English: the Grammar of the Danelaw

by

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have long debated whether Old and Middle English (ME) are different diachronic stages of one language, or whether they are two closely related languages that have different historical roots. A general assumption is that Middle and Modern English descend from Old English (OE), similar to the way Middle and Modern German descend from Old High German. Traditional scholarship places English into the West-Germanic language subgroup (which includes Old English, and continental Germanic languages) Historically, criteria used by linguists to establish genealogy of languages involve sound change from parent to daughter languages and the sharing of core vocabulary. Until recently, consideration of the influence of contact-induced change, except in the lexical domain, has been minimized, favoring generative language-internal factors. While it is generally accepted that internal motivation shapes the outcome of language change, contact may provide the catalyst for the change. The syntax of ME emerged with linguistic variation that distanced it from its Germanic relatives. In order to understand how the grammar of ME evolved and differs from its West-Germanic cousins, the syntax and morphosyntactic properties of ME, evident in The Orrmulum, an early ME work written in the Danelaw region of England, are analyzed in comparison to Old English (OE), Old Norse (ON), and Celtic, and in relation to formal grammaticalization theory, social factors and historical events. An analysis of the grammar in The Orrmulum supports current research regarding Scandinavian influence on the syntax of OE and ME, because there is extensive historic evidence regarding effects of language tangency of the relevant cultures; the properties of a grammatical lexicon influence retention of syntactic

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patterns, despite additions/changes in lexical categories; and The Orrmulum is a revealing

source of the transition of OE to ME regional dialect variations.

DEDICATION

To my Aunt Carol, whose dedication as an Educator continues to inspire

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of my committee Dr.

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PREFACE

Scholars have long debated whether Old and Middle English (ME) are different diachronic stages of one language, or whether they are two closely related languages that have different historical roots. A general assumption is that Middle and Modern English descend from Old English (OE), similar to the way Middle and Modern German descend from Old High German. Traditional scholarship places English into the West-Germanic language subgroup (which includes Old English, and continental Germanic languages Frisian, Dutch, High German, and Low German, etc.) of Germanic. Historically, criteria used by linguists to establish genealogy of languages involve sound change from parent to daughter languages and the sharing of core vocabulary. Until recently, consideration of the influence of contact-induced change, except in the lexical domain, has been minimized, favoring generative language-internal factors. While it is generally accepted that internal motivation shapes the outcome of language change, contact may provide the catalyst for the change.

The syntax of ME emerged with linguistic variation that distanced it from its Germanic relatives. In order to understand how the grammar of ME evolved and differs from its West-Germanic cousins, I investigate linguistic evidence of contact-induced syntactic change, by analyzing the grammatical lexicon of *The Orrmulum*, an early ME work written in the Danelaw region of England. I compare the syntax and morphosyntactic properties of ME, evident in *The Orrmulum*, to Old English (OE), Old Norse (ON), and

Celtic, in relation to formal grammaticalization theory, social factors and historical events.

My analysis of the grammar in *The Orrmulum* supports current research regarding Scandinavian influence on the syntax of OE and ME, because there is extensive historic evidence regarding effects of language tangency of the relevant cultures; the properties of a grammatical lexicon influence retention of syntactic patterns, despite additions/changes in lexical categories; and *The Orrmulum* is a revealing source of the transition of OE to ME regional dialect variations.

In this study, I first discuss why *The Orrmulum* is a revealing source of the transition from Old- to ME, and I provide a brief history of the socio-historical situation in England at that time. In chapter one, I discuss language change: external and internal factors; grammaticalization theory and cyclical change. Chapter two presents evidence for Scandinavian influence, found in *The Orrmulum* texts. Chapter three discusses the external influence of Celtic on the grammar of English, in relation to the evidence found in *The Orrmulum* texts. This analysis indicates that ME and present-day English (PDE) grammar evolved from the Danelaw region of England.

The Orrmulum:

The ancestor of PDE is early ME, especially the East Midlands' dialect. There is an increase in the analycity of ME from the synthetic nature of OE. Because of this increase

in the use of grammatical words, *The Orrmulum* is seen as a text that is making the changes from OE to ME. *The Orrmulum* was written by the Augustinian monk named Orrm or Orrmin (a Scandinavian name common in the Danelaw – [ON Ormr 'serpent']). Orrm identifies himself as a canon living under Augustinian rule (like his biological brother and fellow canon Walter, the poet's muse). Fulk (2012: 153), states that it has been argued convincingly that the place of composition was the abbey in Bourne, Lincolnshire, in the north-east Midlands in England, an area which underwent the heaviest Scandinavian settlement. Its composition may have begun as early as 1150, with work discontinued by about 1180 at the latest. His homilies in the *Orrmulum* provide a Christian sermon in English on the Biblical texts (New Testament) used in the mass throughout the church calendar beginning with the Christmas season. It is a homily cycle written in English to provide an accessible text for the clergy and laity who were not able to understand the Latin of the Vulgate Bible. Orrm aids the reader by having derived an idiosyncratic orthographic style for the pronunciation and word stress of the vernacular at the time. The spelling system and poetic meter in *Orrmulum* enable scholars to reconstruct ME as Orrm spoke it. The manuscript is regarded as an authorial autograph, and not a product of a scribal mixture of two or more dialects; therefore, it represents the dialect of Orrm and his area of composition in the Danelaw region of England.

The orthography of *Orrmulum* differs from OE in that, by the late OE period, a West Saxon dialect was used throughout England as a literary standard. With the imposition of Norman rule and the subjugation of the OE, ON, and Celtic-language speakers, ME

emerged with a great deal of linguistic variation. The origin of ME texts, such as *The Orrmulum*, can be identified by these regional dialect variations. It is a good "anchor text" to analyze the transition from OE to ME as well as the influence ON and Celtic may have had on ME.

According to Fulk (2012: 164), the earliness of the text renders most of the usual dialect criteria inconclusive. However, a number of criteria indicate that its place of composition is (north) east England.

- unrounding of OE *y* rules out the Southwest and most of the West Midlands.
- The language reflects an Anglian dialect, ie: *sæȝhenn* (OA *sægon*) (WS *Sāwon*); *nahht* (OA *næht*) (LWS *niht)*
- <k> and <c> in many words with OE /ʧ/, ie: *spillc, illke* 'each' – also indicates the North or Northeast
- The absence of verb inflections in *-ess* rules out the North
- And so we are left with the East Midlands.

Townend (2002) suggests that the situation in the Danelaw region was one of mutual intelligibility rather than that of bilingualism. He states that a number of features indicate heavy Norse influence in Orrm's language:

1) there are over 200 Norse loanwords to be found in the extant *Orrmulum*, some of which are unparalleled elsewhere in ME, and many of which are there found in English for the first time;

2) the usual 3rd person plural Pronouns are, even at this early stage, the Norse ones *þeȝȝ, þeȝȝm*, and *þeȝȝre* (though OE *hem* and *here* survive as occasional variants);

3) some of the Norse loans in the *Orrmulum* are unique in showing late Norse sound changes scarcely, if at all, paralleled in other loans in English, suggesting that they may be late adoptions (for example, denasalisation of the negative prefix from *un-* to *u-* in *usell* [unhappy]);

4) some of the loans are found in alliterative pairs, a number of which are Norse in both parts and therefore seem to have entered English as units.

<div align="right">(Townend 2002: 208)</div>

Townend (2002) suggests that the quantity of Norse-derived lexical variants beside the native English ones in *The Orrmulum*, implies imposition through language shift; and that the co-occurrence of these Norse- and English- derived variants is relevant to the assertion of Anglo-Norse intelligibility. In the Dedication of *The Orrmulum*, Orrm states his purpose for the text, which was to provide daily liturgical readings from the New Testament, accessible to the laity, and delivered from as many pulpits as possible. Townend (2002) suggests this is an indication which implies the mutual intelligibility of both Norse- and English- derived variants to the entire speech community. In addition, Orrm systematically establishes central principles of orthographic and phonological standardization in English, still used today. He explains to his brother in the Dedication that he has both rhymed his words and spelled them so that English speakers can read the words as they should be spoken (example 1). Wherever the consonants are doubled, the vowel sound is lax rather than stressed.

(1) *The Orrmulum* text

    *Icc hafe se**tt** her o Þi**ss** boc*   41
        *Amang Go**dd**spe**ll**es worde**ss**,*

All Þurrh me sellfenn, maniȝ word
  Þe rime swa to fillen;
Acc Þu shallt findenn Þatt min word, 45
  Eȝȝwhær Þær itt iss ekedd,
Maȝȝ hellpenn Þa Þatt redenn itt
  To sen tunnderrstanndenn
All Þess te better, hu Þeȝȝm birrÞ
  Þe Goddspell unnderrstanndenn; 50
  forrÞi trowwe icc Þatt te birrÞ
  Wel Þolenn mine wordess,

I have set here o this book   41
  Among gospel's words,
All through myself, many word
  They rhyme so to fulfill;
But you shall find that my word 45
  Everywhere where it is increased,
May help those that read it
  To see to understand
All this the better, how them ought
  The Gospel understand; 50
  Therefore trust I that thee ought
  Well permit mine words,

Example (2) shows a portion of the Dedication from a copy of the original manuscript,

which resides in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England. The manuscript preserves

some 20,000 lines of verse. "The extant verses translate and interpret just 30, or about

one-eighth, of the 243 passages of Scripture that make up the annual cycle of pericopes"

(Fulk 2012: 153).

(2)   *The Orrmulum* manuscript

FAC-SIMILE OF MS. P.I.

English in contact with Norse:

In the year 789, the English recorded an initial encounter with the Vikings.

> And in his days [King of Wessex] came first three ships from Horthaland
> and then the reeve [the King's sheriff] rode thither and tried to compel
> them to go to the royal manor, for he did not know what they were; and
> then they slew him. These were the first ships of the Danes to come to
> England.
>
> (cited in Sykes 2006: 260)

"In 835 there was a large raid in Kent, then annually after that until in 865, there was a full-scale invasion. The Danish Great Army landed in East Anglia led by Ivar Ragnusson, better known as Ivar the Boneless" (Sykes 2006: 261). Many wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes are recorded to have ensued, eventually resulting in the Danes winning control of half the country. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the first settlements by members of Halfdan's army in Northumbria in 876.

> 876. Here the Scandinavian army stole away from the West Saxon fyrd to Wareham, and afterwards the king made peace with the Scandinavians, and they gave to the king as hostages those who were most honored in the Scandinavian army, and they swore oaths to him on the holy ring – which they previously had not been willing to do to any people … And that year Halvdan divided up Northumbria, and they [the Scandinavians] ploughed and provided for themselves.
> (*The Peterborough Chronicle* – Rositzke 1951: 68)

 The contact between OE and ON speakers in England, after the Viking raids, resulted in long-term, co-territorial, co-habitation, and intermarriage within the north and east of England – which Townend (2002) refers to as a cultural fusion of Angle and Dane. "…[T]he ON element in the place-nomenclature of England is extremely heavy in certain parts of the country [which] indicates that the linguistic influence of the settlers was heavy, and this in turn implies that the settlement itself was heavy…" (Townend 2002: 47). Danes seized control of the east and the partition of Mercia began in 877. A treaty in 880 between King Alfred and Viking Chieftan Guthrum created the partition, which is thought to be the boundary of the Danelaw. "The border seems to agree strikingly with the limits of the most intense Scandinavian settlement to the east, and therefore to represent a dermarcating line on the map that had cultural and linguistic implications well

into the next millennium" (Dance 2003: 22). A map of England shows the Danelaw region and the Scandinavian settlements appear as dots.

(3)   The Danelaw region of England

Red lines enclose the Danelaw
Dots indicate Scandinavian place names, newly settled by Scandinavians
Baugh and Cable's East Midlands north and east of the dark line
Northern dialect above the white line

(Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 33)

Wars between Anglo-Saxons and Danes continued in England, and in 1002, King Aethelred ordered a massacre of all Danes. This situation forced King Sweyn of

Denmark, who had lost his sister in the event, to launch a full-scale invasion. "Aethelred

fled to Normandy, and thus began the fateful alliance that was to lead directly to the

Norman Conquest" (Sykes 2006: 264). The Danish King Sweyn eventually conquered all

of England from 1003 to 1014. His rule was followed by his son Canute and grandson

Harold who ruled until 1044. Canute had married Emma, Edward-the-Confessor's

mother, and so after the death of Canute's son Harold, Edward, Emma's son, was

accepted by both the Danes and Saxons to rule the so called "unified kingdom" from

1044 until his death in 1066. After which, a Saxon King Harold claimed the throne for a

few months before being dispatched by the Norman-French William the Conqueror at

Hastings. "During the initial period of the Norman Conquest, two languages were

commonly spoken in the Danelaw – Northern and Eastern England: a version of Norse

and a version of Old English" (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 39). "A writer of Icelandic

sagas wrote that in the 11th century 'there was at that time the same tongue in England as

in Norway and Denmark'" (Freeborn 1998, 46-47 cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014:

39). The period following the Norman invasion wiped out the political and economic

influence of both Old English and Norse speakers. Under this Norman regime, the Anglo-

Saxons and Scandinavians became unified in servitude. "Scholarship generally agrees

that the Englishmen and Scandinavians were thoroughly dispossessed and practically

enslaved under the Conquest" (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 42). Anglo-Saxon-

Scandinavian rebellions were crushed, regions were laid to waste, and the populace was

massacred. "Most sources note that by 1100, all property of any note was in the hands of

Normans (Baugh 1957: 192-94 cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 42). A land and

property census, so-called *The Domesday Book* by its victims, was carried out by the Normans soon after their arrival. It records 13,418 settlements in English counties, and reaches just south of the border with Scotland at the time. Commissioned in 1085 by William the Conqueror, an excerpt, recorded by the The Bishop of Hereford, describes the expropriation of English citizens (in Appendix A). Another excerpt, from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the year 1137, also describes the miserable conditions of the time, (in Appendix B). Two previously separate populations, speakers of OE and speakers of ON, who found themselves in the same subjugated position under the Normans, synthesized under the miserable circumstances; two previously separate peoples became united in servitude, which had linguistic implications.

- Lapse of written English;
- Loss of most OE vocabulary: as much as 85 percent of the vocabulary that appears somewhere in OE manuscripts disappears in ME;
- Delayed and massive borrowing from Scandinavian: Large numbers of Scandinavian daily life and grammatical words in ME appear only well after the OE period;
- Some 20 grammatical changes – in a pattern: English began to be written again about a century after the Conquest, with a morphosyntax remarkably different from OE. These differences follow a pattern in the syntactic direction of North Germanic characteristics.

(Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 26-28)

"Specific instances of potential influence from Norse ought probably to be distinguished from the much more general series of simplifications that appear to have befallen English in its course from its 'Old' to 'Middle' period; these developments, predominantly involving inflexional loss and levelling, and contributing in general terms towards the

change from a synthetic to an analytic language, seem to have begun in the North and

East Midlands, and could be put down, if not to any particular influences from the Norse

system *per se*, then to the natural effects of the contact situation itself…" (Dance 2003:

295).

