The Genitive in *Havelok**

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0. Introduction

Havelok[1] is said to be composed in about 1300. The language of *Havelok* is English of Lincolnshire in the Middle English (henceforth, ME) period. Although *Havelok* is one of the most important literature in ME, little attention has been paid to it. Therefore, the inquiry into its language will give significance to the historical study of the English language.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the synchrony of genitives in *Havelok* and to clarify the diachronic change of genitives in English.

Section 1 will present all the examples of genitives in *Havelok* as data, which will be considered in the following sections. Section 2 will deal with the historical development of the genitive in English, and the development of the group genitive in detail. Section 3 will be devoted to clarify the characteristics of the genitives in *Havelok*. Section 4 is a conclusion of this paper.

1. Genitives in *Havelok*

In this section, we will present the examples of genitives[2] in *Havelok* first for the discussion of the following sections. Then, some question will be set concerning genitives in *Havelok*.

Since English had lost most of case markers in nouns through the historical development from OE to ME, only the genitive case ending was retatined. The inflection of the genitive is mostly realized as *-es* in the singular of nouns. Now, let us see all these examples in *Havelok*.

(1) He was Engelond<u>es</u> blome   (63)

    "He was the fairest flower of England"

(2) But yerne preyede God<u>es</u> ore   (211)

    "But assiduously prayed for God's mercy"

(3)　...it mote wone/ Jn heueneriche with Godes sone!　　　(406-07)

　　　"...it (=his soul) be allowed to dwell in the kingdom of Heaven with God's son!"

(4)　...it was Godes wille　　　(1167)

　　　"...it was God's will"

(5)　Hwan he weren togydere in Godes lawe　　　(1182)

　　　"When they were united in God's law"

(6)　...þou hire toke in Godes lawe!　　　(1217)

　　　"...you took her in God's law!"

(7)　...he gan crien Godes ore　　　(2444)

　　　"...he cried out for God's mercy"

(8)　Til þat þe kinges dowter wore/ Tuenti winter hold and more　　　(258-59)

　　　"Till the king's daughter were twenty years old and more"

(9)　þe kinges douther bigan þriue　　　(280)

　　　"the king's daughter began to thrive"

(10)　Godard, þe kinges oune frende　　　(375)

　　　"Godard, the king's own kinsman"

(11)　...'Weilawei/ þat euere was I kinges bern　　　(571-72)

　　　"...'Wellaway! I was born as the king's child"

(12)　But he were king or kinges eyr　　　(1116)

　　　"Unless he is a king or the king's heir"

(13)　He is kinges sone and kinges eyr　　　(1268)

　　　"He is the king's son and the king's heir"

(14)　And slowen a knit and a sweyn/ Of þe kinges oune men　　　(2428-29)

　　　"And killed a knight and an attendant of the king's own men"

(15)　þe kinges men.../ Scuten on hem　　　(2431-32)

　　　"the king's men...rushed at him"

(16)　Jn þe kinges hand　　　(2515)

　　　"In the king's hand"

(17)　þat standeth on þe seis oure　　　(321)

　　　"which stands on the (sea's) shore"

(18)　And berwen boþen ure liues,/ And mine children and mine wiues　　　(698-99)

　　　"And save both of our lives, and my children and my wife's (lives)"

(19)　Or elles reue us ure liues/ And ure children and ure wiues　　　(2591-92)

　　　"Or else deprive us of our lives and our children and our wives' (lives)"

(20) Hauede neyþer hosen ne shon,/ Ne none kines oþer wede   (861-62)

      "Had neither stockings nor shoes, nor any other kind of clothing"

(21) þet oþer day kepte he ok/ Swiþe yerne þe erles kok   (880-81)

      "the next day he also kept watch on the earl's cook very eagerly"

(22) þe herles mete hauede he bouth/ Of Cornwalie   (884-85)

      "he had bought the food of the earl of Cornwall"

(23) And þe erles men woren al þore   (982)

      "And the earl's men were all there"

(24) Bertram, þat was þe erles kok   (2899)

      "Bertram, who was the earl's cook"

(25) For he wende þat Hauelok wore/ Sum cherles sone and no more   (1092-93)

      "For he thought that Havelok was only a serf's son"

