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The Old English relative *þe*[1]

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In current accounts the Old English relative *þe* is analysed in two radically different ways. The traditional view, inherited from the nineteenth-century grammarians, views the word as a relative pronoun, while the generative analysis, derived from some remarks of Jespersen on the ModE relative *that*, takes it to be a subordinating particle. The generativist view is based on the word's lack of morphological variation, whereas the older approach examines more generally the grammar of the word, noting that the invariable *þe* shares the typical nominal categories of number and case, functioning both as a singular and a plural and representing all the four cases of OE nominal elements. A further indication of the word's nominal status is its referential function, distinguishing between specific and generic reference. Against these clear facts, the lack of overt inflection is a minor idiosyncrasy, paralleled by the OE generic *man/mon*, whose pronominal status is widely agreed. *Þe* may have been a subordinating particle in origin, but by historical OE times it retained this function in relative clauses only after relative adverbs, having been reanalysed elsewhere either as a relative adverb itself, or, in its most frequent relative use, as a pronoun.

1 Introduction

Among the relative structures of Old English, surviving also in the earliest form of Middle English, the most common type of clause was one introduced by the word *þe* as in the following examples.

(1)(a) Ðu *þe* þyrstende wære monnes blodes xxx wintra, drync nu þine fylle (Or 24.31)
'you who were thirsting for man's blood for 30 years, drink now your fill'
(b) heora are is mest on þæm gafole ðe þa Finnas him gyldað (Or 15.14)
'their wealth consists mostly of the tax that the Lapps pay them'
(c) sio scir hatte Halgoland *þe* he on bude (Or 16.1)
'that district was called Helgeland that he lived in'

While the clause type as such is recorded in all accounts of the grammar of the period, the interpretation of the word *þe* is an unsolved problem which makes the structural analysis of the whole clause uncertain: for some grammarians, the clause-initial *þe* is a relative pronoun and thus a normal part of the functional structure of the clause, for others *þe* is nothing more than a complementizer, i.e. a type of subordinating particle or conjunction. The contrast between the two analyses is obviously the same as that between the two interpretations of relative *that* in ME and ModE, but in contrast to the long-standing dispute about the appropriate analysis of relative *that*, the different

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views of *þe* seem to have received relatively little attention. This is presumably due to the fact that the word *þe* in this use was replaced by *that* early during the ME period and has therefore not played a part in the discussions of Present-day English. However, the analysis of OE *þe* seems to me well worth a more careful examination not only because of its intrinsic interest for our understanding of relativization in the earlier periods of English but also because the grammar of *þe* has clear implications for the interpretation of the modern relative *that*, which has inherited some of its grammatical properties from the word that it ultimately replaced.

2 Current analyses of relative *þe*

To see how the apparently simple concrete facts can give rise to different views on such a fundamental issue, it is necessary to examine the clauses with relative *þe* against the background of the other types of relative clause found in the language of the period. These include primarily two structures which may be regarded as variants of one basic type: one subtype in which the clause is introduced by a form of *se, seo, þæt* and another one in which that word is accompanied by the word *þe*. The two variant forms are illustrated in (2) and (3).

(2)(a) ge onfeð ðæm mægene Halges Gastes, *se* cymeð ofor eow (BlHom 119.11)
'you receive the power of the Holy Spirit which comes over you'

(b) God ða aplantode wynsamm orcerd *on ðam* he gelogode þone man ðe he geworhte (Gen 1.8)
'God then planted a pleasant orchard in which he placed the man that he had made'

(c) Ða feng Ine to Seaxna rice, *þæs* cynn gæþ to Ceardice (ChronA 1.23)
'Then the rule over the West Saxons fell to Ine,whose lineage goes back to Cerdic'

(3)(a) Seo ilce burg Babylonia, *seo ðe* mæst wæs & ærest ealra burga (Or 43.33)
'that same city of Babylon, which was the greatest and the first of all cities'

(b) heo ne woldon heore Gode hyran, *þone þe* heo gelyfden (Bede 222.23)
'they did not want to obey their God in whom they believed'

(c) . . . oð þæt ðu gewende to eordan *of ðare ðe* ðu genumen wære (Gen 3.19)
'till you return to the earth out of which you were taken'

In addition to these variants we also have a further type in which the clause has no overt relative marker. This type was infrequent in OE and early ME, and its status as part of the system of relative structures of the language is not fully clear. It was normally restricted to structures where the missing overt constituent would have been the subject of the clause, as in (4a–b), but these clauses are interpreted by several syntacticians as main clauses with a personal pronoun subject ellipted (for a discussion, see Mustanoja, 1960: 203–4; Erdmann, 1980; Mitchell, 1985 I: 185–6; Dekeyser, 1986). Occasionally a similar structure is attested even in cases where the zero element is understood as having some other syntactic function, as in (4c–d). This is more likely to be a relative clause, but recorded instances are very limited in OE.

(4)(a) he ne sparode his agenne broðor _ Odo het (ChronE 12.84)
'he did not spare his own brother, who was called Odo'

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(b) Her on þys geare gefor alfred _ wæs æt Baþum gerefa (ChronA 94.20)
'In this year died Alfred, who was sheriff in Bath'
(c) On þissum geare wæs nan færeld to Rome, buton tuegen hleaperas _ Aelfred cyning sende mid gewritum (ChronA 82)
'In this year there was no expedition to Rome except for two couriers King Alfred sent with letters'
(d) Đonne is oðer stow _ elreordge men beoð on (Marv 60.9)
'Then there is another place foreigners are in'

As regards the grammatical status of the items introducing these different types of clauses, it is clear that the initial *se, seo, þæt* in (2) and (3) is a pronoun, as is shown by its occurrence in different nominal functions in the clause (subject, object, prepositional complement, etc.) and its inflection for case, which is determined by the word's functional role in the clause. By contrast, the element *þe* appearing optionally as an accompaniment of the pronoun in (3) is always invariable, and its grammatical status is far less clear. In traditional accounts, such as those offered by Western (1893), Wülfing (1894) and Kock (1897), that element is commonly referred to simply as 'redundant' or 'pleonastic' *þe*. The exact structural position of this element is left open and the meaning of the term is not specified, but it would seem to imply at least that the word is not considered to be part of the normal S-V-C-A structure of the clause. A more helpful formulation of this view is given by Mitchell (1985 I: 86–8 and *passim*), who describes *þe* as functioning as a subordination marker to distinguish the relative pronouns and adverbs from the homonymous demonstratives: *se, seo, þæt* and *þær, þider, þonne*, etc., can in general be demonstrative or relative, but when they are accompanied by *þe*, they are unambiguously relative (cf. the contrast between (2) and (3) above).

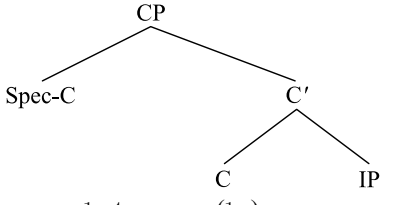
Though not specific in all details, this view is in fundamental agreement with the account offered in generative work, in which the *se þe* pattern is treated as a special case of a more general structure which contains two distinct pre-subject positions in all relative clauses. The first of them, a Spec-C position in generative parlance, is occupied by the fronted relativized phrase, which functions as subject, object, predicative, adverbial, etc., and is accompanied by a gap in the normal position of the element in question. That first position is then followed by a separate Complementizer node which may be empty or may be filled by a complementizer, which was *þe* in OE and early ME and *that* in later ME and occasionally even in Present-day English (Seppänen & Trotta, 2000). In contrast to the fronted constituent, the complementizer is seen as nonpronominal and nonreferential, often called 'a subordinating particle' (Geoghegan, 1975) or said to be 'in more traditional terms a subordinating conjunction' (Allen, 1980a: 92; for further generative discussions of this point in OE and ME, see Grimshaw, 1975; Bresnan, 1976; Allen, 1980b). In its treatment of *þe* as a conjunction-like element the generative view is more specific than the traditional description, which left the categorial status of the word open and might thus even imply that the word is taken to be a relative pronoun.

In contrast to their basic agreement on the analysis of the *þe* accompanying the pronoun *se, seo, þæt*, the two approaches come to very different conclusions in their

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approach to the clauses introduced by a mere *þe*, the type illustrated in the examples under (1). For the traditional view, the item *þe*, occurring here alone to introduce a relative clause, is not pleonastic but an item which functions as a normal structural part of the clause in the nominal functions of subject, object, predicative, etc. Functionally comparable to the pronoun *se, seo, þæt* in (2) and (3), it is itself similarly taken to be a relative pronoun. Fully explicit on this main point, the traditional analysis does not specify whether the pronominal *þe* is regarded as identical with the pleonastic *þe* of the complex *se þe* structure, and leaves similarly open the exact position of this *þe* in a constituent structure which contains two distinct pre-subject structural nodes. The clauses not overtly marked as relative, like those of (4), stand then in contrast to these marked relatives, and to the extent that they are taken to be relative clauses, they may be described as containing a zero relativizer, but the position of the zero is left open in the same way as the position of *þe* when it is assumed to be the sole overt relative marker. The structural view implied in traditional descriptions may thus be represented as under (5a–c) in the following diagram.