CHAPTER 1

LANGUAGE CHANGE: EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL FACTORS;

GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY AND CYCLICAL CHANGE

1.1 Language Change: External factors

I account for the language change in ME as an interaction between internal and external

linguistic factors, mediated by language acquisition theory. Internal factors, such as

Chomsky's generative model of Universal Grammar, and Economy Principles, allow

children to build their internal grammars, and shape specific outcomes of language

change, but Miller (2012) suggests that it is contact that provides the catalyst for the

change. In face-to-face interaction, accommodation takes place, leading to interdialect

phenomena, and new dialect formation. External language contact may lead to changes in

the grammar, which can be categorized as simplifications, complexifications, and shared

innovations.

1.1.1 Simplifications

Millroy (1992) coined the typological term 'simplification.' He suggests that linguistic

change is initiated by speakers, and not by languages. Simplification includes the

regularization of irregularities, an increase in morphological transparency, and the loss of

redundancy, such as the loss of grammatical agreement (inflection) and grammatical

categories. The latter can be made up for with more analytical structures, for example,

using prepositions instead of the dative case. Analytical structure is more transparent than

synthetic structure. Language-contact simplification generally produces regularization, in

which unmarked forms are selected or develop. Simplification due to ON language contact arguably accounts for the reduction in OE declension – the reduction in the variation in noun, pronoun, and adjective forms, and the reduction in grammatical case, number, and gender.

The Viking settlements in Britain took place mainly during the 9th and 10th centuries. The areas of eastern and northern England contained a large Scandinavian population, as is attested to by hundreds of Norse place names. The ON-speaking population was concentrated in the north of England where grammatical simplifications are said to have begun, and then spread southward (Trudgill 2010). McWhorter (2007: 90ff) argues for the role of ON in producing morphological and syntactic simplifications based upon the extreme nature of "the striking losses which English suffered in the century during and in the wake of Scandinavian invasions." A less invasive argument is that OE and ON were closely related Germanic languages, especially in lexical similarity, and that communication was possible. The differences in morphology, however, led to inflections being non-functional in Anglo-Norse communication, leading to the loss of inflections in English (Townend 2002: 201). Inflection, in particular, is one area where adult L2 learners have more learning difficulties than L1 learners. Changes that make for greater areas of adult learnability include: a shift from synthetic to analytic structure, reduction in morphological categories, and grammatical agreement, an increase in regularity, and in transparency. Grammatical simplifications occur in high-contact situations as the result of post-critical-threshold (adult) non-native language learning associated with L2 as

opposed to L1 acquisition. Communities in frequent contact with other speech communities, such as OE speakers and ON speakers in the Danelaw region, are likely to produce a simplified dialect. Accommodation takes place, which leads to a reduction in variation. Simplifications which occurred in ME as a result of ON and OE language contact are evident in the *Orrmulum* texts. These morphological and syntactic simplifications due to ON and OE language contact are discussed in chapter two. Morphological simplifications in ME due to Scandinavian language contact include: the nominal suffix *–ing*, the noun-plural *–(e)s*, and the genitive-singular *–(e)s*. Syntactic simplifications due to Scandinavian language contact include relative ellipsis.

1.1.2 Complexifications

Language contact can also lead to an increase in linguistic complexity. Linguistic complexifications occur as a result of the addition of features, or grammatical elements, transferred from one language to another. The new grammatical features derived from the neighboring language(s) do not replace existing grammatical features but are acquired in addition to them. Linguistic complexification may develop in stable, long-term, co-territorial contact situations which involve childhood bilingualism.

Linguistic complexification in ME, due to Scandinavian influence, which is evident in the *Orrmulum* texts include the 3rd-person-plural PN forms *they, them, their, theirs* (section 2.1.1). Pronouns borrowed from one language to another is a rare development which

does not occur in short-term adult contact. The borrowing of ON PNs denotes close, long-term language contact, and bilingualism.

1.1.3 Shared innovations

Innovative syntactic developments occurred in ME due to Scandinavian influence. These shared innovations were displayed neither by English nor Scandinavian prior to contact. These shared syntactic innovations with Scandinavian in ME are discussed in Chapter 2. They include the phrasal genitive *–(e)s*, the reflexive *–self*, stranded prepositions, and changes in word order.

Simplifications, complexifications, and shared innovations occurred in ME arguably due to language contact with Scandinavian, as discussed in chapter 2. ME became a caseless grammar, for example, which may have led to grammatical innovations evident in *The Orrmulum*, such as the genitive-sg *–(e)s*, phrasal genitive *–(e)s*, the reflexive *–self*, and perhaps even changes in word order.

(4)   Characteristics of Scandinavian influence present in *The Orrmulum*

Morphology:
   a.   3rd-person-plural PN forms *they, them, their, theirs*
   b.   nominal suffix *–ing*
   c.   noun-plural *–(e)s*
   d.   genitive-singular *–(e)s*

Syntax:
   e.   word order changes to SVO

f. relative ellipsis

g. phrasal genitive *–(e)s*

h. the reflexive *–self*

i. stranded prepositions

1.2　Language Change: Internal Factors – Grammaticalization Theory and Cyclical

Change

The paths of grammaticalization exhibit a specific direction from lexical to grammatical,

and from grammatical to more grammatical structures. A lexical item, for example, is

reanalyzed as a grammatical function word; sometimes its lexical meaning is still

possible. A lexical item may be interpreted as having more than one possible analysis, as

for example, '*be going to*,' as a verb of motion as well as a future auxiliary. "Loss of

semantic features occurs when full verbs such as OE *will* with features, such as volition,

expectation, and future, are reanalyzed as having only the feature of future in ME. The

features can then be considered grammatical rather than semantic" (van Gelderen 2011:

4). Features are either interpretable or uninterpretable at the conceptual-intentional

interface. Interpretable features can value uninterpretable features. Uninterpretable

features, considered the most economical, probe the derivation for interpretable features

and keep the derivation going, thus propelling the linguistic cycle. In essence, semantic

features become grammatical features; however, "once the functional (grammatical)

element has lost its semantic and interpretable features, it becomes a probe looking for an

element to value its uninterpretable features" (van Gelderen 2011: 20). Features are either

interpretable or uninterpretable. Van Gelderen (2011) explains this cognitive process as a

linguistic cycle of Feature Economy. For example, "a child hears a language and analyzes the linguistic input in the most economical way. This may result in a grammar different from that of an earlier generation" (6). Evidence of grammaticalization in *The Orrmulum* texts includes articles, auxiliaries, sentence negation, and the dative external posssessor.

As discussed in section 1.4.4, articles (*the/an*) are introduced in ME. For example, (*the*) grammaticalized from the demonstrative (*that*). To illustrate, in (5 a), an article (*the*), located in the determiner phrase (DP) has uninterpretable features which must probe for person and number features (PHI-features) of the noun. In (a), the article (*the*) cannot occur on its own because it has unidentified PHI features (u-PHI) and therefore must probe for features of the noun (for example, **'I know *the*'). In (5 b), the demonstrative (*that*) has interpretable person features (i-ps), and therefore can occur on its own. (For example, 'I know *that*.') In (5 c), (*that*) also has interpretable referential (deictic) features (i-loc), and therefore can occur on its own.

(5)   Interpretable and uninterpretable features

6
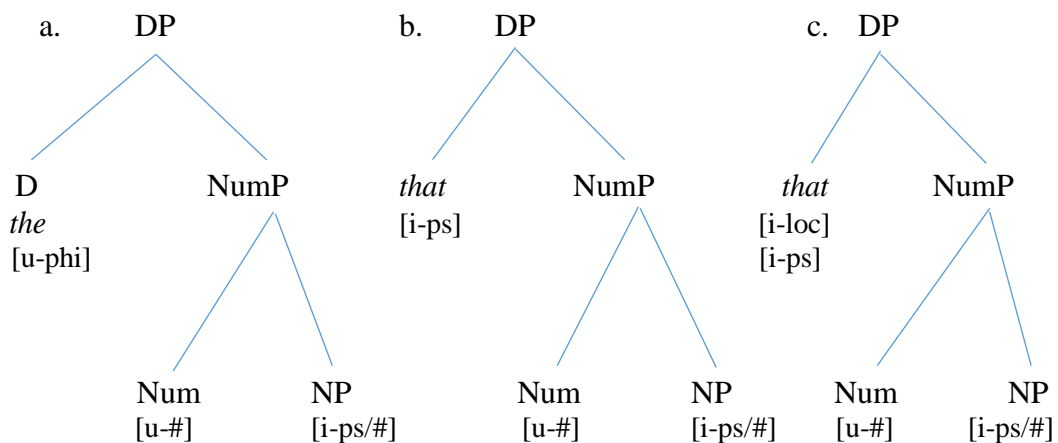
With the loss of case in ME, the demonstrative (that) lost its interpretable PHI- and LOC-features. Likewise, inflectional case distinctions on nouns became obsolete. There was an increase in the use of demonstratives. They were semantically generalized, and reinterpreted and grammaticalized as an article (the) with uninterpretable PHI- and LOC-features, which must probe for a noun phrase (NP) with interpretable PHI features. The future cycle also illustrates how features are either interpretable or uninterpretable, and thus propel the linguistic cycle. As discussed in section 1.4.4, the future auxiliaries in ME developed from full verbs. Stage (a) shows how the semantic features of the main verb (*will*) satisfy the uninterpretable future features of tense (u-fut). Stage (b) shows how the main verb is reanalyzed as an auxiliary and raises to satisfy the uninterpretable features of tense, now interpretable and identified (i-fut). Stage (c) shows how the linguistic cycle propels itself. The features of tense are again uninterpretable and require reinforcement, which leads back to stage (a), but with a new item providing the semantic features.

(6)   The future cycle

a.   TP   b.   TP

T   VP   T   VP
(u-fut)   (i-fut)
          V   VP   *will*
          will   …   V   …

7

```
          c.              TP
                         /  \
                        /    \
                      T        VP
                   (u-fut)    /  \
                    'll      /    \
                           V
                        (i-fut)
```
(van Gelderen 2011: 269)
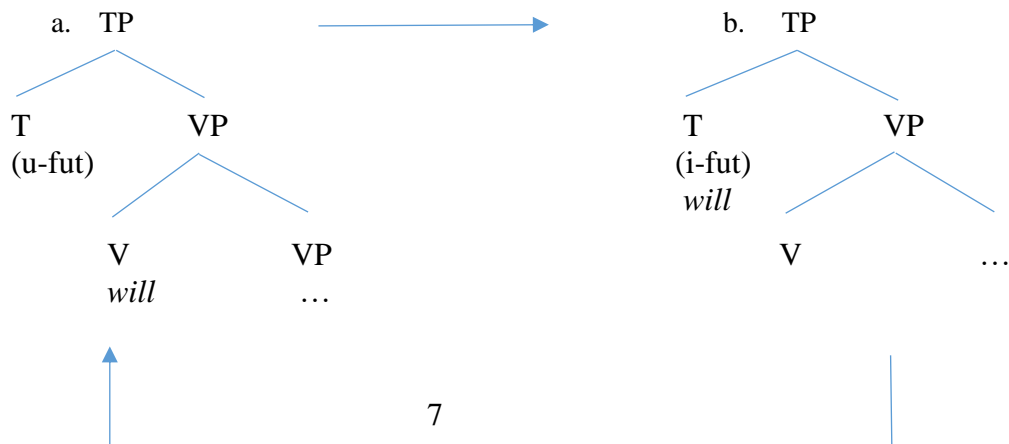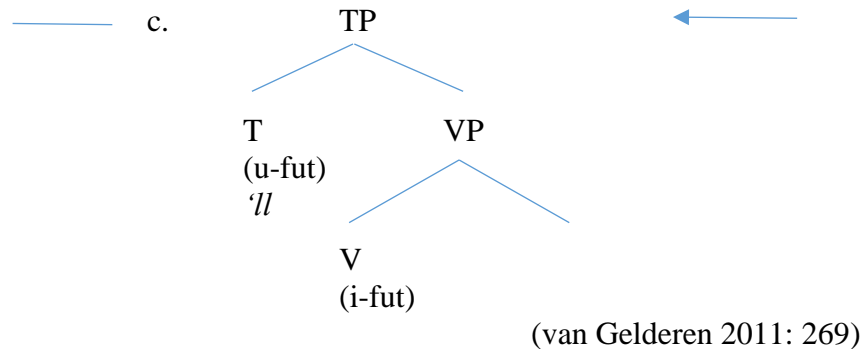
Typologically, OE is very different from ME. OE is morphologically fusional and

inflecting. It has: three genders; three numbers; four cases; inflectional case-marking on

nouns; adjectives; demonstratives; and pronouns; strong versus weak nominal

declensions; inflectional person-marking on verbs; large numbers of irregular strong

verbs, which also make a distinction between the root vowels of singular and plural past-

tense forms. There are large numbers of conjugations and declensions, and it has

relatively free word order. ME is considered to begin around 1150. The synthetic nature

of OE begins to change and ME is much less fusional, showing a move toward a more

isolating type of morphology, utilizing more grammatical words to make up for the loss

of case and inflection. ME has no grammatical gender; two numbers rather than three;

three cases rather than five; and many fewer inflections, conjugations and declensions.

There is a reduction in case-marking and in subjunctive verb forms. The distinction

between the root vowels of the singular and plural past-tense forms of strong verbs

disappears, as well as the strong/weak nominal declensions. ME also shows a trend

toward fixed subject-verb-object (SVO) word order. Trudgill (2010) refers to these

changes in ME as simplifications. Changes that occur in ME from OE are presented in

the following tables. The remainder of this chapter is organized in accordance to the characteristics of ME (table 7).

(7)   Middle English Characteristics

1.3 Morphology:

1.3.1   PNs change (ie: loss of the dative/accusative distinction)
1.3.2   Case endings on nouns and adjectives disappear gradually
1.3.3   Agreement on verbs simplifies
1.3.4   Strong verbs become weak; subjunctives are expressed through modals and infinitives

1.4 Syntax:

1.4.1   Word order changes to SVO
1.4.2   Subject PNs are needed
1.4.3   Pleonastic (or dummy) subjects are introduced
1.4.4   Auxiliaries and articles are introduced
1.4.5   Embeddings increase
1.4.6   Multiple negatives occur

(van Gelderen 2014: 138)

(8)   Old English Characteristics

Morphology:

   a.   An elaborate pronominal system as a result of case
   b.   No real articles, only demonstratives
   c.   Nouns have endings depending on whether they are subjects or objects, and they can be masculine, feminine, or neuter in gender
   d.   Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in case, number, and gender, and are either weak or strong

e. Verbs are marked for person and number of the subject

f. Verbs are weak or strong

g. Adverbs with –e or –lic endings

Syntax:

h. Relatively free word order but often OV and V2

i. Omission of subject pronoun, prepositions, and articles

j. Limited use of auxiliaries

k. Frequent use of coordination

l. Negation before the verb; or multiple negation

(van Gelderen 2014: 76)

Each of the morphological and syntactic characteristics of ME (7) are discussed in the remainder of this chapter, in relation to the grammar of *The Orrmulum*, and in comparison to OE and to ON. Morphological characteristics of ME are discussed in section 1.3, and syntactic characteristics are discussed in section 1.4.