(26) þe shal spusen mi cokes knaue   (1124)

      "my cook's servant shall marry you"

(27) þis cloþes.../ Aren þe kokes...   (1146-47)

      "these clothes...are the cook's"

(28) J ne haue none kines þinge   (1141)

      "I have nothing of my own"

(29) ...Grimes sones alle þre   (1344, 1400)

      "all the three sons of Grim's"

(30) Grimes douther   (2868, 2915)

      "Grim's daughter"

(31) Roberdes broþer   (1692)

      "Roberd's brother"

(32) And sende him unto þe greyues   (1750)

      "And sent them to the greive's (house)"

(33) ...he was Birkabeynes sone   (2151)

      "...he was Birkabeyn's son"

(34) ...al þis lond/ Was in Birkabeynes hond   (2209-20)

      "...all this land was in Birkabeyn's hand"

(35) For he is Birkabeynes sone   (2297)

      "For he is Birkabeyn's son"

(36) ...ten/ Of Godardes alþerbeste men   (2415-16)

      "...ten of Godard's very best men"

(37) þat neuere kine_s_ best ne spares   (2692)

　　　"that never have mercy on any sort of animal"

(38) Kriste_s_ ore   (2798)

　　　"Christ's mercy"

The examples $(1-38)$ include all the inflectional genitives found in *Havelok* aside from personal pronouns.　　The personal pronouns are exceptional in that they had kept the whole case system found in OE.　　As they do not affect the following discussion, we will not be concerned with the genitives in the personal pronouns here[3].

The genitive case ending -*es* can be seen only in the singular nouns, but not in the plural[4].　　In this connection, whether the plural noun, *children*, in (18) and (19) should be regarded as zero-genitive (i.e., the case in which the overt case ending is not realized.) or not will come into question.　　If the word does not have zero-genitive inflection, the phrase, *mine children and mine wiues*, could be thought to constitute the group genitive[5].　　Consequently, it leads to an assumption that the noun phrase in that language had the specifier position.　　We will consider this question later.

2.　The Historical Change in the Genitive

In this section, we will see the diachronic change in the genitive.　　In order to explain the historical development, we will resort to the DP hypothesis, which might be helpful to explain the mechanism of the historical change.　　In this connection, the historical development of the group genitive in ME will be considered, for it seems to be related to the explanation of the historical change in the genitive based on the DP hypothesis.　　Then, the genitive in *Havelok* will be investigated in line with the discussion in this section.

2.1.　The DP Hypothesis

This subsection begins with the theoretical framework, the DP hypothesis, for the clarification of the genitive in *Havelok*.　　The basic idea of the DP hypothesis is that both the sentence structure and the noun phrase might be treated uniformly under the X-bar theory.　　Chomsky (1986) assumes that the universal X-bar schema should be presented as in (39):

(39) a. $X' = X\ X''*$

　　　b. $X'' = X''*\ X'$ (Chomsky (1986: 3))

If the schema (39) is right, the traditional sentence structure (40) is problematic.

(40) $S' = COMP\ S$

As for (40), there are three problems at least.   First, the status of COMP is unclear. What is the category of COMP?   Second, the characteristics of S is not clear.   Is S a maximal projection?   If so, what is the head of S?   What category is projected to S? Moreover, why is the label of S not XP?   The third problem is about S′.   What is the head is S′?   Is S′ a projection of S, which might be a maximal projection?   If S′ is a maximal projection, why is only S′ different from all the other categories in the number of bars?

These problems can be solved, if we assume the sentence structure to be (41) in accordance with the universal X-bar schema (39).

