195, as well as the differences in paper format, watermarks, and ruling.

This evidence of recycling texts and materials in *T* is a testimony to the frugality of medieval manuscript culture. Scholarship on re-use of materials has frequently focused on parchment due to the great effort and costs involved in its production. However, the evidence of *T* suggests that even the less costly material of paper was seen as valuable enough to warrant careful re-use and adaptation within the context of a different manuscript. In this way, it demonstrates how scribes could re-employ texts in different contexts in strikingly creative and versatile ways.

Cosima Clara Gillhammer
Christ Church, Oxford, UK

AN OLD ENGLISH PROGENITOR FOR MIDDLE ENGLISH ACCUSATIVE *HIS*

During Middle English (ME), at a point in the development of the language when accusative pronouns were giving way to dative forms so that a single object case remained, the seemingly innovative use of full and enclitic forms of *his* as a 3pl. acc. and 3sg. fem. acc. form is witnessed across the East, Central, and West Midlands and in Kent alongside ME reflexes of the Old English (OE) 3pl. acc. and 3sg. fem. acc. pronouns in *hī, hīe, hēo*, etc.[1] Illustrative examples include (1)–(2) for the 3pl. acc. and (3)–(4) for the 3sg. fem. acc.[2]

1. Sunne and mone and ilc sterre … He set**es** in ðe firmament

'Sun and moon and each star … He set them in the firmament'
(*Genesis and Exodus*, 135)

2. He bouthe him boþe hosen and shon, And sone dide him don**es** on
'He brought him both trousers and shoes and immediately made him put them on'
(*Havelok*, 970)

3. Þe prest **his** (*þe cou* < OE *cū* fem.) nom bleþeliche and **hise** zente to þe oþren þet he hadde
'The priest took it (the cow) gladly and sent it to the others that he had'
(*Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 191)

4. Huanne he heþ mid hire longe yplayd: þanne he **his** eth

'When he has long played with her: then he eats her'
(*Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 179)

The *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) makes no mention of acc. his in its entry for the OE third-person pronouns (s.v. hē, hēo, hit, *pron., 3rd pers.*) and the first *OED* attestations of acc. his date from the early thirteenth century (s.v. †his, *pron.2*; s.v. †his, *pron.3*).[3] Given the apparent lack of an OE progenitor for acc. his, its use in these contexts has generally been explained as either a ME innovation involving compounded acc. hi and the plural marker 's' or as a borrowing from Frisian or Dutch.[4] In the pl. nom./acc. and sg. fem. nom./

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[1] The most comprehensive description of the distribution of these forms is R. Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation in Middle English', *Folia Linguistica Historica* xxxvi (2015), 1–17.

[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) records full and enclitic 3pl. acc. variants in *(-)as, (-)es, hes, his(e), hys(e), (-)is, -s, -us, ys* (s.v. †his, *pron.3*) and 3sg. fem. acc. variants in *as, (-)es, hes, hies, his(e), hys(e), (-)is, ys* (s.v. †his, *pron.2*) <https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/> (accessed 30 Mar. 2020). Given the wide range of variant forms attested, I use his as a cover label and hi to denote the variant ME reflexes of OE 3pl. acc. *hīe, hī, hȳ, hēo, hīæ* and 3sg. fem. acc. *hīe, hī, hȳ, hēo, hīæ, hig*.

[3] A. Cameron, A. Crandell Amos and A. DiPaolo Healey, Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online (Toronto, 2018) <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> (accessed 9 Apr. 2020).

[4] For discussion of acc. his as a compound of acc. hi + 's', see Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation', 13–15; R. D. Fulk, *An Introduction to Middle English* (Peterborough, 2012), 65. For the view that acc. his is the result of borrowing, see W. Heuser, *Festländische Einflüsse im Mittelenglischen* (Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik xii, 1902), 77; H. F. Nielsen, *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages: A Survey of Morphological and Phonological Interrelations* (Innsbruck, 1981), 227; G. V. Smithers (ed.), *Havelok* (Oxford, 1987), 112–13; S. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley, 1988), 322–23.

acc., Old Frisian had enclitic -s(e) and Middle Dutch had *si*, *sie*, with enclitic forms in -*se*.[5]

In view of the restricted nature of the surviving OE material, both in genre type and geographical scope, not all scholars have regarded absence of contemporary attestation as over-riding proof that an OE progenitor for ME acc. His did not exist. For Morsbach, acc. His was a native cognate of the *s*-forms found in other West Germanic languages.[6] It occurs in slots that have continental West Germanic full *s*-initial and enclitic correspondents. The insular development of these forms resulted in the weakening of the *s*-initial pronoun to enclitic -*s*

in OE and the analogical creation of secondary orthotonic forms (*hes* etc.). Nonetheless, the greatest impediment up until now to an inheritance hypothesis was the lack of evidence for an 's'-ful acc. pronoun in OE.[7] This article provides OE attestation evidence for acc. His that has gone unnoticed in the literature and which reopens the possibility of origin in an inherited form.