1.3   Morphological characteristics of ME present in *The Orrmulum*

1.3.1 PNs change

In ME, there is a change in the morphology of PNs, with the loss of the dative/accusative distinction of OE. Regarding the phonology of pronouns, all the first and second-person pronouns of ME are common Germanic and "can be derived from both OE and Norse by applying a 'cooperative rule' of dropping a final stop" (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 141). The ME third-person-plural pronouns derive from ON, and include the personal PN forms *they, them,* and the genitive *their, theirs.*

(9) Potential ancestors of ME pronouns

Pronouns:	Old English nom/acc/dat/gen	Norse nom/acc/dat/gen	Early Middle English nom/*obj*/gen
Singular			
1st pers	*ic me/mec me min*	*ek mik mér min*	*i(cc) me min*
2nd pers	*þu þe/þec þe þin*	*þú þik þér þín*	*þu þe þi(n)*
3rd masc	*he hine him his*	*hann hann honum hans*	*he himm his(s)*
3rd fem	*heo hi(e)hire hire*	*hon hana henni hennar*	*ȝho her(e)/hire*
3rd neuter	*hit hit him his*	*þat þat því þess*	*(h)itt (h)itt his(s)*
Plural			
1st pers	*we us us ure*	*vér oss oss vár*	*we uss ure*
2nd pers	*ge eow eow eower*	*ér yðr yðr yðar*	*ȝe ȝuw (ȝ)ure*
3rd pers	*hi/hie hi/hie him hira*	*þeir þá þeim þeira*	*þeȝȝ þeȝȝm/hemm þeȝȝre/here*

In the *Orrmulum* texts, the entire ON paradigm of the 3rd-person-plural pronoun *they* is attested to. This is discussed in section 2.1.1. The reduction in variation of PNs in ME is due to the loss of accusative/dative case distinction in ME. The loss of case may also explain the changes to other pronominal forms in ME, such as the change in reflexive PNs (section 2.2.2), and the change in relative PNs (section 2.2.3), as discussed in chapter two.

1.3.2   Case endings on nouns and adjectives disappear gradually

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The OE morphological nominal case system had four cases, nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, inflected differently for number and gender. The total loss of case on English nouns has been estimated to have been complete by circa 1200 (van Kemenade 1987; Emonds and Faarlund 2014). Simplification of the nominal case system also occurred in ON, starting with Danish in the 11th century. Both ON and ME lost case inflections on nouns and adjectives at around the same time. The loss of case in ME occurred arguably as a simplification and reduction to the complex nominal case systems of OE and ON due to language contact. However, traces of inflection are still observable on modifiers in *The Orrmulum*, as discussed in section 2.2.1. According to Kemenade (1987), "the base change from OV to VO (c.1200) […] is related to the loss of morphological case" (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 151). Phonologically unstressed inflections in both OE and ON may have caused grammatical confusion for adult L2 language learners, causing the endings to be avoided. Because the inflectional distinctions of the nominal case system became obsolete in ME, there was an increase in the use of demonstratives, which would be reanalyzed as articles. An increase in use, and semantic generalization leads to grammaticalization. The OE demonstrative PN, which had great person/number/case differentiation in OE, was rearranged to '*the, that, this*' in ME, as all case distinctions were lost. In these *Orrmulum* texts, the demonstrative *þe/te* (the) occurs as the second most frequently used word, with a frequency of 3 percent. The demonstrative *Þatt/tatt* [that] is the most frequently used word in these *Orrmulum* texts, with a frequency of 4.5 percent (section 2.2.3). The loss of case in ME may also account for changes to the morphology of other nominal forms, such as the loss of case-marked

relative PNs (section 2.2.3), the noun-plural –(e)s (section 2.1.4), and the genitive-singular –(e)s (section 2.1.4), as well as to changes in the syntax, such as the phrasal genitive –(e)s (section 2.2.1), and changes in word order (section 2.2.5), as discussed in chapter 2. During this time period, the loss of nominal case occurred also in Frisian, Dutch, Celtic, and Romance languages.

1.3.3 Agreement on verbs simplifies

Verbal affixes vary in OE according to weak or strong verbs, person and number of the subject, tense (present/past), and mood (indicative/imperative/subjunctive), similar to the endings on verbs in the modern West-Germanic languages of Dutch and German. In ME, verbal affixes are reduced, starting in the North. A main characteristic in ME is the morphological simplification across the verbal system caused by various processes of reduction and simplification due to Scandinavian contact, including the proliferation of the present-tense marker –s. Subject/verb agreement in *The Orrmulum* (example 10) is very similar to that of OE present- and past-tense suffixes. In fact, the OE and ME past-tense suffix for weak verbs (–d) is the predecessor to the PDE past-tense suffix for weak verbs (–ed). It should be noted that *The Orrmulum* is written in clauses, and that there are as many clauses as there are finite verbs (Palmatier 1969). Finite verbs in *The Orrmulum* occur with person (first/second/third), number (singular/plural), tense (present/past), mood (indicative, imperative, subjunctive), and verb-class (weak/strong) contrast.

(10)   Subject/verb agreement in *The Orrmulum*

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1st-person sg PN (*icc*) + verb: *-e*   = present indicative or subjunctive

-de/-te   = weak past indicative

-no ending   = present indicative or subjunctive, strong

past indicative

2nd-person sg PN (*þu*) + verb: *-esst, -ess, -st, -t* = present or past indicative

-e   = present or past subjunctive

-no ending   = strong past indicative

3rd-person sg PN (*he, ȝho, itt*) + verb: *-eþ(þ)* = present indicative

-de/-te = weak past indicative

-e   = present or past subjunctive

-no ending = present or past indicative

Dual (*witt*) & plural PNs (*we, ȝe, þeȝȝ*) + verb *-enn/-n*

Fascinating to note, is the gradual disappearance in ME of the OE pre-verbal aspectual

affix (*–ge*) for the past participle, as well as the disappearance of directional (*a-, be-, to-,*

wiþ-, ymb-) and aspectual (*be-, for-, ge-, on-*) verbal prefixes. An OE grammar lists 34

distinct prefixes in OE (Burnley 1992: 446; Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 67). Phrasal

verbs were introduced into ME through ON, "which already had a fairly robust incidence

of phrasal verbs, [and] must have incited the production of English phrasal verbs with

post-verbal particles […] ie: OE 'forbrecan' became 'to break up'" (Burnley 1992: 444-

46; Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 69). Post-verbal directional and aspectual particles

continue the same construction in ME as in ON (example 11), which had lost verbal

prefixes pre-historically. The ON construction is what appears in ME. Particles in ME

were post-verbal in both main clauses, dependent clauses, and infinitives, as in the

Orrmulum examples (12) and in PDE.

(11)   Post-verbal particle in 13C Danish

*Thæt samæ ær logh of garth **delæs up**   so sum hws   **deles up**.* (JL 44.12)
the   same is law if fence demolish.PASS so as   house demolish.PASS
The law is the same if a fence is demolished as when a house is demolished."
                                                    (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 71)

(12)   Post-verbal particles in *The Orrmulum*

To stanndenn inn *to cwemenn Godd, To winenn heffness blisse.*
                                                    297 *Orrmulum* Dedication
To stand in to please God, to win heaven's bliss

*& off þatt he wisslike **stah** Þa siþþenn **upp** till heffne,*
                                                    170 *Orrmulum* Dedication
And of that he wisely went then since up to heaven

1.3.4   Strong verbs become weak; subjunctives are expressed through modals and

infinitives

ME illustrates the fact that language learners prefer patterns in grammar. ME became

grammatically more transparent, utilizing more grammar. Irregularities, such as strong

verbs, which require an internal vowel change to express tense and aspect, became

regular weak verbs. Many strong verbs changed in ME to weak verbs, able to utilize the

regular past-tense ending (*–d/–ed*). "Nearly a third of the strong verbs in OE seem to have

died out early in the ME period. […] more than a hundred …were lost at the beginning of

the ME period" (Baugh and Cable 2002: 163) (van Gelderen 2014: 130). In PDE, 68

strong verbs remain.

This trend illustrates the change in the synthetic nature of OE to the analytic nature of

ME, which utilizes more grammatical elements in place of grammatical synthesis. In ME,

the OE synthetic subjunctive verb forms disappear and are replaced by modal auxiliary

verbs and infinitive verbs. Modal auxiliary verbs and infinitive verbs can express

wishes/dreams/unreal situations in a non-finite way to express what subjunctive verb

forms do synthetically. In OE, the subjunctive was also used for reported speech, as it

also functions in present-day German (PDG). Auxiliary verbs, also discussed in section

1.4.4, are not common in OE, and modal auxiliary verbs, such as *can, could, will, would*,

etc., function as regular verbs in OE. "In ME we see a very rapid increase in the use of

periphrastic constructions especially of the so-called present and future 'tense,' and the

use of modals where OE had the subjunctive" (Fischer 1992, Section 4.3.3, 250 ff.;

Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 78). For example, the present tense was used to denote the

future in OE, exactly as it functions in present-day German (PDG) (example 13 b).

(13)   Future in OE and PDG

   a) (OE)   *þas flotmenn cumaþ* (present-pl)
      "these seamen will come"

      (Mitchell and Robinson 1992: 108, cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 79)

   b) (PDG) *Die Seemänner komm**en*** (present-pl)
      "The sailors (will) come"

"In ME, the non-past is still regularly used to refer to the future, although periphrastic

constructions are more numerous, even in early ME texts" (Fischer 1992: 241; Emonds

and Faarlund 2014: 79). The increase in periphrastic constructions in ME is evident in

The Orrmulum, where the modal auxiliary *shall* is used with future reference (example

14).

(14)   Modal auxiliaries in *The Orrmulum*

*& I **shall** hafenn forr min swinnc God læn att Godd on ende,* 143 *Orrmulum* Dedication
And I shall have for my labor good reward at God on end

During the same time period that the use of *shall* increases in ME, the modal auxiliary

skulu (shall) in Danish is the most common way to express the future tense in ON

(Emonds and Faarlund 2014).

(15)   Modal auxiliaries in 13C Danish
*Then timæ the   sculæ   skiftæ,   tha **sculæ**   børn   wytnæ* (JL 20.17)
The   time they shall.3PL divide (estate), then shall.3PL children witness
"At the time of division of the estate the children will witness."
                                            (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 80)

The modal auxiliaries *shall* and *will* become future markers in ME (example 14 & 13 b).

They gain grammatical function and continue along the path of grammaticalization as

they had already done in ON. It was also possible to have two modals in a row in ON, as

it also was possible in *The Orrmulum* (16).

(16)   Multiple modal auxiliaries in *The Orrmulum*

*þatt mannkinn **shollde muʒhenn** wel Upp cumenn inntill heoffne*   3944-45
                                                        The Orrmulum
that mankind should may well up come till heaven

The possibility of two modal auxiliaries in a row would continue throughout the ME

period.

Infinitive verbs can also perform an analytic function to express the subjunctive mood. "Many linguists consider the 'to' a non-finite auxiliary, indicating that the action of the verb following it is in the future or is unreal" (van Gelderen 2014: 135). The so-called perfect infinitives (*have* + past participle) are prevalent in ON, just as this construction is common in *The Orrmulum* (example 16). According to Fischer et al. (2000: 100), the perfect infinitive construction is extremely rare in OE, outside of Latin translations (Emonds and Faarlund 2014).

(17)   Perfect infinitives in *The Orrmulum*

*& ȝiff mann wile witenn whi Icc **have don** þiss dede, Whi icc till Ennglissh **hafe wend** Goddspelless hallȝhe lare; Icc **hafe** itt **don** forrþi þatt all Chrisstene follkess berrhless…*
                                                              111-116 *Orrmulum* Dedication

And if one wants to know why I have done this deed, why I to English have translated Gospel's holy lore/instruction; I have it done therefore that all Christian folks' salvation…

1.4   Syntactic characteristics of ME present in *The Orrmulum*

1.4.1   Word order changes to SVO

During the Medieval period, Germanic languages display variability in the verb phrase (VP) order. The word order is relatively free in OE. However, a subject-object-verb (SOV) word order was common, similar to present-day German (PDG) and Dutch. The finite verb in the main clause raises to agree with subject, and the nonfinite verb in the

subordinate, or embedded clause, occurs at the end, an SOV order. In ON, VO word

order predominated by the 9th century. In ME, a stricter V2/SVO word order is also

established. As discussed in section 2.2.5, Scandinavian contact arguably accelerated the

change in ME from an SOV word order to an SVO word order.

1.4.2   Subject pronouns (PN) are needed

Dropping the subject PN (pro-drop) was common in OE due to the synthetic nature of OE

– its verbal inflection is clear, lessening the need for an overt PN. Pro-drop occurs more

frequently in OE with 3rd- person, rather than 1st- or 2nd-person, subject PNs, as 3rd-

person features are more specific – the PHI (person/number) features are checked.

However, as verbal inflections and case were lost in ME, subject PNs are necessary for

reference. There is also a transition in ME to nominative subjects (18 a, c). However,

pronominal object forms are still possible in the subject position (18 b).

(18)   Subject PNs in *The Orrmulum*

a)   *Off ure laffdiȝ marȝe Off - hu ȝho barr þe laferrd crist*   *Orrmulum* texts 1
        Of our lady Maria Of how she bore the Lord Christ

b)   *& tatt **himm** wass swa mikell ned; Þatt godd hemm herrde* *Orrmulum* texts 29
        And that him was so much need; that God them heard

c)   ***ȝunnc** birrþ ȝeorne lærenn hemm. To lufenn godd.*   *Orrmulum* texts 6
        you DUAL yearn to teach them. To love God.

1.4.3   Pleonastic subjects are introduced

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Pleonastic subjects, also known as expletive, or dummy PNs, become more common in ME. They are used as place-holders for a missing verb argument, or preposition, of which the reference is syntactically required. The synthetic nature of OE allowed for pro-drop of subject PNs; therefore, pleonastic subject PNs were not necessary to preserve syntactic structure. In the SVO word order of ME and PDE, a pleonastic subject PN preserves the word order. The pleonastic subject *itt* (it) is evident in *The Orrmulum* texts, as shown in the following examples (19).

(19)   Pleonastic subject PNs in *The Orrmulum*

a) *To wannsenn himm hiss riche & wel **itt** mihhte ben þatt he Wass gramm & grill & bollȝhenn*   *Orrmulum* texts 5
To lessen/take away him his kingdom And well it might be that he Was angry and cruel and displeased

b) *All þwerrt ut affterr þatt **itt** iss Uppo þiss firrste bisne, Wiþþ all swillc ríme alls her iss sett,*   101 *Orrmulum* Dedication
All through out after that it is upon this first example, With all such rhyme also/as here is set

c) *Wiþþutenn Godess Lamb, þatt comm, Forr þatt **itt** shollde tacnenn Þatt nan wihht, nan enngell, nan mann*   271 *Orrmulum* Dedication
Without God's Lamb, that comes, For that it should signify that no one being, no angel, no man,

However, sentences introduced by 'it' are also known as cleft sentences. English, German, French, Swedish, Finnish, etc. introduce cleft sentences with a pleonastic PN. Filppula et al. (2002: 441-43) suggests that clefting in English is a type of

complexification that belongs to the earliest period of contact with the Celts. This hypothesis is discussed in chapter three.

