

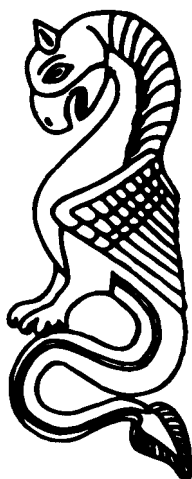
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THE NOM.ACC.SG.FEM. AND THE NOM.ACC.PL. OF  
THE ANGLO-FRISIAN *HI*-PRONOUN<sup>1</sup>

The English forms in this paper are mostly taken from the standard dissertations; for the Lindisfarne Gospels Mr. D. E. Chadwick's (unpublished) *Index Verborum* has been used; Dr. G. L. Brook (Manchester) has kindly supplied me with the necessary information for Harleian 2253, Mr. R. M. Wilson with that for the Lambeth Homilies and Dr. M. Serjeantson with that for one or two other ME. texts. The Frisian forms are mostly from W. L. van Helten, *Altostfriesische Grammatik* and Th. Siebs, *Geschichte der friesischen Sprache* (Pauls Grundriss, 1st ed., i, 723-79). The Modern Frisian forms from the latter have been corrected from information from Dr. E. Löfstedt.

NOTATION. Numbers after forms indicate statistics of occurrence (from the above sources). In some cases names of texts are printed before their forms, in others the reverse procedure is adopted (and in this case the form is in general not repeated before each text). A notation such as *heo* n, *ho* indicates that *heo* is the normal form in the text, but that *ho* also occurs; *heo ho* n, *he* that *heo* and *ho* are both normal but that *he* also occurs; *heo* (n : *ha*) that *heo* is normal but that *ha* also occurs; *heo* (: *ha*) that both *heo* and *ha* occur, that no comment on the relative frequency of occurrence is intended, but that *heo* is, at the moment, the principal object of discussion. In general forms placed in brackets are either etymologically distinct or else show a fundamental difference in phonology from those immediately preceding them outside the bracket.

References preceded by v. are by line, those of type 225/15 by page and line, of the edition cited below. Note that the citation

<sup>1</sup> I should like to express my thanks to Professor H. C. Wyld (Oxford) and Dr. M. Serjeantson (London) for advice on the English forms and to Dr. E. Löfstedt (Lund) for advice on the Frisian forms. Dr. B. Gericke (Berlin) has kindly sent me a copy of his dissertation *Die Flexion des Personalpronomens der 3. Person im Spätags.* (Palaestra 193) but unfortunately it arrived too late for detailed mention here. It affords a most valuable collection of material, but I am not able to agree with many of the conclusions as to the history and development of the forms.

of a reference after a form does not necessarily imply that it is a unique occurrence in the text.

ABBREVIATIONS. The following is a list of abbreviations of the names of texts; when specific reference to a text has been made, a brief indication of the edition used follows here (in brackets):—Alex&Dind = Alexander and Dindimus (EETSES XXXI).—AR = Ancren Riwle.—Ass.Mar = Assumptio Mariae.—Ayen = Ayenbite of Inwyt.—Best = Bestiary.—Bible = 14th Century Biblical Version (A. C. Paues).—Brend = St. Brendan (EETS 87, 220 ff.).—CP = Cura Pastoralis (EETS 45, 50).—Dav = Davie.—EdII = Evil Times of Edward II (Percy Society 28).—EETS = Early English Text Society (ES = Extra Series).—Emsigo = Emsigo Laws (in K. von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen*).—Eng.G = English Gilds.—F&P = Fall and Passion.—FC = Franks Casket.—Firumb = Sir Firumbras (EETSES XXXIV).—Fivelgo = Fivelgo Laws (M. de H. Hettema).—Fl&Bl = Floris and Blancheflur.—Gen&Ex = Genesis and Exodus.—GuyW = Guy of Warwick.—Hal.Meid = Hali Meidenhad.—Harl.2253 = Harleian 2253.—Hav = Havelok.—H.Ch = Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild (in J. Hall, *King Horn*).—HistHRT = History of the Holy Rood-Tree.—Hy.V = Hymns to the Virgin (EETS 24).—Jac&Jos = Jacob and Joseph.—Jos.Ar = Joseph of Arimathie (EETS 44).—Kath.Gr = Katharine Group.—Kent. Gl = Old Kentish Glosses.—Kent.Gosp = Kentish Gospels.—Kent.Homs = Kentish Homilies (see W. Heuser, *Anglia* xvii, 82 ff.).—Kent. Serms = Kentish Sermons.—K.Horn = King Horn.—Kild = Kildare Poems.—K.Tars = King of Tars (*Englische Studien* xi, 1 ff.).—Lamb.Homs = Lambeth Homilies.—Launfal = Sir Launfal (*Englische Studien* xviii, 165 ff.).—Lay = Layamon (F. Madden).—Lind = Lindisfarne Gospels.—LIF = Lay le Freine (*Anglia* iii, 415 ff.).—Lovel = Lovelich's Grail (EETSES XX, XXIV, XXVIII, XXX, XCV).—Meid.Mar = Maidan Maregrete (EETS 13, 34 ff.).—Metr. Chron = Short Metrical Chronicle (J. Ritson, *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës* ii,