(5)



(a)	se, seo, þæt	(þe)	
(b)	þe?	þe?	
(c)	Ø?	Ø?	
(d)	se, seo, þæt	(þe)	
(e)	Ø	þe	
(f)		þe	Ø

For the generative grammarians of OE the functional identification of *þe* with the pronoun *se, seo, þæt* is mistaken, because the two elements represent two entirely different modes of relativization, one by means of inflected pronouns and the other one by means of an invariable particle. The original source of this basic idea is to be sought in the descriptions of relativization by the Indo-European comparativists (for a recent study, see Kurzowa, 1981), but its immediate inspiration was the analysis of ModE relative *that* as a conjunction, originally proposed by Jespersen (1927: 165–8). Two arguments are regularly adduced which are claimed to show that *þe* is not a nominal element like *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, and plays no part in the functional structure of the clause (see, for instance, Allen, 1980a; Geoghegan, 1975; Traugott, 1992: 226–8): first, in contrast to the pronoun *se, seo, þæt*, the word *þe* shows no inflection to mark its would-be functional role in the clause, and second, in contrast to the pronoun *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, which can be the complement of a preposition directly preceding it (cf. *on ðam* in (2b) and *of ðare ðe* in (3c) above), the structure 'preposition + *þe*' is nonexistent, being obligatorily replaced by a form that involves preposition stranding (cf. *þe he on bude* in (1c) above). On the basis of these deviations from the expected behaviour

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of pronouns, the generative analysis concludes that *þe* even when it occurs alone is not a pronoun but the same complementizer or subordinator which it was taken to be when it was used together with a pronoun. In this way the *þe*-clauses are parallel to genuine zero clauses as structures not containing any relativizer proper, distinguished from them only by the fact that they do not contain even the complementizer *þe* as a marker of subordination. The zero clauses are usually assumed to have a special zero relativizer, which is positioned either in the normal front position of relativizer (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1976; Chomsky, 1981), or at the deletion site of the relativized item (Allen, 1980a; Bresnan, 1976; Grimshaw, 1975). The two kinds of zero clauses can thus be represented as a second type of relative structure, illustrated in (5e–f) in the diagram above.

As is clear from what has been said above, the traditional analysis of OE relatives and the generative view of the same data are partly comparable and partly very different. In this second case the older view has been critically examined by a series of generative grammarians, who have pointed out what they see as shortcomings that lead them to reject the older analysis of *þe* as a pronoun. Faced with this criticism, the traditionalists have readily admitted that *þe* – and similarly its later parallel *that* – is not a fully regular pronoun, but they have taken it for granted that its untypical grammatical features are minor idiosyncratic properties of the word which do not affect its general status as a member of the class of pronouns. Apart from this, however, they have not, to the best of my knowledge, presented a more general discussion of the theoretical implications of those deviant features of *þe*, and above all have not more generally presented a critical examination of the new analysis which has more and more replaced the traditional view of relative structures in recent discussions. In this way the study of relative clauses in the literature has for a long time tended to be rather one-sided, lacking any study which examines the generative interpretation of the OE relative structures in the same critical light that it has itself shown vis-à-vis the views of older generations of Anglo-Saxon scholars. In this article it is my aim to attempt to redress the balance by examining the controversial issues of OE relativization in the light of relevant OE data which seem to me to have been overlooked in the generative discussions, and in the light of this fuller coverage of concrete facts to present a description which modifies the analysis of OE presented by the generativists. While the resulting view can be expected to do better justice to the findings of the older generation of Anglo-Saxon scholars than is often found today, the study is naturally not committed to an acceptance of all aspects of the older work in the field.

3 Can *þe* be a pronoun?

In the unsatisfactory situation in which the conflicting views of current accounts leave us, an attempt to solve the controversy can most naturally begin with an examination of those morphosyntactic properties of the word *þe* whose theoretical implications are at the very centre of the controversy. The crucial question to ask is then what significance

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those concrete data can justifiably be claimed to have for the analysis of *þe* as a pronoun or nonpronoun. To view the question from a more general angle, we shall include in the discussion the treatment of analogous cases in some other languages.

Beginning with the lack of inflection, is it the case that inflection is generally considered to be a criterial property of pronouns? As far as ModE is concerned, the class of pronouns, as it is presented in current descriptions, contains several items which have no trace of inflection, such as the indefinites *all, both, none, some, any*, the interrogatives and relatives *what* and *which*, the demonstrative *such*, etc. Furthermore, a partly similar situation obtains in Modern German, which has invariable pronouns like the indefinites *etwas* 'something' and *nichts* 'nothing', and even a relative: the word *wo*, used in standard German as an interrogative and relative adverb with the locative sense of 'where', but found in nonstandard varieties of the language in what clearly look like nominal functions, as in the following examples (cf. Paul, 1992: 1053).

(6)(a) Wo sind die, *wo* eben gekommen sind?
'Where are those as have just come?'
(b) Das schlechteste Messer *wo* er hat
'The worst knife as he has'

A very similar situation is also found in Finnish with the word *kun*. In standard Finnish this word is used as a conjunction in temporal and causal clauses ('when', 'because'), and colloquially even in comparative clauses ('as', 'than'), but in dialectal and colloquial nonstandard language, particularly in western Finland, it is also very commonly used in relative structures, as in the following examples from 'vulgar' Tampere speech:

(7)(a) Toss on se äijä *kun* osti sen Kallen tamman.
'Over there is the geezer as bought that mare of Kalle's'
(b) Me löyrettiin ne hohtimet *kun* sää olit hukannu.
'We found them tongs what you had lost'

Completely invariable in form, the words *wo* and *kun* differ sharply from the normal inflected relative pronouns (German *der, welcher* and Finnish *joka*, *mikä, kuka)* in not showing concord with the antecedent in either number or (in German) gender and in not marking their syntactic role in the clause by case inflection. One might therefore in principle consider the possibility of analysing them in relative clauses not as pronouns but as complementizers, then perhaps accompanied by a zero element to mark the status of the clause as relative. There are, however, at least two considerations which weigh heavily against such an analysis: first, since there are no zero relatives in either German or Finnish (at any rate not in finite clauses), such a treatment would be a highly uneconomical analysis; and second, since there are uninflected pronouns outside of relative structures at least in German, an analysis of *wo* as a nonpronoun would raise the question of a similar reanalysis of *etwas* and *nichts*. A description of *wo* and *kun* along the lines of the generative treatment of English *þe* would indeed feel highly counterintuitive, and the natural approach is the common description that analyses

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both words essentially as pronouns of a highly exceptional kind, which – due to their defective paradigms – can occur basically only in subject and object functions.

All in all, a variety of cases can thus be quoted from different languages where an item is classed as a pronoun on the basis of its overall grammatical behaviour even though it deviates from the normal inflectional pattern of the language, this being true not only of Present-day English but even of more genuinely inflecting languages, where an invariant item is fitted into the four-case system of German and even into the fifteen-case system of Finnish. In these non-English structures the lack of inflection is treated in the same way regardless of whether it occurs in relative or nonrelative pronouns, and the grammarians of English have traditionally applied the same approach to modern *all, none, what, which*, etc., and to OE *þe*. In the light of all these facts, the claim that OE *þe* – or similarly ME or ModE relative *that* – cannot be a pronoun because of its lack of inflection must be rejected as a view which does not follow the normal descriptive practice of either English or several other languages. In fully general terms, word classes are fundamentally syntactic classes which cannot be generally identified inflectionally even in many richly inflected languages, and to raise inflection to the status of a criterion of word-class membership in English, even in its oldest recorded form, is a fundamental mistake which can only be expected to lead the analysis astray.

Proceeding next to consider prepositional usage along the same lines, we may begin by taking note of the grammar of interrogative clauses and content clauses in Present-day English. Both types of clauses are commonly used in subject and object function, and are in this sense generally classed as nominal clauses (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1049). There is, however, a well-known difference between them in their behaviour with regard to prepositions, as illustrated below (the (b) examples are quoted from Pollard & Sag, 1994: 164; for some discussion see also Quirk et al., 1985: 669 and Seppänen, 1989).

(8)(a) He did not want to talk *about how he had managed it*.
(a′) *How he had managed it* he did not want to talk *about*.
(b) *You can rely *on that Ken will help you*.
(b′) *That Ken will help you* you can rely *on*.

While the behaviour of *wh*-clauses here follows the pattern that is normal with NPs in pairs of sentences like *He did not want to talk about that* vs. *That he did not want to talk about*, the *that*-clauses are subject to an idiosyncratic restriction in that they can normally occur in standard English as complements of prepositions only if the clause is fronted and the preposition is left behind.[2]

The pattern found with English *that*-clauses has an interesting parallel in the grammar of relative pronouns in Dutch. As described in grammars of the language, the relative pronoun *die, dat* has the peculiarity that it cannot be preceded by a preposition, being in such a case regularly replaced by alternative means of expression. This is illustrated in the following sentences, quoted from van der Auwera (1985: 152).

[2] This traditional view of prepositional usage is in fact in need of an important modification. For a discussion, see Granath & Seppänen (in prep.).

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(9)(a) De man **aan die / aan wie / waaraan* ik het boek gaf liep weg.
'The man to that / to whom / whereto I gave the book ran away.'
(b) Het boek **in dat / waarin* ik de foto vond was uitverkocht.
'The book in that /wherein I found the photo was sold out.'

The alternative structures indicated in the examples do not include preposition stranding since stranding is generally not part of Dutch grammar. There is, however, a case where prepositions can be postponed, and in sentences like those of (10) this structure is actually found even with the relative pronoun *die, dat*, as shown in (11).[3]

(10)(a) Het kind kroop *de trap op*.
'The child was crawling up the stairs.'
(b) Ze reden *het plein rond*.
'They drove round the square.'
(11)(a) De trap, *die* het kind *op* kroop, was heel stijl.
'The stairs up which the child was crawling were quite steep.'
(b) Is dit het plein, *dat* ze gisteren driemaal *rond* gereden zijn?
'Is this the square round which they drove three times yesterday?'

In not allowing a preposition in front of it but occurring, to a limited extent, as the complement of a postponed preposition, the pronoun *die, dat* obviously obeys a more complex variant of basically the same type of restriction that applies to English *that*-clauses. Finding that the two elements considered do not occur in the structure 'preposition + x' which we normally expect to be possible with nominal elements, can we interpret this restriction as implying that the elements in question are not nominals, and that *die, dat* therefore is not a pronoun? By no means: the *that*-clause remains a nominal clause, with its occurrence as the complement of a stranded preposition a typical part of the syntax of such elements in languages which allow preposition stranding, and with its regular inflection Dutch *die, dat* offers a direct piece of evidence to show that the pronominal status of the word is unaffected by its very special restrictions on occurring as the complement of a preposition.

The implications of these parallel cases for the analysis of OE *þe* are obvious. When we find that strings of the type 'preposition + *þe*' are replaced by a structure with a stranded preposition, this as such does not in any way imply that *þe* cannot be a pronoun; on the contrary, since preposition stranding is a common feature of English grammar, not unknown even in OE, the stranding pattern can best be interpreted as an argument *for* a pronominal interpretation of *þe* rather than as an argument *against* it.

