸⁴ If this second influence is the cause of the addition of the -e in the nominative singular, then analogical transfer is at work instead of analogical leveling within the noun class.

Usually it is the oblique cases that serve as a model in analogical leveling, but sometimes the process works the other way, the nominative singular influencing the other cases of the noun. When the plural forms occur in spoken English such as: [ju:θs], [ʃelfs], [ru:fs], [hu:fs] instead of the usual plurals,⁸⁵ [ju:dz], [ʃelvz], [ru:vz], [hu:vz], the voiceless fricatives present in the plural are influenced analogically by the nominative singular forms ending in a voiceless fricative.

Resistance to analogy, as previously described by Prokosch, is evident in the Germanic formations of the singular and plural forms of nouns. In late pre-Germanic, the nominative plural of vocal classes closely resembles the singular, but is differentiated from the singular by a fuller form of the suffix:

Sg. -os, -is, -us

Pl. -os/-eies/-īis -eyes/-us

The feminine plural in -ǣg may have been modeled on the masculine -ǫg or may have developed independently.⁸⁶ The

-s of -ōs, -ās may have originally been identical with the singular -s, but soon it came to be felt as a plural characteristic necessary as a contrast to the singular forms even though the fuller -s plural forms ultimately were influenced analogically by the -s of the masculine nominative singular.⁸⁷

With the development of the pre-Germanic language, elements of contrast were revived despite phonetic changes. Forms were frequently created in defiance of normal phonetic laws to preserve inflectional contrasts. The pre-Germanic masculine nominative plural -s became the most widely spread plural inflection (except in Old High German) as a result of the contrast tendency between singular and plural:

Early Gmc.sg. *dojos; pl. *dojōs

Martin Lehnert concurs with Prokosch in the linguistic tendency to preserve necessary inflectional contrasts. He refers to the Germanic weakening of unstresses final consonants in unaccented syllables which weakened and disappeared in Primitive Germanic, except s and r. s remains only in Gothic but disappears in West Germanic. The exceptions are Old Saxon and Old English nominative and accusative plurals of masculine s-stem nouns. Lehnert attributes the maintenance of the -s inflectional ending in the plural, which would have normally been lost due to sound change, to the necessity of preserving a distinction in the plural between the nominative-accusative and the forms of the geni-

tive plural.⁸⁹ Prokosch attributes the dative plural in -m for the purpose of contrast of numbers, to differentiate the dative plural from the dative singular form.⁹⁰

As the English language evolved from the Old English to the Middle English period, analogical change continued to exert an important influence on the noun paradigm. With the leveling of unstressed vowels in the singular of nouns to -e, a number of distinct endings such as -a, -u, -e, -um, which conveyed specific grammatical concepts, were reduced to the uniform endings -e, -e(n). In the strong masculine and neuter a-stem nouns, the genitive singular ended in -es (OE -es) which differentiated it from the other cases (nominative, accusative, and dative) which were beginning to merge in both form and function; therefore, no analogical change occurred. In the ī-stem, u-stem, r-stem nouns and mutated plurals, the leveling of final vowels to -e in the genitive singular blurred the distinction between the genitive and other singular cases, necessitating the need for analogy. Analogical change intervened to compensate for the lack of distinction between the cases. The a-stem genitive singular inflection -es was extended to other noun classes and also to foreign borrowings, an illustration of analogical transfer. On the model of ME doom, doomes (genitive singular) and word, wordes:

ME doom: doomes = luve: X

X = luves

The double genitive singulars luve (the historical form) and luves, the analogized form, existed side by side for a time, the -es eventually dominating because it preserved a necessary case distinction. Similarly, cow's, mare's lady's, etc. represent analogically developed Modern English genitive singular forms. Further instances of such analogical developments in the genitive singular will be demonstrated later in this dissertation.

Samuel Moore has analyzed in great detail the chronology of the changes due to sound and analogy in the noun inflection of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to Moore's analyses, the change of final -m to -n occurred earlier than the loss of final -n while the loss of final -n preceded the addition of -e in the nominative singular of feminine nouns. Although the change of -m to -n was completed before the loss of -n began, the loss of -n was not completed before the addition of -e in feminine nouns. Leveling of unaccented vowels to -e preceded the addition of -e and was contemporary with the early stages of the loss of final -n. Although the change of final -m to -n was a sound change, the distribution of forms with and without final -n is a result of analogical processes. The addition of -e in feminine nouns is also the result of analogy.⁹¹

In Old English, the nominative and accusative plurals were identical in all types, and the nominative and accusative singulars were identical in all neuter and masculine

nouns except n-stems. The nominative and accusative singular of short feminine ō-stems long feminine ō-stems, feminine ǰō-stems, and feminine n-stems were distinctive in form (nom. lufu, hwīl, synn, tunge; acc. lufe, hwīle, synne, tungan). Feminine i-stems in late Old English tended to conform to the pattern of ǰō-stems by means of analogy:

dāede (acc. sg.): dāed = hwīle: hwīl
synne: synn

After the loss of final -n, the nominative and accusative singular of n-stems became identical (hunta-hunta). With the leveling of final unaccented vowels, the nominative and accusative singular of feminine n-stems and short feminine ō-stems also became identical (tunge-tunge; lufe-lufe). Formal distinction between the nominative and accusative singular in feminine nouns ending in a consonant were no longer supported by distinctiveness of form so analogical transfer of the other inflectional types operated, primarily analogical modeling on the ǰ-stem type. These analogical processes were inevitable after the stability of the traditional inflectional patterns had become so radically modified by sound change.⁹²

Analogical formations in the plural noun inflections paralleled the singular inflections: sound change breaking down inflectional distinctions, analogy providing both regularity of inflection and case differentiation simultaneously. The leveling of final unstressed vowels to -e and the change of -m to -n with subsequent loss of -n

created a breakdown in case distinction in the plural paradigm as well as in the singular. a-stem masculine noun plurals ending in -es (OE -as) preserved a distinction between the nominative, accusative, and dative singulars, now ending in -ŋ, -e, -e(n). New plural forms began to be created in the Middle English period which were not continuants of the Old English. On the analogy of the strong masculine a-declension noun plurals in -es, practically all noun plurals followed in analogical formation. The process was almost identical with the genitive singular. New forms on the model of -es nouns were created and probably for a time rivaled historical forms:

EME dome: domes (pl.) ȝefe: X
 X ȝefes

The historical ȝefe probably existed alongside the analogical ȝefes, but the latter survived, preserving a singular plural distinction and following the model of the strong a-stem nouns. Similarly, the Old English radical consonant noun bōc, pl. bēc followed the model of a-stem strong nouns and adopted the plural form bokes in Middle English. The plural cows was a new speech form introduced into the language which was not a continuation of the Old English cū, pl. cȳ or of Middle English kine⁹³ Bloomfield suggests that the new form may have been influenced by the word sow which bears a similarity of meaning and is a rhyme word. OE sugu became ME sow(e) by regular sound change:

Mod.E sow: sows = cow: X

X = cows

Similar rhyming words like brow (OE bru, brow, pl. browes) may have influenced the attraction of cow to the -es plural inflection. Kine rivalled cows for a time until kine was displaced almost completely, remaining only in some dialects. The new form cows had the advantage of regular formation, following the analogical development of the other noun types.⁹⁴

In Old English, the -as (ME -es) nominative-accusative plural occurred most frequently. Some forms fluctuated in Old English, forming plurals with and without -s: fēld, pl. fēlda or fēldas. Such fluctuation probably favored the spread of the -as (-es) plural to other noun types as well.⁹⁵ The dative plural of all noun classes soon adopted by analogy the -es plural masculine ending and merged in function as well as in form with the nominative-accusative. The genitive plural as well eventually adopted the -es form in the plural, although it went through a transitional stage, soon making the plural uniform in the paradigm of most nouns. Foreign borrowings adopted the -es plural endings when they entered the language. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, many nouns formed analogical plurals in -en even though they were not originally members of the weak noun declension: shoon, deoflen, worden, sunnen, honden, etc. Moore accounts for this phenomenon by stating that the necessity for an

expression of plurality was so strong that -n forms of the nominative-accusative plural survived the loss of final -n for a good length of time and became the basis for analogical development (transfer) for a time. For this reason, final -n was lost with unequal distribution, its loss being more complete in some grammatical areas than in others. This unequal distribution in order to maintain a plural distinction also accounts for the retention of -n forms of the dative plural of weak nouns. Retention of final -n maintained a distinction between the singular and plural in the dative while analogy accelerated the loss of -n in the singular and retarded the loss in the plural.⁹⁶ Despite the dominance of the -en plural in the Southern dialects in Middle English, the -es plural forms ousted the -en inflection leaving only the Modern English oxen as a vestige of the Old English weak inflection. Double forms survive in children and in the archaic brethren and kine. Of the mutated plural nouns, some were analogized to the -es inflection: books, goats, nights while others retain the mutated plural in Modern English: mice, men, teeth, etc.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

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²Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Analogy and the Scope of Its Application in Language (1887), p. 5.

³Louis Gray, Foundations of Language (New York, 1939), p. 106.

⁴Otto Jespersen, Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin (London, 1922), p. 93.

⁵Jespersen, pp. 93-94.

⁶Wheeler, p. 41.

⁷Jespersen, p. 94.

⁸Ibid., p. 94.

⁹Hermann Paul as quoted by Jespersen, p. 95.

¹⁰Herman Paul, Principles of the History of Language, trans. H.A. Strong (London, 1888), pp. 94-97.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 100-107.

¹²Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, trans. Wade Baskin (New York, 1959), p. 161.

¹³Ibid., pp. 161-164.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 164.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁶W.P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel, Directions for Historical Linguistics (Austin, 1968), p. 15.

¹⁷Jerzy Kurylowicz, "La Nature des procès dits 'analogiques,'" Acta Linguistica, V (1945-49), 15.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 18.

²⁰Ibid., p. 19.

21 Jerzy Kuryłowicz, The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 37.

22 Ibid., p. 38.

23 Ibid., p. 39.

24 Ibid., p. 40.

25 Kuryłowicz, "Nature," p. 20.

26 Ibid., p. 23.

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28 Winfred Lehmann, Historical Linguistics: an Introduction (New York, 1962), p. 189.

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33 Ibid., p. 301.

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36 Ibid., p. 323.

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38 Ibid., p. 401.

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40 Ibid., p. 134.

41 Ibid., p. 130.

42 Ibid., p. 128.

43 Ibid., p. 129.

44 Hall, p. 324.

- 45 Charles Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), p. 436.
- 46 Lehmann, p. 181.
- 47 Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p. 420.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Hockett, p. 435.
- 50 Hall, p. 342.
- 51 Bloomfield, p. 407.
- 52 Hockett, p. 426.
- 53 Hall, p. 323.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 343-344.
- 55 Ibid., p. 326.
- 56 Hockett, p. 432.
- 57 Samuel Moore and Albert H. Marckwardt, Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections (New York, 1963), p. 103.
- 58 de Saussure, p. 162.
- 59 P. Giles, A Short Manual of Comparative Philology (London, 1895), pp. 52-53.
- 60 Wheeler, p. 16.
- 61 Giles, p. 53.
- 62 Bloomfield, p. 413.
- 63 Ibid., pp. 412-412.
- 64 Hall, p. 337.
- 65 Lehmann, p. 184.
- 66 Hockett, p. 429.
- 67 Gray, p. 110.
- 68 Lehmann, pp. 184-185.

- 69 Hockett, p. 429.
- 70 Hall, p. 336.
- 71 Lehmann, p. 187.
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- 75 Hockett, p. 287.
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- 80 Ibid., p. 186.
- 81 Hockett, p. 396.
- 82 Ibid., pp. 396-397.
- 83 Wheeler, p. 22.
- 84 Samuel Moore, "Earliest Morphological Changes in Middle English," Language, IV (1928), 249.
- 85 Wheeler, p. 22.
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- 87 Ibid., pp. 472-473.
- 88 Ibid., p. 473.
- 89 Martin Lehnert, "The Interrelation between Form and Function in the Development of the English Language," Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, V (1927), 52.
- 90 Prokosch, p. 473.
- 91 Moore, pp. 241-248.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 249-250.

93 Bloomfield, p. 404.

94 Ibid., pp. 405-410.

95 Ibid., p. 410.

96 Samuel Moore, "Loss of Final n in Inflectional Syllables of Middle English," Language, III (1927), 256-259.

CHAPTER TWO

ANALOGY IN THE NOUN FORMS OF THE SAINT KATHERINE GROUP

Analogy in the Singular Noun

In the development of the Middle English noun declension in the singular, the great majority of forms are historical developments from the Old English noun forms. This is the case in the inflection of the nominative, accusative, and dative singular cases. Old English nominative-accusative stān, dative stāne became Middle English stōn, stone by regular sound change. Similarly, Old English nominative lufu, dative lufe, accusative lufe became love in Middle English. Old English nominative-accusative sunu, dative sunu became son and nominative hunta, dative huntan, accusative huntan became hunte all by regular sound change, OE -a, -u, -e becoming ME -e.¹

It is in the area of the genitive singular inflection that analogical change begins to be significant in the singular paradigm of the noun. The inflectional ending of the genitive singular (OE -es), derived from the strong a-stem masculine and neuter nouns, became ME -es. The resulting -es genitive singular inflection of the a-stem nouns eventually spread by analogy to the other declensions and became the regular genitive singular noun ending in all classes of nouns. Thus, analogy in the singular form of the

noun need only be considered in the genitive case. The following proportion might be used to express the analogical change involved:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{ME } \underline{\text{ston}} : \underline{\text{stones}} = \underline{\text{love}} : X \\ \text{ME } \underline{\text{stun}} : \underline{\text{stunes}} = \underline{\text{love}} : X \\ X = \underline{\text{loves}} \end{array}$$

In the evolution of OE lufu, the expected genitive singular is ME love (OE lufe), which was identical in form with the nominative, accusative, and dative forms. By adopting by analogy the -es strong declension inflection, a useful distinction was created between the genitive singular and the other singular cases of the noun. Soon all genitive singular forms of all classes of Old English nouns would become regularized on the model of the strong -es form.

Similarly:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{ME } \underline{\text{ston}} : \underline{\text{stones}} = \underline{\text{sone}} : X \\ X = \underline{\text{sones}} \quad (\text{ME } \underline{\text{sone}} \text{ is expected.}) \\ \text{ME } \underline{\text{ston}} : \underline{\text{stones}} = \underline{\text{hunte}} : X \\ X = \underline{\text{huntees}} \quad (\text{ME } \underline{\text{hunte}} \text{ is expected.}) \end{array}$$

a-Stem Nouns

In the Saint Katherine Group, there is a regularity of development in the singular forms of the genitives of nouns derived from Old English a-stem nouns both masculine and neuter. The masculine and neuter genitive forms represent the historical development from the -es Old English inflection to Middle English -s or -es:

Masc. OE stānes became ME stones

OE endes became ME endes

Neut. OE limes became ME limes

OE horses became ME horses

Below are some illustrative examples from the Saint Katherine Group of masculine a-stem nouns in the genitive singular. These forms are the regular, historically expected ones in -es which became the analogical models for the other noun classes:

deoules OE dēofles

duden þes deoules lac (St.K., p. 10)

drihtenes OE dryhtenes

þe cum odrihtenes nome (St.M., p. 22)

Examples of neuter a-stem nouns which follow a regular development in the genitive singular are:

wife OE wīfes

of wifes wa (H.M., p. 53)

sweordes OE sweordes

þe bite of sweordes egge (St.K., p. 119)

i-Stem Nouns

Like a-stem nouns, the genitive singular forms of masculine and neuter i-stem nouns follow a regular development because they are inflected like masculine and neuter nouns of the a-stem declension. The Old English i-stem masculine noun form wines became wines in Middle English; neuter speres became speres. An example of an i-stem noun from the Saint Katherine Group which follows the expected historical development is:

flesches OE flâesces

pat beoð flesches lustes (H.M., p. 7)

nd-Stem Nouns

Masculine nouns in -nd also follow the regular historical development from Old English, the genitive singular -es becoming -es. An example of a stem in -nd from the Saint Katherine Group which is historically expected is:

feondes OE fēondes

't feondes egginge (H.M., p. 7)

Analogy does operate quite significantly, however, in the ō-, u-, n-, r-stem nouns and the mutated plurals in the genitive singular inflectional formations. The Old English genitive singular -ŋ, -e, -an should have resulted in Middle English -ŋ, -e, -e(n). The operation of analogy, however, results in a Middle English genitive singular in -es, thus patterning with the masculine and neuter a-stem nouns. Foreign borrowings as well adapt to the a-stem -es inflection. The following section of this chapter will include illustrations from the Saint Katherine Group of the workings of analogy. The percentage of forms and their occurrences, however, will be tabulated in a subsequent chapter.

Ū-Stem Nouns

Among the Ū-stem nouns, the Old English genitive singular ending in -e should have resulted by sound change in a Middle English genitive singular in -e. The following ō-stem nouns from the Saint Katherine Group demonstrate analogical genitive singular forms in -es:

1. culures OE culufre, gen. culfre (also culfran) Anticipated ME culure.
þe halī gast o culures lich (St.M.
p. 19)
2. helles OE hell, gen. helle (ME helle
would be expected.)

helles wulf (St.M., p. 11)

overcumen helles bule belial (St.J.,

p. 55) It is also interesting to

note a form without analogy: gen.sg.

in helle ware (St.M., p. 9)

3. worldes

OE weorold, gen. worulde, ME worlde

þe haued icoren me wordes wruhte

(St.M., p. 21)

n-STEM Nouns

The Old English genitive singular of n-stem nouns in -an should have resulted in a Middle English genitive in -e(n). The genitive singular of weak nouns fell together with the old masculine and neuter strong a-stem declension nouns in -es. The following are the n-stem nouns with analogical genitive singular forms in the Saint Katherine Group:

1. burnes OE burne, gen. burnan also OE burna, gen. burnan, with ME burne expected.

brohte hire to fode bred 't burnes drunch (St.M., p. 8)

The noun was sometimes strong feminine with gen.sg. -e. In any case, the noun represents an analogical adaptation.
2. drakes OE draca, gen. dracan, ME drake
on ane drakes liche (St.M., p. 20, Mack edition) The Cockayne edition, p. 8, has the form drake without analogy.
3. lefdis OE hlæfdig, gen. hlæfdigan, ME lefdi(e).
al þes lefdis licome (St.K., p. 108)

- Note the form without analogy in
purh ure lafdi meidenhad (St.M.,
 p. 15, Cockayne edition)
4. lichomes OE līchama, gen. līchaman,
 ME lichome
purh þe lichomes lust (St.M., p. 3)
5. liunes OE lēo, gen. lēon, originally from
 Lat. leō, leōnis, from Gr. λέων.
 ME liune is the expected form.
leofo me lauerd ut of þe liunes
mud (St.M., pp. 6-7)
6. reues OE gerōfa, gen. gerōfan, ME reue
to þe reues read (St.M., p. 17)
7. schuckes OE scucca, gen. scuccan
hu ich onswerie schule þes schuckes
schireue (St.M., p. 8, Mack edition)
 Cockayne, p. 3, has the form without
 analogy: schucke, the expected ME
 form. In the phrase of þes schucke,
 however, both Mack, p. 20, and
 Cockayne, p. 9, have the form with-
 out analogy.
8. unwilles OE willa, gen. willan, ME unwille
't was sone ihonsald al hire un-
willes (St.J., p. 6) Note the Bodl.
 form unwil.