1.4.4   Auxiliaries and articles are introduced

Grammatical-lexical categories, such as modal auxiliary verbs and determiners have unique syntactic function. Through frequency of use, semantic bleaching, and grammaticalization, a change in the lexical component of certain verbs and demonstratives occurred in ME. As mentioned in section 1.4.4, auxiliary verbs are not common in OE, and modal auxiliary verbs, such as *can, could, will, would*, etc., function as regular verbs in OE. However, in ME, these verbs begin to grammaticalize, lose their semantic meaning, and gain syntactic grammatical function. Because modal auxiliaries and determiners have unique grammatical function, each one has its own syntax. Lexical categories, on the other hand, have semantic features and do not differ in their grammatical behavior, in contrast to grammatical categories. OE had approximately 14 modal auxiliary verbs (Lightfoot 1979; Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 139). These are classified as Germanic, open-class, preterite-present verbs, in which, in OE, the present tense lacks the 3rd-person singular agreement marker –*þ*. In OE, the present tense of most of these verbs was in the past tense. Seven of these 14 OE verbs would grammaticalize into the PDE non-verbal modal auxiliaries: *will/would, can/could, may/might, shall/should, must, ought, dare* (Warner 1993; Lowrey 2012, cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 140). Four of these seven modals have ON cognates: *kann* 'can,' *má* 'may,' *skal* 'shall,' and *vil* 'will' (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 140). The increase in use

of modal auxiliaries in ME is evident in *The Orrmulum* texts, as discussed in section

1.4.4, and presented in the following examples (20).

(20)   Modal auxiliaries in *The Orrmulum*

a) *& tatt ʒitt **muʒhenn** wraþþenn godd; ʒiff ʒitt hemm oferrbedenn.*
                                        Orrmulum texts 3
    And that it may wrath God; if you-two 2.DUAL PN them overcharge

b) *Off - þatt he **wollde** witenn wel; Hu mikell fehh himm come. Orrmulum* texts 1
    Of that he would know well; How much money (to) him comes

c) *Itt turrneþþ hemm till sinne, & **I shall hafenn** addledd me Þe Laferrd Cristess
    are*,   150 *Orrmulum* Dedication
    It turns them to sin, and I shall have earned me the Lord Christ's grace

The ME and PDE demonstratives *this/these* and *that/those* derive from both OE and ON,

as the following chart (20) illustrates. As discussed in sections 1.4.2 and 2.2.3, there were

no real articles in OE; demonstratives, however, were widely used; they could shift the

topic, and as well, were referential (deictic). Case helped in OE to show the syntactic

function of the NP and its relation to other constituents in the clause. In late OE,

however, the use of demonstratives increases, and in ME, with the loss of case,

demonstratives would be reanalyzed as articles. The OE determiner system of '*se*' (the,

that) and '*Þes*' (this), which had great person/number/case differentiation, was rearranged

to '*the, that, this*' with limited number differentiation in ME. Interestingly, *Þe* (the),

evolved in ME as a non-case-marked article. It is the second most frequently used word

in these *Orrmulum* texts, second only to the demonstrative *Þatt* (that).

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(21)   Potential ancestors of ME demonstratives

Demonstratives:	Old English	Norse	Middle English
Distal Singular [*that*] nom. neuter	þæt	þat	Þatt
Distal Plural [*those*] nom. neuter	þā	þau	Þā
Proximate Singular [*this*] nom. neuter	þis	þetta	Þis
Proximate Plural [*these*] nom. neuter	þās	þessi	þise

1.4.5   Embeddings increase

In OE, there is less connection in the written texts between sentences; there is less

embedding in sentences by means of sentence coordination and subordination. In ME

texts, more connection by means of coordinators, such as 'and,' and subordinators, such

as relative PNs 'that/who,' and complementizers, such as 'till,' and 'for,' occurs.

Coordination and subordination is prevalent in *The Orrmulum*, as the following examples

show.

(22)   Coordination in *The Orrmulum*

*All ūt off þeȝȝre sihhþe. **Annd** teȝȝ þa sone tokenn þuss. To spekenn hemm*

Orrmulum texts 1

23

All out of their sight. And they then/when soon taken thus. To speak (to) them

(23)   Subordination in *The Orrmulum*

   a) *Hælennde off ȝure sinness. An wennchell* **þatt** *iss iesu crist;* **Þatt** *w?te ȝe to soþe.*
      Orrmulum texts 20
      Healed of your sins. A child who is Jesus Christ; who V-PAST ye to truth

   b) *& werenn cristess þeowwess. & cristess name. & crisstenndom;* **Whil þatt** *ti lif þe*
      lassteþþ. & forr þe soþe lufe off crist.   *Orrmulum* texts 65
      And were Christ's servants and Christ's name and Christiandom; While to life
      thee last/continue and for the true love of Christ

(24)   Complementizers in *The Orrmulum*

   a) *Forr þatt he wollde uss waterrkinn* **Till** *ure fulluhht hall3henn,*
                                              193 *Orrmulum* Dedication
      For that he wished us water-kind Till our baptism consecrates

   b) *Acc beo ȝe swiþe bliþe.* **Forr** *icc amm sennd off heoffness ærd;*
                                              Orrmulum texts 6
      But be ye true joyful For I am sent of Heaven's place

1.4.6   Multiple negatives occur

In late OE and ME, the OE commonly placed pre-finite negative adverb *ne* bleaches and

becomes reinforced with a post-finite 'not.' These multiple negatives are prevalent in *The*

Orrmulum; however, in *The Orrmulum*, negation with *ne* alone still occurs (25 b). The

main pattern of sentence negation in ME is "subject NP – *ne* – finite V – *nohht*," (Fischer

1992; Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 144).

(25)   Negation in *The Orrmulum*

a) *Lok he well þatt het write swa, Forr he **ne** maʒʒ **nohht** elless Onn Ennglissh wríttenn rihht te word,*   107 *Orrmulum* Dedication
   Look he well that he/it write so, For he NEG may not else/otherwise in English write right the word

b) *swa þatt itt mannkinn Off helle mihhte lesenn, **Ne** gifenn mannkinn lusst, **ne** mahht, To winnenn heffness blisse.*   277 *Orrmulum* Dedication
   so that it mankind of hell might release, NEG give mankind desire, not power, To win heaven's bliss

c) *ʒho gillteþþ skët. & ʒiff þüt wast. & te **n**iss **nohht** tær offe; Þa **n**arrt tu **nohht** all sinnelæs.*   *Orrmulum* texts 12
   She guiltied/transgressed quickly. And if thou-it knew. And thee NEG-is not there of/from; Then NEG-are thou not all sinless

Evidence that the grammar of ME and PDE is that of the Danelaw can be seen in *The Orrmulum*. In chapter two, I discuss those grammatical elements of ME that are arguably due to Scandinavian influence, as evidenced in the *Orrmulum* texts.

CHAPTER 2

EVIDENCE FOR SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE: *THE ORRMULUM*

Shared syntactic changes occurred after English and Scandinavian contact. Miller (2012)

asserts that internal motivation shaped the outcome of the changes, but that it was contact

that provided the catalyst for the changes. ME has many North-Germanic syntactic

features, and ME "exhibits essentially no OE characteristics not shared by Norse,"

Emonds and Faarlund (2014: 61). Morphological and syntactic evidence for

Scandinavian influence is prevalent in these *Orrmulum* texts. The rather modern

morphology and syntax found in *The Orrmulum* provides evidence that Present-Day

English (PDE) grammar has evolved from the grammar of the Danelaw. ME and PDE is

a combination and continuation of the grammar spoken in the Danelaw region of

England. Evidence found in the *Orrmulum* texts includes the morphological and syntactic

characteristics in table 26. The remainder of this chapter is organized in accordance to

this table.

(26)   Morphological and syntactic legacy of Scandinavian contact

2.1 Morphological evidence of Scandinavian Contact
    2.1.1   3rd-person-plural PN ***they***
    2.1.2   Northern/Midland present participle *-**and(e)*** *> -*ən (PDE *-ing*)
    2.1.3   Nominals (Ns: ***-ing***) & Participles (Vs: *end(e)/ind(e) > -**ing**/in'*)
    2.1.4   Noun-pl *–(e)s* & Genitive-sg *–(e)s*

2.2 Syntactic evidence of Scandinavian contact

2.2.1 Phrasal genitive (-*es* reanalyzed as a syntactic affix [clitic] rather than as morph. affix)

2.2.2 Reflexive -*self*

2.2.3 Relative markers: complementizer deletion and relative ellipsis

2.2.4 Stranded prepositions

2.2.5 Changes in word order

2.1 Morphological legacy of Scandinavian contact

2.1.1 3rd-person-plural PN ***they***

Scandinavian influences on the morphology of English include the pronoun *they*. The entire ON paradigm of the pronoun *they* (*they, their, them*) as in figure (27 b) is attested to in *The Orrmulum* and in the ME of the North-East Midlands (27 c). According to Ritt (2001), *th-* prevailed over the initial /h/ of OE pronouns (27 a) because /ð/ is more salient than /h/ and communicatively more advantageous (Miller 2012: 129).

> The most important importation… was that of the pronominal forms *they, them*, and *their*, which entered readily into the system of English pronouns beginning with the same sound (*the, that, this*) and were felt to be more distinct than the old native forms which they supplanted.
>
> (Jesperson 1938: 66)

(27) Third-person-plural PN ***they***

a. OE: nom. *hīe*; acc. *hīe;* dat. *him*; gen. *heora*
b. ON: nom. *Þei-r*; acc. *Þá;* dat. *Þei-m;* gen. *Þei-r(r)a*
c. ME: (NE Midlands) nom. *Þeȝȝ;* dat. *Þeȝȝm;* gen. *Þeȝȝre* (Orrmulum [c.1180])
d. ME: (SE Midlands) nom. *they;* dat. *hem;* gen. *hire* (Chaucer [C14])

The PN forms were substituted one after another maybe through dialect contact and migration from north to south (Bergs 2005: 91). In the south, the nominative pronouns were replaced first; however, it took more than 300 years for the substitution of the subject and object forms. According to Bergs (2005), that could be a case of extension by analogy, or a generalization of the inflection. The codeswitching or substitution of a pronominal subject is more restricted than the substitution of a lexical category. Van Gelderen and Macswan (2008) show that "verbs do not enter into an agreement relation with T to check features unless they are inflected with a subject agreement morpheme" (775). Considering OE, there were not separate subject-agreement markers in the plural. Furthermore, "OE also had [subject] pro-drop, especially for 3rd persons (less so for 1st & 2nd person). So if there was codeswitching this would have been possible with 3rd persons since they were full PNs (XPs)" (van Gelderen p.c., cited in Miller 2012:130).

In these *Ormulum* texts, which consist of 4093 words, the North-East Midlands' paradigm of *they* (they: *Þeȝȝ / ðeȝȝ / teȝȝ;* their: *Þeȝȝre;* them: *Þeȝȝm*) occurs in 116 instances, or with a frequency of 2.8 percent. *They* occurs in 72 instances (*Þeȝȝ:* 38 tokens; *ðeȝȝ:* 4 tokens; *teȝȝ:* 30 tokens). *Their* (*Þeȝȝre*) occurs in 40 instances. *Them* (*Þeȝȝm*) occurs in 4 instances, all following vowels. No instances of the OE paradigm of *they* (26 a) occur in these texts. However, the South-East Midlands' dative and genitive forms occur in 42 instances, or with a frequency of 1 percent. The SE Midlands' dative form *them* (*hemm*) (27 d) occurs in 40 instances, and the genitive form *their* (*hĕre*) (27 d)

occurs in two instances. In *The Orrmulum*, [ð] *Þeȝȝm* is often preferred after vowels and

[h] *hemm* after consonants.

(28)　　　North-East Midlands' PN **they** = 116 tokens / 2.8 percent frequency

    a.　They: *Þeȝȝ*; *ðeȝȝ*; *teȝȝ:* 72 tokens
       Þeȝȝ: 38 tokens
       ðeȝȝ: 4 tokens
       teȝȝ: 30 tokens

    b.　Their: *Þeȝȝre:* 40 tokens

    c.　Them: *Þeȝȝm:* 4 tokens

(29)　　　South-East Midlands' PN **they** = 42 tokens / 1 percent frequency

    a.　Them: *hemm:* 40 tokens

    b.　Their: *here:* 2 tokens

Scandinavian influence is evident in ME with the morphology of the 3rd-person-plural PN *they*, as is evidenced by the examples in the *Orrmulum* texts:

(30)　　　*'They'* paradigm in *The Orrmulum*

(a) they: *Þeȝȝ / ðeȝȝ / teȝȝ*

- *Þeȝȝ:　Inntill þe land off ȝerrsalæm;* **Þeȝȝ** *forenn samenn baþe. & comenn inntill beþþleæm*
  Into the land of Jerusalem; they went together both. And came into Bethlehem

- *ðeȝȝ:　Þatt nazaræþ wass nemmnedd. & ta* **ðeȝȝ** *baþe forenn ham; Till þeȝȝre baþre kinde.*
  That Nazareth was called And then they both went home; To their both kind

- *teȝȝ:　Forr þatt* **teȝȝ** *baþe wærenn. Off dauiþþ kingess kinness menn.*
  For that they both were. Of David king's kinsmen

(b) their: *Þeʒʒre*

*& ta ðeʒʒ baþe forenn ham; Till **þeʒʒre** baþre kinde. Inntill þe land off ʒerrsalæm;*
And then they both went home; To their both kind. Into the land of Jerusalem

(c) their: *hĕre*

*unnc birrþ biddenn Godd tatt he 85 Forrʒife hemm **hĕre** sinne;*
us two DUAL ought ask God that he Forgives them their sins

(d) them: *Þeʒʒm*

*Swa þatt ʒitt nohht att hofelæs. Ne nede **þeʒʒm** to swinnkenn.*
So that it not at immoderately. Not need them to labor.

(e) them: *hemm*

*Þær wass **hemm** baþe birde to; Forr þatt teʒʒ baþe wærenn.*
There was them both lineage to; For that they both were.

Long-term language contact can lead to an increase in linguistic complexity. The addition of grammatical features can transfer from one language to another, such as acquisition of the 3rd-person-plural PN *they*. Pronouns borrowed from one language to another is a rare development which does not occur in short-term adult contact. Additive linguistic complexity develops in stable, long-term, co-territorial contact situations which involve childhood bilingualism (Trudgill 2010). Theoretically, linguistic complexification is additive borrowing. The new linguistic feature does not replace the existing feature, but is acquired in addition to that feature. Codeswitching/substitution, such as the transfer of the PN *they,* due to Scandinavian influence, is theoretically grounded in bilingualism. The entire ON paradigm of *they* as the paradigm of the North-East Midlands (27 c) is attested

to in *The Orrmulum*. The borrowing of ON PNs denotes close, long-term language contact, and bilingualism.

2.1.2 Northern/Midland present participle *-and(e)* > (Scottish /ən/) (PDE *-ing*)

The OE present participle (*-ende*) may have been influenced by the ON present participle (*-and*), especially in the north, and diffused downward into London. It continues in Scotland today as -/ən/, and phonetically as such in PDE descriptive grammars, for example, 'standing' > standin'. The PDE present participle *-ing* derives from the innovated West-Midland present participle *-ing* (31 c).

(31)   Northern/Midland present participle *-and(e)*
a. OE *–ende*
b. ON *–andi-* (*standandi* 'standing,' *gangandi* 'walking,' *farandi* 'traveling)
c. ME northern *–and(e)*; southern *–ind(e)*; WMid *–ing(e)*

I could not account for any OE (31 a), ON (31 b), or ME (31 c) northern or southern forms of the present participle in the *Orrmulum* texts. However, the innovated West-Midland present participle form *-ing* (31 c) does occur; some examples include *dredinng*– dreading, *seking*–seeking, and *hadinng*–ordaining.