Having so far considered invariable pronouns from ModE and non-English languages, we can conclude the discussion by noting that a similar relevant case is attested even in OE: the word *man* or *mon*, functioning as what is usually called the indefinite or generic subject. It will be illuminating to include its modern German equivalent in the discussion.

[3] I am greatly indebted to Olga Fischer, Willem Koopman, Johan van der Auwera and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen for help with the formulation of this point.

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(12)(a) heora cyning him gesealde þat egland ꝑ *man* Ii nemnaþ. (ChronA 19.8)
'their king gave them the island that is called Ii'
(b) Hig lufigeað . . . . ꝑ hig *mon* grete on strætum (Matt (WSCp) 23.6–7)
'They love it that people greet them in the streets'
(13)(a) Das kann *man* ganz einfach nicht tun.
'You just cannot do that.'
(b) *Man* sagt, daß die Lage heute kaum besser ist.
'They say that the situation is hardly better today.'

There appear to be no recorded uses of *man/mon* either in the genitive or as the complement of a preposition in either language, and made-up examples of such usage appear horrendous and are rejected *in toto* by native informants where such informants are available:

(14)(a) To forget one's telephone number is surely not that odd.
(b) **Mans/Seine* Telefonnummer zu vergessen ist wohl nicht so merkwürdig.
(15)(a) What can one do when the others don't want to talk *to one?*
(b) Was kann man tun wenn die anderen **mit man / mit einem* nicht reden wollen?

On the basis of the two criteria applied by the generative grammarians to OE *þe* (and similarly to ME and ModE *that*) one would have to say that *man* cannot be a pronoun, and indeed that word deviates from regular pronouns much more than *þe* because it cannot even occur as the object of a verb or as the complement of a stranded preposition. No grammarian of OE or Modern German that I know of seems to follow that line of argumentation, not even any of the generative grammarians discussing the syntax of *man*, who generally describe OE *man* as a 'pronominal' rather than a 'nominal' type of NP (van Bergen, 2000: 103), and intuitively, classing *man* as a conjunction would indeed seem nothing short of absurd. Since *man* functions as the subject of its clause, it must surely be a nominal element, and since it cannot take any kind of premodification, it must be a pronoun rather than a noun. Furthermore, if *man*, in spite of the untypical features of its behaviour, must be classed as a pronoun, then the word *þe* must with much greater reason be classed as a pronoun as it shares only some, not all, of the grammatical peculiarities of *man*. In their treatment of OE *þe* (and again of ModE *that*), traditional grammarians have more or less tacitly assumed that grammatical classes include both regular central members and more marginal partly deviant members, and in the light of facts like those illustrated above, I do not see that this simple fact can be disregarded in a realistic description of natural language data. The approach adopted by Jespersen and the generative grammarians in their analysis of relative clauses seems to me to have missed or disregarded this simple but fundamental point, and appears to have been led in that way to altogether unacceptable conclusions which it does not even itself follow in other comparable cases. One is justified, I think, in concluding that their objections to the more traditional view of *þe* as a pronoun cannot be taken at face value: for all we know, OE *þe* can very well be a pronoun which differs from the regular members of the class but in terms of its overall syntactic behaviour must nevertheless be accommodated within the class of pronouns.

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4 Some data on the use of OE *þe*

In the discussion above it emerged that the generative view of *þe* as a conjunction rather than a pronoun is derived from an analysis which is not theoretically sound and not consistently applied even by the analysts themselves in other comparable cases. In this highly unsatisfactory situation it seems clear that the question of the appropriate grammatical status of *þe* requires a renewed examination of the relevant OE data from a wider perspective than has been common in generative treatments. In the following discussion, I will select for a closer examination a few central aspects of the grammar of *þe*, assuming as a basis of the account the kind of analysis traditionally followed in OE grammars, and then point out various aspects of the material which I believe provide valid evidence for the correctness of this analysis. For obvious reasons, the discussion in this section is heavily indebted to Mitchell (1985), whose two volumes have served as the source of much of the material quoted and largely also as a guide to the analysis of it presented.

4.1 Some basic syntactic functions of Þe

4.1.1 Þe *involved in agreement rules*

Let us begin by looking at the occurrence of *þe* in the syntactic function of subject and its influence on the syntax of the rest of the sentence.

(16)(a) Gregorius, *se wæs* on lære and on dæde *se hyhsta* (Be 485.22)
'Gregory, who was the highest in learning and deeds'
(b) þæt hi wæron ða deadlice *þe* mihton beon undeadlice (ÆCHom i.18.21)
'that they were then mortal who could be immortal'
(c) þu þe þyrstende wære monnes blodes (Or 76.33)
'you who were thirsting for man's blood'

The example in (16a) illustrates how the regular relative pronoun *se*, itself inflected, agrees with the antecedent in number, gender, and person and how the pronoun, when it is the subject of its clause, then passes on these features to those elements of the clause which normally agree with the subject (third-person-singular form of the predicate *wæs* and the masculine gender of the predicative *se hyhsta*). Example (16b) illustrates how these agreement rules work when the relative itself is the invariable *þe*, showing that the antecedent *hi* similarly marks the invariable *þe* as a plural, which then requires the plural form of the verb (*mihton)* and of the predicative complement (*undeadlice*). In (16c) the relative *þe* is second person singular in agreement with the antecedent, and then requires the predicate *wære* to appear in the appropriate number and person.

All in all, it thus turns out that although the relative *þe* does not have distinct forms for the various inflectional categories involved, syntactically its one form represents the distinct grammatical categories of the inflected words of the same syntactic class and contributes to the outward form of other clause elements in full accordance with the normal working of the relevant agreement rules.

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It will be obvious that this behaviour distinguishes *þe* radically from anything found in the syntax of conjunctions.

4.1.2 Þe *as complement of verbs and adjectives*

Next consider examples where *þe* occurs in nonsubject position, first as a direct or indirect object of the monotransitive *wyrcean* 'work, make' or ditransitive *sellan* 'give'.

(17)(a) he beheold þa ealle his weorc *þe* he *geworhte* (ÆCHom i.14.32)
'he beheld then all his works which he had made'
(b) he sealde his dohtor . . . þæm cyninge . . . *þe* he ær Æpira rice *geseald* hæfde (Or 118.27)
'he gave his daughter . . . to the king . . . to whom he had earlier given the kingdom of Epirus'

The cases required of the direct and the indirect object in OE are normally the accusative and the dative (Wülfing, 1894: 96–133, 149–266; Mitchell, 1985 I: 533–4, 565–8), but when the object is the pronoun *þe*, this invariable form can occur in both functions. As a further similar case, consider next the complementation of verbs which normally require their complement to appear in the genitive. Two such verbs are *tweon* 'doubt' and *fægnian* 'rejoice', illustrated in the following sentences with their complements *þæs leanes* and *þæs*.

(18)(a) ne *tweode þæs leanes þe* heo lange *gyrnde* (Jud 347)
'did not doubt about the reward for which she had long yearned'
(b) ðonne *fægniaþ* hi *þæs þe* hi *sceamian* sceolde (Bo 10.25)
'then they rejoice about that of which they should be ashamed'

The verbs of the relative clauses, *giernan* 'yearn' and *sceamian* 'be ashamed', are also normally accompanied by a genitive object, as in *ða recceras þe hiera agnes gilpes giernað* 'the speakers who seek their own glory' (CP 142.22) and *ðæt ic eac ðæs ne scamige* 'that I don't feel ashamed of that too' (CP 100.5). However, when this complement is realized by the relative *þe*, this invariable form can again take the place of the usual marked genitive, as is clear from both of the examples.

The pattern of verb complementation examined above has a close parallel in the syntax of adjectives, which can similarly require their complements to be inflected in a specific case. The following are examples of genitival complements of the adjectives *wyrþe* 'worthy' and *full* (cf. Wülfing, 1894: 3–11; Mitchell, 1985 I: 539–45).

(19)(a) he was *þæs heofonlican rices wyrþe* geworden (Bede 478.43)
'he had become worthy of the heavenly kingdom'
(b) þeah man asette twegen fætels *full ealað oððe wæteres* (Or 21.16)
'though two barrels full of beer or water were put forward'
(c) þæt he si *þæs wyrþe þe* he nis (Solil 189.21)
'that he be worthy of what he is not (worthy)'
(d) his seo heahe godnes *þe* he *full* is (Bo 212.22)
'his high virtue of which he is full'

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In (19a–b) we see the two adjectives accompanied by clearly inflected genitival complements (note that *ealað* in (19b) is the genitive form of this highly irregular noun). In (19c–d), the complement of the adjective is the relative pronoun *þe*, obviously again a nominal referential element in spite of its invariable form.

The next batch of examples shows the same situation with adjective complements in the dative case (cf. Wülfing, 1894: 55–74; Mitchell, 1985 I: 568–75). In (20a–b) the complements mark their syntactic status by a clear inflected form, while examples (20c–d) have the invariable *þe* functioning here as a dative.

(20)(a) þylæs *eow* God yrre weorðe (Ps 2.12)
'lest God become angry with you'
(b) hit is *þam* gelicost (Bo 142.13)
'it is most like that one'
(c) wið oðerne, *ðe* he bið eac irre' (CP 62.14)
'with another one with whom he is also angry'
(d) man sceolde ælcne mon hatan be þam deore *þe* he gelicost wære (Bo 14.4)
'one should call each man according to the animal to which he is most like'

In the light of the material quoted let us now consider the invariability of the relative *þe*. Confronted with the usual statement that *þe* is never inflected, it is natural to interpret it as implying that the word's lack of inflection automatically means that its syntactic use is equally limited, as is the case with the pronoun *man* in OE and in Modern German. But as we have now seen, the relative *þe* is of an entirely different character, occurring in a wide range of syntactic positions and being exceptional only in its morphological behaviour in that it shows no variation of form in its different syntactic functions. In this situation, can we take *þe* to be a complementizer, i.e. a subordinating conjunction? It is easy to see that such a view must here be totally excluded. Verb complements like the direct and indirect object and the genitive object are nominal functions like the subject, standing for the various participants involved in the process or relationship represented by the predicate. They are normally expressed by ordinary NPs, headed either by nouns or pronouns and optionally accompanied by modifiers. However, the crucial point here is not the exact form of the NP but the fact that the invariable *þe* here has the ordinary referential function of nominal elements, without being affected either by the presence or absence of modifiers or, in some cases, even by the absence of the usual nominal inflection. The relative *þe* is an example of a structure where the syntactic relationships are not inflectionally marked, and although it is perhaps an extreme example of this situation in OE, at least in ModE there are many examples of this type of patterning, as shown by the morphological treatment of ModE relatives *which*, *that*, *what* and *as*, all of them largely invariable, as against the better preservation of inflection with *who*. The crucial thing about these words is their ability to perform the syntactic function of subject, object, etc., which is here largely independent of whether or not it is also inflectionally marked.