9. willesOE willa, gen. willan, ME willepat pu me to elewsium willesbiteache (St.J., p. 18)

The form is being used adverbially.

u-Stem Nouns

The Old English genitive singular form ending in -a as in sunu, felda. The genitive inflectional ending -a would have resulted in -e in Middle English as a result of sound change. The operation of analogy, however, resulted in the adoption of the -es genitive singular of the strong a-stem declension. The following u-stem noun with analogical genitive appears in the Saint Katherine Group:

sunnes

OE sunu, gen. sunu, ME sunne

his sunnes spuse (H.M., p. 53)

The form without analogy appears in on his sune rode (St.J., p. 48)

r-Stem Nouns

In Old English, the genitive singular inflection of r-stem nouns could end in -ð and -es as in the case of fâeder, gen. fâeder or fâederes. The operation of analogy in time brought all r-stem nouns under the influence of the strong -es ending. The following r-stem nouns thus perhaps illustrate analogy in the Saint Katherine Group:

1. broðeres OE broðer, gen. broðor, ME broðer
ðu...art me broðeres bone (St.M.,
p. 13)

2. federes OE feder, gen.sg. fâeder, fâederes,
forms with and without an inflec-
tional ending. In Middle English,
forms without the inflection can be
found. In the Saint Katherine
Group, although the gen.sg. -es
predominates, the form without
analogy appears in:
þine feder werkes (St.M., p. 6)
The existence of alternative forms
with an -es inflection probably
facilitated the assimilation of
this noun to the other genitives in
-es.
þe federes wisdom (St.K., p. 31)
mi leoue feaderes freontschipe
(St.J., p. 53)

3. moderes

OE mōdor, gen. mōdor, ME modor

hire foster moderes ahte

(St.M., p. 2)

Mutated Plural Nouns

In Old English, mutated plural nouns formed their genitive singulars sometimes in -es (men, mennes; fēt, fētes), sometimes in the umlaut of the root vowel (burg, byr(i)g). The following mutated plurals in the Saint Katherine Group indicate analogical change to a genitive in -es:

1. burhes OE burg, gen. byrig, byrg, ME burh
for pe burhes neede (St.K., p. 3)
2. nihtes OE neaht, niht, gen. nihte, neahte
ME nihte would be expected.
deies 't nihtes (St.K., p. 50)
'daily and nightly' This form
is an adverbial genitive. Gen.
nihtes developed by analogy with
OE dæges.² Analogy in this par-
ticular form occurred in the Old
English period. The Middle English
form is a development by sound
change.

Miscellaneous Nouns

The following miscellaneous nouns from the Saint Katherine Group represent analogical genitive singular forms in -es:

1. bittres OE biter, adjective
for nis ter nawt bittres, ah is
al batwil (St.K., p. 83)
 The noun form is derived from the adjective.
2. dahedes The noun form is based upon ME verb dajien, from OE dagian.
eode to chirch euche dahedes dei
 (St.J., p. 7)
3. cristenes OE adjective cristen is the source of the noun form.
is pes cristenes godd (St.K., p. 102)
4. helpleses OE adjective suffix -lwas has been affixed to the OE verb helpan.
helpleses heale (St.J., p. 35)
5. sinfules OE adjective sinfulle
't sinfules salue (St.J., p. 65)

Foreign Borrowings

It is primarily in the area of foreign words and proper nouns derived from foreign sources that analogy is most evident. A foreign borrowing enters the language in one basic form without its accompanying paradigm of inflections. The noun then patterns with native words and adopts native inflectional endings. In the case of Old French borrowings, which constitute the greatest number of borrowings in these examples, the Old French genitive case had already given way to a two-case system (nominative and accusative):

OFr. Nom.Sg. murs ans maïstre ber

Acc.Sg. mur an maïstre baron

The Old French genitive case had already been replaced by prepositional constructions.³ Old French and other foreign borrowings which appear in the language of the Saint Katherine Group adopted the -es genitive singular ending of the strong ā-stem declension, thus following the model of the ō-, u-, n-, r-stem declension and the mutated plural native declensions. The foreign nouns with analogical genitive singular forms appearing in the Saint Katherine Group are based upon the analogical proportion:

ME ston: stones = adamantine: X

X = adamantines

Common nouns from foreign sources with analogical genitive singular forms in -es:

1. adamantines OFr. admant, Lat. adamantinus
ha is heardre iheorted pen adaman-
tines stan (H.M., p. 53)
 In the case of this Old French word
 as well as in subsequent genitive
 singular examples based upon Old
 French borrowings, there existed no
 genitive singular form in Old French,
 the construction already having been
 replaced by a prepositional construc-
 tion.
2. beastes OFr. beste, Lat. bestia
into beastes liflade (H.M., p. 33)
3. mereminnes Lat. mare = OHG meriminni
ich drede þ̅ tis dream me dreie
toward deade, as ded mereminnes
 (St.K., p. 69)
4. nurrices OFr. noris(s), nuris(s), Lat.
nŭtrĭre
of nurrices wecches (H.M., p. 53)
5. paraises OFr. paradis, Lat. paradisus
 Gr. paradeisos, from the Persian.
for paraises jeten aren jarewe
iopenet be nu (St.M., p. 12)

o. prisunes

OFr. prisun, Lat. prehensio, prehendere

into dorc hus to prisunes pine

(St.J., p. 31)

Proper nouns from foreign sources with analogical genitive singular forms in -es:

1. Alexandres Gr. fem. of Alexandros, alexein and andr-, andros of Alexandres riches (St.K., p. 4) Einkenkel believes the form is not necessarily translated 'of Alexander' but probably 'of Alexandria.'⁴
2. Aristotles ME nom. Aristotle, Gr. Ἀριστοτέλης 't Aristotles turnes (St.K., p. 40)
3. Babilones Lat. Babylōn, Gr. Βαβυλων, Hebr. Babel babilones folc (H.M., p. 5)
4. Beliales LLat. Belial, Gr. Belial, Hebr. b'liya 'al beaten se þe beaten beliales budeles (St.J., p. 17) Note, however, gen.sg. belial without -es: þes deoules budel belial of helle (St.K., p. 95) The form belial is in apposition to the gen.sg. deoules. Another illustration of a foreign word (French) without analogy is in hir grandame hus (St.M., p. 22)

5. Eleusiuses Gr. Eleusin, Eleusis
wurch elewsiuses wil (St.J., p. 34)
 Bodl. has eleusius wil (p. 35)
6. Esculapies Gr. Asklepios, ME *Esculapie
Esculapies creftes (St.K., p. 40)
7. Feouerreres ME feverer ad. OFr. fevrier,
 Lat. februārius, < febra 'purifi-
 cation
i be Sixtende dei of feouerreres
moned (St.J., p. 79)
8. Galienes Gr. Galen
't Galienes grapes (St.K., p. 40)
9. Homeres Gr. Homērus
Homeres motes (St.K., p. 40)
10. Ierusalemes Llat. Jerusalem, Hierusalem,
 Gr. Ierousalēm, Hebr. Yerūshāla'im
brohtest ham purh iosue into
ierusalemes lond (St.J., p. 33)
11. Iordanes Word of uncertain origin.
i iordanes flum (St.J., p. 41)
12. Israeles Lat. Israhēl, Gr. Israhel, Hebr.
Israel
as pu leaddest israeles leode of
egypte (St.J., p. 33)
israeles folc (St.J., p. 4)

13. Nichomedes Gr. nikē and mēdia
in nichomedes burh (St.J., p. 2)
14. Noees LLat. Noa, Noe, Gr. Nōe, Hebr.
Nōah
in noees flod (St.J., p. 61)
15. Nouembres OFr. Novembre, Lat. November < novem
Nouembres moned (St.K., p. 65)
16. Pharoanes Lat. Pharaō, Pharaon, Gr. Pharaō
of Hebrew origin, par'ōh
pe lauerd pat aleide ham of
pharaones peowdom (St.J., p. 41)
17. Philistiones Lat. Philistio, Gr. Philistio
Philistiones flites (St.K., p. 40)
18. Platunes Lat. Plāto, Plāton, Gr. Platōn
't Platunes bokes (St.K., p. 40)
19. Samueles LLat. Samuel, Gr. Samouēl, Hebr.
Shemuel
per wes i Samueles dei (St.J., p.
61)
20. Sathanesses LLat. Satān, Gr. Satān, Hebr.
Sātān
'Sei, pu Sathanesses sune' (St.K.,
p. 109)
21. Saules L. Saūl, Gr. Saoulos, Hebr. Shā'ul
readest him to rixlen isaules
riche (St.J., p. 63)

22. Simunes Lat. Simon, Gr. Σίμων, Hebr.
Shim'on
purh simunes mud (St.J., p. 41)
23. Syones LLat. Sion, Gr. Σιών, Hebr.
tsiyōn

Analogy in the Plural Noun

I a-Stem Nouns

Masculine

The paradigm of the Old English plural forms of the masculine nouns of the a-declension:

Nom.-Acc. stānas

Gen. stāna

Dat. stānum

The leveling of final unstressed vowels to -e and the change of final -m to -n resulted in the Middle English paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. stones

Gen. stone

Dat. stonem, e(n)

In the nominative-accusative case, no analogy is evident, and the Middle English forms are historical developments from Old English: brides (OE briddas), domes (OE dōmas), flodes (OE flōdas), lustes (OE lustas). In the a-stem masculine nouns, analogy can occur in the genitive and in the dative plural cases.

Analogy in the Genitive Plural

Although the regular ending of the genitive plural is -e (OE -a), the genitive plural sometimes ended in -(e)ne (OE -ena) after the analogy of the n-stem nouns of the weak declension. In some instances in the Saint Katherine Group, genitive plural forms have adopted the -es ending of the nominative-accusative case, a further analogical change leading towards an eventual uniformity of all plural inflections in -es by the end of the Middle English period. The following genitive plural forms with analogical endings appear in the Saint Katherine Group:

1. aldrene OE ealdor, pl. ealdras, gen.pl. ealdra, which should have produced ME gen.pl. aldre, ealdre
ha heold hire aldrene hird wisliche
't warliche (St.K., p. 0)
of hire ealdrene god (St.K., p. 7)
2. cnihtene OE cniht, pl. cnihtas, gen.pl. cnihta, ME cnihte
3. dahene OE daeg, pl. daegas, gen.pl. daega, ME daie
twenti dahene 3ong (St.K., p. 121)
 Genitive of duration of time, adverbial usage.
ut of dahene (St.J., p. 31)
 Genitive with the preposition of

4. engleneOE engel, pl. englas, gen.pl.engla, ME engleþu art englene weole (St.M., p. 11)te luffum cwen englene lefdi

(St.M., p. 14)

While the analogized form englene is quite usual, the historical formengle (OE engla) is also evident:to beon engle euening (H.M., p. 17)Note also Bodl. englene euening

(p. 10)

5. kingeneOE cyning, pl. cyningas, gen.pl.cyninga, ME kingeþ art kingene king (St.M., p. 11)alre kingene king brec nu minebondes (St.M., p. 18)The historical kinge also appears:þu kinge forcudest (St.K., p. 109)6. kingeshu ha nawi ane forsoken kingessunes 't eorles (H.M., p. 65)This is a third possible genitive form of the noun king, being formed analogically on the model of the a-stem -es inflection.7. martirsOE martyr, pl. martyras, gen.pl.martyra (ME martire), ad. Eccl.Lat.martyr, Gr. μάρτυρ

nalde nawt godd leoten his martira
licomes ligger to forleosen (St.K.,
 p. 112)

It is interesting to note that a noun of foreign origin is one of the few illustrations of an analogical -es ending. As was noted earlier, in the genitive singular it was quite common for foreign nouns to form genitive singulars analogically in -es.

8. writeres

OE writere, pl. writeras, gen.pl. writera, from OE verb writan and the suffix -ere (Lat. -arius)
all þeos writeres writes (St.K.,
 p. 40)

It is possible, as Knapp suggests, that the plural in -es has been influenced by the gen.sg. -es.⁵ The form may also have been influenced by nom.-acc. -es of the a-stem masculine nouns. ME writere is the anticipated form.

Analogy in the Dative Plural

The Old English dative plural inflection -um, later -un, -en, -an, were weakened to -en and then to -e in Middle English. In Old English the dative case functioned as an indirect object and operated with specific prepositions, some of which functioned with the accusative and genitive cases as well:

OE prepositions functioning with the dative only:

be, bī, beneopan, from, nōah, of, ongemang,
til, tōforan, widutan

OE prepositions functioning with the accusative and dative:

æt, beforan, behindan, betweōna, butan, for,
fore, gemang, in, mid, ofer, on, uppan, under,
widinnan

OE prepositions functioning with the genitive and dative:

toward

OE prepositions functioning with the accusative, dative, and accusative:

innan, wid

Quirk and Wrenn assert that the accusative case was frequently used to imply "movement or destination in space or time" while the dative was often used when the situation was static.⁶ This distinction is by no means a hard and fast rule, and it is often impossible in Middle English to determine whether

a form following a given preposition is in the dative or accusative case. In the Saint Katherine Group, the problem is to ascertain what remnants of the Old English dative may be present in the text. In the plural of a-stem masculine and neuter nouns, the problem is considerable because forms exist in -es in the nominative-accusative cases as well as with various prepositions. Einkenkel disputes the opinion of Sir F. Madden, who in his Introduction to Layamon's Brut, stated that in the Brut prepositions which formerly governed the dative had changed this case for the accusative.⁷ Einkenkel cites, in his edition of Saint Katherine, many instances of prepositions governing both the accusative and dative cases. Einkenkel's examples, however, are in the singular. In the plural where the accusative and dative forms are identical, the distinction is blurred. What may have occurred is what d'Ardenne describes as a blending of function and of forms of the Old English nominative-accusative and dative cases.⁸ Analogy has taken place, therefore, not merely in the inflectional ending of the dative to -es but in its function as well. The following forms in the Saint Katherine Group used with prepositions represent such a blending of form and function in which analogy has simplified both the inflectional ending and the function. The forms following all prepositions, regardless of any Old English distinction, are identical in inflectional ending to the nominative-accusative plural in -es:

1. arnes OE earn, pl. earmas, dat.pl. earmun, ME arne(n)
bituþe godes arnes (H.M., p. 65)
 OE betwēonan, betwōonum, betweoh
 functioned with the accusative and
 dative cases. Note the usage in Old
 English of the preposition with the
 dative in the Harrowing of Hell:
þu eart frōoh geworden betwynan
eallum oðrum dēadum.⁹
2. barnes OE barm, bearn, pl. barnas, dat.pl. barmun, ME barne(n)
as ha beren þe sawle in hare barnes
 (St.M., p. 22)
 OE in could govern both the dative
 and accusative cases. This parti-
 cular usage does not imply motion;
 the dative case, therefore, seems
 more likely.
3. burdeboldes OE *burhbold, pl. *burhboldas, dat.
 pl. *burhboldum, ME burdebolde(n)
 OE burde and bold
of hire burdeboldes (St.K., p. 9)
toward his buriboldes (St.K., p. 23)
 OE of functioned with the dative case
 while OE tōweard could govern the

4. clades

genitive and dative cases.

OE clād, clādas, dat.pl. cladum,

ME clade(n)

i clades (H.M., p. 61)

OE in governed both the dative and accusative cases. The form following the preposition i is identical to the accusative: rende his clades (H.M., p. 41)

5. clerkes

OE clerc, pl. clercas, dat.pl.

clercum, ME clerke(n), Lat. clericus

to alle þe icudde clerkes (St.K., p. 22)

In Old English, to governed primarily the dative case: Hēr cuōm sē here tō Rēadingum on Westseaxe (Wars of Alfred the Great).¹⁰

6. cnihtes

OE cniht, pl. cnihtas, dat.pl.

cnihtum, ME cnihthe(n)

't biburieden ham deorliche, as hit deþ drihtines cnihtes (St.K., p. 66)

This form is an indirect object which would have been expressed in Old English by the dative.

wið twa hundret enihtes (St.K., p. 88)

of his enihtes (St.J., p. 59)

OE of governed the dative case.

OE wið could govern the accusative, genitive, and dative cases.

7. creftes

OE cræft, pl. cræftas, dat.pl. cræftum, ME crefte(n)

bimong alle his crokinde creftes
(St.K., p. 13)

of alle þe creftes (St.K., p. 27)

wið hare creftes (St.J., p. 05)

OE gemang, wið governed the dative and accusative cases. OE of was

followed by the dative: Ne cōm sē

here after eall ute of þæm setum

(Wars of Alfred the Great).¹¹

8. cwelleres

OE cwellere, pl. cwelleras, dat.pl. cwellerum, ME cwellere(n)

Quoð he to þe cwelleres (St.W., p. 5)

to cleopien upon þe cwelleres
(St.K., p. 107)

OE tō and uppan could govern the dative and accusative cases.

9. dahes

OE dæg, pl. dægas, dat.pl.

dægum, ME dahe(n)

wipin þeos þreo dages (St.K., p. 96)

OE wipinnan could govern the dative and accusative. Since this illustration does not suggest motion, the dative seems more likely.

fedde hire al þe twelf dages
(St.K., p. 89)

This form appears to be an adverbial use of the dative as in OE:

þā wæs hē feowertȳnum dagum aēr
(The Account of the Poet Caëdom).¹²

10. deades

OE dead, pl. deadas, dat.pl.

deadum, ME deade(n)

weren monie martirs weopmen ba ant
wummen to deades mislich idon for
þe nome of drihtin (St.M., p. 1)

OE tō could govern the dative and accusative cases.

11. eaueres

OE eafor, pl. eaforas, dat.pl.

eaforum, ME eauere(n)

he...as eaueres forroteden (H.M., p. 19)

ME as < OE alswā, ealswā, a conjunction being used in Middle English as a preposition in a comparison.

12. engles OE engel, pl. englas, dat.pl. englum, ME engle(n)
mid his eadi engles (St.M., p. 20)
bituhen þe engles (St.M., p. 23)
as is in engles (H.M., p. 61)
 OE mid governed the dative (and sometimes the instrumental). OE betwōnan, in governed the dative and accusative cases.
13. eorles OE eorl, pl. eorlas, dat.pl. eorlum, ME eorle(n)
Hwen ȝe stondeð biforen kinges 't eorles (St.K., p. 31)
 OE beforan could govern the dative and accusative cases.
14. finnes OE fin, pl. finas, dat.pl. finum, ME finne(n)
þe fisches þ̅ i þe flodes fleoted wið finnes (St.M., p. 9)
 OE wið could govern the dative, genitive, and accusative cases.
15. flodes OE flōd, pl. flōdas, dat.pl. flōdum, ME flode(n)
þe fisches þ̅ i þe flodes (St.M., p. 9)
 OE in governed the dative and accusative cases.