The OE attestation evidence for acc. His is drawn from the following psalter material. Text excerpts are taken from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*) and have been checked against the manuscripts.[8]

London, British Library, Arundel 60. *Arundel Psalter*, probably written in Winchester in the second half of the eleventh century.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi. *Tiberius Psalter*, written 1050–75 in Winchester.

Cambridge University Library, Ff.1.23. *Winchcombe* or *Cambridge Psalter*, written in the mid-eleventh century. Recent scholarship rejects its original localization to Winchcombe Abbey in Gloucestershire and suggests Ramsey or Canterbury.

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i *Vespasian Psalter*, hails from Canterbury, although the ninth-century vernacular gloss is written in West Mercian.

Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1 (987), *Eadwine Psalter*, written in Canterbury in the mid-twelfth century.

The localizations of the psalters fall within the geographical distribution of acc. His described for early ME, except for the southern Winchester (Hampshire) texts. *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150*–1325 (*LAEME*) has just two manuscripts of Hampshire origin, which together record only five relevant accusative contexts.[9] The limitations in size of the early ME Hampshire corpus means that the use of acc. His in this area

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[5] S. Howe, *The Personal Pronouns in the Germanic Languages* (Berlin, 1996), 179, 204.

[6] See L. Morsbach, 'Review of O.F. Emerson, The History of the English language', *Anglia Beiblatt* vii (1897), 331. Morsbach's view is endorsed by J. K. Wallenberg, *The Vocabulary of Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt. A Phonological, Morphological, Etymological, Semasiological and Textual Study* (Uppsala, 1923), 114; A. Buccini, 'Southern Middle English *hise* and the Question of Pronominal Transfer in Language Contact', in R. Lippi-Green (ed.), *Recent Developments in Germanic Linguistics* (Amsterdam, 1992), 11–32; P. Stiles, 'The Comparative Method, Internal Reconstruction, Areal Norms and the West Germanic Third Person Pronoun', in S. Laker and M. de Vaan (eds.), *Frisian through the Ages: Festschrift für Rolf H. Bremmer Jr.* (Leiden, 2017), 410–41.

[7] Howe, *The Personal Pronouns*, 141; Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation', 4.

[8] A. Di Paolo Healey, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, eds., J. Price Wilkin and X. Xiang (Toronto, 2009) <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html> (accessed 12 Feb. 2020). My manuscript descriptions follow P. Pulsiano (ed.), *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1–50* (Toronto, 2001), 21–24; H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), 17; A. H. Blom, *Glossing the Psalms: The Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries* (Berlin, 2017), 162. The manuscript images are available at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Arundel_MS_60> for the *Arundel Psalter*; <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_VI> for the *Tiberius Psalter*; <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/> for the *Winchcombe Psalter*; <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vespasian_A_I> for the *Vespasian Psalter*, and <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/viewpage.php?index=1229> for the *Eadwine Psalter* (accessed 12 Feb. 2020). Images from MS Ff.1.23 are reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library. Images from R.17.1 are reproduced with the permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge. All other images © The British Library Board (Arundel MS 60; Cotton MS Tiberius C. vi; Cotton MS Vespasian A. i)

[9] *LAEME* texts 'winchesterert' #143 and 'wintneyt' #304, in M. Laing, *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325*, version 3.2 (Edinburgh, 2013) <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme2.html> (accessed 9 Apr. 2020).

cannot be ruled out, particularly as ME acc. ʜɪs is attested in the neighboring counties of Berkshire and Oxfordshire.[10]

Examples (5)–(9), and their corresponding manuscript images in Figures 1–5, illustrate instances of ʜɪs in the *Arundel Psalter* that gloss pl. acc. L. *eos* and can be classified as OE pl. acc. forms.[11]

5. PsGlJ (Oess) 0118.9.35

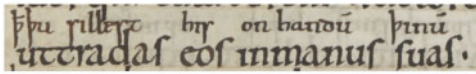OE geseah forðon gewin & sar þu sceawas þæt þu sillest his on handum þinum þe forlæten is þearfa steopcildum þu bist gefultumiend

Figure 1. *þæt þu sillest his on handum þinum* (Arundel Psalter f. 18r).