270 ff.).—OECh = Old English Charters (in H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*).—Or = Orosius (EETS 79).—Otuel (EETSES XXXIX).—Owl&N = Owl and Nightingale (J. W. H. Atkins).—Pass = Passion of our Lord (EETS 49, 37 ff.).—PChron = Peterborough Chronicle.—PepysGH = Pepysian Gospel Harmony.—PM = Poema Morale (MSS. L, T : J. Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English* i, 30 ff.; MS. D : *Anglia* i, 6 ff.).—Pol.R&L = Political, Religious and Love Poems (EETS 15).—Pol.S = Political Songs (T. Wright).—PPCr = Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (EETS 30).—PPl = Piers Plowman.—Pr.HIII = Proclamation of Henry III.—Prov.Alf = Proverbs of Alfred.—RC = Ruthwell Cross.—Rit = Durham Ritual.—Rob.Gl = Robert of Gloucester (W. A. Wright).—Rob.M = Robert Mannyng.—Ru = Rushworth Gospels (Ru<sup>1</sup> = Matthew; Ru<sup>2</sup> = other gospels).—S&B = Soul and Body (R. Buchholz).—Saw.W = Sawles Warde.—Se.Tr = Sege of Troy.—SEL = South English Legendary.—So.P = Song of the Passion (EETS 49, 197 ff.).—SpecGW = Speculum Guy of Warwick.—StEd = St. Editha.—Thom.Erc = Thomas of Erceldoune.—Trev = Trevisa.—Trin. Homs = Trinity Homilies.—Trist = Sir Tristrem.—Vern = Vernon MS.—VPs = Vespasian Psalter (in H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*).—VV = Vices and Virtues (EETS 89).—West.Ch = Westminster Charters.—Will.Her = William Herebert.—Will.P = William of Palerne.—Will.Sh = William of Shoreham.—Woh = Wohunge of Ure Lauerd (EETS 34, 269 ff.).

Note in conclusion, first, that MKent. statistics are not given (owing to the complexity of the different spellings) and, secondly, that the list of forms given in this article, though large, is not intended as exhaustive (except, of course, in cases in which statistics are given).

Two special factors have affected the regular development of the forms of this pronoun:—

(A) As in the case of the majority of pronouns special stress-

conditions have led to abnormal phonological development; in particular:—

(1) Lengthening tends to take place; thus nom.sg.masc. PrE. \**hī* > OE. *hē* > *hē* (> MnE. *he*). The stem of the pronoun in the two forms under discussion here was probably long by reason of this special lengthening; this is attested by the late WS. spelling nom.acc.sg.fem.nom.acc.pl. *hig*, by ME. spellings such as nom.pl. *hii hij* (e.g. in Dav GuyW PepysGH PPl Rob.Gl SpecGW), and by rhymes such as nom.sg.fem. *heo*\*: *beo* (Rob. Gl v. 9550).

(2) 'Accent-shift'<sup>2</sup> tends to take place in this word; it is probably due to a diminution in stress. Thus, nom.sg.fem. Orm *zho* < OE. *hīo*; MnWFrī. *ju* < OFrī. *hiu*, *hio*. Sometimes this accent-shift has caused the loss of the first element of a diphthong, as in nom.sg.fem. ME. *ho* < OE. *hēo*.