10. fuheles OE fugol, pl. fugas, dat.pl. fuglum, ME fuhele(n)
fode to fuheles (St.J., p. 13)
 OE tū governed the dative and accusative cases.
17. ʒimstanes OE gimstān, pl. gimstānas, dat.pl. gimstānum, ME ʒimstane(n)
of ʒimstanes steapre þen is eni steorre (St.K., p. 81)
 OE of governed the dative case.
18. hokeres OE hōcor, pl. hōcoras, dat.pl. hocorum, ME hokere(n)
ha hongī to mede for hire hokeres (St.M., p. 18)
 OE for governed the dative and accusative cases.
19. hornes OE horn, pl. hornas, dat.pl. hornum, ME horne(n)
of þe anhurnde hornes (St.M., p. 7)
 OE of governed the dative case.
20. kinges OE cyning, pl. cyningas, dat.pl. cyningum, ME kinge(n)
keiser of kinges (St.M., p. 4)
Hwen ʒe stondeð biforen kinges 't and eorles (St.K., p.31)
ouer alle kinges (St.J., p. 22)

OE of governed the dative; beforan and ofer, the dative and accusative cases.

21. luftfuheles

OE lufte and fugol, fuglas, fuglum,
ME luftfuhele(n)

fode to wilde deor 't to luft-
fuheles (St.K., p. 112)

OE tū governed the dative and accusative cases.

22. lustes

OE lust, pl. lustas, dat.pl. lustum,
ME luste(n)

of sprekes of lustes (St.M., p. 15)
to licomliche lustes (H.M., p. 5)

OE of governed the dative while tū could govern both dative and accusative cases. The inflectional ending in -es following a preposition is identical to the accusative: as icudd kempen ouercomen and akasten hare preo cunne fan, be feont ant teos wake world, ant hare licomes lustes (St.M., p. 1)

23. mantles

OE mentel, pl. mentlas, dat.pl. mentlum, ME mantle(n)

under hare mantles (St.M., p. 7)

OE under could govern both dative and accusative cases.

24. martirs

OE martyr, pl. martyras, dat.pl. martyrum, ME martire(n), ad. Eccl.

Lat. martyr

wið alle martyrs (St.J., p. 49)

OE wið governed the dative, accusative, and genitive cases. There is, in addition, OFr. martyr, which d'Ardenne believes was the immediate influence on the plural -es form.

25. meistres

OE mǣister, pl. mǣisteras, dat.pl. mǣisterum, ME meistre(n),

Lat. magister, magis 'more'

of alle þe meistres (St.K., p.27)

There is also OFr. meistre; the form, therefore, may have been influenced by analogy with the Old English dative with the preposition of or by the Old French form.

26. neils

OE nǣgel, pl. nǣglas, dat.pl.

nǣglum, ME neile(n)

blod barst ut et te neiles (St.M., p. 19)

wið irnene neiles (St.K., p. 105)

OE æt generally governed the dative when indicating time, place, or circumstance: And eft hē ongan hī æt pære sære læran. (St. Mark,

Chapter IV, 1).¹⁴ æt could, however, sometimes be followed by the accusative. wið could govern the dative, accusative, and genitive.

27. pelles OE pæll, pell, pl. pællas, dat.pl. pællum, ME pelle(n), Lat. pallium wið purpres pelles (St.J., p. 9)
OE wið could govern the dative, accusative, and genitive cases.
28. reames OE hrōam, pl. hrōamas, dat.pl. hrōamum, ME reame(n) wið reowfule reames (St.K., p. 10)
OE wið could govern the dative, genitive, and accusative cases.
29. sprunges OE spring, pl. springas, dat.pl. springum, ME sprunge(n), OE verb springan an of þe sprunges (St.J., p. 51)
OE of was followed by the dative.
30. stones OE stān, pl. stānas, dat.pl. stānum, ME stone(n) of stockes ant of stones (St.M., p. 1)
mid deorewurde stones (St.K., p. 82)

- OE of and mid governed the dative case (though mid might sometimes be used with the instrumental case.)
31. teames OE tēam, pl. tēamas, dat.pl. tēamum, ME teame(n)
of gastliche teames (H.M., p. 57)
 OE of governed the dative case.
32. teares OE tēar, pl. tēaras, dat.pl. tēarum, ME teare(n)
in teares (H.M., p. 23)
 OE in could govern the dative or accusative case.
33. peawes OE wa-stem pēaw, pl. pēawas, dat.pl. pēawum, ME peawe(n)
wið alle gode peawes (H.M., p. 63)
of alle gode peawes (H.M., p. 63)
 OE of governed the dative, but wið might be followed by the dative, genitive, or accusative cases.
34. unpeawes OE un-pēaw, see pēaw above
wið odre unpeawes (H.M., p. 23)
aȝeines unpeawes (H.M., p. 57)
 OE ongēan governed the dative and accusative while wið could take the genitive as well.

35. pohtes OE pōht, pl. pōhtas, dat.pl. pōhtum, ME pohte(n)
of fleschliche pohtes (H.M., p. 5)
mid misliche pohtes (H.M., p. 15)
 OE of and mid governed the dative case.
a, ein unwreste pohtes (St.M., p. 14)
 OE ongūan governed the dative and accusative cases.
36. preates OE prēat, pl. prēatas, dat.pl. prēatum, ME preate(n)
of þes preates riht noht (St.J., p. 27)
 OE of governed the dative case.
37. windes OE wind, pl. windas, dat.pl. windum, ME winde(n)
beoð abuuen wið þe windes (St.M., p. 17)
 OE wið could govern the accusative, genitive, and dative cases.
38. wisdomes OE wīsdōm, pl. wīsdōmas, dat.pl. wīsdōmum, ME wisdome(n)
in alle wittes of worldliche wisdomes wisest on worlde (St.K., p.27)
 OE of governed the dative case.
39. wopes OE wōp, pl. wōpas, dat.pl. wōpum, ME wope(n), OE verb wēpan

wid bittre wopes (H.M., p. 61)

OE wid governed the genitive, dative, and accusative cases.

40. wulues

OE wulf, pl. wulfas, dat.pl

wulfum, ME wulue(n)

as lomb mit wed wulues (St.M., p. 3)

OE mid governed the dative case.

One noun occurs with a plural form in -es and also an unchanged zero plural:

had OE hād, pl. hādas, dat.pl. hādum,
ME hade(n)

in preo had (St.J., p. 79)

of þes preo hat (H.M., p. 33)

These forms seem to be uninflected on the order of the neuter a-stem noun, or may be, as d'Ardenne suggests, the syntactic use of the singular as plural with numerals.¹⁵

hades

This historical form for the nominative-accusative plural (OE hādas) also occurs with the preposition in which governed the dative and accusative cases. in preo hades (St.M., p. 11) contrasts with the above in preo had. In both cases analogy appears to be operating following the preposition in.

An interesting case is the form sides:

sides

OE sĭd, pl. sĭdas, dat.pl. sĭdum,
ME side(n)

't alle þe burhmen seouen sides
brihtre (St.K., p. 82)

In Old English, the dative would probably have been used: seofon sĭdum; therefore, sides is an analogical form.

side

't toc on toward þeos fif side tene
to talien o þis wise (St.K., p. 38)

This form appears to be, as d'Ardenne suggests, a survival of the Old English -um of the dative plural which she cites as existing in a few adverbial expressions with side, siden.¹⁰ This form, which is not analogical, provides an interesting contrast with sides.

One form occurs with an unchanged zero plural on the analogy of monosyllabic neuter nouns with $-\frac{1}{2}$ plural or represents a singular form being used as a plural:

mud

OE mud, pl. mudas, dat.pl. mudum,

ME mudes, mude(n)

pen alle men mahten wið hare mud

munnan 't tellen wið tungen

(St.K., p. 83)

OE wið governed the dative, accusative, and genitive. Note the feminine n-stem tungen which retains its inflection while mud does not.

A certain number of masculine nouns indicate a shift of class to a weak form on the analogy of the n-declension with inflectional endings in -en:

1. aldren

OE ealdor, pl. ealdras, ME aldres
þes alre schafte schuppent schawde
ure eareste aldren, Adam 't Eue
 (St.K., p. 41)

This form is an indirect object.

The weak ending in -en is also evident in the accusative case:

't sweamed meast his ealdren on ende
 (H.M., p. 47)

þet gladien muchel þe aldren (H.M.,
 p. 37)

Analogy seems to have taken place in all cases of the plural including the dative although the dative form aldren might possibly be a survivor of OE ealdrum.

2. hearmen

OE hearm, pl. hearmas, ME hearmes
to don hire schome 't hearmen
 (H.M., p. 23)

Analogy has taken place after the weak declension model.

3. hirden

OE hierde, pl. hierdas, ME hirdes
to þe hirden (St.J., p. 03)

Although hirden may be a survivor of OE hierdum, it may, as seems more likely, represent a shift from a strong to a weak inflection by analogy because all other a-stem masculine nouns following the preposition in have analogical endings in -es, not -en.

4. ploiueren

OE plegere, pl. plegeras, v. plegian, ME ploiueres

wid swucche ploiueren (St.J., p. 57)

Since all other masculine a-stem nouns in the Saint Katherine Group have inflectional endings in -es when following the preposition wid, the form may indicate an analogical shift, or may be the result of sound change (OE-um).

5. schuldren

OE sculdor, pl. sculdru

ibroken ham be schuldren (St.J., p. 49)

behinden hare schuldren (St.M., p. 22)

scher hire bi be schuldren (St.M., p. 22)

This form is of uncertain classification. The noun is usually strong

masculine, the usual nominative-accusative form being sculdru (possibly from an older dual). schuldren represents an analogical shift to a weak declension. However, a weak plural sculdran also exists. A weak form schuldren is one of the rare instances of an n-plural in Havelock the Dane.¹⁷

a-Stem NounsNeuter

Paradigm of the Old English neuter plural a-stem declension:

	<u>Long Radical</u>		<u>Short Radical</u>
Nom.-Acc.	<u>word</u>	Nom.-Acc.	<u>limu</u>
Gen.	<u>worda</u>	Gen.	<u>lima</u>
Dat.	<u>wordum</u>	Dat.	<u>limum</u>

In words with a long radical syllable, the nominative-accusative plural form had three possible courses of evolution: to remain as an unchanged- $\frac{1}{2}$ plural, to adopt by analogy the -es ending of the masculine a-stem nouns, or to adopt by analogy the -en ending of the weak n-declension. Thus, OE word would evolved to ME word, wordes, or worden. In words with the short radical syllable, the nominative-accusative plural inflectional ending -u leveled to -e by regular sound change. The form lime, leome could then follow the same possible patterns as the nouns with a long radical syllable: to adopt by analogy the endings of the masculine a-stem in -es or the weak inflection in -en. In the genitive plural case, the -a ending leveled to -e by regular sound change, and the resulting genitive ending could be -e (OE -a) or analogical endings: -ene by analogy with the n-declension or -es by analogy with the masculine declension. In the dative plural, the endings might be -en, either a historical form derived from the dative -um

or an analogical formation based upon the weak declension. The dative plural could end, in addition, in -es, formed by analogy with the a-stem masculine nouns in -es.

Some neuter nouns maintain an unchanged plural. These nouns are all of the long radical syllable type. OE bearn, nom.-acc.pl. bearn, results in the Saint Katherine Group as an unchanged plural noun as would be anticipated: bern, plural bern. In the dative plural, the OE -um inflection as in bearnum, which evolved to ME bearne(n) by regular sound change, has sometimes completely disappeared and an uninflected plural appears:

1. bern

OE bearn, pl. bearn, dat.pl. bearnum

The nominative form appears with the unchanged plural: ne beo iboren nan misbilimet bern (St.M., p. 20)

In an illustration following the preposition of, which in Old English an unchanged plural also occurs:

þ ha moste beon an of þe moder bern

(St.M., p. 2)

The word bern in the phrase moder bern may also represent a singular form being used with a collective significance. An interesting contrast is the phrase of bearne (H.M., p. 49) with an inflectional marker.

2. neb

OE nebb, pl. nebb, dat.pl. nebbum

In the accusative case, the - ϕ plural inflection is retained:

na ma þen beastes þat dumbe neb

habbed (H.M., p. 35)

If Sievers is right in his statement that OE nebb is a short radical stem with a plural in -u,¹⁸ then this form would represent a change of class to an unchanged - ϕ plural, an unusual development for short stem radicals. Wright's classification of nebb as a long radical stem with a - ϕ plural fits the pattern of other similar neuter illustrations.¹⁹

3. streon

OE strēon, pl. strēon, dat.pl.

strēonum, ME streone(n)

of inker streon (H.M., p. 5)

OE of governed the dative case which would have resulted in ME streone(n).

Monosyllabic nouns with a long stem syllable, denoting collectivity, weight, measure, and time, and also the names of certain domestic animals generally remain uninflected in the plural just as in Old English (dēor, folk, pund, schēp, swin, jer):²⁰

1. deor

OE dēor, pl. dēor

In the nominative case: be wurmes

ant te wilde deor þ...libbed

after lahen (St.M., p. 10) and

in the accusative: ich schal leote
wilde deor to loken (St.J., p. 13),

the ϕ plural remains evident.

Following the preposition of, which governed the dative and accusative cases, a ϕ plural occurs: fode to
wilde deor (St.K., p. 112). The expected dative would be ME deore(n),

OE dēorum

2. schep

OE schep, pl. schep

In the accusative, the ϕ plural

is still employed: be riche

reoderen 't schep...brohten to

lake (St.K., p. 5)

Nouns of the long radical syllable type can undergo analogical change when forming plurals. The nominative-accusative plural in- ϕ might adopt by analogy the -es ending of the masculine a-stem declension. The dative plural inflection OE -um, ME -e(n) was replaced by an analogical plural in -es on the model of the analogical ending of the nominative-accusative plural forms. The ending in -es is also evident in forms following prepositions which would have governed the dative in Old English.

Analogy can be observed in the following neuter a-stem nouns in the nominative, accusative, and dative cases:

1. beddes OE bedd, pl. bedd, dat.pl. beddum,
ME bedde(n)
in hare beddes (St.M., p. 16)
OE in could govern the dative and
accusative cases.
2. bodies OE bodig, pl. bodig, ME bodie
The analogical plural in -es is
evident in the nominative case:
nis hit ϕ te bodies neren ifatte
i þe niht (St.K., p. 112)
and in the accusative case:
't nomen hare bodies (St.K., p. 66);
't leauen hare bodies (St.K., p. 112).
3. bordes OE bord, pl. bord, ME bord
The analogical plural in -es is

- evident in the nominative: te
bordes of þis bat bursten to
brehen (St.J., p. 79)
4. brudlakes OE brȳdlāc, brȳdu and lāc, pl.
lāc, ME lak
on hare brudelakes (H.M., p. 13)
 OE on could govern the dative and
 accusative cases.
5. gomenes OE gamen, pl. gamen, ME gomen
 In the nominative case the analo-
 gical plural can be seen: his un-
hende gomenes (H.M., p. 45)
6. heowes OE hēow, hīw, ME heow, OE pl. in
 -þ and -u, dat.pl. hēowum, ME heowe(n)
stanes of misliche heowes (St.K.,
 p. 82)
 OE of governed the dative case.
7. hweoles OE hwēol, pl. hwēol, ME hweol
 The analogical plural in -es is
 evident in the nominative: al þe
hweoles beon þurhspitet (St.K., p.
 96): with the preposition wið:
wið þe hweoles swa (St.K., p. 96);
 and with the preposition on: o
fowr hweoles (St.J., p. 7)
8. lakes OE lāc, pl. lāc, dat.pl. lācum,
 ME lake(n)
 Analogy is present following wið:

- wið misliche lakes (St.K., p. 23)
9. leores OE hl̥ōr, pl. hl̥ōr, dat.pl. hl̥ōrum, ME leore(n)
ah mit se swiðe lufsome leores ha
leien (St.K., p. 65)
 OE mid governed the dative case.
10. liches OE līc, pl. līc, ME lich
 Analogy is seen in the accusative:
mid his word awahte þe liflese
liches (St.K., p. 48)
11. londe OE land, pl. land, dat.pl. landum,
 ME londe(n)
of alle þe londe (St.J., p. 13)
 OE of governed the dative.
12. motes OE gemōt, pl. gemōt, ME mot
 Analogy can be seen in the nomina-
 tive: Homeres motes (St.K., p. 40)
13. werkes OE weorc, pl. weorc, dat.pl. weor-
cum, ME werke(n)
 Analogical -es appears in the accu-
 sative: ant harmed hare werkes
 (St.M., p. 16) and with after (OE
æfter with the dative: after ower
werkes (St.J., p. 75)
14. wittes OE witt, pl. witt, dat.pl. wittum
 (-ja)
 In the accusative: halt...hire fif
wittes (H.M., p. 19) and following

OE on analogical endings occur:

in alle wittes (St.K., p. 27)

15. wiues

OE wīf, pl. wīf, dat.pl. wīfum,

ME wiue(n)

Analogized plurals are present in

the nominative: in hwuch peodom

wiues beon (H.M., p. 53); in the

accusative: for we ne edwited

naut wiues hare weanen (H.M., p.

53); and with the preposition OE

wið: wið alle þe alde wiues

(H.M., p. 51)

10. wundres

OE wundor, pl. wundor, ME wundre

Analogy is evident in the nomina-

tive: iwurden twa wundres (St.K.,

p. 121), and in the accusative:

wrahte þeos wundres (St.K., p. 54)

Nouns of the short radical syllable type undergo analogical changes when forming their plurals. The Old English inflectional ending -u became -e in Middle English by regular sound change, and some of these nouns followed the pattern of masculine a-stem nouns by forming the nominative-accusative plural in -es. Old English dative -um was replaced by an analogical ending in -es in noun forms following prepositions.

The following forms from the Saint Katherine Group are neuter a-stem nouns of the short radical syllable type with analogical endings in -es:

1. cundes

OE gecynd, pl. gecyndu, -o,

ME cunde

Analogy can be seen in the accusative: as þah þe almihti ne mahte þeos twa misliche cundes gederin togederes (St.K., p. 46)

2. flites

OE geflit, pl. geflitu, ME flite

Analogy occurs in the accusative: Philistiones flites (St.K., p. 40)

3. godes

OE god, pl. godu, dat.pl. godum,

ME gode(n)

To be differentiated from the a-stem masculine noun referring to the Christian rather than to a pagan deity. Analogy appears in the

nominative: as þah ha godes
weren (St.K., p. 14); in the
 accusative: bute ʒef þu þe tim-
luker do þe in þe ʒeinturn 't
ure godes grete (St.K., p. 104);
 and with to and by, both of which
 governed the dative in Old English:
to ure liufende godes (St.K., p. 92)
by þe ilke godes (St.J., p. 11)

4. meidenes

OE māegden, māeden, pl. māedenu,
 ME meidene

Analogical -es endings appear in
 the nominative: Ah þe meidenes
alre meast...letten teares treond-
lin (St.K., pp. 115-116); with
 the accusative: heaned and hatied
þe meidenes (St.M., p. 17); and
 with the prepositions of, bimong,
to, but:

þe murie of meidnes (St.K., p. 34)
bimong þine meidnes (St.K., p. 119)
ʒeued read to meidenes (H.M., p.
 27)

nane folhin him...but meidenes
ane (H.M., p. 31)

5. ueeles

OE yfel, pl. yfelu, ME ueele

Analogy in -es is evident in the accusative: þ healdē alle uueles (St.K., p. 122)

6. weteres

OE wāeter, pl. wāeteru, dat.pl. wāeterum, ME werere(n)

Analogy occurs in the nominative:

þe wudes ant te wettres buhed þe ant beied (St.M., p. 10); in the

accusative: i þe muð healden flowinde wettres (St.K., p. 33); and

following the prepositions wið

and mit:

wið halwende wettres (St.K., p. 64)

mit teos ilke wettres (St.M., p. 19)

7. wederes

OE weder, pl. wederu, ME wedere

The accusative form untidi wederes (St.K., p. 118) illustrates analogical formation.