(32) ME West-Midland present participle *–ing(e)*

a.   *& tohh swa þehh iss ned tatt he.* **Dredinng**. *& aȝhe sette. Onn alle þa þatt lufenn Orrmulum* texts 3
And nevertheless is need/necessity that he. Dreading and awe set/place. On all those that love

b.   *An romanisshe keȝȝ* **seking**. *Wass augusstuss ȝehatenn. Orrmulum* texts 1

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A/One Roman __ seeking. Was Augustus called/named

c.   *Whatt mann sitt iss þatt takeþþ her Forr* **hadinng** *aniʒ mede,* 15966 *Orrmulum*
      Whatsoever is that takes here For ordaining any reward,

The West-Midland present participle *–ing* would become the PDE present participle. According to (Vennemann 1999: 355), the English progressive developed from a verbal-noun construction, such as: *he is on reading > he is a-reading > he is reading*, attributed to Celtic (as discussed in chapter three). It is similar to the Present-Day German: *er ist am lesen*. The syntactic construction for the progressive aspect, without the *–ing*, did exist in OE, ON, Old French, and Middle Dutch, and is frequent in Latin (Miller 2012: 37). However, only English has undergone this development of the English progressive. In ON, productive action nouns had feminine *-ing* stems (ie: *Víking*). Nearly 25 percent of Scandinavian derived words in English from the corpus of Moskowich and Seoane (1996: 187) are nouns derived from verbs and end in *-ing* (Miller 2012: 131). For the development of the English progressive, the OE present participle *–ende* would merge with the nominal suffix *–ing,* as accounted for by the innovated West-Midland dialect, and in the *Orrmulum* texts.

2.1.3   Nominals (Ns: *-ing*)

The ME nominal suffix *-ing* derives from both OE and ON. The OE nominal suffix *-ing* adheres to class 1 weak verbs, and *-ung* to class 2 weak verbs (Krahe and Meid 1967: 211; Miller 2012: 131). However, "by the first quarter of C13, *-ung* is preserved only in the west […]. This is consistent with the hypothesis that nominal *-ing* spread rapidly from

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the norsified east" (Miller 2012: 131, citing df. Mossé 1938: ii 144). As mentioned in

2.1.2, in ON, productive action nouns had feminine *-ing* stems (ie: *Víking*). The OE

nominal suffixes *-ung/-ing* generalized in ME to *-ing*. The progressive form may have

been influenced by Celtic (chapter three); however, it can be argued that the specific form

-ing diffused from ON. Nominal forms ending in *-ing* are accounted for in the *Orrmulum*

texts, for example: (*peninng/pening* – penny; *hæfeddpeninng* – head-tax;

Lerninngcnihhtess – disciple [learning knights]).

(33)   ME Nominals (Ns: *-ing*)

a.   *off all hiss kine/dom; Illc mann an **peninng** ʒæfe.*   *Orrmulum* texts 1
       of all his kingdom; Each man one penny gave.

b.   *þatt himm shollde off illc an mann; An **pening** wurrþenn reccnedd.*
                                                    Orrmulum texts 7
       that him should of each/every one man; One penny become payed.

c.   *& tatt he shollde þær forr himm; Hiss **hæfeddpeninng** reccnenn.*
                                                    Orrmulum texts 2
       And that he should there for him; His head-tax pay.

d.   *Till hise **Lerninngcnihhtess**, To frofrenn & to beldenn hemm*
                                                    Orrmulum texts 5
       To his learning-knights/disciples, To comfort/encourage and to embolden them

The suffix *–ing* was generalized to gerund nominals first in northern documents (Miller

2012: 132), as in example (33 d). The minimal phonetic difference between *–ung* and *–

ing* in nominals could have prompted a simplification in usage among adult speakers and

the replacement and generalization in use of *–ing* over *–ung* in ME.

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2.1.4   Noun-pl –*(e)s* & Genitive-sg –*(e)s*

In general, there was great variation in gender plural suffixes in both OE and ON. The

strong or weak stem class determined the form of affix on the noun, with distinct plural

forms for each case. However, in contrast to these OE and ON gender plural suffixes (34

a,b), proto-Germanic Nordic (34 c) had only one form, **-az/*ez* (Miller 2012).

(34)   Noun-gender plural suffixes
   a) OE *-as, -a, -o, -u, -um, -an, -on*
   b) ON *-ar, a, um, ir, i, u, r*
   c) Nordic **-az, *-ez*

Miller (2012: 132), Classen (1919a) and Keller (1925: 83) argue Nordic influence for the

spread of –*s* in noun plurals. According to Allen (2008), and Adamczyk (2010) (cited in

Miller 2012: 132), this "reassignment [of –*(e)s* plurals and genitives] began

prehistorically, which accounts for why Nordic had only **-az/*ez*. Synchronically,

however, the earlier generalization of –*(e)s* in the northeast together with Danish

parallels, points to Scandinavian influence." According to Newman (2008: 116), (cited

in Miller 2012: 133), "the –*s* plural became dominant in the north c.1175, in the East

Midlands c.1200, and in other areas c.1300."

Parallel developments occurred in ME and early Jutland Danish. These parallel

developments include the loss of the case system, which may have led to the generalized

plural and genitival –s. These shared innovations can be summarized by the following

developments.

(35)   Case system of ME and early Jutland Danish

1) A single stem for nom./obl. Sg. (due to loss of the dat. sg. ending);

2) Generalization of –s to gen. sg. of all noun classes;

3) Loss of dat. pl. -um/-on to complete the two-case system in the plural.

(Miller 2012: 133)

Examples of the noun plural –(e)s in the *Orrmulum* texts include the following:

(36)   ME noun plural –(e)s

a.   *Off dauiþþ kingess **kinness** menn. Swa summ þe goddspell kiþeþþ*

Orrmulum texts 1

Of David king's kinsmen. So as the gospel makes known

b.   *& wundenn þær swa wreccheliʒ. Wiþþ **clutess** inn a cribbe; Ne wollde he nohht*
forrholen ben   *Orrmulum* texts 8
And wound there so wretchedly. With clothes in a crib; NEG would he not
concealed be

c.   *Inn aness weress hewe. Till **hirdess** þær þær þeʒʒ þatt nihht;* *Orrmulum* texts 13
In one's man's form. Till shepherds there where they that night;

Examples of the genitive singular –(e)s in the *Orrmulum* include the following:

(37)   ME genitive singular –(e)s

a.   *& sannte **marʒess** time wass; Þatt ʒho þa shollde childenn. Orrmulum* texts 7
And Saint Mary's time was; That she then should bring fourth

b.   *Þatt enngell comm. & stod hemm bi; Wiþþ **heoffness** lihht. & leome.*
Orrmulum texts 15

That angel came. And stood them by; With heaven's light. And brightness.

c.   *þiss wass seȝȝd. Þurrh an off **godess** enngless;*   *Orrmulum* texts 26
       this was said. Through one of God's angels

These developments and simplifications in the noun-plural and genitive-singular *–(e)s*

endings may be accounted for by the mutual influence of early Jutland Danish and ME.

In ME, these changed occurred first in the north and midland area and were completed by

C13.

  2.2   Syntactic Legacy of Scandinavian Contact:

2.2.1   The phrasal genitive (-*es* reanalyzed as a syntactic affix [clitic] rather than as

          morph. affix)

It is reasonable to argue that language innovations in ME occurred as a result of

Scandinavian language contact. These innovations can be traced from the Danelaw region

to English as a whole. These language innovations continued eastward to Jutland Danish

and Swedish. During this medieval period, a Scandinavian *Sprachbund* was forming

which provided a path for some of these language innovations to spread to Norwegian

(Miller 2012).

One of the shared innovations in ME, Danish, Norwegian, and in some Dutch dialects

was the group genitive. With the loss of morphological case inflections, and the loss of

morphological genitive inflections, the genitive *–(e)s* could be reanalyzed as a syntactic

affix (clitic) rather than as a morphological affix of genitive case. The entire determiner

phrase (DP) could then be marked for case by the genitive clitic *–(e)s*. The *–(e)s* was

reanalyzed as the head of the DP and could join to phrases. The DP is in the genitive

without agreement, and the genitive case inflection is only on the head noun. Examples of

the group genitive are accounted for in the *Orrmulum* texts. I compare the genitive

inflection of each of the examples from the *Orrmulum* texts with present-day German

(PDG) genitive inflection, as representative of OE inflection.

(38)   The phrasal genitive (-*es*)

    a. *Þurrh an off **godess** enngless*;   *Orrmulum* texts 25
       through one of **God's** angels

    PDG: Durch ein**en** von Gott**es** Engel**n**

In OE, 'one' and 'God' would be inflected and the plural suffix of 'angel' would have

been -*n*.

    b. *Þe laferrd **cristess** bisne. Þatt forr mannkinne lufe swallt;*   *Orrmulum* texts 80
       the Lord **Christ's** example. That for mankind love dies

    PDG: D**es** Herr(**e**)**n** Christu**s**' Beispiel

In OE, 'the,' 'Lord,' and 'Christ' would be inflected.

    c. *Icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all Crisstene **follkess** berrhless*
                                   115 *Orrmulum* Dedication
       I have it done therefore that all Christian **folk's** salvation

    PDG: …all**em** Christenvolk**s** Erlösung

In OE, 'all,' 'Christian,' and 'folk' would be inflected.

In these *Ormulum* examples, and in ME, genitive -*s* is the clitic suffix for the entire

dependent phrase. The nominal possessor is singular in receiving any marking (–*es*);

however, traces of inflection are still observable on modifiers, such as in (38 c):

'Chrisstene.'

Miller (2012) provides an example from Norde (2001) of the group genitive in Middle

Swedish. The genitive is marked on the possessive noun, as in the *Orrmulum* texts.

(39)   Group genitive in Middle Swedish

Vtan min fadher**s** wiliu
Without my.0 father.DAT.SG.M consent.OBLSG.F
'without my father's consent'   (Norde 2001: 259f., cited in Miller 2012: 136)

The phrasal genitive was a shared innovation in ME, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch

dialects. Simplification occurred with the loss of morphological case inflections and the

loss of morphological genitive inflections in the relevant languages. The group genitive

may have originated with the reduction of case in NPs, that occurred in ME,

Scandinavian, and Dutch, due to the variety of different inflections in the contact

languages. The reduction in inflections created a reanalysis of *–(e)s* from a morphological

genitive case marker on individual nouns, to a syntactic affix (clitic), marking the

genitive case on the entire phrase, as in the *Orrmulum* examples.

2.2.2   Reflexive -*self*

ME and early Jutland Danish initiated the reflexive -*self* in prepositional phrases (PP) at

around the same time period. An example (39) from Miller (2012) for early Jutland

Danish and modern Danish shows a non-reflexive pronoun with -*self*, following a

preposition. The prepositional context is significant, because the reflexive -*self* remains in

Modern Danish in this context. In ME, a non-reflexive pronoun, with -*self,* also occurs

first following prepositions (van Gelderen 2000). However, there are six instances of the

reflexive -*self* following a preposition in these *Orrmulum* texts (41), as well as one

instance of the reflexive in a non-prepositional context (42 b). The object PN is no

longer the reflexive PN with bound anaphoric reference, as it was in OE; instead, the

reflexive construction is formed with an object PN plus *sellfen*.

(40)   Danish reflexives in PPs

Early Jutland Danish   tyl thæm sielff   'to themselves'
Modern Danish   til dem selv   'to themselves'
                              (Jyske Lov 1.32 Skautrup 28.30, cited in Miller 2012:137)

(41)   ME reflexives in PPs in *The Orrmulum*
a.   *& he gann þennkenn **off himm sellf**; & off hiss miccle riche.* *Orrmulum* texts 5
        And he began to think of him self; and of his many riches

b.   *maʒʒ ben god till ʒure preost. & **till ʒuw sellfenn** baþe;*   *Orrmulum* texts 2
        may be good to your priest. And to you selves both

c.   *biddesst forr þi preost; Þu biddesst **forr þe sellfenn**.*   *Orrmulum* texts 3
        pray for thy priest; You pray for thee self

d.   *Amang Goddspelless wordess, All **þurrh me sellfenn**, maniʒ word Þe ríme swa to*
        fillenn;   42 *Orrmulum* Dedication
        Among Gospel's words, All through me self, many words They rhyme so to
        fill/fulfill

e.   *Ne naness kinness shaffte, Ne mihhte **þurrh himm sellfenn** þa Seffne godnessess*
        shæwenn   275 *Orrmulum* Dedication
        Not none kind (of) creature, Not might through himself the Seven goodnesses
        shun

f.   *& wel wiþþ alle mihhte O mannkinn **þurrh himm sellfenn** þa Seffne godnessess*
shæwenn,   291 *Orrmulum* Dedication
And well with all might Of mankind through himself the Seven goodnesses shun

Old Jutland Danish and ME also agree in non-prepositional usage of the reflexive *-self*.

An example in ON and from the *Orrmulum* texts presents a non-prepositional context

(42).

(42) Old Jutland Danish and ME in non-prepositional context

    a) Old Jutland Danish

Fyrræ en the aff giuæ   ath hielpæ   **thæm sielff**
Sooner than they off give.3PL to halp.INF them self
'before giving up helping themselves'   (Jyske Lov 3.63 cited in Miller 2012:137)

    b) ME

*Þurrh þatt he wollde ben **himm sellf** Onn erþe i waterr fullhtnedd.*
                         195 *Orrmulum* Dedication
Through that he wanted to be him self on earth in water baptized

In OE, object personal PNs functioned as the reflexive forms; however, the use of *-self* as

an intensifier is common. "First and especially second person pronouns followed by 'self'

usually function emphatically (unlike third person ones which can be reflexive)" (van

Gelderen 2000, 67). Examples in (43) show *-self* as an intensifier in OE.

(43)   OE first- and third-person emphatic use of *–self*

(a)   *Ða   cigde   he Maximum þone munuc his agenne sunu, þone **ic me seolf***
geseah,
            Then summoned he Maximum the monk his own   son, that I me self
            saw,

&	*mid*	*swiðe*	*gedrefdum*	*stefnum*		*him cwæð to.*	
and	with	very much	disturbance	summoned		him spoke to.	

OE Wærferð tr. Gregory *Dialogues* (Corpus Cambr.) (1900) iv. xl. 325

(b)   *He wæs mid wisdome afylled, for ðan þe* **he is him sylf** *wisdom.*
      He was with wisdom filled, for then when he is him self wisdom.

OE Ælfric *Catholic Homilies: 1st Ser.* (Royal) (1997) ix. 256 OED

"In late OE, there is a (slight) split in that emphatic *–self* modifies more third than first person objects" (van Gelderen 2000, 27). "The introduction of *-self* [as a reflexive pronoun] occurs in late OE and is an internal change that starts with third person and then spreads to first and second person" (van Gelderen 2013, 7).