(3) The second element of the OE. diphthongs *io*, *eo* tends to be unrounded by reason of a diminution in stress; hence, North. gen.pl. *hiara* < *hiora*.

(B) The paradigm of the definite article tends to influence that of the *hi*-pronoun and vice versa; thus, acc.sg.fem.nom. acc.pl. North. *hīa* OFrī. *hia* by analogy with OE. *þā* OFrī. *tha*. Cf. similarly MDu. nom.sg.fem. *soe*<sup>3</sup> (= Goth. *so*) 'she.' For analogy in the reverse direction cf. VPs nom.sg.fem. *sīe* by analogy with *hīe*.<sup>4</sup>

**Nom.sg.fem.** PrGmc.\**χi-ō* > nom.sg.fem. OE. *hīu* Lind (I3 : *hio* 6) Ru<sup>1</sup> (7 : *hio* 8 *heo* 2), > *hīo* Lind Ru<sup>2</sup> Ru<sup>1</sup> eWS Kent.Gl (I6 : *hi* 3); > WS. *hēo*, with the usual change of *īo* to *ēo*. Hence the following ME. types:—

(a) With normal development of OE. *ēo*:—AR (MSS. N, Cl, A) *heo* (n : *ha*) Kath.Gr *heo* (: *ha*) Hal.Meid *heo* (: *ha*) Saw.W *heo* (: *ha*) Prov.Alf [MS. J] *heo* (n : *hi*) *heo* Se.Tr S&B PPl

<sup>2</sup> 'Akzentumsprung.'

<sup>3</sup> J. Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik* §212.

<sup>4</sup> As another peculiarity in connection with the history of this word we may mention (C) a tendency towards the preservation of anomalous and archaic forms; thus, acc.sg.fem.nom.acc.pl. *hiæ* Ru<sup>1</sup> Ru<sup>2</sup>; nom.sg.fem. *hue* Prov.Alf [MS. T], *heo* Jac&Jos (see p. 18).

Jac&Jos<sup>5</sup> West.Ch—also elsewhere e.g. K.Tars v. 76; Lay *heo* n, *ho* MS. C v. 4990 Owl&N<sup>6</sup> *heo ho he*<sup>7</sup> Lamb.Homs. *heo* 57 *ho* 8 (: *ha* 3) Trev *heo hue* (n : *she* etc. 4, a 8) Harl.2253 *heo he* n, *hue* K.Horn [MS. L] *heo hue he* (: *hy*), [MS. C] *heo he* Rob.Gl *heo* n, *he* (: 30, 3e, sso, sse) SEL *heo* n, *he* Bible *heo he* Trin.Homs *heo hie he* VV *heo* 99/26, *he hie*<sup>8</sup> n PPI [MS. Phill. 823I] *hue* n<sup>9</sup> Prov.Alf [MS. T] *he hue*<sup>10</sup> (n : *hie*)—(*hue* also elsewhere e.g. Alex&Dind v. 562)—K.Horn [MS. O] *he* (: *hy(e, sche)*) StEd *he* (: *hi*)—(*hē* also elsewhere e.g. Pol.R&L p. 256 (foot) *hey*).

(b) With accent-shift (A2 above) > [hjo], [jo]<sup>11</sup>:—Orm *zho* n Lay [MS. O] *zeo* (: 3e) Rob.Gl 30 (: *heo* n, *he*, 3e, sso, sse) F&P *zho* 2, 30 2 (: 3e 1, sso 1) PPI [MS. Laud 656] 30 n—also Otuel [Auchinleck MS.] v. 1001.

(c) With loss of the first element of the diphthong (A2 above) > *ho*. H. Lindkvist (*Anglia* xlv, 48) says:—“ . . . Bishop Erkenwald . . . has only *ho*; this holds good also . . . of the Fairfax MS. of the Cursor Mundi. In the so-called Early English Alliterative Poems (Pearl, Cleanness and

<sup>5</sup> The form is anomalous in this text for OE. *ēo* regularly appears as *e* (3 x as *u*)—see A. S. Napier, *Iacob and Iosep*, p. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> For the distribution of the three forms in the different parts of the two MSS. see J. E. Wells, *Anglia* xxxiii, 258-9.