8. writes

OE writ, pl. writu, ME write

Nominative: alle þeos writeres

writes (St.K., p. 40); and accu-

sative: 't sende iseelede writes

(St.K., p. 21) are examples of

analogized inflections in -es.

Several long and short radical syllable nouns have developed analogically along the lines of the weak n-declension so that the nominative-accusative endings -Ń, -u in Old English have become -en by analogy. The dative -um would have developed by regular sound change to -e(n) in Middle English; therefore, it is difficult to ascertain whether certain forms in -en following prepositions which in Old English governed the dative are analogical changes to the weak declension or the results of sound change alone.

The following neuter a-stem nouns have analogized endings in -en:

1. beoden OE gebeod, pl. gebeoda, ME beode
 Analogical plurals in -en can be observed in the nominative: tine beoden beođ þe treowliche itudet (St.M., p. 21); in the accusative: as ha beđ hire beoden (St.M., p. 8). Following of and in similar -en endings are evident: i þin eadi beoden (St.M., p. 21); of þine beoden (St.M., p. 12).
2. cneon OE cnēo, pl. cnēo, cnēowu, dat.pl. cnēowum, ME cneone(n)
 A weak analogical plural is evident in the accusative: smat smertliche adun hire cneon (St.

M., p. 9); and with the preposition to: to his curnede cneon (St.M., p. 10).

The form cneone in on hire cneone (St.M., p. 20) appears to be a remnant of OE cn̄owum.

3. reoderen

OE hrīder, pl. hrīderu, ME reodere
Analogical plural in -en is evident in the accusative: be riche reoderen 't schep...brochten to lake (St.K., p. 5)

4. strunden

OE strand, pl. strand, ME strund
An analogical -en inflection can be seen in the nominative: te milc strunden pat te of striked (H.M., p. 49)

5. stucchen

OE stycce, pl. stycu, ME stucche
Nominative: ruten forð wið swuche rune be stucchen of baðe (St.K., p. 100). With to: tohwiderin to stucchen (St.K., p. 99), the -en can be analogical or a remnant of OE stycum.

6. wepnen

OE wāpen, pl. wēpen, wāpnū,
ME wepne

Analogical plural in -en is in
the nominative:

mine wepnen aren allunge awarpen

(St.M., p. 16)

Some forms of uncertain classification occur, forms which only appear following prepositions:

1. breosten OE br̄ost, pl. br̄ost, dat.pl. br̄ostum, ME breoste(n) of pine bare breosten (St.K., p. 104) as if in...clenneste bresten (H.M., p. 61)

Since the only forms of breosten occurring in the Group are with prepositions: of, which in Old English governed the dative; in, which governed the dative and accusative, it is difficult to ascertain whether breosten is a historical form from OE dat.pl. br̄ostum or an analogical form in the weak n-stem endings. The likelihood is that the noun represents a shift of class to the weak declension, and that the nominative form, if it appeared in the texts, would also be breosten since there seems to be no evidence in the texts of neuter nouns in -en following prepositions in which the entire para-

digm is not also in analogical -en. The forms with prepositions seem to follow the pattern of the nominative whether the switch is to a strong -es or a weak -en ending.

2. hondlen

OE handle, pl. handle < hand
turnen þ hweol wið hondlen
(St.J., p.59)

Since the only form of this noun occurs with the preposition wið (which would govern the dative, accusative, and genitive), this noun is patterning like breosten and it is not possible to determine the exact analogical influences. See preceding entry.

3. tintrohen

OE tintreg, pl. tintregu, dat.pl. tintregum, ME tintrohe(n)
wið stronge tintreohen (St.K., p. 4)

Accusative: Ah þu bipenche me
anam teonen 't tintreohen (St. K., p. 93)

The noun can be both a strong neuter and also a weak masculine; therefore,

the -en ending is of uncertain origin, derived from sound change or from analogical shift.

Several nouns of the neuter a-stem declension have forms which represent a transitional phase in the development of the plural forms. These forms appear with both an uninflected plural and an analogical -es plural as well:

1. ban

OE bān, pl. bān, dat.pl. bānum,
ME bane(n)

oder eni of pine ban beoð (St.M.,
p. 21)

OE of governed the dative case.

banes

Analogous -es endings appear in the nominative: pine banes akeð þe (H.M., p. 43) and in the accusative: bursten hire banes (St.J., p. 59).

It is interesting to note a form banes following the preposition of which contrasts with ban (above entry): sete of þe lutle banes (St.K., p.122). OE of governed the dative which would have been OE bānum; therefore, analogy is operating.

2. ȝerOE gēar, pl. gēar, dat. pl. gēarum,ME ȝere(n)

Indicating duration of time:

ha moni ȝer hefden maket (St.M.,
p. 11)feddest ham fourti ȝer ipe wilder-
nesse (St.J., p.61)In Old English, duration of time
with the noun gēar was expressed
with both the dative and accusative.Accusative: ond hē rīcsode V gēar
(Wars of Alfred the Great).²¹Dative: ac hīe wāeron micle swīpor
gebrocde on pāem prīm gēarum
(Wars of Alfred the Great).²²ȝer is an illustration of a mono-
syllabic long stem syllable denot-
ing time functioning with an un-
inflected plural.ȝeresAnalogical formations in -es in
the accusative: pa ha hefde of elde
fiftene ȝeres (St.M., p. 2); and
following of: swide ȝung of ȝeres
(St.K., p. 6). OE of governed the
dative which would have been gēarum.

3. pingOE ping, pl. ping, ME ping

The historical uninflected plural is evident in the nominative:

alle heouenliche ping...buhed þe

(St.M., p. 8) and accusative:

þu wrahtest...alle worldliche ping

(St.M., p.9). ping is also used in several cases following prepositions.

Bodl. has pinge < OE dat.pl. pingum:

ouer alle pinge (H.M., p. 14).

pinges

Analogical forms in -es are evident in the nominative, accusative, and following prepositions:

alle cwike pinges cwakied þer

aþeines (St.M., p. 9)

Nis buten an godd...þ al þe world

wrahte 't alle worldliche pinges

(St.K., p. 20)

towart unnette pinges (St.J., p. 45)

bimong eordliche pinges (H.M., p.

15). Bodl. has pinge (p. 14) <

OE dat.pl. pingum. The uninflec-

ted ping occurs seventeen times

while the analogical plural pinges

appears eight times.

4. wordOE word, pl. word, ME word

The historical uninflected plural occurs in both the nominative and accusative cases:

Ich herde eft þeos word (St.K., p. 25)

wordes

Analogy has taken place in all cases and following prepositions:

't witti 't wise wordes hit weren (St.K., p. 16)

ah wordes þu hauest inohe (St.K., p. 26)

of þeos wordes (St.M., p.4)

The analogical form wordes has twenty-two occurrences as compared with word which appears only twice.

One noun demonstrates a two-way shift: -en ending on the analogy of the weak n-declension and an uninflected plural:

heafdenOE hēafod, pl. hēafdu, dat.pl.hēafdum, ME heafde(n)

her of hare heafden (St.K., p. 65)

The form appears only once and with the preposition of, which governed the dative in Old English. The -en inflectional ending is probably

analogical, but it is not possible
to entirely overlook the influence
of sound change from OE dat.pl.

hēafdum.

heauet

ah hudden hare heauet (St.M., p. 7)

Uninflected plural.

Three nouns form plurals which have shifted in two directions: to an -es strong inflection and to an -en weak inflection:

1. ȝetes

OE geat, pl. gatu, -o, -a, geatu,
Analogical plural in -es is evident in the nominative: ant heou-
ene ȝetes opened (St.M., p. 6)
With widuten which governed the
dative in Old English, analogical
-es is evident in the form burh-
ȝetes: drohen hire widuten þe
burhȝetes (St.K., p. 108)

ȝeten

paraises ȝeten aren ȝarewe iopenet
(St.M., p. 12)

This nominative form is analogical
in the direction of the weak -en
declension.

2. deoueles

OE dēofol, pl. dēofol, dēoflu,
ME deouele

Nominative in -es: And te deoueles
hoppen 't kenchinde beaten honden
togederes (H.M., p. 23)

deouelen

-en inflections in the nominative:
hit beoð deouelen (St.K., p. 28);
accusative: ne ne dredest nowðer
deað ne cwike deoflen (St.J., p.
55);

dative: þ alle deoflen is bitaht
 (St.J., p. 13); and with several
 prepositions. Old English dēofol
 had both masculine and neuter forms;
 therefore, only nominative-accusa-
 tive plurals in -en are definite
 examples of analogical change.

3. limes

OE lim, pl. limu, leomu, ME lime
of limes (St.J., p. 21)

OE of governed the dative case.

limen

Analogical endings in -en appear
 in the vocative: 'dođ' quod ha
'deofles limen' (St.J., p. 27);
 the accusative: hered 't hersumed
...leomen buten liue (St.K., p. 13);
 and with the prepositions wiđ, ouer,
in, and of: e.g. ouer al pine limen
 (St.M., p. 13).

In the genitive plural, the majority of forms in the Saint Katherine Group are historically developed from Old English: breoste (OE brēosta), meidne (OE māegdena), pinge (OE pinga), wundre (OE wundra). One genitive form folkene (OE folca): i þe halī gast folkene floure (St.J., p. 11) is an analogical shift to a weak genitive plural ending -ene (OE -ena). In addition to the genitive form meidene, historically developed from OE māegdena, the form meidenes also appears, an analogical construction after the analogy of masculine a-stem nouns: widowene parant and meidenes mede (St.M., p. 8). The historical genitive meidene occurs six times, and the analogical meidenes, only once.

In Old English, the preposition purh governed the genitive case. In the Saint Katherine Group, the preposition now seems to follow the analogical endings which the other cases have adopted:

purh wundes þ he wrahte (St.K., p. 43)

purh his wundri werkes (St.K., p. 47)

II ō-Stem Nouns

Feminine

Old English paradigm of the ō-stem plural noun:

Nom.-Acc.	<u>tala</u> , <u>-e</u>
Gen.	<u>tala</u> , <u>-ena</u>
Dat.	<u>talum</u>

The nominative-accusative endings in -a, -e evolved by sound change to -e in Middle English. The influence of analogy resulted in a nominative-accusative plural in -es after the masculine declension or -en after the weak declension. In late Old English, both the historical genitive form in -e (OE -a) and a weak ending -ene (OE -ena) after the analogy of the n-stems appear. The influence of analogy and also, perhaps, of the evolution of the dative in -um, resulted in dative forms in both -es and -en. It is not until quite late in the Middle English period that the inflectional ending -es became dominant in all plural cases in the ō-stem feminine declension. It is true that the strong feminine nouns had already begun to take the -es plural in Northumbrian in the late Old English period and regularly formed their plural in -e(s) in Chaucer, but even as late as the fourteenth century, southern dialects mostly had -en after the analogy of the n-declension. However, the plural in these dialects soon followed the pattern of the strong masculine declension and ended in -es.²³

In the Saint Katherine Group, ū-stem nouns reflect

two distinct developments: many of the nouns have adopted by analogy the -es endings of the masculine declension in all cases and following all prepositions; a greater percentage of \bar{a} -stem nouns, however, have adopted the ending -en of the weak declension, also an analogical change.

The following forms have changed by analogy with the masculine -es inflectional ending. In these illustrations, the -es has become the ending in all cases and in all instances following prepositions, regardless of the case governed in Old English:

1. eawles OE ǣl, al, eal, pl. ǣla, -e,
dat.pl. ǣlum, ME nom.pl. eawle,
ME dat.pl. eawle(n)
wið eawles of irne (St.K., p. 108)
OE wið could govern the dative,
accusative, or genitive case.
2. grapes OE grap, pl. grapa, -e, ME grape
Analogical -es is evident in the
nominative: 't Galienes grapes
(St.K., p. 40)
3. hestes OE hæs, pl. hæsa, -e, ME heste
Analogical -es can be seen in the
accusative:
ant halt tine hestes (St.M., p. 9)
halded his heastes (St.K., p. 87)
halde 't heie his halswunde heastes
(St.K., p. 12)
4. hwiles OE hwīl, pl. hwīla, -e, ME hwile
ich leote oder hwiles a cleane mon
(St.M., p. 13)
The concept of 'at some time,' 'at

another time' would probably have been expressed in Old English by the dative hwīlum:
monað, ge hwīlum twēgen (The Voyages of Othere and Wulfstan);²⁴
hwīlum word be word, hwīlum angit of angiete (Alfred's Preface to the Cura Pastoralis).²⁵

5. runes

OE rūn, pl. rūne, ME rune

Nalde ha nane ronnes ne nane luue

runes bearnin ne lustnen (St.K.,

p. 7) This sentence employs the

form runes in two distinct meanings:

ronnes 'love poem'

runes 'secret mystery'

(Royal has songes for ronnes).

þah þine runes derne beon (St.M.,

p. 20)

in alle mine dearne runes (St.K.,

p. 29)

Several ū-stem nouns have changed by analogy after the weak n-declension. In the following illustrations, -en has become the ending in the nominative-accusative cases after the analogy of the weak declension. In all instances following prepositions, regardless of the case governed in Old English, the ending is also -en:

1. blissen OE blis, pl. blise, dat.pl. blisun,
ME blisse, dat.pl. blisse(n)
þu schalt buggen 't bliȝoten þe
endelese blissen (St.K., p. 79)
for þis swifte pine...blissen
buten ende (St.K., p. 107)
to blissen buten wa (St.M., p. 23)
2. earewen OE earh, pl. earha, -e, ME earewe
schoted niht 't dai hise earewen
(H.M., p. 21)
3. earmden OE hearm, earmdu, pl. hearma, -e,
earmda, -e, ME earmde
hu moni earmden anan awakened þer-
wið (H.M., p. 49)
to se moni earmden (H.M., p. 9)
þeos 't oðre armden þat of wedlac
awakened (H.M., p. 51)
4. fulden OE fyld, pl. fylde, dat.pl. fyldum,
ME fulde, fulde(n)
fleod flesches fulden (St.M., p. 13)

- of fleschliche fulden (H.M., p. 13)
from fleschliche fulden (H.M., p. 5)
5. lahen OE lagu, pl. laga, -e, dat.pl. lagum, ON *lagu, ME lahe, dat.pl. lahe(n)
we witen wel þ ure lahen...hefde lahe (St.K., p. 17)
leafde hire ealdrene lahen (St.J., p. 5)
libbed efter þe lahen (St.M., p. 10)
of ower lahelesse lahen (St.J., p. 22)
6. leoden OE lōda, pl. lōda, -e, ME leode
'me schulen clepian, quod ha, 'eadi, alle leoden' (H.M., p. 63)
7. meden OE mēd, pl. mēda, -e, dat.pl. mēdum, ME mede, mede(n)
þe meden þ ha moni ,er hefden imaket (St.M., p. 13)
't hauest ham bihaten...kinewurde meden (St.K., p. 36)
8. sahen OE sagu, pl. saga, -e, dat.pl. sagum, ME sahē, dat.pl. sahē(n)

- sete, Iesu, swucche sahen i mi
muđ (St.K., p. 32)
of pine sullich sahen (St.K., p.
20)
9. sawlen OE sāwel, sāwol, pl. sāwla, ME
sawle
Engles 't sawlen...ahten 't mah-
ten endin purh cunde (St.K., p.
15)
ant te unseli sawlen sunken to
helle (St.J., p. 79)
10. schomen OE sceamu, pl. sceamu, -e, ME
schome
teonen polien 't gromen 't schomen
(H.M., p. 9)
11. seonewen OE seonu, pl. seonuwa, ME seonewe
ant siđ þe alle pine seonewen (St.
M., p. 7)
Some weak forms of this noun do
occur which may have influenced
the -en inflectional endings.
12. sihden OE sihđ, pl. sihđa, -e, ME sihde
ha hefden isehen sihden of heou-
ene (St.K., p. 85)
for sihden þ ich iseo (St.M., p.
16)

13. sunnen OE synn, pl. synna (ǰŷ-stem),
ME sunne
alle sone hare sunnen for}euene
(St.M., p. 20)
ich salue him his sunnen (St.M., p.
21)
to schrift of his sunnen (St.M., p.
15)
siked[†] ofte for his sunnen (St.J., p.
75)
14. unlahen OE un and lagu, pl. lage, ME lahe
leaued[†] over unlahen (St.J., p. 73)
15. winnen
(wunnen) OE wynn, pl. wynna, ME winne
Nominative: þe weolen ant te
wunnen (St.J., p. 11)
ant to eche wunnen icrunet to
criste (St.M., p. 1)
i þe wunnen 't te weolen (St.K., p.
83)
of heouenriches wunnen (St.J., p.
24)
wið alle...sordliche wunnen (H.M.,
p. 65)
16. wunden OE wund, pl. wunda, -e, ME wunde
smireden hire wunden (St.K., p. 78)
salue me mine wunden (St.M., p. 5)

Two ǝ-stem nouns reveal forms which represent the transitional state of the noun inflection in the Saint Katherine Group. The nouns ȝeoue and murde have plurals which are formed by analogy with both strong -es and weak -en inflections:

1. ȝeoues

OE giefu, pl. giefa, -e, ME ȝeoue
wið kinewurde ȝeoues (St.K., p.
29)

ȝeouen

purh muchele ȝeouen (St.K., p. 4)
ich þonki þe of þine ȝeouen (St.
J., p. 75)

Since OE purh governed the genitive and of, the dative (ME gen.pl. ȝeoue, dat.pl. ȝeoue(n)), it is difficult in this case to ascertain the influence of sound change and analogy on this form.

2. murhdes

OE myrgd, pl. myrgda, -e, ME murhde
maked mine murhdes monifalde (St.J.,
p. 21)

to þe murhdes þ̄ neauer ne wonied
(St.K., p. 108)

murhden

for his swifte pine...murhden aa
mare (St.K., p. 107)

monie aa murhden þen alle men mahten
wið hare muð munnan (St.K., p. 83)

ant stihen alle martirs wid
murhden to heuene (St.M., p.
19)

A few forms appear which had in Old English both strong feminine endings and weak endings as well, so that it is difficult to determine whether a form is historical or analogical. In the nouns ME felie and mil, weak plural forms are evident although both strong and weak forms were present in Old English:

1. felien OE felg, pl. felga, -e, ME felie
 The weak plural felgan also
 appears (ME felie(n))
let burhdriuen prefter þe spaken
't te felien (St.K., p. 96)
wið spaken felien picke (St.J., p.
 57)

2. milen OE mīl, pl. mīla, ME mile (ū-stem
 plural)
 OE mīl, pl. mīlan, ME mile(n)
 (n-stem plural)
wes i broht into a burh to feden
ant to fosterin...fiftene milen
 (St.M., p. 2)
 Old English generally used the genitive to indicate distance or length:
hundtwelftiges mila lang (The Wars
of Alfred the Great)²⁶
twelf mila (Blickling Homilies 129,
 4) as quoted in Bosworth and Toller,

An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.(Expected ME gen.pl. mile, milene)

The plural weden is an analogical form of uncertain derivation: ne hare weden ne maken cuenen to hare (H.M., p. 25). OE wæd (feminine ǫ̅-stem) < *wædi-g or from OE wæde (strong neuter a-stem) < *gawædjo-m. The singular form half is used in a plural sense: o two half (St.J., p. 57) following the pattern of unchanged neuter a-stem plural nouns of collectivity, weight, measure, and time.