(41) a. $S = I'' = [NP \ [_{I'} \ [_{VP} \ V \ldots]]]$

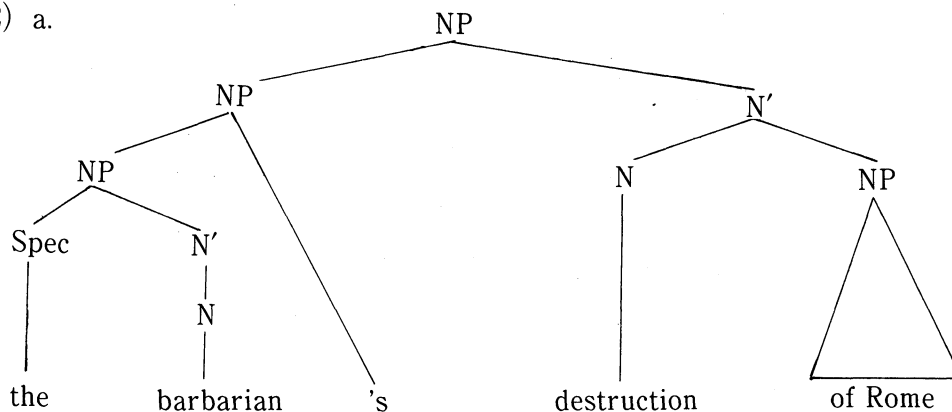b. $S' = C'' = [\ldots [_{C'} \ CI'']]$ (Chomsky (1986: 3))

In (41), new functional categories I and C are introduced in addition to the lexical categories, i.e., N, V, A, P.   Assuming that these two functional categories exist, each of them is a head of I″(=S) and C″(=S′).   In consequence, the problems above can be solved.
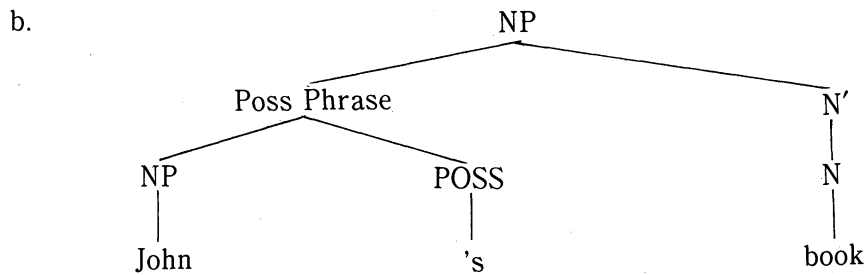
If the schema (39) is universal, it must be applied not only to the sentential construction but also to noun phrases.

Lately, some linguists assume that the traditional NP construction is in fact the DP structure.   This assumption, which is called the DP hypothesis, has been supported by Abney (1986), Fukui (1986), Fukui and Speas (1985), Stowell (1989), Ritter (1991), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), and many other researchers[6].   While the traditional NP construction cannot explain why the maximal projection appears in front of the head noun, the DP hypothesis can solve the problem.   The DP structure has two positions before the "head" noun: that is, D position which is regarded as a head in the DP hypothesis, and its specifier position, which receives the phrasal category.

Let us consider the following examples.

(42) a.