L uides quoniam tu laborem et dolorem consideras ut tradas eos in manus suas tibi derelictus est pauper orphano tu eris adiutor
'you have seen for you behold trouble and pain so that you deliver them into your hands, to you is the poor man left; you will be the helper of the orphans'

6. PsGlJ (Oess) 0509.35.9

OE Beoð ondrængte fram nihtsumnesse huses þines & of burnan willan þines þu dreccest his

L Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuę et torrente uoluntatis tuae potabis eos
'They will be intoxicated from the abundance of your house and you give them drink from the river of your pleasures'

[10] Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation', 7–8. The regional distribution proposed in Buccini, 'Southern Middle English *hise*', 21–2 includes Hampshire based on the localization of the Lambeth manuscript of the *Poema Morale* (MS Lambeth 487) to that county, but *LAEME* endorses a West Midlands [NW Worcestershire] provenance.
[11] Text abbreviations are those employed by A. Di Paolo Healey *et al.*, *DOEC*. The Modern English psalm translations render the OE text, as opposed to the Latin, and are my own.

Figure 2. *willan þines þu dreccest his* (Arundel Psalter f. 35r)

7. PsGlJ (Oess) 0850.57.10

OE Ærþam hig ongeaton þornas eowre þefonþorn swaswa lifigende swa eorre forswelgeþ his

L Priusquam intelligerent spine uestrę ramnum sicut uiuentes sic in ira obsorbet eos
'before your pots perceive the thorns as burning so in anger he will devour them'

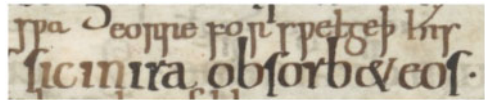

Figure 3. *swa eorre forswelgeþ his* (Arundel Psalter f. 56v)

8. PsGlJ (Oess) 0075.7(6).11

OE Swaswa earn clipigende to fleogenne briddas his & ofer hig fliccrigende he aþenede fiþera his & he genam his & he bær on eaxlum his

L Sicut aquila prouocans ad uolandum pullos suos et super eos uolitans expandit alas suas et adsumpsit eos atque portauit in humeris suis
'Just like an eagle calling its young to fly and fluttering over them he spread his wings and he caught them and carried on his shoulders'

Figure 4. *7 he genam his* (Arundel Psalter f. 123v).

9. PsGlJ (Oess) 0371.27.9

OE Hal þu do folc þin drihten & bletsa yrfeweardnesse þine & rice his & uphefe hig oþ

on ecnesse

L Saluum fac populum tuum domine et benedic hereditati tuae et rege eos et extolle illos usque in eternum

'Make your people safe lord and bless your inheritance, care for/govern (?)them and lift them up eternally'
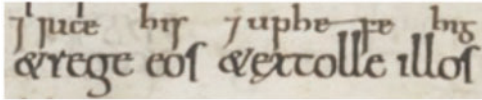

Figure 5. *& rice his & uphefe hig* (Arundel Psalter f. 29v).

Example 9 is open to interpretation. In other OE psalter glosses the anaphoric pronouns that are co-referent with *folc* are unambiguously pl. acc., cf. *rece hi & uppahefe hi* [Winchcombe]; *gerece hie & genim ł ahefe hie* [Eadwine]; *rece hie & uphefe hie* [Vespasian]. OE *folc* was a monosyllabic long-stem neuter noun with identical nom. acc. sg. and pl. forms. It could function as a collective noun that was formally singular but perceptually plural, and *Arundel* renders coreferent pl. acc. L. *illos* using OE pl. acc. *hig*, which suggests that *his* was also intended as a pl. acc. gloss for L. *eos*. However, OE 3sg. masc./ neut. gen. HIS could occur as the object of genitive-governing verbs. OE *rēcan* 'care for' generally required a genitive object, making it possible that *his* is a 3sg. neut. gen. pronoun that agrees with its formally sg. neut. antecedent *folc* (cf. L. sg. acc. *populum*), although no other psalter employs a genitive object.[12]

There are four instances of OE *his* glossing pl. acc. L. *eos* in the *Winchcombe* or *Cambridge Psalter*, as illustrated in examples (10)–(13) and Figures 6–9. *DOE* indicates that OE *gefrēogan* in (12) occasionally took a genitive object (s.v. gefrēogan, gefrēon, gefrīgan, 1.c.ii.), but a genitive analysis does not hold here, given that the plural context would require the OE plural genitive pronoun *hira*.