<sup>7</sup> OE. *ēo* appears only very rarely as *e* in either MS. (W. Breier, *Eule und Nachtigall* p. 15) and the comparatively frequent occurrence of the nom.sg.fem. *he* (CJ 3 x, C 5 x, J 3 x) therefore raises the question whether OE. nom.sg.fem. *hie* may not sometimes have given *hē* with an accent-shift similar to that found in the nom.sg.fem. *hō* < *hēo*. There is certainly some evidence for this development in the case of the nom.pl. *hie* (see note 28). If this development were postulated, there would be an alternative explanation for some of the examples of a nom.sg.fem. *hē* given above from ME. texts in which OE. *ēo* regularly appears as *ē*—such as *he* in the Register of Godstow Nunnery (cf. W. Segelhorst, *Die Sprache des "English Register of Godstow Nunnery"* (ca. 1450) in *ihrem Verhältnis zu Oxford und London* p. 27). But the evidence for the assumption of a change nom.sg.fem. *hie* > *hē* could only be regarded as certain if a consistent nom.sg.fem. *he* were to be found in a text where OE. *ēo* NEVER appeared as *ē*.

<sup>8</sup> The writing *ie* can correspond to OE. *ēo* in Trin.Homs and VV; see O. Strauss, *Die Sprache der me. Predigtsammlung in der HS. B.14.52 des Trinity College, Cambridge* p. 49; G. Schmidt, *Ueber die Sprache und Heimat der "Vices and Virtues"* §33.

<sup>9</sup> H. Lindkvist, *Anglia* xlv, 17.

<sup>10</sup> This form is anomalous in this text for OE. *ēo* regularly appears as *ē* (E. Borgström, *The Proverbs of Alfred* §29).

<sup>11</sup> See H. Lindkvist, *Anglia* xlv, 10 ff.

Patience) and in the pieces of the well-known Ireland MS. (Anturs of Arther, Sir Amadace, Avowynge of King Arther) *ho* prevails almost without exception, apart from two or three isolated instances of *scho*. In Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight *ho* by far prevails, but there are several instances of *scho*. The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy has *ho* as the regular form; besides *sho* (*scho*) is frequently found, and in not a few places *she*." ME. *hō* > MnE.dial. *ū*, *u* in parts of West Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Flint, Denbighshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Worcester-shire.<sup>12</sup>

(d) With loss of the first element of the diphthong (A<sub>2</sub> above) and unrounding of *o* to *a* (A<sub>3</sub> above):—*ha* AR [MSS. N, Cl,<sup>13</sup> A] (: *heo* n) Kath.Gr (: *heo*) Saw.W (: *heo*) Hal.Meid (: *heo*) Lamb.Homs (: *heo ho he*)—(also elsewhere e.g. Woh 281/5),—*a* Trev 8 (*heo hue* n, *she* etc. 4)—also elsewhere e.g. Meid.Mar 12b.

Nom.sg.fem. PrGmc. \**χi-ō* > nom.sg.fem. OFris. *hiu*, *hio* whence, with accent-shift (A<sub>2</sub> above), MnFris. *jū* (Wangeroog) *ju* (Saterland), North Fris. *ju*, Wfris. *ju* (Schiermonnikoog, Hindelopen, East Terschelling *ju*).

Acc.sg.fem. PrGmc. \**χi-ōn* > acc.sg.fem. PrE. \**hiæ* > *hiæ* Ru<sup>2</sup> (18 : *hia* 23) Ru<sup>1</sup> (7 : *hio* 1, *heo* 3, *hie* 2) with irregular preservation of the final vowel (C above), WS. *hīe hȳ hī*; > acc.sg.fem. ME. *hi* Owl&N 4 Prov.Alf [MS. J] Lamb.Homs.

Acc.sg.fem. OE. *hīa* Rit 15 Lind 74 *hea* 5 Ru<sup>2</sup> (23 : *hiæ* 18)<sup>14</sup> OFris. *hia*<sup>15</sup> are due to analogy with acc.sg.fem. OE. *þā* OFris. *tha* (B above).

<sup>12</sup> J. Wright, *The English Dialect Grammar* p. 273.

<sup>13</sup> *ha* occurs relatively more frequently in Cl than in N.