b.

```
                    NP
           ┌─────────┴──────────┐
      Poss Phrase               N′
     ┌─────┴─────┐              │
    NP          POSS            N
    │            │              │
   John         's            book
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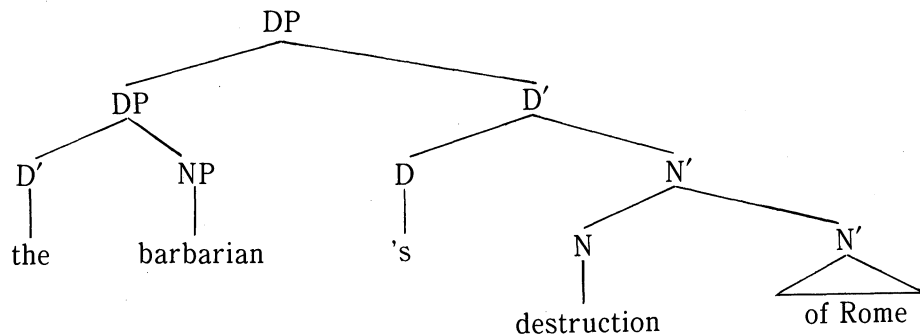
(Anderson (1983-84: 13))

As for (42a), three questions can be raised.　First, what is the category of the determiner *the*, which occurs in Spec position?　Second, why is not the category label of the marker *'s* presented?　Third, what is the status of Poss Phrase?
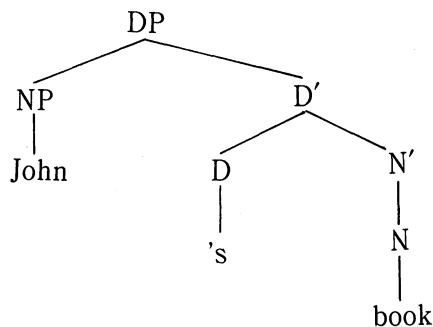
Again as for (42b), it is not clear what category should be labeled to Poss Phrase. What is Poss?　If we adopt the DP hypothesis, all these problems could be solved. Furthermore, both sentential and noun phrase structures could be analyzed uniformly under the universal X-bar schema (39).　This is a desirable consequence for the linguistic theory.

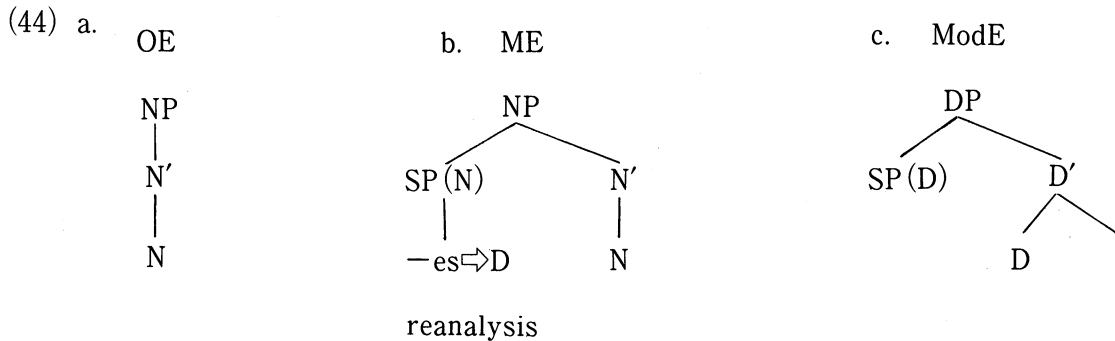Now the marker *'s* could be labeled as D.　Thus, (42) could be shown as follows:

(43) a.

```
                           DP
               ┌───────────┴────────────┐
              DP                         D′
          ┌────┴────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
         D′        NP              D             N′
         │          │              │        ┌────┴────┐
        the      barbarian        's        N         N′
                                            │        ╱──╲
                                       destruction   of Rome
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b.

```
                DP
          ┌─────┴──────┐
         NP            D′
          │        ┌────┴────┐
        John       D         N′
                   │          │
                  's          N
                              │
                            book
```

Now we are in a position to discuss the historical development using the theoretical framework.

2.2. The Emergence of the Group Genitive

Hamasaki (1993) claims that the historical development of the English possessive NP construction can be illustrated as in (44):