10. PsGlC (Wildhagen) 0811.54.20

OE Gehyryð god & geaðmodað his se ys ær worulde

L Exaudiet deus et humiliabit eos qui est ante secula

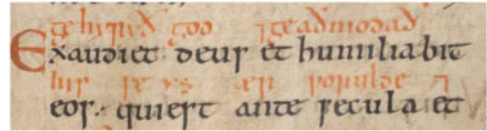'God will hear and will humble them, (he) who is before time'

Figure 6. Winchcombe Psalter f. 93r.

11. PsGlC (Wildhagen) 1756.106.2

OE Cweðyn nu þa þe alysde synd fram drihtne þa he alysde of hand feondys of cynyricum he gesamnude his

L Dicant nunc qui redempti sunt a domino quos redemit de manu inimici de regionibus congregauit eos

'Say now those who have been redeemed by God those he redeemed from the hand of the foe out of the lands he gathered them'

Figure 7. *he gesamnude his* (Winchcombe Psalter f. 187v) <s> partially erased by water damage.

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[12] T. Northcote Toller *et al.* (eds). Comp. S. Christ and O. Tichý, *Bosworth-Toller: Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online* (Prague, 2010) <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/025616>, s.v. *rēcan* (accessed 15 Feb. 2020).

12. PsGlC (Wildhagen) 0269.21.5
OE On þe gehihton fæderas ure gehihton & þu gefreodyst his
L in te sperauerunt patres nostri sperauerunt et liberasti eos
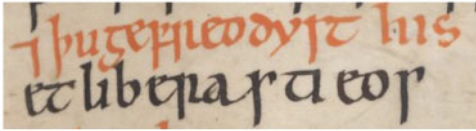'In you our fathers hoped, (they) hoped and you freed them'

Figure 8. *& þu gefreodyst his* (Winchcombe Psalter f. 34r).

13. PsGlC (Wildhagen) 1082.72.6.
OE Forþon nam hys ofyrhigd hyra
L Ideo tenuit eos superbia eorum
'Therefore their pride has seized them'
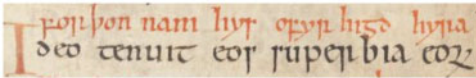
An early example of HIS as a plural object

Figure 9. *forþon nam hys ofyrhigd hyra* (Winchcombe Psalter f. 123v).

occurs in the ninth-century gloss in the *Vespasian Psalter*, illustrated in example (14) and Figure 10, where it glosses the Latin dative plural *illis*.[13]

14. PsGlA (Kuhn) 0734.48.20
OE & monn ða ðe he in are wes ne onget he efenmeten wes neatum unwisum & gelic geworden is his
L Et homo cum in honore esset non intellexit comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis
'And man when he was in honour did not understand, he was compared to the unwise beasts and is become like them'

Figure 10. *& gelic geworden is his* (Vespasian Psalter f. 50r).

OE *gelīc* usually took a dative complement, and pl. dat. *him* glosses *illis* when *et similis factus est illis* repeats at PsGlA (Kuhn) 48.11. The other OE psalter glosses have *him* on both occasions. The exception is the mid-twelfth century Canterbury manuscript the *Eadwine Psalter*, which parallels the *Vespasian Psalter* in employing *him* for L. *illis* at PsGlE (Harsley) 48.11 and *his* at PsGlE (Harsley) 48.21, as in example (15) and Figure 11. The parallel could reflect inheritance via copying, but it also arguably provides an insight into the range of linguistic variants available in the scribes' own productive use. The *Eadwine Psalter* records a similar sort of variation where pl. dat. L. *eis* in a Latin utterance that occurs twice is glossed with *him* on one occasion and *his* on another, as illustrated in example (16) and Figure 12. The use of HIS in pl. dat. contexts is in line with the early ME distribution of acc. HIS, which is also recorded, albeit just once, in a dative context, and increasingly so in late ME.[14]

15. PsGlE (Harsley) 0729.48.21
OE gelic geworden is his
L. similis factus est illis
'is become like them'

Figure 11. Eadwine Psalter f. 86r.