In ON, *-self* was also used emphatically to reinforce nouns and pronouns:

(44)   ON emphatic use of *–self*

(a)   sumir   hofðu **sik**   **sjalfa**   deydda
       some.P.M.N. had.3P themselves.MA selves.M.A killed.P.M.A
                                              (Barl 16.33, cited in Faarlund 2004, 90)

In Scandinavian, the third-person reflexive pronoun is marked by *sik;* there is no distinction between the personal and reflexive pronouns in the first and second-persons; the object pronoun is used as it was in OE with bound anaphoric reference. "In Indo-European, a reflexive is used for all persons (cf. Hermodsson 1952; Ogura 1989:2ff.). Its reconstructed form […] in Germanic becomes **sik* 'self-ACC' […]" (van Gelderen 2000, 28). In OE, the Indo-European reflexive form was lost, due to Celtic influence, as argued by Vezzosi (2005) and Filppula et al. (2008) (chapter three). There is formal agreement in the Jutland Danish and ME reflexive constructions, as shown in examples (40) and

(41). Miller (2012) argues for contact convergence: "since reflexivity was marked by *sik* in Scandinavian and not at all in OE, intensive *-self* shared by both in combination with a pronoun […] was a useful compromise" (Miller 2012: 137), which points to a shared innovation. The reflexive *–self* could also be classified as a complexification to ME. Added complexity to grammar can accompany long-term, co-territorial contact situations. The addition of the reflexive form in ME and Jutland Danish was an innovative way to express reflexivity in L2 discourse. As mentioned, reflexivity was marked by **sik* in Scandinavian, and OE utilized a PN with anaphoric reference and declension. With the loss of case distinction, the intensive *–self* shared by both OE and ON, in combination with an object PN, filled the pragmatic discourse component. This is consistent with added complexification, as well as an innovation with Jutland Danish. This type of innovation is grounded in bilingualism, and evident in *The Orrmulum* texts.

2.2.3 Relative markers: complementizer deletion and relative ellipsis

In OE, noun phrases (NP) were inflected for number (singular, plural), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), and case (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive). The inflections appeared on the head determiner or pronoun. Case helped to show the syntactic function of the NP and its relation to other constituents in the clause. Demonstratives were widely used in OE; they could shift the topic and were referential (deictic). Pronouns were typically used to refer to something that was mentioned before (anaphorically), and also used as reflexives. The OE determiner, or demonstrative PN, which had great person/number/case differentiation, was rearranged to '*the, that, this*' in

ME with limited number differentiation. All case distinctions (nominative, accusative, dative) were lost. Regarding the syntax of the determiner phrase (DP) in ME, many OE inflectional distinctions were obsolete. The OE nominative and dative forms of the personal PNs did survive, but the accusative forms did not. In late OE, there was an increase in the use of demonstratives, and they would be reanalyzed as articles. Relative PNs incorporate one sentence into another without having to repeat the NP from the first sentence. The head of the NP that the relative PN describes, immediately precedes the relative clause. The same syntactic structure can be seen in OE, ON, and in ME. In the *Orrmulum* texts, the demonstrative *Þatt/tatt* (that) is used as a relative PN, as in example (45).

(45) ME Demonstrative as a relative pronoun

*Icc **Þatt** tiss Ennglissh hafe sett Ennglisshe men to lare,*　　　　　*Orrmulum* texts 322
I **that/who** this English have set English men to instruction

A demonstrative with a clausal complement arose from the demonstrative PN pointing to the clause, which it introduces. The relative PN *Þatt/tatt* (that) in the *Orrmulum* texts introduces a subordinate noun clause, adjacent to the verb in the main clause, as its complement, as in example (46).

(46)　　Demonstrative with clausal complement in ME
　　　　Þatt / tatt **(that)**

  a.　*þu þohhtesst **tatt** itt mihhte wel Till mikell frame turrnen*　　*Orrmulum* texts 17
　　　　You thought **that** it might well To much profit turn

  b.　*Unnc birrþ bidden Godd **tatt** he Forrȝife hem hĕre sinne*　　*Orrmulum* texts 85
　　　　Us both ought ask God **that** he Forgives them their sins

c. *Wiþþ all se fele wordess; tatt he loke well **þatt** he An bocstaff wríte twiȝȝess,*
   Orrmulum texts 102
   With all as many words; that he look well **that** he One letter written twice

In ME, the relative PN was able to be deleted from introducing its complement, the subordinate noun clause. This is referred to as complementizer deletion (C-deletion) or relative ellipsis. As noted by Miller (2012: 138) citing Kirch (1959): "(1) within English, *that*-omission is rare before ME; (2) in Danish and Norwegian runic inscriptions, omission is non-existent; (3) [however], in Old Icelandic literature *at* is often omitted; [and], (4) omission of *thaz/daz* (German *dass*) 'that' is common in Old High German." In modern West-Germanic languages such as German and Dutch, relative ellipsis is not permitted. The relative PN introduces a non-finite subordinate clause, which ends with the non-finite verb (an SOV word order). If one were to omit the relative PN in German or Dutch, then there must be two finite clauses, in SVO order, similar to a comma-splice in PDE, and no non-finite subordinate clause. This situation describes relative ellipsis as it occurred in ME and in PDE. The changes in word order in ME, from SOV to SVO (section 2.2.5), may account for the ability to delete the relative PN in ME and in PDE. Miller (2012: 138) states that the relative PN being adjacent to the main verb "is not a sufficient condition [for C-deletion], or practically no language would lack [it]." He suggests that the minimal phonetic difference between OE *þætt/þat* and ON *at* (itself from **þat/* þad*) could have prompted a change in use among adult speakers of ON and OE – avoidance by omission – a typical contact phenomenon, that provided the prompt for C-deletion. In Scandinavian, in particular Danish and Swedish, there is a long history

of relative ellipsis like that in English (Dekeyser 1988: 176; 1990: 103, w. lit; Miller 2012: 139).

In these *Orrmulum* texts, *Þatt/tatt* (that) is the most frequently used word, whether it is used as a relative PN, as a demonstrative with clausal complement, or as a demonstrative accompanying a noun, or used independently. Its frequency is 4.5 percent within these texts, and as a written document, Orrmulum is meticulous not to omit the relative PNs in subordinate clauses. Whether relative PNs were elided in the spoken dialects of the Danelaw is not beyond reason. The syntax of *The Orrmulum* is quite modern and relative ellipsis would be possible in some instances, according to PDE grammar.

2.2.4   Stranded prepositions and relative clauses

Stranding the preposition (P-stranding) away from the verb occurred in both OE and in ON, in certain contexts. In OE, the preposition was stranded following the relative PN 'that' (*Þe/Þæt*) as a complementizer; it was stranded as an infinitive complement to adjectives (ie: lovely *to look at*); it was stranded as an infinitive complement used as a relativizer (ie: candles *to eat by*). However, OE did not allow P-stranding with WH-words; in this case, the preposition would accompany the WH-word (Piedpiping) (47).

(47)   Piedpiping with WH-words (OE)

Befrán **of hwilcere** þéode hí gebrōhte wæron (ÆCHom 2.9.59f.)
Asked off which nation they brought were [990-992]
'asked from which nation they were brought'   (Miller 2012: 141)

In ON, P-stranding occurred in relative clauses, following the relative complementizer

(*es/er*) which required no case marking. However, P-stranding would not occur with PNs

that required case marking in both ON and OE.

(48)   P-stranding in relative clauses (ON)

Sa   maþer **es**   hann tok   arf   **efter**   (AM 315d: 2.8; cf. 2.9)
That man   REL he   took inheritance after   [C.1150-75]   (Miller 2012: 141)

By circa 1300, P-stranding could occur with WH- *(hv-)* words in ON (48). In this

example, *með* 'with' becomes a stranded preposition when its complement *hvern veg*

'which way' moves.

(49)   P-stranding in early C14 (ON)

Pálnir leitaði ráða   við   hann **hvern** veg   hann skyldi **með** fara   (J 8)
Palnir sought advice with him which road he   should by   travel
'Palnir asked his advice which road he should travel by'

(Jómsvíkinga saga (J) ed.; Nordal et al. 1962 (J §8), cited in Miller 2012: 141)

This is the beginning of an innovation shared with ME. "P-stranding appears in northern

England around the same time the identical innovation is found in ON" (Miller 2012:

141). P-stranding occurs in English and in Scandinavian, but is otherwise a rare

phenomenon.

(50)   P-stranding with WH-words in *The Orrmulum*

***Þær** wass hemm baþe birde **to**; Forr þatt teȝȝ baþe wærenn.*   4
Where was them both lineage **to**; For that they both were.

In this example, *to* becomes a stranded preposition when its complement *Þær* 'where' moves.

(51)   P-stranding in relative clauses in *The Orrmulum*

   a.   *& **forr** þi birrþ himm stanndenn **inn**. To don wiþþ word & dede.*   9
        And **for** thy ought him stand **in**. To do with word and deed.

   b.   ***Þatt ȝuw birrþ ȝeorne stanndenn inn**. To fraȝȝnenn ȝure preostess.*   10
        That you ought yearn to stand **in**. To ask your priests.

   c.   *Þatt enngell comm. & stod hemm **bi**; Wiþþ heoffness lihht. & leome.*   1
        That angel came. And stood them **by**; With Heaven's light. And brightness.

P-stranding with pronominal *wh-* words did not exist in OE; instead, the *wh-* word would raise with the corresponding preposition (piedpiping) to avoid P-stranding. In ME, P-stranding in a *wh-* context could occur, as in the *Orrmulum* texts. In ON, P-stranding with pronominal *hv-* (*wh-*) words became possible at around the same time period, which suggests an innovation shared with ME. P-stranding with *wh*-words in PDE is essentially identical to that of modern Scandinavian languages. In fact, apart from English and Scandinavian, P-stranding is rare crosslinguistically. As mentioned, OE and ON allowed P-stranding with relative complementizers, but in grammatical contexts that differed formally. OE had two *that's*, one a PN (specifier) that allowed piedpiping, the other a complementizer which did not allow piedpiping (van Gelderen 2004a, cited in Miller 2012: 142). In the language-contact situation of OE and ON, this would have created confusion for L2 learners, as to which lexical contexts could prompt P-stranding, and

which lexical contexts did not allow it. P-stranding was simplified in ME and generalized to contexts where all relativizers could prompt P-stranding.

2.2.5   Changes in word order

OE verb phrases (VP) conform largely to subject-object-verb, SOV, head-final word order, and the verb-second, V2, position is due to movement. This is according to most research, both generative (Lightfoot 1979; van Kemenade 1987), and nongenerative (Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 61). Verb-object, VO, head-initial order predominated in ON over OV word order by the 9th century (Faarlund 2002: 949; 2004: 160-66, cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014). ON may be the source of the VO word order in 12th century ME. A loss of case cannot be responsible for the changes in word order, because the West-Germanic SOV order did not change in Dutch when it lost case. As well, variations of Dutch and German SOV order have not changed over time.

Likewise, VO word order was introduced into English through Scandinavian contact (Miller 2012: 144 citing cf. Allen 2000; Czerniak 2011; Trips 2002; Weerman 1993). However, Miller (2012) suggests that contact only accelerated the shift from SOV to SVO, and that this shift had already been in progress in Germanic. He argues that a shared innovation is likely to have occurred between Scandinavian and English.

A strict V2 order characterizes Early ON Prose Edda (Ethorsson 1995, cited in Miller 2012: 144). PNs in third position was transferred from Scandinavian. Evidence of this is found in the *Orrmulum* texts (52).

(52)   V2 Word order in *The Orrmulum*

*Þa **gilltenn** þeȝȝ full hefiȝliȝ.*   15
Then **became guilty/transgressed** they full heavily.

The shift to SVO in ME, from SOV, is evident in *The Orrmulum.* SVO word order in

subordinate clauses with object PNs occurs in 90 percent of VPs in *The Orrmulu*m (Trips

2002: 107).

(53)   SVO Word order in *The Orrmulum*

   a. *& sone anan þeȝȝ **kiddenn** forþ; Amang iudisskenn þeode.*   11
      And soon onwards they **made known** forth; Among Jewish people.

   b. *& all þeȝȝ **shulenn takenn** itt Onn unnitt & onn idell*   17
      And all they **should take** it on useless and on idle

   c. *& ȝiff þeȝȝ **wilenn herenn** itt, & follȝhenn itt*   18
      And if they **wish to hear** it, and follow it

A non-finite auxiliary precedes the main verb in example (53 b), as was common in ON.

English became predominantly a VO language after 1250. The declining frequency in

English of SOV head-final word order is visible in figure (54).

(54)   SOV word order in ME (with non-negated objects)
        1150 – 1250   28.4% OV
        1250 – 1350   3.1% OV
        1350 – 1420   1.3% OV

           (Pintzuk and Taylor 2006, cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 63)

With negated objects, the situation is different in ME, as well as in ON. In ME, the

figures for SOV word order with negated objects are as follows (55). The slower rate of

change in negated sentences correlates with the same development in Scandinavian. SOV

word order in the *Orrmulum* texts is not prevalent except for the sentences with negation

(56).

(55)   SOV Word order in ME (with negated objects)

        1150 – 1250   41.0% OV
        1250 – 1350   18.2% OV
        1350 – 1420   20.3% OV

                (Pintzuk and Taylor 2006, cited in Emonds and Faarlund 2014: 63)

(56)   SOV Word order in *The Orrmulum* (with negation)

   a. *Wiþþ clutess inn a cribbe; **Ne** wollde he **nohht** forrholenn **ben**.*   3
       With clothes in a crib; **Neither/Nor** NEG would he **not** concealed **be**

   b. *Ne kepenn **nohht** to follȝhenn.*   7
       Neither/Nor NEG keep **not to follow**

   c. *Forr he **ne** maȝȝ **nohht** elless Onn Ennglissh **wríttenn** rihht*   19
       For he **neither/nor** NEG may **not** else/otherwise in English **write** right

During the medieval period, all Germanic languages exhibit variability in their VP order.

However, the basic word order of the VP in OE is V-final, which conforms with modern

West Germanic languages. In ON, however, VO word order predominated by the 9th

century. The East Midland area of England, where *The Orrmulum* was written, was an

area of major contact fusion with ON. This area is responsible for the majority of the

structural changes that differ from OE. Contact is likely responsible for the V2 and SVO

word order in ME. Strict V2 word order is characterized in ON texts as well as in the

Orrmulum texts. The highest percentages of SVO word order in subordinate clauses is

found in the *Orrmulum* texts, at 90 percent (Trips 2002: 107), as compared with texts composed in the southeast at 24 percent (Trinity Homilies [?a1200]), and in the west-midland area at 68 percent (Ancrene Riwle [?a1200], and Katherine group [?a1200]) (Trips 2002: 107; Miller 2012: 144). The highest percentage of SVO word order in subordinate clauses is found in the north and east midlands (Czerniak 2011: 149, cited in Miller 2012: 145), which points to Scandinavian influence and a shared innovation due to language contact.

CHAPTER 3

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH: CELTIC

The Ruin of Brittania (*De Excidio et conquetu Britanniae*) written by the British monk

Gildas about 540, is the oldest surviving source interpreting the 5th century Celtic and

Saxon contact (through the lens of racial theory). To Gildas, the Saxons were equivalent

to Old Testament plagues, by which God delivered punishment to His sinful people (the

Britons) (Sykes 2006: 257; Higham in Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 32-33).

The 8th century Anglo-Saxon monk Bede's *Historical Ecclestiastica Gentis Anglaum*

identified the Saxon invaders as "virtuous and brave warriors whom God … foreknew to

Christ … separated from the wicked and slavish Britons" (which the Saxons killed or

drove out) (Higham in Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 29, 39).

Along with "the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* compiled in the 9th century, probably on the

orders of King Alfred," these sources describe a German "military invasion" in 449 AD

resulting in the elimination of Britons from the Lowland (this showing how England

became a nation of Teutonic stock). "The complete language change in Lowland Britain

from Celtic and/or Latin to (Old) English appeared to confirm these notions" (Härke

2002: 13-14).