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4.1.3 The construction þe + *a partitive genitive*

The conclusions arrived at in the previous discussion can also be derived from another two-part construction, but here *þe* functions not as a complement but as head of an NP modified by another NP. We will approach it by examining first its occurrence in somewhat more straightforward cases. The crucial point here is a genitival NP of the partitive kind used as a postmodifier in a larger NP, as illustrated below (cf. Wülfing, 1894: 411; Mitchell, 1985 I: 148–9, 547).[4]

(21)(a) *heora heriges* ðær wæs *mycel* ofslægen (Bede 546.35)
'of their army a large part was slain there'
(b) *eall se dæl se þe þæs treowes on twelf monþum geweaxe* (Bo 234.8)
'all that part of the tree which grows in twelve months'

After this we are ready to look at examples where the genitive modifies the relative *þe*.

(22)(a) hie mosten þa deadan bebyrgan *þe heora folces* ofslægen wæron (Or 100.7)
'they had to bury those of their own people who had been killed'
(b) gif þu ryhte ofðence hwæthugu ðæs *þe* ðin niehsta ðe *widerweardes* gedon hæbbe.. . . (CP 348.10)
'if you really call to mind something bad of what your neighbour has done to you'

In (22a) we have a straightforward example of the relative *þe* postmodified by the partitive genitive phrase *heora folces*. In (22b), there are two examples of genitives of this kind: first *hwæthugu* 'something' is modified by *ðæs*, which is a partitive genitive of the demonstrative pronoun, and then the relative *þe* modified by the partitive genitive *widerweardes*. In both cases the structure '*þe* + genitive' is a NP with *þe* as its head, which thus again shows that this relative 'particle' in reality is a nominal element, functioning in ways which are totally impossible with subordinators.

4.1.4 The complex form þe + *personal pronoun*

As shown in the preceding sections, the simple form *þe* has a wide use in various syntactic functions where NPs in OE are generally inflected for case. However, there is also a complex form which can take the place of *þe* to bring out more clearly the case role of the pronoun. This form consists of the pronoun *þe* accompanied by the appropriate case of the relevant personal pronoun, producing forms like the following (Kock, 1897: 77):[5]

(23) *þe he = qui*
þe his = cuius
þe him = cui
þe hine = quem; is quem
þe. . . with him = quocum

[4] For some problems connected with these structures (exact structural status of the genitive and the bound/free classes of relatives), see Mitchell (1985 I: 148).

[5] The last example (*þe . . . with him*) given by Kock is awkward, with its modern spelling of OE *wið* and its suggested modern meaning, which was normally expressed in OE by *mid* and only occasionally by *wið* (cf. Mitchell, 1985 I: 347).

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The use of the forms appears from the following examples. Note that *þe* and the inflected pronoun may stand next to each other, as in the first three examples, but may also be separated by other material, as in the other examples.

(24)(a) Nis nan gescheaft *þe he* tiohhige þæt hio scyle winnan wiþ hire scippendes willan (Bo 250: 27)
'There is no creature that intends to fight against his creator's will'
(b) eadig byð se wer, *ðe his* to-hopa byð to swylcum Dryhtne (Ps 39.4)
'blessed is the man whose hope is in such a Lord'
(c) Seuerus. . . *þe him* se onweald ær geseald wæs (Or 282.5)
'Severus, to whom the power had been given earlier'
(d) nis nu cwicra nan þe ic *him* modsefan minne durre sweotule asecgan (Wand 13)
'There is now among living men nobody to whom I can openly reveal my mind'
(e) þam witgum *þe* god self *ðurht hi* spec to hys folce (Solil 352.5)
'to the prophets through whom God himself spoke to his people'

In these structures *þe* is again a relative pronoun and in the usual way coreferential with the antecedent. Additionally it is here also coreferential with the following personal pronoun, which is thus anaphoric to *þe* and then also follows the usual agreement rules (cf. the singular *se wer ðe his*. . . in the second example and the plural *þam witgum þe god self ðurht hi* in the last). All in all the combination of *þe* + personal pronoun functions like a normal inflected genitive but with the 'inflectional ending' part occurring as a separate word.

Though most commonly used in connection with the invariable *þe*, the structure had a more general use in OE, being employed in a similar way to supply a genitive equivalent for foreign proper names which could not easily be fitted into the OE inflectional system; thus for instance in *Nilus seo ea hire æwielme* 'the source of the River Nile' (Or 8.10) and *Affrica & Asia hiera landgemircu* 'the frontiers of Africa and Asia' (Or 8.28). In terms of its constituency, the string ' NP + *hire (hiera)*' here is identical with the string '*þe* + *him (his)*' of the relative clauses quoted above, with the inflected pronoun a nominal pointing anaphorically back to the NP, which is therefore also nominal even when it is the relative *þe*.

In the structures illustrated above, the construction is used with items which cannot be varied in the normal inflectional way. But although the structure is particularly common in that type of situation, it is actually not limited to it. Thus there are recorded forms where the inflected pronoun is pleonastically used together with a pronoun which could be inflected for case but is in this situation left uninflected. Examples of this situation are the expression of the genitival relationship in *eadig folc ðes is dryhten god heora* 'happy the people whose god is the Lord' (VP 143: 15) and nongenitival structures like *þæt is se Abraham se him engla god naman niwan asceop*, 'that is the Abraham for whom the god of angels created a new name' (Ex 380), *bearn in ðæm nis geleafa in him* 'children in whom there is no belief (in them)' (VerH 7.240). This usage again makes it fully clear that in the structure '*þe* + genitive (dative, etc.)', as in (24) above, *þe* is not a mere subordinating particle but a nominal element, i.e. a proper relative pronoun and coreferential with the following NP.

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4.1.5 Conclusions from the discussion

Dealing with some of the basic syntactic uses of *þe* in the preceding sections, we considered four different aspects. The first three were the role of *þe* in the concord rules when it functions as the subject of the relative clause, its occurrence as the complement of verbs and adjectives, and its use as head of a NP postmodified by a partitive genitive. In all these cases, the word *þe* functions in the same way as other pronouns and noun-headed NPs despite its lack of inflection. The fourth pattern examined was the structure '*þe* + coreferential personal pronoun', used as an alternative to the simple *þe* to bring out more explicitly the functional role of the word in the clause. Differing from the normal syntax of the inflected relative pronoun, this structure obviously shows that the lack of inflection can affect even the syntax of the word. However, as the same usage is also found elsewhere in the language, both with noun-headed NPs and with pronouns, it does not make *þe* altogether exceptional in OE grammar, and the obligatory coreference of *þe* with the following nominal guarantees that even in this use *þe* is definitely a pronoun rather than any kind of conjunction-like particle.

The conclusion about the pronominal status of *þe* leads us to consider the analysis of the relative clauses introduced by *þe* without any other formal marking, i.e. sentences like *heora are is mest on þæm gafole ðe þa Finnas him gyldað* and *sio scir hatte Halgoland þe he on bude*, quoted earlier under (1). As noted in our introduction, this is the case where the traditional view and the generative analysis differ most in their interpretation of the OE data, treating *þe* here either as a pronoun basically similar to *se, seo, þæt*, or as a mere subordinator accompanying the relativizer proper, which was a zero element. As we have seen that the relative *þe* must be analysed as a pronoun which performs normal nominal functions in its clause in basically the same way as *se, seo, þæt*, it will be obvious that there is no motivation for postulating a zero relativizer in the *þe*-clauses, and the whole class of such clauses can be dropped from the grammar.[6]

4.2 Relative ⁊e *in free relative clauses*

Throughout our discussion of the syntax of *þe* we have been concerned with bound relatives, also called headed relatives, which are introduced by one of the relativizers *þe, se* or *se þe* and are attached to an antecedent phrase which functions as a head to which the relative clause is added as a postmodifier. We will next proceed to look at the free or independent relatives, occurring in clauses which are independent in the sense of not being bound to any antecedent phrase. Allen's account of OE relatives (1980a:108–20, 1980b: 276–83) deals with three types of such clauses: those introduced by the pronoun *se*, others introduced by *se þe*, and still others introduced by certain *wh*-phrases. Missing in this list are clauses introduced by *þe*, which apparently are not supposed by Allen to be used as free relatives and are indeed not included among free relatives even in any

[6] It is of interest to note that the view of *þe* as pronominal and not in need of any addition of a zero pronoun is similarly presented by Brinton (2000: 229, 259) in an account generally following the generative views of English structure.

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other generative discussions of OE familiar to me. This difference is not commented on by Allen, but it might be thought to be connected with the nature of *þe* when this word is supposed to be grammatically a conjunction rather than a relative pronoun. However, as the item *þe* is in this study not taken to be a subordinator but a pronoun like the other relatives, we see a priori no reason to assume it to be different from the other relatives even in this respect, and a study of this case is therefore a natural part of our account of the relative *þe*.