<sup>14</sup> But a few examples of *hia* in OECh cannot be relied on (R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek* §350.3).

<sup>15</sup> The phonologically regular Frisian development is seen in acc.sg. *jeve* < PrGmc. \**γeβōn*.

In English 'the distinction nom.sg.fem. *hīo* : acc.sg.fem. *hīe hȳ hī*, *hīa* tended to be lost, probably because a form identical with the acc.sg.fem. *hīe*, *hīa* could be used in the plural for both nom. and acc.

Thus, on the one hand:—nom.sg.fem. VPs *hīe* WS. *hīe hȳ hī*; further nom.sg.fem. ME. *hi* Lamb.Homs (: *heo ho he*) Prov.Alf [MS T] *hie* (: *hue he n*), [MS. J] *hi* (: *heo n*) K.Horn [MS. O] *hy(e* (: *he, sche*) Fl&Bl *hi(i* (: *zhe n, she*) StEd *hi* (: *he*)—(also elsewhere e.g. Launfal v. 352 *hy*, LIF v. 120 *hye*);<sup>16</sup> with accent-shift (A2 above)<sup>17</sup> > [hje:], [je:]<sup>18</sup>:—Best *ge n* Gen&Ex *ghe n, ge 1* (: *sche 2, sge 2*) Fl&Bl *zhe (n : hi, she)* F&P *ze 1* (: *zho 2, zo 2, sso 1*) Lay [MS. O] *ze* (: *zeo n*) Rob.Gl *ze* (: *heo n, he, zo, sse, sso*) Will.P *zhe* (: *sche n, che*) — also in two late fourteenth century deeds (Lindkvist, *loc.cit.*).<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand:—acc.sg.fem. WS. *hēo* Ru<sup>1</sup> *h)eo 3 hio 1* (: *hiæ 7 hie 2*); further, with normal development of OE. *ēo*:—acc.sg.fem. ME. *heo* Lamb.Homs Lay SEL, Owl&N *heo* CJ vv. 1232, 1530 C v. 939 *ho* J v. 939 Pass v. 435 *heo* S&B §E v. 5 *heo* Trin.Homs *heo 1 hie 1* VV *hie 35/32* PM MS. D stanza 61 *hoe* H.Ch v. 441 *he*<sup>20</sup>; with loss of the first element of the diphthong (A2 above) and unrounding of *o* to *a* (A3 above):—acc.sg.fem. *ha* Lay MS. C v. 3186 PM MS.L v. 215 Sainte Marherete 15/31.

<sup>16</sup> The explanation of the MKent. forms is rendered difficult by the fact that the phonologically regular development of PrE. *iū* in MKent. is *ī*. It is therefore very difficult to decide whether nom.acc.sg.fem. *hi* Ayen Kent.Gosp Kent.Homs PM [MS. D] Will.Sh corresponds to OE. *hīo* or to OE. *hīe* (the latter > *hi* already in OKent., in some cases at least—cf. Kent.Gl nom.sg.fem. *hi* (3 : *hio* 16) < *hīe*, with irregular loss of the final vowel due to diminution of stress, as in North. dat.sg.fem. *hir* < *hire*?). But forms such as Kent.Gosp nom.sg.fem. *hio hyo* (as well as Will.Sh nom.sg.fem. *he*?) show that some at least of the forms descend from OE. *hīo*.

<sup>17</sup> This explanation is more probable than Lindkvist's (analogy between [hjo:] and [he:], both from OE. *hīo hēo*); for the identical accent-shift is proved in the nom.pl. for one dialect at least by Ru<sup>1</sup> nom.pl. *hē* < *hīe* (see note 28).

<sup>18</sup> H. Lindkvist, *Anglia* xlv, 26 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The nom.sg.fem. *ja* in some dialects of MnWFr. is to be similarly explained; i.e., it descends from an OFris. nom.sg.fem. \**hia* with the form of the acc.sg.fem.

<sup>20</sup> < *hēo* or *hīe*?; see note 7.