(44) a. OE   b. ME   c. ModE

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      NP                            NP                                DP
      |                            /  \                              /  \
      N'                        SP(N)   N'                        SP(D)   D'
      |                            |     |                               / \
      N                         —es⇨D    N                              D
```

                              reanalysis

In (44), where the functional category D was not established, only a zero level category was allowed to occur in its specifier position.   Then, in (44b), the ME genitive case ending began to be reanalyzed as D.   Finally, in (44c), the DP structure was established, and both the zero level category and the maximal projection have come to cooccur in the D position and its specifier position respectively.   Thus, it can be said that ME is a transition period between OE and ModE.   During the ME period, the drastic change occurred in the NP construction.

For the establishment of the DP structure, two conditions must be met.   First, it is necessary for D to be established.   Second, the specifier of D, SP (D) , need to be established.   This suggests that phrasal categories could occur in the SP(D) position.

Because the SP (D) position has been established in PE, heavy elements such as the group genitive can occur in this position[7].   We will return to the issue later.

As can be seen from (44) , the group genitive might be established during the ME period.   Although there existed group genitives in OE, they were not as heavy as those in PE.   Therefore, we need to investigate how the group genitive developed during the ME period.

Now let us consider how the group genitive came to appear in the historical development of English.   Nakao (1972: 220-23) explains the development of the group genitive as follows.   In OE, there existed two types of the group genitive, as in (45):

(45) a. N_1[Gen] N_2[Gen]   H

   Ælfredes cyninges godsunu   (ChronA 82, 10(890))

   b. N_1[Gen]   H N_2[Gen]

   Ælfredes sweostor cyninges   (ChronA 82, 2(888))

The type (45b) was more frequent than (45a).　Note that in (45a) each genitive noun has inflectional ending and does not constitute a phrase or maximal projection, and that the split genitive such as (45b) was dominant.　Therefore, it can be said that no specifier position, which permitted phrasal categories to occur, was established.

In ME, (45a, b) were changed into (46a, b) respectively.

(46)　a.　$N_1[\phi]$　$N_2[Gen]$　H

　　　　　Daviδ kinges kinn　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Orm)

　　　b.　$N_1[Gen]$　H　$N_2[\phi]$

　　　　　þurh *Iulianes* heste þe amperur　　　　　　　　　　　　　(AncrR)

Nakao (1972: 221) says that the frequency of the type (46a) was higher than (46b).

Then, the use of the *of*-genitive developed, influenced by the French construction with *de*.　Accordingly, the type (46c) emerged at the next stage.

(46)　c.　$N_1[Gen]$　H　of N_2

　　　　　þe *kinges* broþer *of france*　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Glo Chron)

And then, the construction (46d), in which the head noun is preceded by *of*-phrase, can be found in Chaucer for the first time.

(46)　d.　$[N_1$　of　$N_2][Gen]$　H

　　　　　the god of slepes heyr　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ch BD 168)

In (46d), the genitive case ending -*es* is attached to the word *slepes*, but the inflectinal marker was gradually considered to be the syntactic marker added to the whole bracketed phrase.　In other words, the ending -*es* was reanalyzed as D.　So, the group genitive of the Present-day English has been established, as in (47):

(47)　a.　[the teacher of music]'s room

　　　b.　[the Museum of Modern Art]'s Director　　　(a, b: Quirk et al. (1985: 328))

　　　c.　[the man on the corner]'s hat　　　(Di Sciullo and Williams (1987: 89))

　　　d.　[the man I know]'s hat

　　　e.　[the capital of Italy]'s greatest hero　　　(d, e: Fabb (1984: 85))

In (47), the marker -'s is not attached to the preceding word, but to the bracketed phrase. This is confirmed by the following exmples.

(48)　a.　[the picture of him]'s frame

　　　b.　*[the picture of his] frame　　　(Di Sciullo and Williams (1987: 90))

The last word of the bracketed phrase in (48) is a pronoun.　If the marker -'s is attached to the last noun of the bracketed phrase, the expression (48b), which causes suppletion, should be acceptable.　This leads to the conclusion that the marker -'s in PE

is not a case ending, and that it is a functional element.

That the marker -'s is not a case ending can be verified from another piece of evidence.

(49) *I saw [three men on the corner]s   (Di Sciullo and Williams (1987: 89))

In (49), the plural marker is attached to the bracketed phrase, which causes the expression to be unacceptable.   Compare this example with (48).

2.3.   The Group Genitive in *Havelok*

Now we return to the question raised in the last part of section 1.   That is to say, whether the phrase, *mine children and mine wiues*, in (18) (and (19)) should be regarded as the group genitive or not.   Let us consider these examples again, which are repeated here.

(18) And berwen boþen ure liues,/And mine children and mine wiu<u>es</u>   (698-99)

