C. DEPENDENT OF NOUN  Another kind of government by syntactic structure alone is that of a nominal occurring within a noun phrase (NP), when it is an immediate dependent (rather than the head) of that NP. It is functionally adjectival, and in every instance it is marked by genitive inflection: mīn fēder 'my father,' Bēowulfes sīp 'Beowulf's venture,' hēas cyninges pēgnas 'thanes of the king.'
The same principle of government holds, of course, when there has been deletion of the head noun to eliminate unneeded repetition. *Hwæs sunu ys hē?* ... *Dauïdes.* ‘Whose son is he? ... David’s.’

*Pa brohtan hi him [pone penig].
Pā sāde hē him, ‘Hwæs is þéos anlicynys and þis ġewrit?’
Hi cwædon, ‘Dæs cāseres.’
Da cwæd se hēlend tō him,
‘Agyfað þam cāser þa þing
þe þæs cāseres synd, and Gode
þa ðe Godes synd.’  

Then they brought him the penny.
Then he said to them, ‘Whose is this image and this inscription?’
They said, ‘Caeser’s.’ Then
said the Saviour to them,
‘Give to Caeser those things
which are Caeser’s, and to God
those which are God’s.’
In the same way, any constituent modifier has the same genitive inflection as does that of the genitive noun which heads its immediate phrase: *þæs ælmihtigan godes sunu* ‘(the) son of the almighty-God’; *ælces libbendes mannes mægen ... is ȳdelnes* ‘the virtue of every living person is vanity.’
When a determiner occurs with the noun that heads a dominant NP, a dependent NP follows the head of that NP (rather than preceding it): ġe-earnode him þā ġifte Halīges Gāstes ‘(he) earned the gift of the holy spirit’; þæt ġē cunnun þā ġerynum godes riċes ‘that ye may know the secrets of the kingdom of God’; Se heofonlīca mete hǣfde þā ġetācnunge ùres Hǣlendes Cristes, þe cȳm of heofonum tȳ ús ‘The heavenly food [manna] has the signification [i.e., symbolic meaning] of our Saviour Christ, who came from heaven to us.’
However, a differing case inflection for a form preceding the noun in the dependent NP marks it as not belonging to that dependent NP construction: in Æn sunu, møre meotudes bearne ‘One son, illustrious child of the Creator,’ the constituent structure is møre ... bearne, and not møre meotudes.

Not only is any nominal marked by genitive case inflection when it is a dependent (rather than head) in a noun phrase, but any nominal dominated in turn by such a dependent NP is also marked by its own (separate) genitive inflection, as illustrated by one of the genitive forms being singular, the other plural, in Eow is gesead to witanne heofona rīces ōryfyn ‘To you is given to know the secrets of the kingdom of the heavens,’ and in Dā slōh hyra Æn þāra sacerda ealdres þēow ‘Then one of them struck (the) servant of (the) chief of the priests.’ In Modern English the layering of the structure is similar, but reversed in sequence and converted to phrasal (not inflectional) marking. (With both dependent NPs in singular form, the pattern is the same: on Godes mægnes swyfhræn healfe ‘on the right side of the power of God.’) Periphrastic genitive (constructed with of) evolved only later in the history of English.