**Nom. acc. pl.**

Corresponding to a PrGmc. paradigm

|          | masc.           | fem.                          | neut.         |
|----------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| nom. pl. | * <i>χi-ai</i>  | * <i>χi-ôz</i>                | * <i>χi-ô</i> |
| acc. pl. | * <i>χi-anz</i> | * <i>χi-ônz</i> <sup>21</sup> | * <i>χi-ô</i> |

in Pr. Anglo-Frisian we should expect:—

|          | masc.           | fem.         | neut.        |
|----------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| nom. pl. | * <i>hiæ</i>    | * <i>hia</i> | * <i>hiu</i> |
| acc. pl. | ? <sup>22</sup> | * <i>hiæ</i> | * <i>hiu</i> |

Since there was no distinction in the majority of declensions between nom. and acc. pl., there was naturally a tendency to eliminate the distinction in this pronominal paradigm also. Under these circumstances a form \**hiæ* was generalised for nom. acc. pl., masc. and fem.; this process is intelligible whatever the form we assume for the difficult acc. pl. masc. For some reason this form \**hiæ* was extended to the nom. acc. pl. neut. also;<sup>23</sup> consequently, all distinction between the six cases was lost and we may imagine a state of affairs in which either \**hiæ* or \**hiu* could be used in any of them. Then one or other of these forms was generalised.

The first process (generalisation of \**hiæ*) accounts for:— OE. nom. acc. pl. 'hiæ' RC FC, *hiæ* Ru<sup>2</sup> (167 : *hia* 54, *hie* 7) Ru<sup>1</sup> (104 : *hie* 64, *heo* II, *hio* 2, *hi* 7, *he* 5, *hy* 2, *hye* I);<sup>24</sup> OE. *hīe hȳ* (—hence Trev nom. pl. *huy*<sup>25</sup>) *hī*; hence ME. nom. pl. *hi hii hij hy* Dav Fl&Bl (: *βai* etc. n, *he*) GuyW (: *he*) Harl. 2253 (: *heo he hue* n) Jac&Jos (56 : *βei* 5) K. Horn (n : *βei*) Kild (n : *βai*) Lamb. Homs (: *heo ho, he*) Lay (: *heo ho, ha*) Owl&N (n : *heo ho*) PepysGH (: *βai* etc. :: 6.5 : I) PChron n

<sup>21</sup> See H. M. Flad dieck, *Indogermanische Forschungen* xlviii, 66.

<sup>22</sup> It is doubtful what this form would have been; possibly \**hiæ* < WGmc. \**hia* (cf. OHG. nom. acc. pl. *taga* = Goth. acc. pl. *dagans* ?).

<sup>23</sup> If it could be assumed that beside \**χi-ô* a form \**χi-ai* was present in the nom. acc. pl. neut. of the Germanic paradigm (cf. Latin nom. acc. pl. neut. *quae*—see K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* §507.2), this extension would be readily intelligible.

<sup>24</sup> With irregular preservation of the final *æ* (C above) in Ru<sup>2</sup> Ru<sup>1</sup> as in the acc. sg. fem. (note 19).

<sup>25</sup> The spelling *uy* regularly represents OE. long *y* in this text (B. Pfeffer, *Die Sprache des 'Polychronicons' John Trevisa's in der Hs. Cotton Tiberius D.VII §74*).

PPI (n : *heo*) PM [MS. L] (4 : *ho* 11), [MS. T] v. 382 (: *he, hie*) Prov. Alf [MS. J] r Rob. Gl n SpecGW (: *þei*) Trev (n : *a, he, huy, þey*) WestCh—(also elsewhere e.g. Pol.S 214/7, Firumb v. 1014); and ME. acc.pl. *hi* Lamb.Homs Prov. Alf Owl&N 9 PM MS.L v. 180 S&B §A v. 14; with accent-shift (A2 above) Ass.Mar nom.pl. *zhe* (7 : *þai þei* n).