16. PsGlE (Harsley) 1838.113.16
OE Gelic him bioð ðæ ðe doþ ðæ & eælle ðæ getriewaþ on him
PsGlE (Harsley) 2192.134.18
OE Gelic him sien ðæ ðe doþ & eælle ðæ getriwæþ on his

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[13] Strangely enough, *DOEC*, which relies on Kuhn's edition, records four further instances of *his* glossing *eos* in the *Vespasian Psalter* at PsGlA (Kuhn) 0369.27.7, 0451.32.16, 0262.20.9 and 0482.34.7. Consultation of the manuscript indicates, however, that the transcriptions are erroneous, and the manuscript has *hie*.

[14] Howe, *The Personal Pronouns*, 138; Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation', 7, 15.

L Similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea et omnes qui confidunt in eis

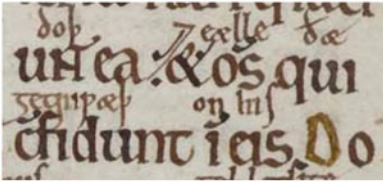'Let them that make them be like them and all who trust in them'

Figure 12. *doþ & eælle ðæ getriwæþ on his* (Eadwine Psalter f. 241v).

I have identified only one unambiguous instance of *his* glossing sg. fem. acc. L. *eam*. It occurs in the *Tiberius Psalter* and is illustrated in example (17) and Figure 13. Here *hys* glosses sg. fem. acc. L. *eam* and agrees in gender with its OE sg. fem. antecedents *þeos* and *handa*.

17. PsGlH (Campbell) 1831.108.26–1832.108.27
OE gefylst me [domine deus meus] halne do æfter mildheortnesse þine hi witen forðon handa þine þeos & þu [domine] dydest hys
L Adiuua me domine deus meus saluum me fac secundum misericordiam tuam sciant quia manus tua hęc et tu domine fecisti eam
'help me, oh Lord my God, save [me] according to your mercy. That they may know this is your hand and you, oh Lord, did it'
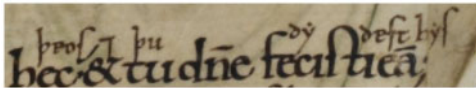

Figure 13. *þeos & þu dydest hys* (Tiberius Psalter f. 126r).

Example (18) and Figure 14 show a more ambiguous instance found in the *Arundel Psalter*. Latin sg. fem. *civitas* is the antecedent of the sg. fem. acc. anaphoric pronoun *eam*, which supports analyzing OE *his* as a sg. fem.

acc. pronoun that refers anaphorically to OE sg. fem. *ceastre*. Other psalter glosses at this point use sg. fem. acc. HI. *DOE* attests OE *afōn* with genitive objects (s.v. afōn 1.a. to receive something acc./gen.) but not when it occurs as a gloss to L. *suscipere* (s.v. afōn 1.b.ii. glossing *suscipere* 'to support, sustain (someone)'). Nevertheless, given that *ceastre* is very occasionally masc. in OE (*DOE* s.v. ceaster)—cf. sg. masc. acc. *hine* for L. *eam* in the *Vitellius Psalter*—*his* might be a sg. masc. gen. object anaphor.

18. PsGlJ (Oess) 0699.47.4–0698.47.3
OE Upahefennisse ealre eorðan [mons sion] side norþdæl ceastre cininge micles. God on huse his biþ tocnewen þonne he anfehþ his
L Fundatur exultationis uniuerse terre mons sion latera aquilonis ciuitas regis magni. Deus in domibus eius cognoscetur cum suscipiet eam
'With the joy of the whole earth is mount Sion founded, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king. God will be acknowledged in his house [L. trans. 'her houses'] when he will protect (?)her [the city]'
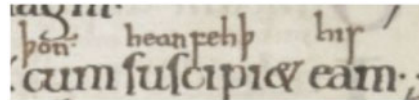

Figure 14. *þonne he anfehþ his* (Arundel Psalter f. 44r).

Basing conclusions on data drawn from psalter glosses naturally raises the question of how reliable a witness glossarial data is of actual OE grammar. To what extent are we dealing with an autonomous vernacular text, rather than a Latin-orientated vertical translation consisting mainly of substitution glosses? Personal pronouns in the glosses generally agree with their Latin lemmas, for example, *hie* L. *eas* (acc. pl.), *his* L. *eius* (gen. sg. masc.) *he* L. *ipse* (nom. sg. masc.), except where agreement would violate the grammar of OE. A few examples taken from the *Arundel Psalter* serve to show that agreement between anaphoric pronouns, and their

antecedents follows the demands of OE grammar and is not a slavish translation of the Latin. In (19), the OE sg. fem. dat. demonstrative pronoun *þare* agrees in case with its OE antecedent *sibbe* 'peace' rather than the Latin accusative forms *pacem* and *eam*. In (20), Latin sg. fem. acc. *eam* is glossed with sg. masc. acc. *hine* to agree with its OE masculine antecedent *wingeard* rather than the Latin feminine noun *vineam*.