ŭ-stem feminine abstract nouns ending in -ung, -ing can occur with plurals analogically formed in -es after the strong masculine declension:

1. heanlunges OE hŭan and lung, pl. hŭanlunga,
-e, ME heanlunge
heanlunges maked ham wið heouen-
lich hird (St.M., p. 14)
2. leasunges OE leasung, pl. leasunga, -e,
ME leasunge)
alle over leasunges beoð unlef-
liche (St.K., p. 18)
wule werien to dei pine leasunges
(St.K., p. 38)
3. ofpunchunges OE ofpunchung, pl. ofpunchunga, -e,
ME ofpunchunge
habben twa ofpunchunges (H.M., p.
11)
4. pricunges OE pricung, pl. pricunga, -e
ME pricunge
wið hare pricunges (H.M., p. 5)

Some feminine abstract nouns of the \bar{o} -stem declension have plurals in -e. This -e may represent a textual irregularity in which the -n of the analogical -en has been dropped. On the other hand, some plural forms in -e represent old datives where the historical -en ending has lost the final -n. In the latter cases, analogy is not operating (e.g. blesunge, cluppinge).

1. egginge ON eggja and OE -ing
beoð...feondes egginge (H.M., p. 7)
hare flesches egginge (H.M., p. 67)
 Furnivall translates both forms as
 'instigations.'²⁷ Both illustrations
 are nominative.
2. tidinge OE tidig, pl. tidinga, -e,
 ME tidinge
brohte hire þe tidinge of godes
akenesse (H.M., p. 63). The
 editor translates as 'tidings.'²⁸
3. pralinge OE praling, pl. pralinga, -e
 ME pralinge
þine þarnes pralinge (H.M., p. 49)
 Translated as 'pains.'²⁹

III i-Stem Nouns

Masculine

Old English paradigm of the plural i-stem masculine noun:

Nom.-Acc. wine, -as

Gen. wina

Dat. winum

The primitive Germanic nominative plural ending -iz regularly became -i, later -e which remained in the oldest period of the language. At an early period the nominative plural was re-formed in -es after the analogy of the masculine a-stems and then later the old ending -e was preserved in only a few plurals (Dene, Engle). The ending -a of the genitive plural is from the genitive plural of the a-stem and consonantal stems. The dative plural would regularly have ended in -im, but it had -um from the other classes of nouns.³⁰

In the Middle English period, i-stem masculine nouns followed the same evolution as masculine a-stem nouns. The nominative-accusative inflection -e, later -as, became -es. The genitive plural -a became -e and eventually by analogy -es while the dative -um became -e(n) and finally by analogy -es. Four i-stem masculine nouns demonstrate no analogical formation in their nominative-accusative forms: fulitocheschipes, sotsschippes, stiches, and wurmes. These nouns, like the great number of i-stem nouns, follow the

a-stem masculine declension with nominative-accusative in -es (OE -as). In the Saint Katherine Group, a few masculine i-stem forms occur where analogy seems to be operating. Two nouns have -es inflectional endings not only in the nominative-accusative cases but in cases following prepositions where analogy may be present:

1. dusischipes OE dysigschip (dysig and schip),
pl. dysigschipe, -as, dat.pl. dysigschipum, ME dusischipe, -es,
dat.pl. dusischipe(n)

In the illustration: of ure alde dusischipes (St.K., p. 63), the preposition of is followed by an analogical ending in -es while in Old English of governed the dative. The form following of is identical to the accusative: to longe we habbed idriuen ure dusischipes (St.K., p. 88)

2. wrenches OE wrenc, pl. wrencas, wrenceas,
dat.pl. wrencum, ME wrenche(n)

In a form following the preposition mid: mid alle cunnes wrenches (St.M., p. 3)

the analogical form in -es is evident although OE mid governed the dative case. The form with mid is

identical to the accusative:
pulled mine unwreste wrenches
(St.M., p. 14)

A few i-stem masculine nouns have followed by analogy the termination of the weak declension in -en in the nominative-accusative plural and in forms following prepositions. The nominative-accusative OE -e, -as; genitive OE -a; dative OE -um now all terminate in -en:

1. bruchen OE bryce, pl. bryce, brycas, dat.pl. brycum, ME bruche, bruche(n)
 Analogical forms appear in the nominative: te bruchen...wren ibet purh mon (St.K., p. 57); in the accusative: 't bieoden swa þe bruchen of hire bodi (St.K., p. 78)

2. luren OE lyre, pl. lyre, -as, dat.pl. lyrum, ME lure, lure(n)
for þe luren 't tis worldliche lif (St.K., p. 80). OE for could govern the dative and accusative. The -en form may be an analogical formation based on the weak declension or an historical form derived from OE dat.pl. -um.

One example of an uninflected - ϕ plural which might be on the analogy of neuter a-stem plurals of collectivity, weight, time, space, and number is:

dale OE dael, pl. daelas, dat.pl. daelum,
 ME pl. dales, dat.pl. dale(n)
wid twa dale of bittre (H.M., p.
 11)

The form may be an uninflected plural on the analogy of neuter nouns, a singular form which has been maintained after a cardinal number, or possibly a result of sound change from OE dat.pl. daelum.

In the genitive plural, the forms stiche, withe follow regular sound change rules (OE -a becoming ME -e). The genitive form wurmene, as in the example 't wurmene mete (H.M., p. 59), is an analogical weak form after the analogy of weak genitive plural forms in -ene (OE -ena).

i-Stem NounsFeminine

Although the masculine and feminine i-stem nouns were originally declined alike in the singular and plural, the feminine nouns with long radical syllables were greatly affected by the ō-declension feminine endings. Nouns with a short radical syllable had already gone over to the ū-declension in the prehistoric period of the language.³¹

Old English paradigm of plural i-stem feminine nouns:

Nom.-Acc. cwōne, -a

Gen. cwōna

Dat. cwōnum

In the Saint Katherine Group, three nouns with a long radical syllable have followed the evolution of a-stem masculine nouns and form analogical plurals in -es:

1. cwenes OE cwōn, pl. cwōne, -a, ME cwene
 Analogy in -es is evident in the
 nominative: cwenes of hequene
 (H.M., p. 65) and as doð þes cwenes
 (H.M., p. 11)
2. mihtes OE meaht, pl. mihte, dat.pl. mihtum,
 ME mihte, mihte(n)
 Analogical plurals in -es can be
 observed in the accusative case and

following several prepositions:

his nome nemonedē, 't te muchele
mihtes of his hehnese (St.K., p.
61)

Ich swerie bi þe mihtes of ure
godes (St.K., p. 104)

miht ouer alle mihtes (H.M., p. 15)

cwen of alle mihtes (St.M., p. 19)

3. wurdes

OE wyrd, pl. wyrda, dat.pl. wyrdum,
ME wurde, dat.pl. wurde(n)

Analogical -es is present in the

accusative: prof biweped hire

wurdes (H.M., p. 47) and in what

d'Ardenne classifies as a dative:

wei ouer wurdes (St.J., p. 21)

and translates as 'alas for your

fates.'³²

Two i-stem feminine nouns have followed the weak declension and form analogical plurals in -en:

1. benen

OE bēn, pl. bēna, -e, dat.pl.

bēnum, ME bene, dat.pl. bene(n)

Analogical forms in -en appear following several prepositions which could in Old English govern the dative or accusative cases:

bimong here benen (St.M., p. 14)

to mine benen (St.M., p. 20)

ipine benen (St.M., p. 21)

2. deden

OE dæd, pl. dæda, -e, dat.pl.

dædum, ME dede, dat.pl. dede

Analogical plurals in -en appear with the accusative and following several prepositions which could in Old English govern both the dative and accusative cases:

't al ichulle dihten þe deden of

mi kinedom (St.K., p. 67)

Ich þonke to dei alle þine deden

(St.J., p. 61)

in alle mine dearne runes 't mine

dearne deden (St.K., p. 29)

wið ealnes deden (H.M., p. 29)

One uninflected plural appears like the i-stem masculine form dale which follows analogically neuter a-stem nouns which are identical in the singular and the plural:

ahte

OE ǣht, pl. ǣhta, -e, ME ahte
slad̥ pat ahte (H.M., p. 41)

The noun 'cattle' can actually be used in both a singular and a plural sense; Furnivall, however, translates it as a plural.³³

In the genitive plural, no analogical forms occur. The genitive plurals wihte (OE wihta): in alre wihte weldent (St.M., p. 22) and schafte (OE gesceafta): in þes alre schafte schuppent (St.K., p. 41) follow the regular laws of sound change (OE -a becoming ME -e).

i-Stem NounsNeuter

Three nouns appear which originally belonged to the feminine i-stem declension but which became partly or entirely neuter and were then declined like neuter a-stem nouns. These nouns could then form their plurals on an analogy with the weak -en declension or with the strong -es declension:

1. schaftes OE gesceaft, pl. gesceafte, -u, -o.

ME schafte

This form follows by analogy the strong -es declension in the nominative: þe lufsume lauerd þ schuþte alle schaftes (St.J., p. 1); and in the accusative: 't hersumēð seheliche schaftes (St.K., p. 13).

schaften

This form is analogous with the weak -en declension with the preposition in: in lifelese schaften (St.J., p. 24); and in the accusative: to luten dedliche schaften (St.J., p. 24). These forms actually represent a manuscript deviation. The form appears in the Royal because the Bodl. has missing leaves at this point in the text. Bodl. has its forms in -es and

would have probably remained consistent in the missing leaves and maintained the form schaftes.

2. wihtes

OE wiht, pl. wihtu, dat.pl. wihtum,
ME wihtes, dat.pl. wihtes(n)

This form and its compound un-
wihtes have adopted by analogy the
-es ending of the strong a-stem
masculine declension in the nomina-
tive-accusative cases and following
prepositions:

hwucche wihtes þer beon (St.K., p.
84)

þu wurgest witlese wihtes (St.M.,
p. 18)

of alle wihtes (St.M., p. 20)

of alle unwihtes of helle (St.J.,
p. 39)

d'Ardenne classifies this last form
as a dative,⁴¹ probably because OE
of governed the dative.

3. swenges

OE sweng, pl. swengu, -o, dat.pl.
swengum, ME swenge, dat.pl. swenge(n)

Formerly a ja-stem noun. It has
taken by analogy the -es ending of
the masculine a-stem declension in

the accusative: pulled...mine
spikele swenges (St.M., p. 14);
and with the preposition of: be
strencde of mine swenges (St.M.,
p. 15).

IV u-~~Stem~~ Nouns

Masculine

Old English paradigm of the u-stem plural noun:

Nom.-Acc. sunu, -u, -o

Gen. sunu

Dat. sunum

At an early period in late Old English, the short stem nouns often formed their nominative-accusative plural after the analogy of the masculine a-stem nouns in -es. The long stem nouns were often declined entirely like a-stems.

The following u-stem masculine nouns formed their plurals by analogy with strong masculine nouns in -es:

1. þornes OE þorn, pl. þorna, ME þorne
 Analogical -es occurs with the preposition of: ha licked horn of þornes (H.M., p. 11)
2. waldes OE weald, pl. wealda, dat.pl. wealdum, ME walde, dat.pl. walde(n)
 Analogical -es occurs with the preposition on: on þeos wilde waldes (St.M., p. 10)
3. wudes OE wudu, pl. wuda, ME wude
 Analogical -es appears in the nominative: þe wudes ant te wettres buhed be ant beied (St.M., p. 10)

One u-stem masculine noun forms its plural analogically with the weak declension in -en:

sunen

OE sunu, pl. sunas, ME sune

Analogical -en appears in the nominative and in the accusative cases:

none betere þen sunen 't dohtren

(H.M., p. 25)

þah ha been alle hise sunne 't

alle hise dehtren (H.M., p. 25)

þu schalt...teamen dohtren 't

sunen (H.M., p. 57)

u-Stem NounsFeminine

Old English paradigm of plural feminine u-stem nouns:

Nom.-Acc.	<u>handa</u>
Gen.	<u>handa</u>
Dat.	<u>handum</u>

One noun of the feminine u-stem declension occurs in the Saint Katherine Group. The form hondes, which follows by analogy the strong masculine declension in -es, occurs only once. The form honden, an analogical ending after the weak declension in -en occurs eighteen times:

1. hondes OE hand, hond, pl. handa, dat.pl. handum, ME hande, dat.pl. hande(n)
Analogical -es occurs in the accusative: beaten hondes to-gederes (H.M., p. 23)
(Titus has hondes; Bodl. honden)
- honden Analogical inflections in -en occur in the nominative, accusative, and with various prepositions: his twa honden to his onurnede oneon heteueste ibunden (St.M., p. 10)
binden...þe fet 't to honden (St.

K., p. 63)

ne leaf þu me neauer fludere

monne honden (St.K., p. 63)

ut of þine honden (St.M., p. 6)

wid monnes honden (St.K., p. 25)

þa twa his honden (St.J., p. 49)

V n-Stem Nouns

Masculine

Old English paradigm of the n-stem plural:

Nom.-Acc. guman

Gen. gumena, -ana, -ona

Dat. gumum

After the leveling of unstressed u, o to e and the sound change of m to n, Middle English weak declension case endings passed through a transitional stage during which the inflectional endings were: -en, -ene, -en. The weak inflection in -en struggled for dominance with the rival -es terminations. According to Classen, weak nouns in -en were much more numerous, but the strong declension nouns were in more common use.³⁴ The -en plurals remained much longer in the Southern and Kentish dialects than in the Midlands and the North before they were finally superseded by the masculine -es strong endings throughout the various dialects of the language.

In the Saint Katherine Group, the great majority of n-stem masculine nouns do not change their class, but retain the weak declension endings in -en in the nominative-accusative and dative cases: besmen, cnotten, fan, feren, freken, gromen, healen, hinen, inhinen, kempen, leomen, mayen, overherren, plohen, reven, schonken, schuken, spaken, steorren, teonen, weanen, woelen, witejen. Analogy does operate, however, in some

noun forms where strong endings in -es are evident in the nominative-accusative and dative cases:

1. halwes OE hālga, pl. hālgan, ME halwen
 Analogical -es is present in
 the nominative: pat nane halwes
 ne mahen (H.M., p. 25)
2. licomes OE līchama, pl. līchaman, ME
 licomen
 Analogical -es in the accusative:
 Nalde nawt godd leoten his mar-
 tirs licomes liggen to forleosen.
 (St.K., p. 112)
3. liuns OE lēo, pl. lēon, Lat. leo, leonis,
 Gr. lēon, leontos, ME liun
 Analogical -es can be found
 following the preposition bimong
 which in Old English governed the
 dative: bimong þe wode liuns
 (St.J., p. 33)
4. sprekes OE spearca, spærca, pl. spearcan
 ME spreken
 Analogical -es is in the accusative:
 ant spreche in ham sprekes of
 lustes (St.W., p. 15)
5. wanes OE gewuna, pl. gewunan, Teut. root
 *wan, wun 'custom, dwelling'

ME wanen

Analogy with the preposition in:
wunien iþe wanes (St.M., p. 21)

6. willes

OE gewilla, pl. gewillan, dat.pl.
gewillum, ME willen

Analogy occurs in the accusative
and with wiðuten and to:

wurchen alle his willes (St.J., p.
45)

wiðuten alle unwreste willes (St.
M., p. 13)

wended to oder willes (St.J., p.
45)

7. widerwines

OE widerwinna, pl. widerwinnan,
dat.pl. widerwinnum, ME wider-
winen

Analogy occurs with the prepo-
sition of:

an ne schal of alle ower widerwines
witen (St.K., p. 32)

8. wrecches

OE wrecca, pl. wreccan, ME wrecchen

Analogy in the nominative and accu-
sative:

wrecches unweoten buten wit (St.M.,
p. 6)

þe wrecches þ ha seh (St.K., p. 10)

wondrinde ant wrecches ant wan-
lese wissent (St.M., p. 11)

Two nouns occur with uninflected plurals, functioning like neuter a-stem nouns which were alike in the singular and plural:

1. wa OE wea, pl. wean, dat.pl. weum
 ME wan
 in meni wa (H.M., p. 9)
 2. heorte OE heorte, pl. heortan, dat.pl.
 heortum, ME heorten
 ha nanes weis ne schulen strewen
 hare heorte (St.M., p. 15)
 wundi...hare unwarie heorte (St.
 M., p. 14)
 of hare heorte (St.J., p. 45)
- The uninflected plural may have been influenced by the fact that the noun heorte was formerly neuter before becoming an n-declension masculine noun.

In the genitive plural, two forms, kempene, revene (OE compēna, ƷerƷfena) do not change their noun class. Two forms occur, however, which form genitive plurals in -es after the analogy of strong masculine nouns:

1. licomes OE līchama, gen.pl. līchamena,
 ME licomene
 hære licomes lustes (St.M., p. 1)
2. liunes OE līo, gen.pl. līona, ME liune
 þe liunes leohe (St.K., p. 89)

The form gume in alre gume (St.J., p. 27)(OE gumena) may be an illustration of analogical change after the strong declension. d'Ardenne also suggests that the form may be derived from a poetical form of the genitive plural guma.³⁵

n-Stem Nouns

Feminine

In Old English, feminine n-stem nouns follow the same inflectional pattern as masculine n-stems: -an, -ena, -um, which became in Middle English: -en, -ene, -en. The majority of nouns of the feminine n-stem declension which appear in the Saint Katherine Group do not change their noun class but remain weak nouns with -en endings: raketehen, siden, tan, tungen, wicchen, widewen, wisen.

Three nouns of the n-stem declension feminine have adopted by analogy the -es endings of the strong masculine a-stem in the nominative, accusative, dative and in instances following prepositions:

1. lefdis OE hlæfdige, pl. hlæfdigan,
 dat.pl. hlæfdigum, ME lefdien
 Analogical -es occurs in the
 nominative, vocative and follow-
 ing the preposition of:
 te riche lefdis letten teares
 treondlin (St.K., p. 116)
 ye lefdis 't ye meidnes (St.K.,
 p. 116)
 as dođ...peos modie leafdis (H.M.,
 p. 11)
 of ure heouenliche lefdis (St.K.,
 p. 68)

2. meies OE mage, pl. magan, ME meien
 Accusative: ouergan...meies ba
ant mehen (St.M., p. 16). The
 feminine mege adopted an -es
 plural while the masculine maga
 remained a weak plural (mayen).
3. purpres OE purpure, pl. purpuran, dat.pl.
purpurum, ME purpren
wid purpres 't pelles (St.J., p. 9)

A transitional n-stem feminine noun is wecche which has plural forms with both strong and weak endings:

<u>wecces</u>	OE <u>wæcce</u> , pl. <u>wæccan</u> , dat.pl. <u>wæccum</u> , ME <u>weccen</u> of <u>nurrices wecces</u> (H.M., p. 53)
<u>wecchen</u>	<u>in worldliche wecchen</u> (St.K., p. 80) of is now followed by an <u>-es</u> ending while <u>in</u> is followed by <u>-en</u> . OE <u>in</u> could govern the dative and accusative cases.