As a starting point we may record the observation familiar to anyone reading OE texts that the same pronouns are generally used in OE in both bound and free relatives. The use of *se, seo, þæt* in bound relative clauses was illustrated earlier in our examples in (2) and needs no further exemplification. The occurrence of the word in free relatives we will illustrate below under three different headings: in (25) we have a singular pronoun with human reference, in (26) a singular pronoun with nonhuman reference, and in (27) a plural pronoun with human reference.[7]

(25)(a) Soðlice *se* þurh-wunaþ oð ende, se byþ hal (Matt (WSCp) 10.22)
'Verily who endures to the end will be saved'
(b) witodlice *se* þa swin fedde gefeoll under hine sylfne (GD (O)107.34)
'Verily he who was feeding the pigs fell down himself'
(26)(a) Ða wæs gefylleð ƿ ge-cweden wæs þurh hieremiam (Matt (WSCp) 2.17)
'then was fulfilled what had been said by Jeremiah'
(b) Wiþ God ge doð *ðat* ge dooð (CP 201.6)
'Against God you do what you are doing'
(27)(a) Gehieren eac *þa* nanwuht ne sellað hwæt to him gecweden is (CP 325.20)
'Let also them who give nothing hear what is said to them'
(b) Fæder, *þa* ðu me sealdest, ne forleas ic heora ænigne (VerH 3.28)
'Father, those that you gave me, I did not lose any of them'

Proceeding next to consider the relative *þe*, we can adduce forms which follow the same pattern as with *se, seo*, *þæt*. In the illustrations we will again distinguish between the singular with human reference (28), the singular with nonhuman reference (29), and the plural with human reference (30).

(28)(a) eart þu *þe* to cumenne eart (Matt (WSCp) 11.3)
'are you the one who is to come?'
(b) þa wæs eaðfynde *þe* him elles hwær gerumlicor ræste sohte (Beo 138)
'Then it was easy to find a man who was looking for a resting-place for himself elsewhere further away'
(c) tomiddes eow stod *þe* ge ne cunnon he is *þe* æfter me toweard is (John (WSCp) 1.26–7)
'among you stood he whom you do not know, he is the one who is to come after me'
(29)(a) ƿ ðu mæge ðy bet gelefan *ðe* ic ðe . . . recce (Bo 106.8–9)
'that you may the better believe what I tell you'

[7] As with bound relatives, the pronoun may here too be accompanied by the complementizer *þe*, as in *Se þe earon hæbbe to gehyranne, gehyre* (Matt (WSCp) 11.15, 'Who has ears to hear, let him hear'), *Ðæt þe acenned is of flæsce, ƿ is flæsc* (John (WSCp) 3.6, 'What is born of flesh, that is flesh').

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(b) and forði ic sprece *ðe* he me het (ÆCHom i. 462.31)
'and therefore I speak what he told me to speak'
(c) þonne þu meaht georn witan *þe* ðu ær woldest witan (Bo 94. 14)
'then you can readily know what you earlier wanted to know'

(30)(a) Nu synd forð-farene *þe* ðæs cildes sawle sohton (Matt (WSCp) 2.20)
'Now those are dead who sought the child's life'
(b) Swyþe manega synt *þe* þurh ðone weg faraþ (Matt (WSCp) 7.13)
'Very many are those who go that way'
(c) and þær wurdan hale *þe* ær waran limlaman (Chron G 162.13)
'and there were healed those who had been lame'

The forms of the two pronouns used here are very similar in some cases, but it is important to note that they are distinct from each other even in the masculine nominative singular, where the formal difference is merely the contrast of *se* vs. *þe*. The possibility must here be recognized that in some of the later texts the form *þe* may be due to the late OE analogical change of *se* > *þe* within the paradigm of the article and the demonstrative and relative pronouns. However, as this applies at best only to some occurrences of the form *þe*, it is clear that what we are generally dealing with in these free relative structures is not the old pronoun *se* in an outwardly new form but the old noninflecting 'particle' *þe*.

As is the case in Present-day English, and apparently in many other languages, relative clauses like these which do not have an antecedent are less common than the bound relatives discussed earlier,[8] but they are generally noted and described in traditional accounts of OE grammar, such as Western (1893: 49), Kock (1897: 43–4), and Mitchell (1985 II: 193–5). Semantically the initial pronouns may refer to a specific individual, but often have a general or clearly generic sense of 'he who', 'those who', 'that which'. In the traditional descriptions in which the invariable *þe* is described as functioning as a regular nominal constituent in bound relative clauses, the occurrence of the word in the same nominal functions in free relatives is fully natural, following as it does the same double use that is found with other relativizers.

Consider next how the *þe* of free relatives could be handled on the view which takes the word *þe* in bound relative clauses to be a complementizer. Though we are not helped by any actual account of this use of *þe*, the generativist criteria for determining the grammatical status of the word are explicit and fully applicable here: since *þe* does not inflect for case and does not even in free relatives appear preceded by a preposition, the word must even here be classed by the generativists not as a pronoun but as a complementizer. Such an analysis of the free relatives is, however, highly problematic, very much more so than in bound relatives, leading to serious problems which are worth examining more closely.

The first aspect of the problematic situation is semantic and can be approached by comparing the bound and the free relatives. In the former it would in principle be

[8] Kock (1897: 43) mentions that in the material he had studied, he had found only about 35 examples of this kind, but unfortunately it is not fully clear how much material was included in his study. In the sense 'id quod' Kock found only three examples of this use of *þe* (the more common pronoun used in that case was *þæt*).

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possible, at least in semantic terms, to interpret the *þe* as a mere subordination marker and assume a zero element as a proper relativizer because the proposed zero can be interpreted on the basis of the antecedent with which it must always be coreferential. In free relatives the lack of any antecedent excludes that possibility of interpreting a postulated zero, and if *þe* itself is not a meaningful item, then the sentence contains no cue to the proper interpretation of a part of it. Such a problematic structure seems highly unlikely to occur in any language, and it is not surprising to find that in languages which have zero relatives, such as Modern English and the modern Scandinavian tongues, those clauses are always limited to bound relatives. The same has of course traditionally been assumed to be the situation in OE, with *þe* analysed as a pronoun. In arguing against that view of *þe* without being at all aware of the use of the word in free relatives, the generative grammarians thus seem to have overlooked a very important part of the data and in that way failed to see an essential problem involved in their proposed analysis of relative structures.

A second aspect of the problem inherent in any analysis of the free relative *þe* as a mere nonpronominal complementizer is no less serious than the first, and concerns the role of pronouns and conjunctions in the syntax of the clause. To see the difference in the contribution of these two classes of words to the structure of our sentences, let us take a couple of the above examples in the form in which they appear and compare them with sentences where the pronoun *se, seo, þæt* is replaced by unquestionable subordinators.

(31)(a) witodlice (*se* þa swin fedde) gefeoll under *hine sylfne*
(a′) *witodlice (*conjunction* [e.g. *for þæm þe* ‘because’] þa swin fedde) gefeoll under *hine sylfne*
(b) Wið God ge doþ (*ðat* ge dooð)
(b′) *Wið God ge doð (*conjunction* [e.g. *þeah* ‘although’] ge dooð)

In the free relative structure *se þa swin fedde* the pronoun *se* functions clearly as the subject of the string, and this string itself as the subject of the whole sentence. Replacing the pronoun *se* by the OE equivalent of a conjunction like *because* – or *if, although, unless*, etc. – makes the sentence completely ungrammatical: *because* cannot perform the subject role in its phrase, and the phrase it introduces cannot function as the subject of the sentence. Additionally, the reflexive (emphatic) *hine sylfne* is also now unacceptable, as it has no antecedent to refer to.

In the (b) sentences the situation is the same. In the original formulation, the pronoun *ðat* functions as the object in its phrase, and the whole phrase in turn as the object of the whole sentence, but if *ðat* is replaced by a conjunction, these syntactic relations are again destroyed and the sentence is totally ungrammatical.

On the basis of this difference between pronouns and subordinators let us continue the examination by testing the syntactic status of *þe* in the following sentences.[9]

[9] The structures marked as ungrammatical in (31) and (32) are in some cases identical with a genuine OE clause type (cf. *Weard maþelode, ðær on wicge sæt* (Beo 286: ‘The watchman spoke, where he was sitting on

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(32)(a) tomiddes eow stod (*þe* ge ne cunnon)
(a′) *tomiddes eow stod (*conjunction* [e.g. *gif* 'if'] ge ne cunnon)
(b) and þær wurdan hale (*þe* ær waran *limlaman)*
(b′) *and þær wurdan hale (*conjunction* [e.g. *for þæm þe* 'because'] ær waran *limlaman*)

In (32a) *þe* is the direct object of *cunnon*, and the whole phrase is the subject of the clause, but if *þe* is replaced by a conjunction, these syntactic relations are destroyed and the sentence is grossly deviant. In (32b) *þe* is the subject of its phrase, and the phrase itself the subject of the whole sentence, but again these relations no longer hold if the *þe* is exchanged for a conjunction. Note also that while *þe* can be singular or plural and as subject determines the choice of the number of the predicate, a proper conjunction, such as *because* in this case, can not of course affect the agreement forms of the predicate.

Against the background of the data examined, let us now consider the conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion. As regards the controversy of the status of *þe* as a pronoun or a mere subordinating particle, we have seen that in bound relatives the postulation of a zero pronoun made it appear as though the element *þe*, lacking overt inflection and the possibility of occurring as the complement of a preposition, could be analysed as a mere subordinating particle. In free relatives, where the postulation of a zero is excluded, that view of *þe* is seen to be fundamentally mistaken both in semantic and syntactic terms, and indeed it is presented both by Jespersen and his generative followers without any awareness of these crucial facts about the free relatives. However, although the relative *þe* is partly idiosyncratic in its inflection and its syntax, on this point of its use it is fully regular, following the normal pattern of OE relative pronouns and adverbs in occurring both in free and bound relative structures.