> 19. PsGlJ (Oess) 0465.33.15
> OE gecir fram yfele & do god sece sibbe$_{SG.FEM.DAT.}$ & filige þare$_{SG.FEM.DAT.}$.
> L deuerte a malo et fac bonum inquire pacem$_{SG.FEM.ACC.}$ et persequere eam$_{SG.FEM.ACC.}$.
> 'Turn away from evil and do good: seek after peace and pursue it'

> 20. PsGlJ (Oess) 1266.79.9
> OE wingeard$_{SG.MASC.ACC.}$ of egiptalande þu feredest þu awurpe þeoda & þu plantodest hine$_{SG.MASC.ACC.}$.
> L uineam$_{SG.FEM.ACC.}$ de egipto transtulisti eiecisti gentes et plantasti eam$_{SG.FEM.ACC.}$.
> 'You brought a vineyard from Egypt; you drove out nations and you planted it'

Two types of evidence can be applied to determine the status of HIS in the OE psalter glosses; the vertical, that is, the use of HIS to gloss L. pl. acc. *eos* suggests, but does not prove, that it is an OE pl. acc. variant, but also the horizontal. All the instances of acc. HIS discussed earlier have identifiable plural antecedents in the OE text, or a sg. fem. antecedent, in the case of (17), and function as objects of verbs that require accusative complements. It can reasonably be argued that this freer, horizontally orientated, translation strategy can be relied on to provide insights into the properties of OE and suggests that the use of acc. pl. HIS reflects idiomatic native usage. Furthermore, the psalters record several instances of acc. HIS and in more than one manuscript, rather than one-off instances that might be disregarded as errors.

Admittedly, the evidence is not quantitatively robust, but the instances of OE acc. HIS do not exist in a vacuum; they provide an OE progenitor for ME acc. HIS and have continental West Germanic equivalents. The scarce attestation of acc. HIS in OE lies predominantly in the limited nature of the OE corpus in genre and geographical coverage, as Buccini has already noted.[15] The attestations discussed above suggest that HIS coexisted with HI (and to a lesser extent HIM) as an object pronoun variant in OE, but its marginal occurrence is suggestive of a local or nonliterary variant that only occasionally made its way into writing. Nor would atomistic glossing lend itself to the use of enclitic forms, making the absence of such forms unsurprising. With regard to geographical coverage, ME texts that hail from Kent and East Anglia account for 83.6 per cent ($N=128/153$) of the pl. acc. HIS tokens and 61 per cent ($N=50/82$) of 3sg. fem. acc. HIS tokens found in *LAEME*.[16] If we assume that the diatopic distribution of OE acc. HIS mapped roughly onto its ME distribution, then we would ideally look to the Kentish and East Mercian texts of OE for evidence. All surviving Mercian OE, however, including the chief surviving example of Mercian dialect, the ninth-century gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter*, belong in the West Midlands.[17] A form of East Mercian presumably existed, but it is not attested. The Kentish material is similarly sparsely represented. The ninth-century Kentish charters material barely amounts to a corpus of 4,000 words,[18] while the Kentish sources in their entirety record only two instances of fem. and pl. accusative pronouns.[19] The diachronic study of acc. HIS is yet another reminder that reconstructing aspects of the OE linguistic system, particularly the use of possibly nonprestige variants, is inevitably hindered by the limited volume and nature of extant material.

MARCELLE COLE
Utrecht University, The Netherlands

[15] Buccini, 'Southern Middle English *hise*', 25.

[16] Based on Alcorn, 'Pronoun Innovation', Tables 2 and 3.

[17] T. E. Toon, 1992. 'Old English Dialects', in R. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Vol. i: The Beginnings to 1066* (Cambridge, 1992), 423.

[18] G. Trousdale, 'The Social Context of Social Raising: Issues in Old English Sociolinguistics', *International Journal of English Studies* v (2005), 61.

[19] Buccini, 'Southern Middle English *hise*', 24–5.