The feminine genitive plural provides no fruitful subject for analogy. The one genitive plural form in the Saint Katherine Group, widowene, is the result of ordinary sound change (OE widuwena).

In the neuter nouns of the weak declension, only two forms occur, earen and ehnen, both historical forms (OE ēaran, ēagan), and no analogy is evident.

IV Minor Declensions

A. The Radical Consonant Stems

In Old English the plural forms of the radical consonant declension are as follows:

	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
Nom.-Acc.	<u>fēt</u>	<u>bēc</u>
Gen.	<u>fōta</u>	<u>bōca</u>
Dat.	<u>fōtum</u>	<u>bōcum</u>

The root vowels ā, ǫ, u, ū were regularly unlauded to æ, ē, ȳ, ȳ in the nominative-accusative plural (as well as in the genitive singular). The genitive and dative plural forms were not unlauded and had inflectional endings with the a-declension.

In Middle English, the unlauded form of the nominative-accusative plural remained in the plural and came to be used with analogy in the other plural cases as well. The mutation ceased to be a sign of case and became a sign of plurality. In the Saint Katherine Group, some nouns have retained the mutated plural in the nominative-accusative plural and have adopted by analogy the mutated form in the dative case and following prepositions which might have in Old English governed the dative:

1. fet OE fōt, pl. fēt, dat.pl. fōtum,
ME fet, fete(n)

The mutated plural is used analogically with the preposition bi,

which in Old English governed the dative or the instrumental: heolt hire bi þe fet (St.M., p. 11). The form following the preposition is identical to the historically formed nominative and accusative: fet buten yonge (St.K., p. 25); binden ham swa þe fet (St.K., p. 03)

2. men

OE mann, pl. menn, dat.pl. mannum,
ME men, manne(n)

Following the prepositions bimong, of, and to the unlauded plural is evident:

bimong worldliche men (St.M., p. 1)
of eordliche men (St.M., p. 23)
to þeos men (St.K., p. 109)

The form following the prepositions is identical to the nominative:

þe 3et weren monie ma þen nu mis-
bileude men (St.M., p. 1)

3. Compounds of men

Following prepositions the unlauded form is used:

þis is al þæt we doð in cristemen
eggid eauer to uuele (St.J., p. 45)
mid alle mine hirdmen (St.K., p. 109)

of þine wummen (St.K., p. 118)

þimong alle winnen (H.M., p. 19)

fif hundred bi tale of weopmen

(St.J., p. 67)

of þeos wise worldmen (St.K., p.

25)

4. teð

OE tōð, pl. tōð, dat.pl. tōðum.

ME teð, toðe(n)

Umlauted forms follow preposi-

tions:

þiforen hire teð (St.K., p. 11)

he schal unþone in his teð euden

(St.J., p.37)

Two radical consonant stem nouns form analogical plurals in -es after the analogy of the a-stem masculine nouns:

1. bokes OE bōc, pl. bōc, dat.pl. bōcum,
ME bek, boce(n)
Platunes bokes (St.K., p.40)
beođ in ower bokes (St.K., p. 39)
2. schrudes OE scrūd, pl. scrūd, ME schrud
feirlec ant strenode beođ his
schrudes (St.M., p.18)

This noun is the only remnant of the neuter class of mutated plural nouns. Actually, in Old English, the noun had already adopted a -s plural without umlaut after the analogy of a-stem neuter plural nouns.

In the genitive plural case of the radical consonant declension, the form monne in tu art freo monne foster (St.K., p. 23) demonstrates the form without umlaut. However, the compound form burhmenne in purh þe burhmenne read (St.K., p. 2) is a genitive plural with the unlauded vowel (OE burhmenna) and is an analogical change with the umlaut representing a sign of the plural.

B. r-Stem Nouns

The nouns of relationship had the Old English paradigm:

Nom.-Acc.	<u>mōdor</u> , <u>-dru</u> , <u>-dra</u>	<u>fāderas</u>
Gen.	<u>mōdra</u>	<u>fādera</u>
Dat.	<u>mōdrum</u>	<u>fāderum</u>

In the Saint Katherine Group, the noun feder in its compound form fordfeder makes no class change but forms the plural in -es: hire fordfederes hefden ifostren (St.K., p. 7). Some nouns in the r-declension indicate an analogical shift to a weak n-declension:

1. brēdren

OE brōdor, pl. brōdor, -ru,
ME brodor

Analogical -en is present in the vocative and following of:

brēdren ant sustren (St.J., p. 75)

of alle mine brēdren (St.J., p. 41)

2. dohtren

OE dohtor, pl. dohtor, -tru, -tra,
ME dohtre

-en is present in the nominative and accusative:

betere nome þen sunen ' dohtren

(H.M., p. 25)

þu schalt...teamen dohtren 't

sunen (H.M., p. 57)

3. sustren OE sweoster, pl. sweostor, -tru,

ME sustre

Analogical -en occurs in the
vocative:

brēdren ant sustren (St.J., p.
75)

One noun in r-stem occurs with an analogical shift to the -es ending the masculine a-stem declension:

moderes OE mōdor, pl. mōdor, -dru, dra,
 dat.pl. mōdrum, ME modre,
 modere(n)
 pat ure alre modres drehden
 (H.M., p. 51) 'the mothers of
 us all'
 bihalt eche wununge alle hire
 modres (H.M., p. 61), an indirect
 object.

C. nd-Stem Nouns

The only illustrations of these nouns in the Saint Katherine Group are freond and feondes. In Old English, these nouns had both unlauded and un-unlauded plural forms. The plurals in Middle English freond and feondes are both historical forms (OE frēond, pl. frīend, freond, -as; OE fēond, pl. fēond, -as). No analogy is evident.

D. er-Stem Nouns

The few nouns in this class were declined in Old English after the analogy of the neuter a-stem:

Nom.-Acc. cild, cildru

Gen. cildra

Dat. cildrum

In the Saint Katherine Group, the noun children is the only example of this noun class. The form appears in the nominative and accusative cases and with prepositions:

hit an pet maked þæt te þreo
children...weren idust (St.J.,
p. 39)

as þu biwistest Daniel... 't te
þreo children (St.J., p. 33)

to helpless children (St.M., p. 8)

of feire children (H.M., p. 37)

The plural form children in Middle English is a double plural formed by the plural ending -ru which developed to -re and adding the regular weak declension ending -en. Southern dialects show children while in the northern dialects, the plural forms children and childer occur. The modern form of the word has retained the weak class inflectional ending.

VII Borrowings of French Origin

The great majority of words of French origin in the Saint Katherine Group form their plurals in -es in all instances: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and with all prepositions. The French words are behaving like strong masculine a-stem nouns. It is difficult, however, to determine the exact extent of the influence of the Old English inflections on the French forms. In Old French, the declension of nouns was already reduced for feminine and neuters to a plural in -es. Thus, we have singulars: heure, joie; plurals: heures, joies in all cases. Masculine nouns, on the other hand, did not at first follow this pattern and still distinguished in the singular and plural between the subject and object cases:

Masc.Sg. Subj.	<u>murs</u> 'wall'	<u>bers</u> 'baron'
	Obj. <u>mur</u>	<u>baron</u>
Pl. Subj.	<u>mur</u>	<u>baron</u>
	Obj. <u>murs</u>	<u>barons</u>

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the feminine-neuter pattern was then extended to masculine nouns as well.³⁶ Mossé suggests that nouns of French origin may even have contributed to the extension of the -es plural.³⁷ Thus, the -es plurals of French words reflect a two-fold analogical influence: analogy of masculine nouns with feminine-neuter nouns of Old French; analogy

with Old English masculine a-stem strong nouns. The French words naturally identified themselves with the Old English plurals in -es and easily adopted themselves to the Old English inflectional endings.

The following French borrowings form their plurals in -es:

1. apostles OFr. apostle (masc.), Lat. apostolus, Gr. apostellein
in furene tungen ontende þe apostles
(St.K., p. 65)
2. aromas OFr. aromate (masc.), Lat. aromata,
Gr. arōma
wið smirles of aromas (St.K., p. 78)
3. bascins OFr. bacin (masc.), LLat. bachīnus,
bacca
brad as bascins (St.M., p. 9)
4. beastes OFr. beste (fem.), Lat. bestia
þat bered as beastes (H.M., p. 35)
na mare þen beastes (H.M., p. 35)
to wittlese beastes (H.M., p. 35)
5. cehdals OFr. syndone, sindone (masc.),
Lat. sindon, Gr. sindon
wið ciclatuns, cehdals deorwurde
clades (St.J., p. 9)
6. ciclatuns OFr. ciclaton (masc.)
wið ciclatuns (St.J., p. 9)
7. clergies OFr. clergie (masc.), Lat. clericus, Gr. klērikos
of alle clergies (St.K., p. 27)

8. cuntasses OFr. cuntesse (fem. of cunte),
 Lat. comitem
aske bes owenes, bes riche cunt-
tasses
 (H.M., p. 11)
9. degres OFr. degre (masc.), Lat. degradare
 (de+ gradus)
bi hu moni degrez (H.M., p. 33)
ha is an hundred degrez ihehet
toward heuene (H.M., p. 33)
10. flurs OFr. flour (fem.), Lat. flos, flo-
ris
be flurs pat beod idrahe pron...
ne is na monnes speche (H.M., p. 31)
11. Gives OFr. giu, gyu (masc.), Lat. iudae-
um < deum hebraeum < iudaeus, Gr.
ἰουδαῖος, Aramaic y'hudai (corre-
 sponds to Hebr. y'huduh)
be lauerd þ gives fordemen (St.
 M., p. 3)
12. hurtes OFr. hurte (masc.), v. hurter <
 Frank. *hurt, akin to ON hrutr
 'a ram'
as pah ha nefde hurtes nowher i-
felet (St.J., p. 59)

13. maumes OFr. mahumet, mahomet (masc.),
related to the prophet Mahomet.
peos maumes beoð imaket of gold
(St.K., p. 25)
of þe mix maumes (St.K., p. 11)
to herien his headene maumes
(St.K., p. 23)
on þes lease maumes (St.K., p. 86)
14. miracles OFr. miracle (masc.), Lat. mira-
culum + mirare + mirus
he wrahte...miracles (St.K., p. 50)
15. mixschipes OFr. meschief (masc.), v. meache-
ver (mis + chef), Lat. caput
of mixschipes (St.J., p.47)
16. pelegrines OFr. pelegrin (masc.), Lat. pere-
grinus (per + ager)
17. postels OFr. postels (fem.)
to stanene postels (St.J., p. 57)
18. pruileges OFr. privilege (masc.), Lat. pri-
vilegium (privus + lex, legem)
þus feole pruileges scheawed ful
autelliche (H.M., p. 31)
19. sabaz OFr. sabbat (masc.), Lat. sabbatum,
Hebr. shabbāth
halded mine sabaz (H.M., p. 25)

20. spuses OFr. spus (masc.), Lat. sponsus,
v. spondere
litel witen her of þe selie
godes spuses (H.M., p. 41)
21. treitres OFr. traître, traitor (masc.),
Lat. traditor, v. tradere
ha habbed itricchet to as treitres
(H.M., p. 11)
22. turnes OFr. tourn, (fem.), Lat. tornare <
tornus 'lathe'
Aristotles turnes (St.K., p. 40)
23. uertuz AFr. and OFr. vertu (fem.), Lat.
virtat, virtus < vir
þæt beon þe uertuz þat he
streoned (H.M., p. 57)
24. uirgines OFr. virginie (fem.), Lat. virgo,
virginis
of uirgines in heouene (St.K.,
p. 115)

A small number of French borrowings form their plurals in all cases in -en by analogy with the nouns of the weak n-declension of Old English:

1. barren OFr. barre, LLat. barra
utwid þe barren of þe burhe
(St.K., p. 115)
2. crunen OFr. corone, Lat. corona, Gr.
korōnē
of þe oðres crunen (H.M., p. 25)
3. lenden OFr. loigne, Lat. lumbus
let to lei of þi luue leiten
mine lenden (St.M., p. 18)
4. patriarchen OFr. patriarche, Lat. patriarcha,
Gr. πατριάρχης
þu euening wið apostel, patriar-
chen ilich (St.J., p.49)
5. schurgen OFr. escorgie, Lat. ex+ corrigia
mit cnottede schurgen (St.K., p.
73)

An unusual form, lendene, appears: i bi lendene (H.M., p. 49). It appears to be a genitive form with an analogical weak ending (OE -ena) parallel to the nominative-accusative form lenden also with a weak ending. Perhaps it is a dative form following the preposition in. The genitive maumetes: maumetes temple (St.K., p. 9) has an analogical genitive plural ending in -es after the analogy of the a-stem strong declension masculine nominative-accusative. Similarly, a genitive plural in -es is evident in purh giwes read (St.J., p.63)

VIII Scandinavian Borrowings

Old Norse had no -s plural and no -n plural in the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative cases:

<u>Strong a-Stem</u>	<u>Strong Ū-Stem</u>	<u>Weak -an Stem</u>
Nom. <u>harmar</u>	Nom. <u>grafar</u>	Nom. <u>bogar</u>
Gen. <u>harma</u>	Gen. <u>grafa</u>	Gen. <u>boga</u>
Dat. <u>harmum</u>	Dat. <u>grofum</u>	Dat. <u>bogum</u>
Acc. <u>harma</u>	Acc. <u>grafar</u>	Acc. <u>boga</u>

Analogy with Old English nouns exerts a significant influence on Old Norse loan words, resulting in a great majority of borrowings with inflectional endings analogous to the strong -es endings in all cases:

1. bondes ON band, rel. to OE bindan
ant breken hire bondes (St.M.,
p. 19)
leowse ure bondes (St.M., p. 22)
haldest me in bondes (St.M., p. 13)
wið bale bondes (St.M., p. 13)
2. crokes ON krōkr 'hook'
mid alle his crefti crokes (St.K.,
p. 8)
3. gabbes ON gabb
wið se soðe gabbes (St.K., p. 112)
4. feolashes ON felage, rel to OE feoh
hwas feolashes ha beoð (H.M., p. 25)
bimong mine feolashes (St.K., p. 115)

5. Ʒeincleppes OE Ʒein and ON klippa
ha Ʒeald him swucche Ʒeincleppes
6. pappes This form is of Scandinavian origin but not Old Norse. There is a Swedish dialect form pappe and an East Norwegian form pappe.
o þine two pappes (H.M., p. 49)
7. wasides ON vāði
of hire wasides (H.M., p. 53)
8. wenges ON vængir
under godes wenges (H.M., p. 07)

Two Scandinavian loan-words form their plurals
by analogy with the weak n-declension:

1. mensken ON mennska 'related to a human-
being
wið þus seole mensken (H.M., p. 31)
2. roten ON röt, IE base *wrād-
wið þe breoste roten (H.M., p.
31)

One interesting anomalous plural is the form bule:

- bule ON bole, boli, cf. OE bulluc,
IE *bhel-
þe riche reoderen 't schep 't
bule, hwa se mihte brohten to lake
This form is behaving like the
plural forms of neuter a-stem
animal nouns like deor and schep,
which have uninflected plurals in
Middle English.

IX Miscellaneous Forms

The following miscellaneous forms have plurals in analogous -es:

1. blues OE adj. blue used as a noun
he...bed blues coste casten hire
in cwalmhus (St.M., p. 7)
2. driueles Early ME, apparently of Low Gmc. origin
pe driueles unduhti swa duden sone
(St.M., p. 18)
as pe deoules driueles drohen to
fordon her (St.K., p. 105)
3. lates NE lâte, lat < lâten, OE v. lætan
wið liuēliche lates (St.M., p. 14)
mid lastelese lates (St.K., p.7)
4. pinēs Early ME pine OE *pīn, v. pinian
of. OPr. peine, Lat. poena
Ah boleden stronge pinēs (H.M., p. 65)
wið...licomliche pinēs (St.K., p. 4)
from eordliche pinen (St.K., p. 122)
Note that Saint Katherine shows the weak ending in pinen in contrast to pinēs.

5. stockes Boswirth indicates uncertain gender. The noun operates with masculine adjuncts.
of stockes ant of stanes (St.M., p. 1)
6. wiheles 1. Early ME wil, perhaps from pre-historic Scand. *wihl-, cf. ON vel.
 2. or as Boswirth indicates: OE wīl, no gender indicated.
of mine wiheles (St.M., p. 13)
wenden mine wiheles witerliche (St.M., p. 13)
7. iweddedes past participle of ME wedden, OE weddian, used as a noun in the genitive plural:
pu art iweddedes weole (St.M., p. 8)

Two miscellaneous nouns form their plurals in analogous -en:

1. treoden Early ME trede < stem of OE tredan
he fed þe folken hire treoden
(H.M., p. 19)

2. prahen 1. Can be feminine, masculine,
or neuter. Possible wō-stem,
pl. prūa
2. ME prowe, of unclear origin.
þi pinunge prahen binimed þe of
nihtes slopes (H.M., p. 51)

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

¹Hereafter, every time -e is written for a ME inflectional ending, its phonetic value is to be understood as [ɛ].

²Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Wright, Old English Grammar (London, 1967), p. 208.

³Ferdinand Brunot, Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900, I (Paris, 1924), 178.

⁴Eugen Einenkel, ed., The Life of Saint Katherine, EETS, O.S. 80 (London, 1884), p. xlvi.

⁵Otto Knapp, "Die Ausbreitung des flektierten Genitivs auf -s im Mittelenglischen," Englische Studien (31 Band, 1902), p. 55.

⁶Randolph Quirk and C.L. Wrenn, An Old English Grammar (New York, 1955), p. 61.

⁷Einenkel, p. xlvi.

⁸S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, ed., pe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seint Iuliane, EETS, O.S. 248 (London, 1961), p. 206.

⁹James R. Hulbert, rev. Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader (New York, 1963), p. 135.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹Ibid., p. 18.

¹²Ibid., p. 11.

¹³d'Ardenne, p. 113.

¹⁴Hulbert, p. 1.

¹⁵d'Ardenne, p. 168.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁷G.C. Britton, "ŋ-Plurals in the Nouns of Havelock the Dane," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LX (1959), 170.

¹⁸Eduard Sievers, An Old English Grammar (Boston, 1885), p. 135.