"And save both of our lives, and my children and my wife's (lives)"

(19) Or elles reue us ure liues/And ure children and ure wiu<u>es</u>   (2591-92)

"Or else deprive us of our lives and our children and our wives' (lives)"

It might be said that the structures in (18) and (19) correspond to the type of the group genitive as in (46a), repeated here[8].

(46) a. $N_1[\phi]$ $N_2[Gen]$ H

Davið kinges kinn   (Orm)

If Hamasaki's (1993) claim that the DP structure was established in ModE is tenable, we might not be able to say that the "group genitives" in (18) and (19) are the same as those in PE.   However, it might be said that the phrase in question are virtually the group genitives.   The difference between them is in the heaviness of the phrase.   PE admits such heavy phrases exemplified in (47), while, to my knowledge, there had not been such phrases before the ModE period.

(47) a.   [the man I saw yesterday]'s son

b.   I never knew that [the woman who laced too tightly]'s name was Matheson

The reason that such heavy expressions as in (47) had not been admitted before the ModE period is that the DP construction was not established yet.   The "group genitives" in (18) and (19) were in the transition period and were developing gradually.

3.   Characteristics of the Genitive in *Havelok*

Above we have seen how the genitive developed and has established the DP structure

in the history of English.　In this section, we will discuss the genitive in *Havelok* in detail.

Anderson (1983-84) discusses the thematic relationship between a genitive NP and its "head" noun in English.　Consider the following examples.

(48)　a.　Mary's store was on Hill Street

b.　Helen's reliance on her friends surprised us

c.　John's arm is broken

d.　Jim's tormentors were never caught

e.　They said they didn't sell children's clothing

f.　Bill's manuscript was accepted without revision

g.　The official's amazement was feigned

h.　Carl's mornings are spent in meditation

i.　Tomorrow's weather is expected to be gloomy

(Anderson (1983-84: 1))

Anderson claims that although various kinds of thematic relation are observed in (48), prenominal genitive NPs have three distinct syntactic sources.　First, some genitive NPs are preposed from their original position.　Second, other genitive NPs are base generated before the head noun[9], and the possessive morpheme *'s* is inserted lexically.　In this case, the head is a concrete noun such as *store* in (48a).　Third, other genitive NPs are base generated before the head noun, and the marker *'s*, which is semantically empty, is inserted transformationally.　In this case, the head is an abstract noun such as *reliance* in (48b).

Anderson argues "that there is syntactic and semantic evidence for the dichotomy between" the last two types of genitive NPs[10].　Let us first see the syntactic evidence presented by Anderson.　Anderson claims that the test used in Stockwell et al. (1973) is useful to distinguish those two types of genitive NPs.　Their claim is "that the construction, 'X is Y's',...covers the same semantic range as the simple possessive and excludes those interpretations in which the genitive case is derived in their analysis".　Consider the following examples.

(49)　a.　This book is John's

b.　*That reliance on friends was Mary's

c.　*This solemnity is Pat's

d.　*That destruction of Rome was the barbarians'

(Anderson (1983-84: 4))

In (49a) in which X is a concrete noun, *book*, it can take the simple lexical possessive. On the contrary, in (49b, c, d) in which X is occupied by abstract nouns such as *reliance*, *solemnity*, and *destruction*, all these expressions are not acceptable.

Now let us see the semantic evidence.   Anderson asserts that the judgements in (49) can be predicted, given the dichotomy.   The thematic relation between the genitive NP and its head noun might be concerned with the acceptability in (49) .   If the noun in genitive NPs is a concrete noun, its theta-role is possessor, which causes acceptability as in (49a).   In contrast, if the noun is an abstract noun, its theta-role is agent, which results in unacceptability as in (49b, c, d)[11].

Similar arguments can be found in Fabb (1984)[12].   Fabb claims that the affix -'s has two properties.   First, it is a Case-marker of genitive NPs which is assigned a theta-role, as in (50):

(50) a.   Africa's renewal of its resources

      b.   The map's restoration by experts

(Fabb (1984: 84))

Second, it sometimes marks possessor on the genitive NPs, as in (51):

(51) a.   John's book

      b.   Mary's nurse's uniform

      c.   That dinner party of Pierre's

(Fabb (1984: 84))

Note that the head nouns in (50) are abstract nouns, while those in (51) are concrete nouns.

Now we return to the examples in *Havelok* listed in section 1.   All the head nouns in (1-38) are concrete nouns.   So it might be said that the genitive ending *-es* in *Havelok* had only one property, i.e., the possessive marker, if the above analyses are correct[13].

Now it is appropriate to point out here, as was done in section 2, the genitive in *Havelok* is different from that of ModE.   In section 2, we indicated how different the genitive in *Havelok* is from that of ModE.   We can also show another piece of evidence, which suggests the difference.   Consider the following examples.