At the end of our discussion of the status of the relative *þe* it is worth noting that in accepting the analysis of relative structures proposed by Jespersen, the generativists made a very one-sided choice, because on this particular issue Jespersen was basically alone among his contemporaries, proposing a view of relatives which was not in agreement with the analysis favoured by the scholars who were seriously concerned with the details of OE grammar. In hindsight it seems clear that the generativists' wholehearted adherence to the Jespersenian position on this particular issue, without familiarity with the facts that were more generally available in grammars of Old English, was an unfortunate step with far-reaching consequences for their analysis. Back in 1980, Allen wrote in her dissertation (p. 23) that 'the valuable results of the labor of the traditional and structural grammarians remain, for the most part, to be utilized by transformational grammarians'. More than twenty years later, and even despite Allen's own very considerable work in the field, her assessment seems to be still very largely true, resulting in a deplorable situation where a great deal of work which

horseback')). But this infrequent clause type is a structure with a subject omitted when it can be interpreted from the main clause (cf. Mitchell, 1985 I: 632–4), and is obviously not relevant for the case at issue here.

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is potentially of theoretical interest must be rejected as failing to give an acceptable account of the basic concrete facts of OE usage.

5 *Þe* and other relativizers

Taking now the pronominal status of *þe* as an established fact, we must next consider some questions connected with the position of the word among other related items. There are two questions of this kind that require an examination, the first concerned with the relationship of the pronominal *þe* to the 'complementizer' *þe* that the word is assumed to be by many analysts, and the second concerned with the question of whether the pronominal status of *þe* is limited to the case that we have examined or whether it is equally true of other occurrences of the word.

To approach the first question, consider the following data.

(33)(a) þa ferde Ioseph. . . to Iudeiscre byrg, *seo* wæs Davides and geciged Bethleem (ÆCHom i.305)
'Then Joseph journeyed to the town of Judea which was David's, and was called Bethlehem'
(b) Ic hæbbe oðre shep, *þa ðe* ne sind of ðyssere eowde (ÆCHom ii.114.20)
'I have other sheep which are not of this sheepfold'
(c) Ic hæbbe oðre shep, *ðe* ne sind of ðyssere eowde.

(34)(a) And hi þa comon to ðær stowe *þær* se blinde man sæt be ðæm wæge (ÆCH 1.154)
'And they came then to the place where the blind man was sitting by the wayside'
(b) Is seo stow gyt to dæg ætyweð *ðær þe* Oswald to ðyssum gefeohte com. (Bede (Ca)154.19)
'That place is still today shown where Oswald came to this fight'
(c) *Is seo stow gyt to dæg ætyweð *þe* Oswald to ðyssum gefeohte com.

The first two examples in both series illustrate the common situation where the relative clause is introduced either by a pronoun or an adverb alone, or alternatively by the complex string consisting of the pronoun or adverb plus the form *þe*. In the first series of examples there is yet a third alternative: to drop the pronoun and let the sentence be introduced by a bare *þe*: *oðre shep ðe ne sind. . .* In the second case, however, this is normally not possible: **seo stow þe Oswald . . . com* is not a type of structure generally used in OE. The similarity and the difference between the two types of cases is summed up in the following structures:

(35)(a)	oðre sheep,	*ða*		ne sind of ðyssere eowde
(b)	oðre sheep	*ða*	*ðe*	ne sind of ðyssere eowde
(c)	oðre sheep		*ðe*	ne sind of ðyssere eowde
(36)(a)	seo stow	*ðær*		he sæt
(b)	seo stow	*ðær*	*þe*	he sæt
(c)	*seo stow		*þe*	he sæt

Looking for some further similar cases, we can note that the adverbs *þider* and *þanon* behave like *þær*, so that in clauses introduced by *þider þe* or by *þanon þe*, the

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complementizer can be freely omitted, as in *gelæde us to ðam ecan life ðiðer (ðe) he us geladode* (ÆCHom ii.536.26; 'lead us to the eternal life to which he invited us') and *he. . . gewat in Hibernia Scotta ealond þanon (þe) he ær cwom* (Bede 352.3; 'he departed to Hibernia, the island of the Scots, from where he had previously come'). However, if we try instead to omit *þider* or *þanon* rather than *þe*, the sentences now introduced by *þe* alone are in this case not part of normal OE usage.

To account for the facts noted we can go back to the view of *þe* as a subordinating particle which can mark a potentially ambiguous item as a relative rather than a demonstrative. It is this normal function that the particle has here with our adverbs, marking them as relative and thus automatically as introducing a subordinate clause. However, the word *þe* itself is not normally a relative adverb, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of cases like (34c) or (36c) where an adverb is needed. The simple account outlined above is adequate to account for the facts noted in the case of the relative adverbs. However, it does not apply to the use of *þe* with pronouns, the case illustrated in (33), where the grammatical forms include not only structures like *se man se wæs hire broþor* and *se man se þe wæs hire broþor* but even structures like *se man þe wæs hire broþor*. What is needed here is a relative word which is nominal, i.e. a pronoun, and *þe*, which we saw earlier could not function as a relative adverb, is all right as a relative pronoun. Being a relative element, it has even in this use a subordinating function, since that is part of the function of all relative words. If *þe* was originally a subordination marker, as is commonly assumed in historical work (cf. Kurzowa, 1981), it has thus preserved that property, but in the course of its history has also acquired the ability to function in the nominal role of subjects, objects, etc. (cf. Mitchell, 1985 I: 243). In other words, it has been reinterpreted as a pronoun, although this change has not affected its morphology. How such a development could be thought to come about we can attempt to reconstruct in the light of the following pair of structures.

(37)(a) se mon *se* wæs hire broþor
(b) se mon *þe* wæs hire broþor

In terms of the assumed earlier use of *þe*, structures like the two illustrated here were originally semantically distinct, with *þe* marking merely the subordinate status of the clause and *se* marking the subordination and additionally also coreference of *se* with the antecedent *mon*. However, in the actual use of the sentences in context, the coreference specially marked by *se* must often have been part of the normal interpretation of the *þe*-sentence, and from this pragmatic equivalence of the two sentences the word *þe* could come to be interpreted as a genuine synonym of *se*. This assumed development may well belong to the history of preliterary English, and its applicability to OE is a question which it is not possible to explore in greater detail in the present context.

As noted above, our postulated semantic development does not extend to the *þe* which could accompany the relative adverbs *þær, þider*, and *þanon*, and the same is true of the temporal adverbs *þa* and *þonne*. What factors there may have been that account for this difference is outside the scope of the present study, but we may note in passing that these adverbs were not, like *se*, bound to *þe* as a marker of subordination

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because they generally occurred not only in complex relative forms like *þær þe, þonne þe, þa þe*, but also in combinations like *þær þær, þa þa, þonne þonne*.

Whatever the reason, the complementizer *þe* was not generally reinterpreted as an adverb. However, there are some uses of *þe* which seem to point towards such a development. As a case in point, consider the following examples.

(38)(a) him . . . geondwyrde mid ðæm witum *þe* he hit swide hrædlice wræc (CP 38.21)
'(he) answered him with the punishments with which he very quickly avenged it'
(b) . . . nyle helpan ðæs folces mid ðæm *þe* he his healp (CP 44.5)
'(he) does not want to help the people with that with which he helped him'

The examples illustrate an OE tendency not to repeat the preposition governing the relative pronoun *þe* if that preposition is identical with the one governing the antecedent (Wülfing, 1894: 414). This usage will obviously make the pronoun *þe* look like an adverb, and seems to me to be connected with two cases where the pronoun actually came to develop into an adverb. The structures in question are not common, but they are of some interest also because they have in a somewhat different form survived into Modern English.

We can consider the more common of these cases in the light of the following sentences (cf. Western, 1893: 45–6, Mitchell: 1985 II: 152–3).

(39)(a) ƿy ylcan dæge *þe* hi hine to ƿæm ade beran wyllað (Or 20.27)
'On the same day that they want to carry him to the pyre'
(b) On ƿam ilcan *geare þe* Marius wæs consul (Or 5.30)
'In the same year when Marius was consul'
(c) Oð ðone *dæg þe* hi hine forbærnað (Or 20.26)
'Till the day when they burn him'

The initial NPs in (39) illustrate the OE expression of 'time when' either by means of case inflection – the dative or the original instrumental in these structures – or by means of an appropriate preposition. The 'complementizer' *þe* introducing the following relative clause is limited to expressions like these where the head noun refers to time and the relative *þe* thus shows the usual 'semantic congruence' with its antecedent which is normal with relative adverbs, as in the ModE combinations *the time when, the place where, the reason why*. As for its grammatical status, the *þe* is sometimes described as a relative pronoun in a context where the preposition which it complements is not repeated when it is the same as that before its antecedent. But the preposition is here omitted more generally, as is clear from (39c), which thus suggests that *þe* itself is, or is on the way to becoming, a temporal adverb.

The next examples illustrate the same structure with *þe* as a locative relative adverb (cf. Western, 1893: 46). Note that in the first example *þe* could be taken to be a relative pronoun with the second occurrence of the preposition deleted, whereas this interpretation is not possible in the second example.

(40)(a) We comon *to þam earde þe* ge us heton faran (Num 13.28)
'We came to the country where you told us to go'

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(b) To þære stowe *þe* he þæt weofod ær arærde (Gen 13.4)
'To the place where he had raised the altar'

The uses of *þe* as an adverb are parallel to the pronoun *þe* in that they both appear to have arisen through a reinterpretation of an original complementizer as a referential item, but their syntactic status as adverbs distinguishes the temporal and locative uses of *þe* from the pronoun *þe*. In at least its temporal sense, this *þe* was sometimes replaced by *þæt*, as in *Hit wæs þa se tima þæt winberian ripodon* (Num. 13.21, 'It was then the time when grapes ripened'), and with this use of *that* generalized equally in the temporal and the locative sense, both structures have been retained in a somewhat restricted use in Present-day English (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1253–7).

6 Structural position of *þe*

Having argued that in different contexts the word *þe* can be a pronoun or an adverb rather than a mere subordinating particle, we must next consider the question of whether this new grammatical status of the words is reflected in their position in the constituent structure of the clause. Not an aspect of the grammar considered in traditional work, the question concerns an important issue in the generative approach, where pronouns/adverbs and complementizers are regularly assigned to two distinct slots in the tree representation of the clause structure. However, since the generativists assume that *þe* is always a complementizer, their descriptions have not seen the position of *þe* as a problem and therefore do not discuss this question any more than their older predecessors. With our view of the two new uses of *þe*, the question of their position in the clause structure becomes a genuine problem that needs to be examined.