Unwavering acceptance of the racial superiority of 'pure' Germanic ancestry (the

Teutonic myth) verified by these texts, propelled the British Empire, and fueled two

World Wars and the Holocaust (Sykes 2006: 40). Germanists' interpretation regarding

contact between Celts and Saxons in the British Isles dominated language theory during

the 19th and half of the 20th centuries. "If, as the Germanist historians argued, the native

British population was either slaughtered or driven to the peripheries, there was of course no need to look for traces of linguistic contacts between the English and the Celtic populations. Thus, the possibility of a Brittonic substratum in English was excluded almost a priori by this interpretation of historical facts" (Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 3-5).

"In archaeology, as in history, the consensus model was … dominant, and … solidly founded in the concepts and thinking of the times. Thus a circulus vitiosus was established in which the disciplines [history, archaeology, and linguistics] confirmed one another by adopting each other's results as underlying assumptions for their own work" (Härke 2002: 14).

"Much of … [the 19th – first half of the 20th centuries'] accepted-view rests on a particular interpretation of the historical and archaeological evidence relating to the earliest invasions and settlements of the Germanic tribes…" (Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 1). Much of post-1980 thinking (including reassessing the reliability of early sources and the concept of 'innate' racial qualities, as well as considering recent data (findings involving DNA studies, paleo-botanic research, etc.) challenges the traditionally-accepted doctrine concerning the post-Roman period in the British Isles. "Overall, the genetic structure of the Isles is stubbornly Celtic, if by that term we mean descent from people who were [in the British Isles] … before the Romans and who spoke a Celtic language" (Sykes 2006: 287). "The archaeological evidence for immediate and wholesale destruction is conspicuously absent" (Sykes 2006: 257).

Recent investigations that indicate indigenous people stayed on the land:

- Rising estimates of Romano-British population density (determined by systematic field walking)
- Reliable evidence of plague, famine, or slaughter in post-Roman period not found
- No dramatic change in population density shown by graves
- 7th century skeletal data regarding burial of men with their weapons implies that separation of Celts and Saxons had disappeared by that time
- Paleo-botanical studies do not support the version that Anglo-Saxons cleared forests that had encroached over abandoned Romano-British fields

The lack of material cultural artifacts may be explainable by the organic makeup of such items (Härke 2002: 16-17, 23). "There is much agreement from scholars working in neighboring disciplines that there was significant survival of the Romano-British population in the 5th and 6th centuries, especially in northern and western Britain … [and] there are few archaeologists these days who believe that the native Romano-British population of Britain was wiped out or driven out of Britain" (Trudgill 2010: 12, citing Laker 2008). "The overwhelming evidence is for a peaceful and nearly wholesale assimilation of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cultures which eventually, by the 7th century took the umbrella term of 'Saxon' or 'English'" (Filppula, Klemola, and Pitänen 2002: 6, citing Laing and Laing 1990).

"At some point before the Romans or the Germanic tribes, [inhabitants of the British Isles] spoke a Celtic language" (Miller 2012: 16). To ancient Greeks, *Keltoi* was an uncomplimentary term encompassing uncivilized foreigners. To the Romans, *Celt* indicated people in France and northern Italy. In the 18th century, *Celt* was appropriated to label a family of languages and its speakers (retroactively, the inhabitants of the British Isles when the Romans arrived) (Sykes 2006: 46-48). Before the Romans had to abandon

their colony of Britannia, they had Romanized and Christianized the upper classes of British Celts; and government, trade, and the church were conducted in Latin. The indigenous people that the Germanic invaders came upon in lowland Britain could have been speaking British Latin. Upper-class Romanized Celts fled to the Highlands, where a language shift from British Latin to Late British resulted, leading to simplification of Brittonic (Miller 2012: 21-26; Trudgill 2010: 29-30; Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 435; Alegro and Pyles 2005: 45). "In the case of Brythonic Celtic and English, there were initial adstratal contacts yielding some complexifications" (Miller 2012: 235). Contact of the type that would lead to additions of Late British constructions, complicating OE, would have happened early in the *adventu Saxonum* in the Lowland, after the upper-class exodus to the Highlands, where the status of the relatively few OE speakers and Late Brittonic speakers would be somewhat equal (Trudgill 2010: 22-23, 29).

In the Highlands, Late British speakers were in a substratal relationship with OE. "It was contact between a minority of OE and a majority of socially inferior Late British speakers, in northern England, that set the process of simplification going as the Britons shifted to (their form of) English, and Late British was eventually lost" (Trudgill 2010: 14, 34).

(57)   Stages of language contact in the British Isles
      1.   Interference and additive complexification in early OE … as a result of … intimate contact with an adstratum of lower-class Brittonic and/or British Latin speakers in the Lowland zone, with eventual shift from Brittonic to OE;

2. Simplification of Brittonic in the Highland zone as a result of adult language contact with a super-stratum of upper-class refugee British Latin speakers, with eventual shift from Latin to Brittonic;

3. Simplification of later OE as a result of adult language contact, mainly in the Highland zone, with a substratum of at least partly enslaved Late British speakers, with eventual shift to OE…;

4. Intimate contact between OE and an adstratum of ON speakers, mainly in the north with lexical and pronoun borrowing, but no evidence of complexification because of close structural similarities between the languages.

(Trudgill 2010: 34-35)

Evidence of simplification resulting from substratal language-contact situations may not appear in written language for several centuries, possibly precipitated by social upheaval. So it can be viewed as logical that evidence of spoken language influenced by the Celtic substratum did not appear in written OE for several centuries, and only after the turmoil of the Norman Conquest (Vennemann 2001: 364; Trudgill 2010: 15). "Understanding of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and of language contact indicates that there … should be Brittonic influence in English … This influence could be expected to … have been suppressed as substandard during the Anglo-Saxon period … Such influences would be expected to appear … only in the ME period …" (White in Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen 2002: 166). "Scholarly opinion now seems ready to accept the idea that most of the Celtic influences must have affected the syntax…" (Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002: 20).

Chapter three addresses the question whether syntactic innovations apparent in ME and in *The Orrmulum* reflect influence from Celtic grammar. ME exhibits typological

differences which distanced its grammar from other Germanic languages, such as German and Dutch. Considering the socio-historical situation of Britain makes it likely that Celtic has influenced the grammar of English, and is responsible for syntactic phenomena apparent in ME. Supported by archaeological and historical research, Celtic contact accounts for the following phenomena in English:

- Marked divergence from other Germanic languages
- Structural features shared with Celtic
- Chronological precedence of Celtic construction
- Areal connection

<div align="right">(Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002)</div>

Grammatical innovations in the Danelaw region may have been shared with Brythonic Celtic (Tristram 1999; Miller 2004; Miller 2012: 232). Evidence for Celtic influence include complexifications, simplifications, and regional influence, listed in table (3.1). The remainder of this chapter is organized in accordance to this table.

(3.1)   Evidence for Celtic influence in English

    3.1.1   Complexifications

        a)   The English progressive
        b)   Cleft sentences
        c)   Two separate paradigms of the verb '*to be*'

    3.1.2   Simplifications

        a)   Loss of the Germanic reflexive **sik* in OE
        b)   Loss of the dative external possessor

    3.1.3   Regional influence

        a)   Periphrastic '*do*'
        b)   The Northern subject rule

3.1.1 Complexifications

As mentioned, linguistic complexification is related to the difficulty in acquisition of a language for an L2 learner. An addition of grammatical features is transferred from one language to another. The new grammatical features do not replace existing features, but are acquired in addition to them. Additive complexity develops in high-contact, long-term, stable, co-territorial contact situations, which involve proficient childhood bilingualism (Trudgill 2010). According to Miller (2012), this added complexity is characteristic of earlier bilingual interaction between Celts and speakers of pre-OE – that the initial contact was based on equality and resulted in complexifications. The sociolinguistic typological approach suggests that complexifications that occurred to OE would be of an adstratal contact situation (Trudgill 2010). Complexifications in English, arguably due to Celtic influence, include the English progressive, cleft sentences, and two paradigms of the verb '*to be*.'

a)   The English progressive

According to Vennemann (2001: 355, 366), a typological restructuring of the verbal-noun construction (suffix -*ung/ing*) was Celtic-motivated, and overcame the Anglo-Saxon present participle construction (suffix -*inde/-ande*). Only English has undergone this development, as discussed in section 2.1.2. The English progressive developed from a construction with the verbal noun of the type: *he is on hunting > he is a-hunting > he is hunting*. The reason for this, as suggested by Vennemann, is that Celtic does not possess an infinitive, nor does it possess a present participle. He argues that this explains the

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merger of the English present participle (suffix *-inde/-ande*) with the gerund (suffix *-ung/ing*), and accounts for the English progressive aspect.

As argued by Poppe (2009: 259-61, cited in Miller 2012), historical linguistics have reached no definitive agreement on the origins of the English progressive aspect. The syntactic construction, minus *–ing*, existed in OE, ON, Middle Dutch, Old French, and was frequent in Latin (Miller 2012: 37). In OE, it was possible to express general duration, rather than the limited duration, characteristic in the present-day progressive meaning. However, (Ahlqvist 2010; Trudgill 2010, 2011b; Preussler 1956; Tristram 1999: 22f; Vennemann 2001: 355; Filppula et al. 2008; 59-72; Filppula 2010) agree that the perfective/imperfective (background/foreground) contrast in ME is shared with Middle Welsh, and that the progressive in ME developed at around the same time (Miller 2012: 37). However, as discussed in section 2.1.2, Miller (2012) argues that the suffix *–ing* derives from ON, and is independent of Celtic influence. He agrees that the construction '*be on/a-X-ing*,' as mentioned above, is of Celtic origin, as Celtic was in the process of developing a progressive construction; however, that that construction is different from '*be X-ing*,' which is attributed to internal causes (Miller 2002a: 321-7; Miller 2012: 37). He distinguishes the syntactic change from the development of the morphological suffix *–ing*. "While the progressive was influenced by Celtic, the specific form *–ing* diffused from the old Danelaw" (Miller 2012: 132). He suggests that when *–ing* replaced *–ung* in gerund nominals, due to Scandinavian influence, that *–ing* was generalized to clauses, hence the present participle. As discussed in section 2.1.3, and in

example (58), participles ending in *–ing* are evident in *The Orrmulum,* and appear first in northern texts.

(58)   Participles ending in *–ing* in *The Orrmulum*

ME *skemmtinng* 'reveling' (ON *skemta* 'to amuse, entertain')   (Miller 2012: 131)

þatt nass ȝho nohht tær úte   *Orrmulum* 2164ff.
*I **skemmtinng** 7 inn idelleȝȝc,*
Inn ægæde 7 I leȝȝkess

that NEG-was she not there out/abroad
in reveling and in idleness,
in luxury and in sports

b)   Cleft sentences

A complexification that linguists agree belongs to the earliest period of Celtic contact, is cleft sentences. Cleft sentences, introduced by '*it,*' also discussed in section 1.4.3, was a robust feature in Classical Old Irish glosses (Ahlqvist 2010 cited in Filppula 2010: 441-43). European languages, such as English, German, Swedish, French, Finnish, etc. introduce a cleft with a dummy PN, to preserve SVO word order. However, Irish is a VSO dominant word-order pattern, and therefore, there is no need for a dummy subject PN. Cleft sentences are robust in VSO languages. There is nothing comparable to this feature in equally early forms of Anglo-Saxon (Ahlqvist 2010: 273-74 cited in Filppula 2010). The synthetic nature of OE allowed for pro-drop of subject PNs; therefore, dummy subject PNs were not necessary to preserve syntactic structure. The cleft construction in English appears later than in Celtic languages, which suggests evidence for Celtic contact influence. Clefting is prevalent in the *Orrmulum* texts, as the examples in 1.4.3 (19) and (59), show.

(59)   Cleft sentences in *The Orrmulum*

a) *Ne ʒiferrnesse nowwþerr. Forr wha se **itt** iss þatt grediʒ iss. Orrmulum* texts 6
   Not covetousness neither. For who soever it is that greedy is

b) *& ʒiff þatt hët ne beteþþ nohht; **Itt** draʒheþþ himm till helle. Orrmulum* texts 9
   And if that he-it NEG correct not; It draws him to hell

c) *Wel affterr ʒunnkerr mihhte. Swa þatt **ʒitt** baþe ledenn ʒunnc. Orrmulum* texts11
   Well after you-two DUAL might. So that it both lead you-two DUAL

c)   Two separate paradigms of the verb '*to be*'

The two paradigms of the verb '*to be*' in OE may have spread to Germanic languages via

Celtic contact. The paradigm is split between habitual (*bīo, bist, bið*) and actual (*eom,*

eart, is). Trudgill (2010) suggests that the two paradigms that existed in Germanic

became semantically bifurcated in Britain in contact with Brittonic Celts – and that the

semantic contrast of habitual/actual is a complexification that was transferred by

bilinguals.

(60) Two OE paradigms of the verb '*to be*'

	Gothic	ON	OE1	OE2	OSaxon	OHG
1sg.	*im*	*em*	**eom**	**beom**	*bium*	*bim*
2sg.	*is*	*est*	**eart**	**bist**	*bist*	*bist*

<div align="right">(Trudgill 2010: 6)</div>

The "1sg. *eom* 'am' (shared with Gothic *im* and OIce *em*) and *bēo (m)* (shared
with OS *bium* vs OFris *bim* = OHG *bim*) 'suggests that the Germanic settlers had
links to both the north and the south in Germania prior to their invasion of

<div align="center">61</div>

Britain' (Nielsen 1998: 79). However, the split paradigm in West Germanic has itself been seen as influence from (Continental) Celtic. Lutz (2009: 238) finds this unlikely, but the Frisian and German *b*-forms indicate that Continental Celtic already had the *b*-forms (Vennemann 2010: 391). The semantic bifurcation of the paradigms in OE points to more immediate Brittonic influence" (Miller 2012: 30).

The paradigms of the verb '*to be*' (habitual '*be,*' and actual '*are*' forms) are prevalent in the *Orrmulum* texts; however, with ME morphology, which become the PDE forms.

(61)   Two paradigms of the verb '*to be*' in *The Orrmulum*

   a) *Till þeʒʒre sawle berrhless. Þatt he **be** grimme. & aʒhefull. & braþ & tór to cwemenn.*   *Orrmulum* texts 1
   Till their soul salvation. That he be grim. And awful. And angry and hard to please.

   b) *Acc **beo** ʒe swiþe bliþe. Forr icc **amm** sennd off heoffness ærd; To kiþenn godess will*   *Orrmulum* texts 1
   But be ye great joyful. For I am sent of Heaven's place; To make known God's will

3.1.2   Simplifications

As discussed in section (1.1.1), linguistic simplifications occur in language contact situations when adults and post-adolescents learning a new language, simplify a grammar. Typical to the process of linguistic simplification are a reduction in morphological categories, grammatical agreement, increases to regular patterns, and in transparency, shifting from synthetic to analytic structure.   Trudgill (2010) argues that contact in England with speakers of British Celtic began the process of simplifications to English, as the Celts acquired English. Contact of West Germanic and Brittonic Celtic began in the 4th century and became widespread with permanent settlements in England, of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians, in the 5th century.