(52) a.   yesterday's lecture

      b.   1984's election

      c.   this year's sales

(a, b: Fabb (1984: 85); c: Quirk et al. (1985: 324))

As illustrated in (52), SP (D) allows adjuncts to occur in PE.   Again we cannot find

such cases before the ModE period.　This fact also suggests that there is a difference between the genitive in *Havelok* and the DP structure in ModE, and that the genitive construction in *Havelok* was in the transition period.

Before concluding our discussion, we would like to comment on the *his*-genitive.　It is generally said that the *his*-genitive became common between 1500 and 1700.　However, it had occurred occasionally in Old English[14].　In fact, we can find the *his*-genitive in *Havelok*, as in (53):

(53) þe maydnes here lif   (2223)
　　　　"the maidens their (=maidens') lives"

This might be a noticeable fact.　First, the genitive marker *here* (=their) is not attached to the preceding word, and appears as an independent word.　Second, the possessive pronoun in the *his*-genitive could be interpreted not as a suffix but as a functional word. This is confirmed by the following example[15].

(54) Heere endeth the wyf of Bathe <u>hir</u> prologe

In (54), the possessive pronoun and the preceding phrase *the wyf of Bathe* constitute the group genitive.

4. Conclusion

As we have seen, the genitive in *Havelok* was in a transition period between OE and ModE.　It can be said that the DP construction had not been established yet, and that the mechanism of the English noun phrase structures changed drastically during the ME period.　This conclusion can be confirmed through the investigation of the language in *Havelok*.

Notes

* This article is a revised version of the paper read at a symposium at the 45th Kyushu Chapter Meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan at Kagoshima Junshin Women's College on November 1, 1992.

1) There are several editions of *Havelok*.　Quotations in this paper are from Smithers (1987), for it is the latest and most reliable version.　Of course, I also saw the other texts and the Laud Manuscript.

2) The genitives considered here do not include the adverbial genitive and the genitive governed by some prepositions, as illustrated in (i) and (ii):

　　　i) day<u>es</u> and nith<u>es</u>   (2354)

  ii) Maugre þin carl   (1790)

3) The total number of the genitives in the personal pronouns in *Havelok* is 375, while the number of the genitives in (1-38) is 41.

4) Actually, there exists one example in which the ending *-es* is not realized in the genitive singular, as in (i):

  i) And diden al his herte (*poss. sg.*) wille   (70)

However, the expression, *do his herte wille*, is an idiom.

Moreover, it might be problematic whether the plural noun, *children*, in (18) and (19) should be considered to have zero-genitive inflection or not.   This problem will be dealt with in the text.

5) The group genitive is "a construction where the *s* suffix is added to the last element of a noun phrase consisting of a postmodified or coordinated noun head." See Moessner (1985: 95) and Blake (ed.) (1992: 229).

6) For more detailed arguments for the DP hypothesis, see Szabolcsi (1983-84), Abney (1987), Stowell (1989), Saito (1991), Ritter (1991), and so on.   On the contrary, problems of this hypothesis are pointed out by Imai et al. (1989).   We will put aside these problems here and leave them open.

7) For justification, see the literature cited in note 6.

8) We can find one example of the type (46c) in *Havelok*; that is, (22) .   The *of*-phrase, *Of Cornwalie*, is away from the group a little, however.   It might be due to the meter.

9) For convenience, we use the term "head noun" traditionally, but, if adopt the DP hypothesis, it cannot be a head of DP.

10) For more detailed discussion, see Anderson (1983-84: 2-9)

11) It appears that the relationship between the genitive and the head noun, which is a concrete noun, shift loosely.   Consider the following examples.

  i) John's reconstruction of an 18th century French village was damaged in the fire

  ii) John's reconstruction of the crime required deductive skills

In (i) where the head noun is used as a concrete noun, the genitive noun, *John*, could be the owner, the caretaker, the admirer, the discoverer or the creator of the reconstruction.   In (ii) , on the other hand, its theta-role can be determined straightforwardly.

  Incidentally, in the case of abstract nouns, another theta-role, say, experiencer

might be assigned, as in (iii):

iii) John's amazement

For a detailed discussion of this analysis, see Anderson (1983-84: 4-9).

12) See Fabb (1984: 84-86).

13) In reality, there are two examples in which head nouns do not appear in (1-38):
i.e., (27) and (32).　　However, the omitted heads are easily inferred: that is, *cloþes*
(="clothes") in (27) and *huse* (="house") in (32).　　These genitives in (27) and
(32) are called "independent genitive" and "absolute genitive" respectively.

14) See Curme (1931: 71).

15) The example (54) is cited from *The Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's Canterbury
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