The second process (generalisation of \**hiu*) accounts for:—MnFris. nom.pl. *jô* (Saterland) and for nom.acc.pl. IWS. *hëo* Ru<sup>1</sup> *hio* 2 *heo* 11 Kent.Gl *hio* (4 : *hi* 4);<sup>26</sup> hence, with normal phonological development of OE. *ëo*:—ME. nom.pl. Lay *heo* n *ho* C vv. 20697, 24410, 29859 Owl&N *heo ho* (: *hi* n) Lamb.Homs *heo ho* (n : *ha*) Harl.2253 *heo he hue* (n : *hii*) K.Horn [MS.L] *heo hue* (: *hy* n), *heo* S&B AR [MSS. N, Cl, A] (n : *ha*) HistHRT Kath.Gr (: *ha*) Saw.W (: *ha*) Hal.Meid (: *ha* n) PPI (: *hij* n) PrHIII Se.Tr Will.Her—(also elsewhere e.g. Jos.Ar. v. 283 *heo* PM [MS. L] *ho* (11 : *hi* 4) Pol.S 214/3, 5, 6 *hue*), Trin.Homs *heo he hie* VV *hie he* PM [MS. T] *hie he; he* Best n Eng.G Fl&Bl (: *hi, þai* etc. n) Gen&Ex n GuyW (: *hii*) Hav (: *þei*) H.Ch (: *þay*) K.Horn [MS.O] (: *hye, þei*) Prov. Alf [MS. J] (: *hi*) Rob.M<sup>27</sup> (: *þei* n) Thom.Erc Trist Trev (4 : *hy* n, *a, huy, þey*)—(*he* also elsewhere e.g. PPCr v. 471 Metr.Chron 33 Hy.V 59/39 Lovel c. xlii v. 76 *hee* So.P 24 *hey*);<sup>28</sup> acc.pl. Owl&N [CJ] vv. 926, 1528 *heo* S&B §A v. 5, §E v. 2; with loss of the first element of the diphthong (A2 above) and unrounding of *o* to *a* (A3 above):—nom.pl. *ha* AR [MSS. N, Cl,<sup>29</sup> A] (: *heo* n) Kath.Gr (: *heo*) Saw.W (: *heo*) Lamb.Homs (: *heo ho* n)<sup>30</sup> Hal.

<sup>26</sup> As in the case of the nom.acc.sg.fem. (see note 16), the position in MKent. is not clear; nom.acc.pl. *hi* Ayen Kent.Gosp Kent.Homs Kent.Serms PM [MS.D] Will. Sh < OE. *hio* or *hîe* (the latter > Kent.Gl nom.pl. *hi*); Kent.Gosp nom.acc.pl. *hyo heo* Kent.Homs nom.pl. *hio* 223/26 are certainly from OE. *hio*.

<sup>27</sup> Also spelt *hey*.

<sup>28</sup> nom.pl. *he* 5 in Ru<sup>1</sup> must be derived from *hîe* by a development similar to that whereby nom.sg.fem. OE. *hëo* > ME. *hō* (see p. 18). It is thus possible that some of the examples of ME. nom.pl. *hë* given above from texts where OE. *ëo* regularly appears as *ë*—such as Best (E. S. Hallbeck, *The Language of the Middle English Bestiary* §18) may descend from OE. *hîe*, not from OE. *hëo*; cf. note 7.

<sup>29</sup> The form *ha* is relatively more frequent in Cl than in N.

<sup>30</sup> Also acc.pl. 4.

Meid (n : *heo*) Lay C vv. 3320, 5365, 5601—(also elsewhere e.g. EdII stanza 44); *a* Trev (*hy* n, *he*, *huy*, *þey*) MeidMar 12c, 57d Vern.

Nom.acc.pl. OE. *hīa* Rit (67 : *hie* 3) Lind (447 : *hea* 25, *hie* 6 *hiæ* 4) Ru<sup>2</sup> (54 : *hiæ* 167 *hie* 7) OFris. *hia* and nom. pl. MnFris. *jā* (Wangeroog) *jô* (Saterland) *ja* (Sild, Moringer and Wfris.)—with accent-shift (A2 above)—are due to analogy with nom. acc.pl. OE. *þā* OFris. *tha* (B above).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> In OE. the forms *hēo*, *hīo* occur sporadically in all the six cases in texts in which *hiē* is normal; thus, CP H 87/4, C 270/20; Or 66/31, 92/30, 102/29, 130/11, 220/23 VPs xvii, 39 OECh No. 45 (452/32, 36, 44, 52). Cf. also OFris. *hio* Emsigo 245/8, Fivelgo 86/104. Unless these forms are erroneous they probably reflect the earlier state of affairs before one or other of the forms *\*hie*, *\*hiu* had been generalised in all six cases.