- 19 Wright, p. 184.
- 20 Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Wright, An Elementary Middle English Grammar (London, 1923), p. 141.
- 21 Hulbert, p. 16.
- 22 Ibid., p. 23.
- 23 Wright, Middle English Grammar, pp. 142-143.
- 24 Hulbert, p. 43.
- 25 Ibid., p. 28.
- 26 Ibid., p. 18.
- 27 Oswald Cockayne, ed., Seinte Marherete The Meiden ant Martyr, EETS, O.S. 13 (London, 1866), p. 68.
- 28 F. J. Furnivall, ed., Hali Meidenhad, EETS, O.S. 18A (Oxford, 1922), p. 63.
- 29 Ibid., p. 49.
- 30 Wright, Old English Grammar, p. 195.
- 31 Ibid., p. 197.
- 32 d'Ardenne, p. 137.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 E. Classen, "s and n Plurals in Middle English," The Modern Language Review, XIV (1919), 94.
- 35 d'Ardenne, p. 96.
- 36 Fernand Mossé, A Handbook of Middle English, trans. James A. Walker (Baltimore, 1952), p. 53.
- 37 Ibid., p. 52.

CHAPTER THREE

EVALUATION OF THE STUDY OF ANALOGY IN THE NOUN IN THE
SAINT KATHERINE GROUP

This chapter, which is composed primarily of charts and explanations, represents a correlation of the data collected from the Saint Katherine Group on the subject of the workings of analogy in the inflectional endings of the noun forms.

The first set of charts is divided according to the Old English noun class, singular and plural. Each chart indicates the numbers of forms with analogy in each case: nominative-accusative, dative, and genitive, and the percentage of these forms with analogy in comparison with the total number of forms occurring in the texts. The number of occurrences of each noun form with analogy is then examined, and the percentage represents the frequency of occurrence of noun forms with analogy as compared with the total number of occurrences in the texts.

As in many statistical analyses, one must be cautious of the results. Although the subject matter of the Saint Katherine Group is similar in the texts, the nature of the vocabulary and the frequency of its occurrences differ from text to text because of the authors'

variations in style, emphasis, and approach, and because of the varying lengths of the texts. In addition, manuscript variations, particularly in The Life of Saint Juliang, which occurs in both Bodl. 34 and Royal 17 and in Seinte Marherete also in Bodl. 34 and Royal 17, account for a small variation in the data. The charts do demonstrate, however, the considerable and significant effects of analogy which are at work in the texts of the Saint Katherine Group.

In the chart describing the workings of analogy in the singular noun, only the genitive case has been evaluated since the genitive is the only case in the singular paradigm where analogy is operative. In addition, the instances of occurrences of analogical change in the singular noun are very much smaller than those of the plural noun. For these reasons, I have listed all the forms and occurrences of the genitive singular case in all the noun classes on one chart. In the plural forms, however, analogy can be observed in the nominative-accusative plural cases (analogical transfer); the dative plural cases (analogical transfer or leveling); and in the genitive plural cases (analogical transfer). The occurrences of plural nouns displaying analogized forms, in addition, are greater than in the singular; therefore, I have separately analyzed each noun class in the plural.

I Analogy in the Genitive Singular Noun

<u>Noun Class</u>	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
1. <u>ō-Stem Nouns</u> Totals: 4 forms, 18 occurrences	3	15	75%	83%
2. <u>n-Stem Nouns</u> Totals: 12 forms, 17 occurrences	9	16	75%	94%
3. <u>u-Stem Nouns</u> Totals: 2 forms, 5 occurrences	1	4	50%	80%
4. <u>r-Stem Nouns</u> Totals: 4 forms, 7 occurrences	3	5	75%	83%
5. <u>Radical Consonant Nouns</u> Totals: 2 forms, 2 occurrences	2	2	100%	100%
6. <u>Miscellaneous Nouns</u> Totals: 5 forms, 5 occurrences	5	5	100%	100%
7. <u>Foreign Borrowings</u> Totals: 35 forms, 47	29	39	83%	83%

II Analogy in the a-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Masculine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>I Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 56 forms, 105 occurrences				
Analogized plurals in <u>-en</u>	3	5%	5	5%
<u>II Dative Case and follow- ing Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 48 forms, 82 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	42	88%	74	90%
B. Analogized in <u>-e</u>	2	4%	3	4%
<u>III Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 11 forms, 26 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-ene</u>	5	45%	19	77%
B. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	3	27%	3	12%

III Analogy in the a-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Neuter

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>I Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 40 forms, 110 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	24	60%	82	75%
B. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	8	20%	13	11%
<u>II Dative Case and following Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 36 forms, 94 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	14	39%	55	59%
<u>III Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 8 forms, 23 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-ene</u>	1	13%	1	4%
B. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	3	38%	3	13%

IV Analogy in the \bar{o} -Stem Plural Noun Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>I Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 29 forms, 53 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	7	24%	10	19%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	22	76%	43	81%
<u>II Dative Case and following Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 27 forms, 53 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	6	22%	8	15%
<u>III Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 6 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-ene</u>	3	60%	3	50%

V Analogy in the i-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Masculine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 6 forms, 8 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	1	17%	3	38%
B. Analogized in <u>-e</u>	1	16%	1	13%
II <u>Dative Case and follow- ing Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 7 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	2	40%	3	43%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-e</u>	1	20%	1	14%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 3 forms, 3 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-ene</u>	1	33%	1	33%

VI Analogy in the 1-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Feminine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 6 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	3	60%	5	83%
B. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	1	20%	1	17%
C. Analogized in <u>∅</u>	1	20%	1	17%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 11 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	3	60%	5	45%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 3 occurrences				
No analogical forms				

VII Analogy in the i-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Neuter

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Perce- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Perce- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 3 forms, 9 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	2	67%	7	78%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	1	33%	2	22%
II <u>Dative Case and follow- ing Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 3 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	50%	2	67%

VIII Analogy in the u-Stem Plural Noun TotalsMasculine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 5 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	50%	1	20%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	1	50%	4	80%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 2 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	2	100%	2	100%

IX Analogy in the u-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Feminine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>I Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 19 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	50%	1	8%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	1	50%	18	92%
<u>II Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 8 occurrences				
No analogized forms				

X Analogy in the n-Stem Plural Noun Totals**Masculine**

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 26 forms, 38 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	6	23%	10	26%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-ŋ</u>	2	8%	4	11%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 18 forms, 34 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	4	22%	5	15%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-ŋ</u>	1	6%	3	9%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 8 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-e</u>	1	20%	1	13%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	2	40%	2	25%

XI Analogy in the n-Stem Plural Noun Totals

Feminine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 3 forms, 9 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	2	67%	5	56%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 10 forms, 11 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	3	30%	3	27%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 1 occurrence				
No analogized forms				

XII Analogy in the Radical Consonant Plural Noun Totals

Masculine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>I Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 12 forms, 54 occurrences				
No analogized forms				
<u>II Dative Case and following Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 9 forms, 32 occurrences				
Analogized forms with umlaut	8	89%	12	38%
<u>III Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 5 occurrences				
Analogized forms without umlaut	1	50%	1	20%

XIII Analogy in the Radical Consonant Plural Noun Totals

Feminine

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 1 occurrence				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	100%	1	100%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 2 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	100%	2	100%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
No illustrations				

XIV Analogy in the Radical Consonant Plural Noun Totals

Neuter

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 1 occurrence				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	100%	1	100%
II <u>Dative Case</u>				
No illustrations				
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
No illustrations				

XV Analogy in the r-Stem Plural Noun Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 8 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	20%	1	13%
B. Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	3	60%	5	56%
II <u>Dative Case and following Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 2 forms, 3 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	1	50%	2	67%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
No illustrations				

XVI Analogy in the -er Stem Plural Noun Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Perce- ntage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative Cases</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 5 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-en</u>	1	100%	5	100%
II <u>Dative Case and following Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 1 form, 2 occurrences				
No analogized forms				
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
No illustrations				

XVII Analogy in the Plural Forms of French Borrowings Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 18 forms, 30 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	16	89%	28	93%
B. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	2	11%	2	7%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 14 forms, 21 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	11	79%	18	86%
B. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	3	22%	3	14%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 3 forms, 3 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	2	67%	2	67%

XVIII Analogy in the Plural Forms of Words of Scandinavian

Origin Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 4 forms, 8 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in -es	3	75%	7	89%
B. Analogized forms in -a	1	25%	1	11%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 8 forms, 13 occurrences				
A. Analogized forms in -es	6	75%	11	85%
B. Analogized forms in -en	2	25%	2	15%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
No illustrations				

XIX Analogy in the Plural Forms of Miscellaneous Nouns

Totals

	<u>Number of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
I <u>Nominative-Accusative</u>				
<u>Cases</u>				
Totals: 6 forms, 10 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	4	67%	8	80%
B. Analogized in <u>-en</u>	2	33%	2	20%
II <u>Dative Case and following</u>				
<u>Prepositions</u>				
Totals: 5 forms, 11 occurrences				
Analogized forms in <u>-es</u>	5	100%	11	100%
III <u>Genitive Case</u>				
Totals: 3 forms, 3 occurrences				
A. Analogized in <u>-es</u>	2	67%	2	67%
B. Analogized in <u>-e</u>	1	33%	1	33%

I Singular Nouns

In the singular case of nouns, the genitive singular provides significant indication of the influence of the -es strong masculine inflection. While analogy is operating strongly in all classes of nouns, in the mutated plural and miscellaneous nouns, analogy is complete (100%). A very important statistic is the high percentage of foreign nouns which have been analogized to -es in the genitive singular case (83%). Analogy is also strongly evident in the ō-stem, n-stem, u-stem and r-stem singular nouns in the genitive case.

II a-Stem Plural Nouns Masculine

In the nominative-accusative cases, a small number of nouns have analogized to the weak -en declension. A significant result is in the dative case and in constructions which in Old English could govern the dative case. A very high percentage (88%) of the dative forms have been analogized to the -es inflection, on the analogy of the nominative-accusative cases (leveling within the paradigm of the masculine a-stem noun). In the genitive case, analogy is evident on the model of both the weak declension (-ene) and of the new genitive plural inflection (-es).

III a-Stem Plural Nouns Neuter

In a-stem neuter nouns, analogy is in operation in all cases. In the nominative-accusative cases, the great percentage (60%) of neuter nouns have analogized to -es on the model of masculine nouns. A small percentage of nouns (39%), however, have adopted -en inflectional endings. In the dative, 39% of the forms (59% of the occurrences) have analogized to -es. In the genitive case, only one form has analogized to -ene, but three forms have genitive plurals in -es, with statistics very similar to the genitive case of the masculine a-stem declension.

IV ō-Stem Plural Nouns

In ō-stem plural nouns, analogical change is operating totally in the nominative-accusative cases with the very great majority (76%) of nouns following the model of weak nouns with -en plural inflections. In the dative case, some instances of analogy to -es are evident (22% of the forms, 15% of the occurrences). In the genitive case, analogical forms in -ene can be found in 00% of the forms, 50% of the occurrences. Feminine ō-stem nouns reveal a strong tendency to model themselves on the analogy of the weak -en rather than on the strong -es declension in the texts of the Saint Katherine Group.

V i-Stem Plural Nouns Masculine

In i-stem masculine noun plurals, analogy is operating in approximately one-third of the noun forms. In the nominative-accusative cases, analogical endings are evident in -en and - ϕ . In the dative case, analogical forms in -es and - ϕ occur in nearly three-fourths of the forms. The forms in -es represent a leveling within the paradigm to simplify the declension.

VI i-Stem Plural Nouns Feminine

In i-stem feminine nouns, the very great majority (60%) of plural forms have analogized to -es in the nominative-accusative cases although analogized forms do occur in -en and - ϕ . In the dative case, a significant number of analogized forms (60%) occur in -es, paralleling to a great extent, the analogized nominative-accusative forms.

VII i-Stem Plural Nouns Neuter

In this noun class, analogy is operating on the model of both strong -es and weak -en inflectional endings; however, the strong endings are by far the more significant. The analogized dative forms in -es parallel the nominative-accusative cases in the analogical tendency towards the strong declension endings.

VIII u-Stem Plural Nouns Masculine

In the u-stem noun class, only a few plural forms occur, and analogy can be seen on the model of the strong -es and weak -en declensions. In the dative case, of the two forms which are present in the texts, both are analogized with the strong -es declension inflectional endings.

IX u-Stem Plural Nouns Feminine

In the nominative-accusative cases only two forms appear, one ending in analogical -es, the other in analogical -en. The noun in -en, however, demonstrates the greater frequency of occurrence.

X n-Stem Plural Nouns Masculine

31% of the forms (37% of the occurrences) do demonstrate analogy in the nominative-accusative cases. The significant analogy occurs in the -es analogized inflectional endings in the nominative-accusative (23% of the forms, 26% of the occurrences). In the dative case also, 22% of the forms, 15% of the occurrences have analogized -es inflectional endings. Analogized genitive forms occur in -e and -es. Genitive forms in -es represent twice the number of genitive plural forms as those in -e.

XI n-Stem Plural Nouns Feminine

In the nominative-accusative and dative cases, analogy is evident on the model of the strong -es declension.

XII Radical Consonant Plural Nouns Masculine

Although no analogy is evident in the nominative-accusative cases, in the dative case analogized forms with umlaut represent 89% of the forms, 38% of the occurrences. In the genitive case, analogy without umlaut occurs in one out of two forms (20% of the occurrences).

XIII Radical Consonant Plural Nouns Feminine

In the nominative-accusative cases, analogized forms in -es represent 100% of the forms and occurrences. Similarly, in the dative case, the only form present in the text is analogized to -es in all its occurrences.

XIV Radical Consonant Plural Nouns Neuter

The one form of this noun class present in the nominative-accusative case demonstrates analogical change to the -es strong masculine declension inflectional ending.

XV r-Stem Plural Nouns

Analogy is evident on the model of -es and -en inflectional endings. In the nominative-accusative cases, the stronger tendency is to analogize on the model of the weak -en declension (60%). In the dative case, one of the two existing forms demonstrates an -es analogical ending.

XVI er-Stem Plural Nouns

An analogical ending in -en is evident in the one form which occurs in the text in the nominative-accusative cases. This form represents 100% of the forms and occurrences of er-stem nouns.

XVII Plural Nouns of French Origin

Analogy operates on the model of both -es and -en inflectional endings. The very great percentage of forms, however, in the nominative-accusative (89%), dative (79%), and genitive cases (67%) have endings in -es, the strong masculine declension inflectional ending. The influence of the Old French plural ending in -s cannot be overlooked as a strong factor in influencing the selection of the strong -es inflection as a plural in nouns borrowed from the French.

XVIII Plural Nouns of Scandinavian Origin

The -es analogical ending is very strongly evident in the nominative-accusative (75%) and dative cases (75%) on the model of the Old English strong -es inflection. A small percentage of forms, however, do demonstrate analogised endings in -en (25%) and -s (25%).

XIX Plural Nouns Miscellaneous

The -es strong inflectional ending has greatly influenced the endings of the nominative-accusative (67%), dative (100%), and genitive cases (67%) of miscellaneous nouns.

Totals in the Singular NounGenitive Singular

<u>Total forms in the SKG</u>	64
<u>Total occurrences in the SKG</u>	101
<u>Total forms with analogy</u>	52
<u>Total occurrences with analogy</u>	86
<u>Percentage of forms with analogy</u>	81%
<u>Percentage of occurrences with</u> <u>analogy</u>	85%

Totals in the Plural Noun

Nominative-Accusative Plural

<u>Total forms in the SKG</u>	219
<u>Total occurrences in the SKG</u>	478
<u>Total forms with analogy</u>	134
<u>Total occurrences with analogy</u>	277
<u>Percentage of forms with analogy</u>	61%
<u>Percentage of occurrences with</u> <u>analogy</u>	58%

<u>Type of Analogy</u>	<u>Total Number</u> <u>of Forms</u>	<u>Total Number</u> <u>of Occur-</u> <u>rences</u>	<u>Percen-</u> <u>tage of</u> <u>Forms</u>	<u>Percen-</u> <u>tage of</u> <u>Occur-</u> <u>rences</u>
<u>-es</u>	71	166	53%	60%
<u>-en</u>	58	104	43%	37%
<u>-h</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4%</u>	<u>3%</u>
	134	277	100%	100%

Totals in the Plural Noun

Dative Plural

<u>Total forms in the SKG</u>	194
<u>Total occurrences in the SKG</u>	389
<u>Total forms with analogy</u>	118
<u>Total occurrences with analogy</u>	225
<u>Percentage of forms with analogy</u>	61%
<u>Percentage of occurrences with</u> <u>analogy</u>	58%

<u>Type of Analogy</u>	<u>Total Number of Forms</u>	<u>Total Number of Occurrences</u>	<u>Percentage of Forms</u>	<u>Percentage of Occurrences</u>
<u>-es</u>	101	201	86%	89%
<u>-en</u>	5	5	4%	2%
<u>-ø</u>	4	7	3%	3%
<u>With umlaut</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>6%</u>
	118	225	100%	100%

Totals in the Plural NounGenitive Plural

Totals forms in the SKG	45
Total occurrences in the SKG	84
Total forms with analogy	26
Total occurrences with analogy	41
Percentage of forms with analogy	58%
Percentage of occurrences with analogy	50%

<u>Type of Analogy</u>	<u>Total Number of Forms</u>	<u>Total Number of Occur- rences</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Forms</u>	<u>Percen- tage of Occur- rences</u>
<u>-es</u>	13	14	50%	34%
<u>-ene</u>	10	24	38%	59%
<u>-e</u>	2	2	8%	5%
<u>Without umlaut</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4%</u>	<u>2%</u>
	26	41	100%	100%

The following section of this chapter will provide additional statistical information. In the charts, the data deal only with forms from the Saint Katherine Group which reveal analogical change. In the subtitle Forms and Percentages of Occurrences with Analogy, Forms refers to the occurrences of forms demonstrating analogy in each individual text of the Group. Percentages indicates the percentages of these analogical occurrences as they appear in each separate text. Thus, in discussing analogical change in the genitive singular noun, there are 76 occurrences of analogy in the Saint Katherine Group. The statistical breakdown of the appearance of these occurrences is presented for each text. These charts demonstrate the variation within each text of analogy in each noun class. In the singular, I have dealt with the genitive singular alone since that is the only singular case revealing the operation of analogy. In the plural noun, I have combined instances of analogy in the nominative-accusative and dative cases into one statistical figure; the genitive plural case is treated separately.

Following the statistical material, I have cited representative paradigms for forms with and without analogical formations in each noun class. In addition, I have discussed analogical variations within individual texts and among the various texts of the Saint Katherine Group.