Let us first consider the relationship of the pronominal and adverbial uses of *þe*. As both uses are definitely distinct from the usual nonreferential complementizer, the question arises whether they are sufficiently similar to be assumed to occupy the same node in the structural representation of the clause. In theory that may appear plausible, but there is a very real difference in the syntax of the two structures which comes out if we consider two aspects of their use. First, with regard to the dichotomy of restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses, the pronominal *þe* is neutral, appearing, as has been pointed out (Western, 1893: 44; Kivimaa, 1967: 30), not only in restrictive clauses, as in (41a), but also in nonrestrictive ones, as in (41b–c).

(41)(a) þa spell *þe* ic secge ic hi sceal gescyrten (Or 42.2)
'the histories that I will tell, I shall abridge them'
(b) fram þam broþrum ðæs mynstres þe hisylf astemnedon, *ðe* Læstinga ea is nemneð (Bede 427.17)
'from the brothers of the monastery which they themselves built, which is called Læstinga ea'
(c) we, *þe* his limo sindon, leornodon æt him (CP 32.22)
'we, who are his limbs, learned from him'

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As regards the temporal and locative relative adverbs *þar, þider*, *þanon*, and *þonne* and *þa*, the same appears to be true, but with the adverb *þe* both in its temporal and locative sense the nonrestrictive use appears not to be recorded in any grammar of OE and not to be at all part of OE structure. The situation is illustrated in the following examples by the contrast between the temporal *þa* and the locative *þær* on the one hand and the temporal and locative *þe* on the other.

(42)(a) . . . on dægrede, *þa (?*þe)* Godes þeowas þærbinnan godes lof singaþ (ÆCHom ii.156.21)
'In the early morning, when God's servants sing praise of God within it'
(b) þa geseah heo þæt cild licgan on binne, *ðær (?*þe)* se oxa and se assa gewunelice fodan secað (ÆCHom i.42.26)
'then she saw the child lying in the manger, where the ox and the donkey usually seek their food'

It thus seems that while relative adverbs in general are used in nonrestrictive clauses as freely as the relative pronouns, the adverb *þe* in either its temporal or locative sense is not used in nonrestrictive clauses.

A similar restriction appears to exist with respect to free relatives. In our earlier discussion we saw that both the pronoun *se, seo, þæt* and the pronoun *þe* can freely occur in such clauses. The same is normally true of relative adverbs, as shown by the temporal *þonne* and the locative *þær* in the following sentences. However, that is not so with the temporal or locative *þe*, which in this case seems to be so awkward as to be hardly interpretable.

(43) *Ðonne /*Ðe* se cyng wæs on Normandige, ðonne wæs he mægest in þissum lande (ChronE 220.10 (1086))
'When the king was in Normandy, then he was the greatest in this country'
(44) *Ðær /*Ðe* se Dryhtnes gast is, ðær is freodoom (CP 263.24)
'Where the Lord's spirit is, there is freedom'

In conclusion, examining relative pronouns and adverbs in restrictive vs. nonrestrictive clauses and in bound vs. free relatives, we have found a clear contrast between two cases: on the one hand we have the relative pronoun *se, seo, þæt* and the majority of the relative adverbs, which can all occur in both bound and free relatives and in both restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses, on the other hand we have the adverb *þe* in both its temporal and locative sense, which appears to be normally used only in restrictive bound relative clauses. The difference between the two groups of relatives appears to be quite clear and sharp, and it would seem natural to see it reflected in a difference in the position of the two groups of items in the constituent tree, as is normal in comparable cases (cf. Dubinsky & Williams, 1995). In current generative accounts all the items of our first group are standardly placed under the first node of the clause (the Spec-C node), and the syntax of *þe* examined here strongly suggests that this pronoun too should be moved to that same position. However, in its adverbial uses, *þe* does not follow the syntax of that group of words, and it might be best retained in the complementizer position where it is placed in current treatments, all of this

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then implying that though the word has been given – somewhat marginally – a new referential interpretation, this new sense has not much affected the word's syntactic behaviour.

While the proposal of placing the pronoun *þe* in the Spec-C position seems justified both by its semantics and by its syntactic behaviour, it also raises a question which deserves some further discussion, because there is one aspect of this use which would seem to make the proposed new position look problematic. In structures like (the invented) *se mon se hit dyde* 'the man who did it' and *se mon þe hit dyde*, the pronouns *se* and *þe* are synonyms and appear to be also syntactically parallel. The first of these sentences has an alternative formulation *se mon se þe hit dyde*, which makes it clear that this string has a complementizer node which can be filled or left open. If we want to treat *þe* similarly as a pronoun occupying the usual pronoun slot, do we also have evidence that the *þe*-sentence too contains a complementizer slot which can be filled, to yield a structure '*Noun* + *þe* + *þe*', which would then be the strongest piece of evidence for the new position of the pronominal *þe*?

The answer to the question is that the *þe þe* sequence is indeed recorded in some OE texts, but it is a very infrequent structure which is often omitted from descriptions of OE and is commonly not assumed to be a genuine part of the grammar of the language. While this low frequency of the *þe þe* structure might appear to be an argument against the fronted position of *þe*, I think there are other factors which can provide a natural explanation for the infrequency of the pattern. One explanation that might easily suggest itself to a modern reader is the repetition of the same word as a pronoun proper and a complementizer, but this can hardly play any decisive role as similar repetitive patterns are attested with other pronouns and adverbs as less common alternatives to the more normal structures where the second element is *þe* as a complementizer. Some examples of such repetition are given in the following examples.

(45)(a) Hu mæg ic gewilnian ðæs gastlican leohtes, *þæt þæt* ic geseon ne mæg? (ÆCHom i.158.33)
'How can I desire the spiritual light, which I cannot see?'

(b) Sume, *ða ða* wenað ðæt hie eadmode sien, hii doð for ege ðone weorðshipe mannum ðe hie Gode don scoldon (CP 301.26)
'Some who think that they are humble, for fear they show to men the respect that they should show to God'

(c) On sumum dæge, *þa þa* he ana wæs, þa com him to se costere (ÆCHom ii.156.21)
'One day, when he was alone, the tempter came to him'

While patterns like these are sometimes recorded as possible alternative forms, there are two factors which make the *þe þe* sequence far less likely to occur than similar sequences with other pronouns. One is the fact that with the pronoun *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, and with the adverbs *þær, þider, þanon, þa*, and *þonne*, the addition of the complementizer *þe* served the useful purpose of marking their interpretation as relative rather than demonstrative, whereas the *þe*-clauses were automatically relative and there was therefore no motivation here to introduce a second occurrence of *þe* to mark this

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interpretation. Connected with this difference was another aspect of the history of our pronouns and adverbs. The pronoun *se, seo, þæt*, being first used as a demonstrative, functioned originally as an element in the main clause, and was only gradually reinterpreted as part of the relative clause (Allen, 1980a: 86–90; Mitchell, 1985 II: 124–7). The new analysis was not always very clearly distinguished from the old, as shown especially when the relative appears in the case required by the main clause (cf. *heriað forði Drihten, þone ðe eardað on Sion*, Ps (P) 9.11; 'praise therefore the Lord who lives on Mount Sion'). This uncertainty is true even of the above examples (45b, c), where the first *þæt* or *þa* may be interpreted as the antecedent, repeating the earlier antecedents *ðæs gastlican leohtes* or *sume* for emphasis (Mitchell, 1985 II: 96) and therefore heavily stressed. This structural ambiguity was not possible with *þe*, which was always part of the relative clause and which was not even capable of carrying the heavier stress normally associated with the antecedent.

All in all there were thus factors working against the addition of a complementizer *þe* to a relative clause introduced by the pronoun *þe*. However, to say that a clause type cannot be expected to be common is not to say that it cannot occur at all, and in this sense the few examples of the *þe þe* pattern found in OE texts are of genuine interest. The instances attested by OE grammarians have generally been seen as representing two different kinds of case. One of them is the *þe þe* sequence which is due to the late OE levelling of the paradigm of *se, seo, þæt* in its functions as an article or a demonstrative or relative pronoun. The *se* > *þe* change started in the North, where this use of *þe* was first attested in the tenth century, but exact details of its spread southwards are not available. As analogical changes like this are not carried out consistently across the board, a new form *þe þe* appears in texts often alternating with the historical *se þe*. It will be illustrated here with quotations from the Northern gospels, showing the occurrence of the new form and also its alternation with the older *se þe*, both in free and bound relatives.

(46)(a) *ðe ðe* soðlice after me tocymende is . . . is stronger ðon me (Matt (Li) 3.11)
'Verily he who is to come after me is stronger than I'

(b) send hoc ðin & ƿone fisc *ðe ðe* ærest uppastigadð genim (Matt (Ru) 17.27)
'cast your hook and take the fish that comes up first'

(c) nænig monn astag in heofne buta *ðe ðe* ofdune astag of heofnum sunu monnes *seðe* is . . . in heofnum (John (Li) 3.13)
'no man ascended to heaven but he who came down from heaven, the son of man who is. . . in heaven'

(d) *ðe* . . . *ðe* hæfeð gesald bið him, & sua hua *seðe* ne hæfeð . . . ðte woeneð. . . he hæbbe genumen bið from him (Luke (Li) 8.18)
'he who has, to him will be given, and whoever does not have, what he thinks that he has will be taken from him'

Since the chronology of the *se* > *þe* change is not known in detail, there are cases where it is not fully clear whether a recorded *þe þe* is a continuation of an earlier *se þe*. Two examples of this situation are given below.