Analogy in the Genitive Singular Form

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy in -es:

<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
22 (25%)	29 (35%)	19 (22%)	16 (18%)

Analogical transfer to an -es genitive singular inflection is the type of analogy operating quite significantly in the singular nouns of the Saint Katherine Group. In each noun class, however, forms both with and without analogy occur in each text. In several instances, analogized and non-analogized forms of the same noun are evident in one text or in different texts of the Group:

1. ō-Stem Nouns
 - helles wolf (St.M., p. 11)
 - helle ware (St.M., p. 21)
 - Thus the following paradigms are possible:
 - Nom.-Acc. hell hell
 - Gen. helles helle
2. n-Stem Nouns
 - drakes liche (St.M., p. 20)
 - drake liche (St.M., p. 12)
 - schuckes schireve (St.M., p. 8)
 - bes schucke (St.M., p. 9)
3. u-Stem Nouns
 - sunnes spuse (H.M., p. 53)
 - sune rode (St.J., p. 48)
4. r-Stem Nouns
 - federes wisdom (St.K., p. 31)
 - fader hus (H.M., p. 3)

moderes ahte (St.M., p. 2)

moder bern (St.M., p. 2)

5. Foreign Nouns paraises yeten (St.M., p. 12)

paraise lihte (St.M., p. 16)

beliales budeles (St.J., p. 17)

pes decueles budel belial

(St.K., p. 95)

Interesting contrasts are demonstrable in examining foreign borrowings from the Royal and Bodleian manuscripts of Saint Juliana. In the genitive singular forms, the general tendency is for nouns in the Royal to adopt analogically to the -es ending; Bodleian nouns tend to remain without analogy in the genitive singular:

eleusiuses wil (Royal, St.J., p. 34)

eleusis wil (Bodl., St.J., p. 35)

nichomedes burh (Royal, St.J., p. 2)

nichomedesse burh (Bodl., St.J., p. 3)

Analogy in the a-Stem Masculine Plural Nouns

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	21 (28%)	12 (16%)	21 (28%)	20 (27%)
<u>-en</u>	--	2 (40%)	--	3 (60%)
<u>þ</u>	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	--	1 (33%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-ene</u>	4 (21%)	7 (37%)	5 (26%)	3 (16%)
<u>-es</u>	2 (67%)	--	--	1 (33%)

Analogical leveling in the dative plural inflection results in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. cnihtes engles

Dat. cnihtes engles

Analogical transfer to -en in the nominative-accusative plural is evident in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. ealdren hearmen

Dat. ealdren hearmen

Analogical transfer in the genitive plural inflection results in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. kinges

Gen. kingene, kinges (The historical kinge also appears.)

In the nominative-accusative plural endings,

analogical inflections (transfer) are present only in Saint Juliana and in Hali Meidenhad and totally absent in Saint Katherine and Seinte Marherete, whereas in the genitive plural, all texts contain analogized endings in -ene. Genitive plurals with analogical transfer in -es, however, appear only in Saint Katherine and Hali Meidenhad: kinges, martirs, writeres. It is in the genitive plural inflection where interesting contrasts appear. In Hali Meidenhad the historically derived genitive plural form engle appears twice (p. 17, p. 19) while the analogically transferred form englene appears three times in the same text (p. 5, p. 33, p. 65). In addition, the analogically transformed form in -es (kinges) appears in Hali Meidenhad (p. 65).

Analogy in the a-Stem Neuter Plural Nouns

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	75 (55%)	19 (13%)	20 (14%)	23 (18%)
<u>-en</u>	4 (31%)	3 (23%)	4 (31%)	2 (16%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-es</u>	2 (67%)	--	1 (33%)	--
<u>-ene</u>	--	1 (100%)	--	--

Forms without analogical change are evident:

Nom.-Acc. deor

Dat. deor

Analogical transfer on the model of the strong declension masculine inflection in -es results in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. hweoles

Dat. hweoles

Analogical transfer on the weak declension model in -en in the nominative-accusative plural can be demonstrated in a regularized paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. stucchen

Dat. stucchen

In the genitive plural inflection, the paradigms which are apparent in the Saint Katherine Group indicate

both analogized and non-analogized forms:

Nom.-Acc. meidenes

Gen. meidene (no analogy), meidenes
(analogical transfer)

Both within the same text and in contrasting texts of the Saint Katherine Group, forms with and without analogical change are found:

<u>ping;</u> <u>pinges</u>	nom.pl. (St.M., p. 8, p. 9)
	acc.pl. (St.K., p. 43, p. 20)
	dat.pl. (St.J., p. 75, p. 45)
	nom.pl. (H.M., p. 38, p. 27)
<u>ban;</u> <u>banes</u>	dat.pl. (St.M., p. 21; St.K., p. 123)
<u>jer;</u> <u>ieres</u>	acc.pl. (St.M., p. 13, p. 2)
	dat.pl. (St.J., p. 61, p. 5)
<u>word;</u> <u>wordes</u>	nom.pl. (St.K., p. 25, p. 16)
	dat.pl. (St.K., p. 25, p. 20)

Forms with analogy on the model of both the strong -es and the weak -en declension:

<u>setes;</u> <u>seten</u>	nom.pl. (St.M., p. 6, p. 12)
<u>deueles;</u>	
<u>deoulen</u>	nom.pl. (H.M., p. 5, p. 23; St. K., p. 28; St.J., p. 22)
<u>lines;</u> <u>linen</u>	dat.pl. (St.J., p. 21; acc.pl. St.K., p. 13)
<u>meidenes;</u>	
<u>meidene</u>	gen.pl. (St.M., p. 8, p. 4, p. 5)

Analogy in the $\bar{\sigma}$ -Stem Plural Nouns

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
-es	9 (50%)	1 (6%)	4 (22%)	4 (22%)
-en	13 (30%)	10 (23%)	6 (14%)	14 (33%)
Gen.				
-ene	1 (33%)	--	2 (67%)	--

In the $\bar{\sigma}$ -stem noun inflection, occasional uninflected plural paradigms can occur:

Nom.-Acc. half

Dat. half

Analogical transfer in the nominative-accusative and dative plural on the model of the strong -es inflection reveals the following paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. runes

Dat. runes

Analogy (transfer) following the weak -en model in the nominative-accusative plural cases results in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. blissen

Dat. blissen

In the genitive plural inflection, forms both with and without analogy can be observed:

50% of the -es analogized forms in the nominative-accusative and dative cases while in the weak -en inflection, the percentages within the four texts of the Group are very much closer. Hali Meidenhad and Saint Juliana reveal a strong propensity to adopt weak -en rather than strong -es inflectional endings in the nominative-accusative and dative cases.

Analogy in the i-Stem Plural Nouns

Masculine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	1 (33%)	--	2 (67%)	--
<u>-en</u>	3 (100%)	--	--	--
<u>-∅</u>	--	--	--	2 (100%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-ene</u>	--	--	--	1 (100%)

Uninflected plural forms are evident in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. dâel

Dat. dâel

Analogical transfer in the dative plural on the model of the strong -es declension can be seen:

Nom.-Acc. dusichipes

Dat. dusichipes

Analogical transfer on the -en model is evident in the nominative-accusative plural paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. bruchen

Dat. bruchen

The historical genitive plural can be observed in:

Nom.-Acc. stiches

Gen. stiche

The genitive form with analogy wurmene appears twice and only in Hali Meidenhad. In the nominative-accusative and dative cases, only the Life of Saint Katherine has any forms analogized on the weak inflectional model in -en.

Analogy in the i-Stem Plural Nouns

Feminine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)
<u>-en</u>	1 (100%)	--	--	--
<u>-ŕ</u>	--	--	--	1 (100%)

Analogical transfer on the model of the strong -es declension results in the paradigm:

Nom.-Acc. mihtes

Dat. mihtes

Analogical transfer on the model of the weak -en inflection in the nominative-accusative plural:

Nom.-Acc. deden

Dat. deden

Hali Meidenhad contains 50% of the forms analogized on the -es strong inflectional model, and only the Life of Saint Katherine has a single form modeled on the weak -en inflection.

Analogy in the 1-Stem Plural NounsNeuterForms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	--
<u>-en</u>	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	--	--

The 1-stem plural noun schaftes reveals analogical transfer on the model of both the strong and weak declensions:

Nom.-Acc. schaftes, schaften (St.J., p. 1, p. 24)
 Gen. schaft (no analogy, St.K., p. 41)
 Dat. schaften (no analogy, St.J., p. 24)

Analogy in the u-Stem Plural Nouns

Masculine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	--	--	2 (67%)	1 (33%)
<u>-en</u>	--	--	--	4 (100%)

Paradigm demonstrating analogy in the nominative-accusative and dative plural cases on the strong -es model:

Nom.-Acc. þornes

Dat. þornes

Analogical change in the nominative-accusative plural on the weak model in -en can be seen:

Nom.-Acc. sunen

Dat. sunen

Analogy in the u-Stem Plural Nouns

Feminine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	--	--	--	1 (100%)
<u>-en</u>	3 (17%)	8 (44%)	7 (39%)	--

Only one noun appears:

Nom.-Acc. hondes, honden (Transfer)

Dat. honden (No analogy)

Only Hali Meidenhad has u-stem forms in -en in the masculine gender, and it has the only -es feminine form of a u-stem noun (masc. sunen; fem. honden).

Analogy in the n-Stem Plural Nouns

Masculine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M</u>
<u>-es</u>	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
<u>-ŕ</u>	--	--	2 (50%)	2 (50%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-e</u>	--	1 (100%)	--	--
<u>-es</u>	1 (50%)	--	1 (50%)	--

The great majority of n-stem nouns remain with a weak -en inflectional ending in the plural:

Nom.-Acc. fan

Dat. fan

Some weak nouns appear with paradigms on the analogy of the strong -es declension:

Nom.-Acc. licomes

Gen. licomes (gen.pl. forms in -e also appear)

Dat. licomes

Analogy in the n-Stem Plural Nouns

Feminine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	3 (37%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)	3 (37%)

The following indicates a paradigm without analogy:

Nom.-Acc. widowen

Dat. widowen

A paradigm with analogical transfer can be observed:

Nom.-Acc. lefdis

Dat. lefdis

Contrasting n-stem feminine noun forms with and without analogy can be seen in the following forms:

wecces; wecchen dat.pl. (H.M., p. 53, St.K., p. 86)

Analogy in the Radical Consonant Plural Nouns

Masculine

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>Umlaut</u>	4 (33%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	2 (17%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>No umlaut</u>	1 (100%)	--	--	--

Feminine

Nom.-Acc.-Dat.

<u>-es</u>	2 (67%)	--	1 (33%)	--
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Neuter

<u>-es</u>	--	--	1 (100%)	--
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It is interesting to observe that in the masculine radical consonant plural nouns, analogical variations occur with and without umlaut (gen.pl. burhmenne (St.K., p. 2) in contrast with monne (St.K., p. 23). In the feminine and neuter nouns, the analogized forms have adopted the strong -es inflectional ending:

Nom.-Acc. bokes

Dat. bokes

Analogy in the r-Stem Plural Noun

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	--	--	1 (33%)	2 (67%)
<u>-en</u>	--	2 (40%)	--	3 (60%)

Paradigms with analogy in -en appear:

Nom.-Acc. brēdren

Dat. brēdren

Paradigms with analogy in -es can be observed:

Nom.-Acc. moderes

Dat. moderes

Analogy in the -er Stem Plural Nouns

<u>Nom.-Acc.Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-en</u>	--	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	--

Analogical change on the weak model can be seen:

Nom.-Acc. children

Dat. children

Analogy in the Plural Forms of French Borrowings

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	18 (39%)	9 (20%)	5 (11%)	14 (30%)
<u>-en</u>	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-es</u>	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	--	--

The great majority of French forms have their plurals on the analogy of the -es model:

Nom.-Acc. apostles

Dat. apostles

The Life of Saint Katherine contains 50% of the forms in -es. A few forms, however, are analogized on the model of -en nouns as in:

Nom.-Acc. crunen

Dat. crunen

Analogy in the Plural Forms of Scandinavian Borrowings

Forms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	4 (22%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	4 (22%)
<u>-en</u>	1 (100%)	--	--	--
<u>-ā</u>	1 (50%)	--	--	1 (50%)

As with French borrowings, Scandinavian loan-words have, with a few exceptions, adopted the strong -es inflection:

Nom.-Acc. bondes

Dat. bondes

Forms analogized on the model of the weak -en declension are rare:

Nom.-Acc. roten

Dat. roten

Analogy in Miscellaneous Plural NounsForms and percentages of occurrences with analogy:

<u>Nom.-Acc.-Dat.</u>	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
<u>-es</u>	6 (32%)	5 (26%)	7 (37%)	1 (5%)
<u>-en</u>	--	--	--	2 (100%)
<u>Gen.</u>				
<u>-es</u>	1 (50%)	--	1 (50%)	--
<u>-e</u>	1 (100%)	--	--	--

The very great percentage of miscellaneous nouns, as with French and Scandinavian borrowings, adopt the strong -es inflectional ending.

Breakdown of Percentages of Occurrences of Analogy in the
Saint Katherine Group

	<u>St.K.</u>	<u>St.J.</u>	<u>St.M.</u>	<u>H.M.</u>
Gen.sg. <u>-es</u>	25%	35%	22%	18%
Gen.pl. <u>-es</u>	58%	8%	26%	8%
Gen.pl. <u>-ene</u>	21%	33%	29%	17%
Gen.pl. <u>-e</u>	50%	50%	--	--
Gen.pl. <u>No umlaut</u>	100%	--	--	--
N.A.D.pl. <u>-es</u>	40%	16%	23%	21%
N.A.D.pl. <u>-en</u>	26%	29%	18%	27%
N.A.D.pl. <u>-φ</u>	17%	8%	17%	58%
N.A.D.pl. <u>Umlaut</u>	38%	23%	23%	16%

1. Saint Juliana has the greatest percentage of analogized forms in the genitive singular case (35%) in -es.
2. Saint Katherine has the greatest percentage of analogized forms in the genitive plural case (58%) in -es.
3. Saint Katherine has the greatest percentage of analogized forms in the nominative-accusative and dative cases (40%) in -es.
4. Saint Katherine has the greatest number of forms in the nominative-accusative, dative, and genitive cases involving analogical formations with and without umlaut.
5. Hali Meidenhad has 58% of the analogized occurrences in

CONCLUSION

Because the Saint Katherine Group is situated at such a chronologically important position in the transitional state of the English language as it evolved from the Old to the Middle English periods and because the four texts of the group function as a critically accepted literary unit, a linguistic study of the texts is revealing for the light it throws on both the individual works and on the state of the English language in the early thirteenth century as well.

The forces of analogy, both leveling and transfer, are significantly evident in the morphology of the English nominal system in the Saint Katherine Group. Analogy in the noun inflection is operating, to a great degree, in the singular and plural, in each case of the noun paradigm, and in every noun class. By the time of the Saint Katherine Group, analogy has already significantly influenced the singular form of the noun in the genitive singular case. 85% of the occurrences of the genitive singular in the Group demonstrate analogical transfer on the model of the -es (OE -es) strong inflectional ending. This evidence indicates that analogical change in the singular is in its final stages of operation by the early thirteenth in the Central West Midlands dialect of the Group. In the plural noun inflection, in contrast with the singular forms, the

the processes of analogy, although demonstrating significant influence in inflectional formations, are taking place at a somewhat slower degree than in the singular noun. 58% of the nominative-accusative plural occurrences, 58% of the dative, and 50% of the genitive case demonstrate some form of analogical change. The workings of analogy are strongly operative in all noun classes, particularly in the a-stem neuter, ō-stem, i-stem feminine and neuter, u-stem, r-stem, er-stem, and the mutated plural nouns. In the a-stem masculine nominative-accusative plural forms in -es, which are the models for the majority of analogical formations in the other noun classes, the inflectional ending is quite stable, only 5% of the nominative-accusative plural occurrences revealing analogical change. In addition, n-stem nouns, which are a model for a minority of nouns with analogical transfer in -en, have displayed a tendency towards minimal analogical change. Only 37% of masculine n-stem plural nouns display analogy in the nominative-accusative cases. These data reveal that although the analogised singular forms are becoming quite stabilized, there is still considerable flux in the plural noun forms, but with very definite trends as to the shape the morphology of the noun will take in later Middle English.

In the plural, the masculine a-stem plural inflection in -es (OE -as) is the dominant form and the primary

model for analogical change in the other noun classes. The weak plural in -en (OE -an) is recessive, but is, nonetheless, still exerting a resistance to the dominant effect of the strong -es model. In the nominative-accusative plural, 60% of the occurrences in the Saint Katherine Group demonstrate analogical formations on the -es strong model; 38%, formations on the analogy of the weak -en form. In the dative plural, the statistics are more dramatic: 89% of the occurrences reveal analogized forms on the strong -es model; 2% on the weak -en model. The higher percentage of dative plural occurrences in -es is partly accounted for by the operation of analogical leveling in the dative plural forms of a-stem masculine nouns. Evidence in the genitive plural case, however, reveals a significant weak inflectional influence: 59% of the occurrences of analogy are on the weak -ene (OE -ena) model; 34% on the strong -es model (reflecting analogical influence by the genitive singular in -es (transfer) and the strong nominative-accusative in -es (leveling)). In nouns of foreign origin, the -es plural inflection again dominates, but the weak inflection is still exerting some influence. In French borrowings, the -es plural inflection has been influenced by both the evolution of the French noun paradigm and also by the analogy of the English -es model. In the nominative-accusative cases of words of French origin, 93% of the occurrences are on the -es model;

7%, however, have been modeled on the weak -en inflection. Scandinavian borrowings as well have also largely modeled themselves on the strong inflection (75% of the nominative-accusative and the dative). In the dative plural, however, 25% of the occurrences have adopted weak inflections on the -en model. The statistics from the Saint Katherine Group make it evident that the majority of nouns have a propensity to adapt to the dominant strong model; nonetheless, the weak -en model has not yet ceased to be an active, albeit minor, force in analogical formations.

As can be observed from the data in the second chapter, the nouns in the Saint Katherine Group behave quite similarly in their analogical formations. While the number of occurrences varies from text to text because of several factors: length of text, stylistic considerations, subject matter variations, and although there are a few forms among the texts revealing analogized and non-analogized forms or differences in the type of analogy operating, the evidence still strongly indicates that the nouns are following a fairly uniform pattern of analogical change in the nominative-accusative and dative plural cases. The genitive plural case, in contrast with the genitive singular, is still fairly unstabilized. With few exceptions, a noun which reveals a tendency to adapt to a particular analogical formation in the plural will consistently display the same morphological pattern in all its nominative-

accusative and dative occurrences in the Saint Katherine Group. For example, neuter a-stem meidenes has adopted analogically the -es model in the nominative-accusative and dative cases in the four texts of the Group. The genitive plural, however, has both meidene and meidenes. The evidence seems to indicate that analogy is taking place in the noun in the following case order: 1. genitive singular 2. nominative-accusative and dative plural 3. genitive plural.

The similarity of analogical formations seems to contribute to the generally accepted view of the regularity and consistency of the language and dialect of the Saint Katherine Group. The data gathered for this dissertation, however, are insufficient to prove or disprove any theory of the authorship of the Group. Further study into the nature and extent of analogical formations of other parts of speech in the Group would possibly reveal more information about the relationships among the texts and about the analogical process in general. In a preliminary study that I have made of analogy in the definite article, demonstrative pronoun, and adjective in the Group, analogy has very strongly affected the morphology of the article and demonstrative pronouns. The morphology of the adjective, however, seems to be in a great state of flux and instability in the texts of the Group. A study of analogy in parts of speech other than the noun and a comparative study

of analogy in the nouns of the Group and the nouns in other texts of the same period, of the same dialect, and of different dialects might prove fruitful in examining the analogical process. A study of analogy in the nouns of the Saint Katherine Group provides a very small glimpse into the analogical process, into the Saint Katherine Group and its linguistic problems, and into the general state of the English language in its transitional stages.

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