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(47)(a) *se þe* (*þe þe)* wille fullice anweald agan, he sceal tiligan ærest ꝑ he hæbbe anweald his agenes modes (Bo 67.26)
'who wants to have full control, he must first see that he has control over his own mind'

(b) Utan biddan ælmihtine god *þe ðe* (*se þe*) eardian deð þa anmodan in his fæder huse (Bede (Ca) 98.27)
'Let us pray to the Almighty God, who brings those who are of one mind to live in his father's house'

In the Boethius text, the reading *se þe* is attested in the two oldest extant manuscripts and the form *þe þe* in two further manuscripts, and there are at least some indications of a *se* > *þe* change in the text (*þeo eadigness*, Bo 55.1, and *þe wæs Romana heretoga*, Bo 143.6). Here it thus seems likely enough that the original reading was *se þe*, which is used by the editor (Sedgefield) in the printed text. In the Bede translation I have not seen any traces of *se* > *þe*, and the manuscripts vary between *se þe* and *þe þe*, and in the printed text the editor (Miller) uses the form *se þe*. In this case it is an open question whether the *þe þe* really derives from an earlier *se þe*, or whether we must look for an alternative explanation.

To look at the question from a different angle, let us consider examples of cases of *þe þe* where the antecedent is not a masculine singular noun and could therefore not at all be expected to be followed by a clause introduced by a *se þe* sequence. The examples of this kind that I have seen include clauses whose antecedent is either a plural noun or a singular neuter noun.

(48)(a) welpas ek etaþ of cromum *þe þe* falleþ of beode hlaferde heora (Matt (Ru) 15.27)
'whelps too eat of the crumbs that fall from the table of their masters'

(b) þa halwendan men cwædon, & ða geleafsuman, *ðe ðe* to urum Drihtne coman ða he to heofonum astigan wolde (Hom S 46 (BlHom 11) 17.14)
'the holy men said, and the believing, who came to our Lord, when he was to go up to heaven'

(c) Wa ðam sawlum *ðe ðe* ðær bion sculon. (Hom S 4 (Scragg Verc.9) 74.221)
'Woe to the souls that will be there'

(49) ic hy ut alædde of þam lande to godum lande & widgyllum, on þæt land *þe þe* flewþ meolce and hunie (Exod 3.8)
'I led them from that land to a good and spacious land, to that land that flows with milk and honey'

With the *se* > *þe* change excluded in this case, OE scholars appear to be somewhat puzzled by this occurrence of *þe þe*. Editors of printed texts have generally assumed that these instances of *þe þe* are mistakes, and have tended to emend the text by replacing the problematic *þe þe* with *þa þe* in the plural and *þæt þe* in the neuter singular. In a short passage dealing with this general question Mitchell sums up this view in the statement that the *þe þe* sequences are either due to a 'late confusion of forms' (i.e. the merging of the old *se* and *þe*) or are otherwise instances of dittography (1985 II: 110), an unintended repetition of the same word by a careless writer or a copyist of the manuscript, comparable to such repetitions as *þus þus* in *þa ongan he giddian and þus þus cwæd* (Bo 51.29), which do not receive any sensible interpretation.

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The view as such appears to be more generally held by Anglo-Saxonists, and in theory it is obviously possible that a mindless accidental repetition of a word may produce a fully sensible and interpretable form, much as even a blind hen can sometimes find a grain of corn. But it seems to me that the view suffers from a failure to recognize a case of analogy which is different from the *se* > *þe* change and which I believe was crucial in the development of the OE system of relative structures. The striking thing about that system was the pervasiveness of the two-word pattern where a pronoun or adverb was followed by the complementizer *þe*. Obviously such a system, instead of being born ready-made, must have been the result of a historical development where analogy played a crucial role, but analogy in this case does not concern the paradigm of one individual word but generally the form of all members of the system. This is indeed recognized and pointed out by Western (1893: 18 and 50), who notes that in the sequences *þonan þe, þær þe*, *þider þe*, the second element was not original but the result of a later development due to analogy. With the pronouns the two-word pattern was of course similarly prevalent, with the familiar variation between clauses introduced by *se, seo, þæt*, *þæm, þone*, etc., and others introduced by *se þe, seo þe, þæt þe, þæm þe, þone þe*, etc. Originally this pattern could not be extended to *þe* because of the different historical origin of this word as a subordinating particle, but when it had been reinterpreted as a pronoun and correspondingly moved to the regular front position of pronouns in the clause, it could not easily be totally exempt from the structural pressure exerted by the other members of the system. The occasional instances of *þe þe* attested in the texts can in this way be seen as a further indication of the working of the *Systemzwang* which had generally shaped the pattern of the relative structures of the language and was now being extended to a further case by writers or copyists who were not behaving like blind hens but – unconsciously, one must assume – following their normal native-speaker intuitions.

How this analogical innovation worked can be illustrated in greater detail by considering two recorded instances. In Matt. 2. 20, the two West Saxon translations show a different choice of relativizer, taking either the variable *se*-pronoun or the invariable *þe*:

(50)(a) Nu synden forð-farene *þa* ꝑas cyldes sawle sohten (Hatton)
(b) Nu synd forð-farene, *þe* ðæs cildes sawle sohton (Corpus)
'Those who sought the child's life are now dead'

In the Northern gospels, a complex relative is used in both cases, but of different form: in the Lindisfarne gospel the form is *ða ðe sohton sawel cnæchtes*, in the Rushworth version it is *þe þe sohtun ferh ðas cnechtes*. While the former chooses a traditional form, the latter thus deviates from the established usage by transferring to *þe* the normal syntax of pronouns, i.e. the pattern illustrated in the examples quoted under (48). This innovation was possibly connected with the fact that with the simple pronouns in the plural the invariable *þe* was more common than the inflected *þa* (cf. Kivimaa, 1967: 32) and perhaps for that reason could more easily suggest itself as a basis for the complex form. In the case of (48c), this is more or less suggested by the fact that the text contains

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first two exclamations with a simple *þe*: *Wa bið þam mannum þe beoð geteohhode to þære stowe* (p. 172) and *Wa bið þam sawlum þe on helle beon sceolon* (p. 178), and repeating then the same exclamation for a third time the writer changes the simple relative to the complex form in *Wa þam sawlum ðe ðe ðær bion sculon*.

A further use of *þe þe* is illustrated in the example of (49), where the expected neuter form *þæt þe* is replaced by a form which can only be interpreted as a case where the invariable pronoun *þe* is accompanied by the 'complementizer' *þe*. It is of some interest to note, however, that although the nontraditional *þe þe* comes from a Bible translation, when Ælfric quotes this verse in one of his sermons, he actually uses a formulation which preserves the traditional neuter singular *þæt þe* (*. . . to godum lande and bradum, þæt ðe fleowð mid meolce and mid hunige*; ÆCHom ii.12.7). It seems thus that a variation existed between the traditional form and the *þe þe* innovation even in the language of religion, but with no further examples it is not possible to draw any more detailed conclusions from the data.

In conclusion, we have noted the occurrence of a *þe þe* sequence and suggested that its rise is due to the influence of analogy working in two different ways, on the one hand regularizing the paradigm of *se, seo, þæt* and thereby turning the traditional *se þe* into a *þe þe*, and on the other hand leading to the addition of the complementizer *þe* even to the pronoun *þe*. We noted earlier that the position of the pronominal *þe* under the Spec-C node, which was suggested by the clearly pronominal syntax of the word, seemed possibly doubtful because of the lack of any recorded forms where the pronoun *þe* was followed by the complementizer *þe*. We have now seen that the form *þe þe*, structurally comparable to *se þe*, is actually attested in OE, and although its special history makes it a rare form, its existence as such is enough to confirm that just as *þe* behaves syntactically and semantically as a pronoun, so it can also occupy the expected structural position of pronouns.

7 Conclusion

Approaching the topic of OE relativization, this study took as its starting point two different earlier approaches to the question: on the one hand the analysis suggested in early generative work where OE syntax was intensively explored above all in the two important studies by Allen, and on the other hand the traditional approach of Anglo-Saxon scholars made available above all by the two volumes of Mitchell's syntax. Intended as an attempt to combine the general structural framework established in Allen's approach and the fuller description of the details of OE usage charted by Mitchell, the study concentrated on the controversial status of the relative *þe*, interpreted in the two approaches either as a pronoun or as a nonpronominal complementizer. The main conclusion presented here is an analysis which treats the word *þe* in its use in relative clauses as representing three grammatically distinct kinds of item: first, a general subordinating particle or complementizer, used, inter alia, in conjunction with relative adverbs (*seo stow þær þe he wæs sittende*); second, a relative pronoun used in both restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses and in both bound and free relatives, and

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in this use parallel to the relative pronoun *se, seo, þæt* and the relative adverbs *þær, þider, þonne*, etc. (*se mon þe wæs hire broþor, seo stow þær he wæs sittende*); and third, a relative adverb used to a limited extent with antecedents referring to time or place (*on þære tide þe oðre men slepon, to þære stowe þe he þæt weofod arærde*). Of these different uses, the occurrence of the word as a general subordinating particle is the standard generative view, and it is here too seen as the most basic use of the word, but the specifically relative uses are here analysed as having developed from it, presumably through contextual specification, and ended up as pronouns or adverbs. Starting with the general framework of Allen's generative analysis, our study thus comes to a conclusion which deviates from her views and is in fundamental agreement with the traditional description of relative clauses, while the generative analysis, when examined from this perspective, appears to have remained bound to an assumed early Germanic mode of relativization, failing to recognize important historical changes which had perhaps affected that system even before the OE period.

The change in the semantics of *þe* has in turn led to two syntactic changes. First, the reinterpreted *þe* is moved from its original complementizer position to the higher node which was occupied by the pronoun *se, seo, þæt* and the relative adverbs, which are now seen to be the nearest syntactic and semantic parallels of *þe*. Second, the new status of *þe* as a pronoun automatically disposes of the assumed class of zero relatives overtly marked by the word *þe* as a mere subordination marker. This class of relative clauses – apparently the largest class of all relatives in OE – was the case where the generative analysis deviated most from the traditional view of OE grammarians, and where our view thus clashes most clearly with the analysis favoured by the generativists and their followers.

As a result of these changes the common view of a general contrast between a pronominal relativizer proper and a nonpronominal complementizer is partly superseded by an analysis which recognizes that the same pronominal *þe* can occur in both the Spec-C and C positions. This view of relativization is an important finding of the present study as a background to the relative structures of ME – and even of Present-day English – where the same relativizers can frequently occur in both positions. A closer examination of this continuation of the OE system of relatives must, however, be left to a separate study.

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