<div align="right">(Tristram 2004: 202)</div>

Contact between speakers of Celtic Brittonic and OE produced simplifications to English, such as the loss of the Germanic reflexive *sik* in OE, and the loss of the dative external possessor.

a) Loss of the Germanic reflexive *sik* in OE

As discussed in section 2.2.2, "a reflexive is used for all persons in Indo-European, (cf. Hermodsson 1952; Ogura 1989:2ff.). Its reconstructed form […] in Germanic becomes *sik* 'self-ACC' […] and *sis* 'self-DAT'" (van Gelderen 2000: 28). OE does not have this separate reflexive pronoun as do the other Germanic languages. "The English reflexive system resembles the Celtic intensifying pattern" (Vezzosi 2005: 234-40). In OE, rather than the Germanic reflexive PN *sik*, an object pronoun was utilized with bound anaphoric reference. It is likely that Celtic is responsible for the loss of the Germanic reflexive in OE. Vezzosi (2005) suggests that '*himself*' as a reflexive anaphor is used more frequently in areas in England with a long and deep history between Celts and Anglo-Saxons.

If *himself* is a sort of borrowing and therefore belongs to the lower strata of society, it could only surface after a period of social rearrangement during which

<div align="center">63</div>

> language of the old ruling strata rose to the written level. This would fall within the ME period. As a matter of fact, *himself* with all its properties does not surface until late ME.
>
> <div align="right">(Vezzosi 2005: 234-40)</div>

However, the reflexive –*self* actually emerges in Early ME, as is evidenced in *The Orrmulum* texts (examples 41 a-f) – not only as the third-person reflexive form *himself*, but also as first- and second-person reflexive PNs. In fact, the specifier -*self*, that developed as the reflexive component in ME, was an innovation shared with Early Jutland Danish, and continues into Modern Danish, as shown in examples (40). Miller (2012: 137-38) suggests that the ME –*self* form grammaticalized under the strong substrate influence of Celtic, and possibly provided the idea for the construction that developed in the Danelaw region. Additionally, a shared innovation is plausible with ON: reflexivity was marked by '*sik*' in ON, and not at all in OE; therefore, –*self*, utilized by both OE and ON as an intensifier, in combination with a PN, was a useful innovation.

b) Loss of the dative external possessor

Dative external possessors, such as in example (62), are a feature of Germanic languages, including OE. The loss of the dative external possessor construction in ME has been attributed to Celtic influence. "The elimination of the external possessor construction is, among the European languages, all but limited to the languages of the British Isles. Except for Lezghian and Turkish, the only languages lacking external possessors are English and Celtic" (Vennemann 1999: 361-64). He asserts transitive substratal influence of Semitic through Celtic on English.

(62)   Dative external possessor in OE

*…**him** man aslog þæt heafod of*
him DAT one cut the head off
'…they cut his head off'   (Traugott 1992: 205-06, cited in Van de Velde et al. 2015)

It has been suggested that the loss of the dative external possessor in ME is due to the

loss of case (Haspelmath 1999: 124-25; McWhorter 2002: 226-28; Vennemann 2002:

213-15; cited in Van de Velde et al. 2015). However, Dutch also lost the dative case, but

the external possessor construction survives in expressions and special constructions,

such as in example (63).

(63)   Dative external possessor in Dutch

*Hij wou **me** de keel oversnijden*
*He wanted to cut me the throat   (Van de Velde et al. 2015)

In German, the dative external possessor is commonly used, as in example (63). The

external possessor '*ihm*' (dative DP '*him*') is not in the same constituency as the

possessee '*die Haare*' (accusative DP '*the hair*'). '*Ihm*' in this case is a definite PN and a

full DP (the customer) and his hair is inalienably his. In PDE, as in example (64), the

possessor '*his*' and possessee '*hair*' are in the same DP constituency, where the

determiner *his* appears as specifier in the NP headed by *hair*.

(64)   Dative external possessor in German

*Der Friseur schneidet **ihm** die Haare.*
The barber cuts his hair

It is suggested that language contact in English is responsible for the demise of the dative external possessor. Vennemann (2002) attributes this loss to Celtic influence; however, OE did have an external possessor. Hopper and Traugott (2003) attribute the loss as a consequence of competition with internal possessor constructions (possessor and possessee are in the same constituency). "This competition allows, even encourages the loss of older forms … rather than a cycle of loss and renewal. … Furthermore, when the syntactic structures of the older and newer forms differ, they may be used side by side in the same utterance […]" (ME: *ne* – finite V – *nohht*) (124). The dative external possessor survived into ME, such as in example (65) from *The Orrmulum* texts. The external possessor '*himm*' is not in the same constituency as the possessee '*hiss hæfeddpeninng.*'

(65)   Dative external possessor construction in *The Orrmulum*
& tatt he shollde þær forr **himm; Hiss hæfeddpeninng** *reccnenn.   Orrmulum* texts 5
And that he should therefore him; His head-tax pay.

Internal possessor constructions are also prevalent in *The Orrmulum* texts, such as in example (66). The post-nominal PP possessor '*off crist*' and nominal possessee '*þe soþe lufe*' are in the same DP constituency.

(67)   Internal possessor construction in *The Orrmulum*
& forr **þe soþe lufe off crist**. *& ec off cristess þeowwess;*   *Orrmulum* texts 31
And for the true love of Christ. And also of Christ's servants;

3.1.3   Regional influence

66

Celtic may have survived until the 10th century in Cornwall, Devon, Herefordshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and the northwest, along with Wales and part of Scotland (Miller 2012). Regional Celtic influence on English include the periphrastic '*do*' and the northern subject rule.

a) Periphrastic '*do*'

The periphrastic '*do*' (P-do) is strongest areas that have had the most exposure to Celtic. Regions with early evidence for P-do bordered on areas where Celtic survived, in the north, west, and southwest of England. An example in (67) shows the periphrastic use of Middle Welsh *gwneuthur* 'to do.' Welsh was spoken in the Herefordshire district until the end of the 9th century, throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, where in Hereford, non-emphatic, affirmative 'do' is still used (Miller 2012).

(67)   Periphrastic 'do' in Welsh
*Riuaw   y   meicheu   a   **wnaeth**   Heueyd*
List.INF the sureties   PTC do.PRET.3SG Hefeydd
 'Hefeydd listed the sureties'

(Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet 415 [C11] ed. Thomson 1957: 15, cited in Miller 2012: 38)

The OE '*don*' is the ancestor of the ME and PDE periphrastic use of 'do*,*' which, as a periphrastic verb, contains no real meaning on its own. The OE '*don*' is often used as a full lexical verb. In ME, the periphrastic use, as an auxiliary, comes into being. However, I could not find any examples of 'do*'* used periphrastically in these *Orrmulum* texts. This

isn't surprising because it originates in ME in the (south) western region of England.
However, the full form of the verb is prevalent in the *Orrmulum* texts as 'do,' 'did,' and
'done,' as shown in examples (68 a-d).

(68)   Usage of 'do' in *The Orrmulum*

a) *Þiss sefennfald godleʒʒc þatt Crist Uss **dide** þurrh hiss are,*
                                               301 *Orrmulum* Dedication
    This seven-fold goodly that Christ Us did through his grace

b) *All forr þe náness. forr þatt he. Swa **wollde don** hiss lede. To ben all þess te mare*
                                               Orrmulum texts 2
    All for the purpose. For that he. So would do his people. To be all this the more

c) *Swa summ Sannt Awwstin sette; Icc **hafe don** swa summ þu badd,*
                                               10 *Orrmulum* Dedication
    So as Saint Augustine set/appoints; I have done so as you asked

d) *& forr þi birrþ himm stanndenn inn. **To don** wiþþ word & dede. Þatt hise lede
    lufenn himm.*   *Orrmulum* texts 3
    And for thy ought him stand in. To do with word and deed. That his people love
    him.

b) The Northern subject rule

It is hypothesized that Celtic influence is responsible for the Northern subject rule, a
grammatical pattern that is evident in northern ME and Middle Scots, and their present-
day dialects. Verbs in the present tense take a verbal –*s* suffix, unless they are directly
adjacent to one of the subject personal PNs: *I, you, we*, or *they,* in which the verb adds an
–*e* suffix (for plural agreement). For example, *the students write**s** – vs – they write*.
According to Vennemann (1999: 356-58), this type of agreement system is very rare, but

found in Celtic, Hebrew, and Arabic. The Northern subject rule also has close counterparts in the Brittonic languages of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. I was not able to locate examples of the Northern subject grammatical pattern in *The Orrmulum* texts. In Miller's view (2012), "the evidence for Celtic influence on OE is somewhat sparse, which only means that it remains elusive, not that it did not exist. … There are huge gaps in our knowledge of the relationships between English and Brittonic speakers and of the Celtic influence on English. It must have been more pervasive than meets the eye but the details remain elusive" (39-40).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

After the Norman Conquest, England was trilingual. Latin was the language of the Church, Norman French, the language of the government, and English was the language of the majority of the country's population. A series of events would loosen the ties to France – the loss of Normandy in 1204; and the Hundred Years' War, beginning in 1337, would give the deathblow to the already terminal use of French in England (Algeo and Pyles 2005: 125). Of particular importance to the conjecture that the predecessor to PDE grammar is that of the Danelaw, is the series of outbreaks of The Black Death, or bubonic plague, that raged throughout England between 1348 and 1375, killing a third to a half of the population. The situation produced a severe labor shortage and an employment vacuum in London, "much of which was soon filled by arrivals from the relatively heavily populated East Midlands counties. […] There is evidence of a marked population shift during the 14th century, with immigration to the London area highest from the counties of Norfolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, and later from counties farther north and west, but the majority from the East Midlands area" (Crystal 2004: 244). The written "'London dialect' which emerged from around 1400 was far closer to the writing characteristic of the East Midlands area than of any other" (Crystal 2004: 243). The standard set by the City of London scriveners in the Chancery, the translators of the ME Bible, and its publishers, and writings of Chaucer, and other scriveners and producers of literary manuscripts, produce materials in the standard of the East Midlands dialect. The influence of the London dialect eventually shaped Standard English.

This study has focused on morphological and syntactic changes that occurred after English and Scandinavian contact. ME has many North-Germanic syntactic features, prevalent in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*. The properties of a grammatical lexicon influence retention of syntactic patterns. Investigating how syntactic innovations present in the grammar of *The Orrmulum* fit into the broader picture regarding the socio-historical contact situation between speakers of ON and OE, may contribute to the current conversation of whether ME is a version of the Scandinavian brought to England by the Vikings. A summary of these findings indicates that ME and PDE grammar evolved from the Danelaw region of England.

Scholars argue on one side of the paradigm that English be considered "Anglicized Norse" (Emonds and Faarlund 2014). Scholars on the opposite end of the paradigm argue that evidence for language-contact relatedness is only permissible in "instances so distinctive they could not easily be explained by borrowing or accident" (Campbell and Poser 2008: 177; Bech and Walkden 2016). Other scholars, placed somewhere in the middle of this controversial paradigm, such as Miller (2012), account for certain aspects of the grammar of ME as shared innovations between ON and OE. For my research, I accounted for the shared grammatical innovations apparent in *The Orrmulum*, which scholars argue are of ON origin. I compared these syntactic and morphosyntactic features of ME to OE, ON, and to Celtic, in relation to formal grammaticalization theory, social factors, and historical events.

Findings from this study, provide evidence that Scandinavian, and Celtic, in contact with OE, is responsible for the grammatical syntax of ME and PDE. Internal motivation shaped the outcome of changes to the grammar, as discussed in chapter one. However, contact provided the catalyst for the changes. The innovative syntactic and morphosyntactic features that emerged in ME were compared to OE, ON, and to Celtic. In chapter two, I account for the grammatical innovations apparent in *The Orrmulum* texts, which scholars argue are of ON origin; and in chapter three, I account for the grammatical innovations apparent in *The Orrmulum* texts, which scholars argue are of Celtic origin.

The grammar in *The Orrmulum* texts exhibits morphological and syntactic properties which are arguably Scandinavian. The morphological legacy of Scandinavian contact, discussed in section 2.1, includes the 3rd-person-plural PN paradigm *they*; the Northern/Midland present participle, which would become the PDE participle *–ing*; nominals and participles ending in *–ing*; and the noun-plural *–es*, and genitive-singular *–es* suffixes. All of these morphological innovations are prevalent in the grammar of *The Orrmulum* texts,* as discussed in section 2.1.

The syntactic legacy of Scandinavian contact, discussed in section 2.2, includes the phrasal genitive, the reflexive *–self*, relative ellipsis and complementizer deletion, stranded prepositions, and changes in word order. Evidence of ON syntactic influence is prevalent in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*, and these syntactic innovations are a part of

the grammar of Orrm. Relative markers (complementizer deletion and relative ellipsis) are discussed in section 2.2.3. In ME, the relative PN was able to be deleted from introducing its complement, referred to as complementizer deletion or relative ellipsis. In these *Orrmulum* texts, however, Orrm is meticulous not to omit the relative PNs in subordinate clauses. Therefore, I could not account for any C-deletion. However, the syntax of *The Orrmulum* is quite modern, and relative ellipsis would be possible in some instances, according to PDE grammar.

The rather modern morphology and syntax in *The Orrmulum*, according to PDE grammar, provides evidence that PDE grammar not only shares North Germanic features, but also that our PDE grammar has evolved from the grammar of the Danelaw.

In chapter three, I discuss the legacy of Celtic influence evident in ME and in these *Orrmulum* texts. ME exhibits typological differences which distanced its grammar from other Germanic languages. Celtic influence that emerged in the grammar of both Old- and ME includes complexifications, simplifications, and regional influences.

Complexifications to a grammar generally occur in adstratal linguistic relationships, which involve childhood bilingualism. Complexifications, which occurred in English that are arguably of Celtic origin, include the English progressive, cleft sentences, and two paradigms of the verb '*to be*.' As discussed in section 3.1.1, the progressive construction,

cleft sentences, and the verb paradigm '*to be*,' are all robust features in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*.

Simplifications to a grammar generally occur in language contact situations when adults and post-adolescents, learning a new language, simplify a grammar. Simplifications, which occurred in English that are of Celtic origin, include the loss of the Germanic reflexive **sik* in OE, and the loss of the dative external possessor. In ME, and in these *Orrmulum* texts, the PDE reflexive form of a first-, second-, and third-person PN plus –*sellf(enn)* (–self) emerges. Scholarship agrees that the Indo-European reflexive form was lost due to Celtic influence. However, the addition of the –*self* as the reflexive form in ME, as evidenced in these *Orrmulum* texts, and in Jutland Danish, was perhaps an innovative way to express reflexivity in L2 discourse.

Dative external possessors are a feature of Germanic languages, including OE. Loss of the dative external possessor construction, among European languages, is limited to Britain. For this reason, its loss is attributed to Celtic influence. The loss of a dative external possessor is evident in the grammar of *The Orrmulum,* as discussed in section (3.1.2 b). The use of a dative external possessor is, however, also present in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*. Hopper and Traugott (2003) argue that syntactic structures of older and newer forms do occur side-by-side, as is the case with the dative external possessor in *The Orrmulum*. They suggest that competition between the constructions leads to a loss of the older form, as it happens with the loss of the dative external possessor in ME.

Late British/Celtic may have survived until the 10th century in the western counties of England, along with Wales and part of Scotland, as discussed in section 3.1.3. Regional Celtic influence in the grammar of English includes the periphrastic '*do*' and the northern subject rule. The periphrastic '*do*' emerges in ME in the (south) western region of England. Accordingly, in these *Orrmulum* texts, the periphrastic '*do*' does not occur; however, the full lexical verb is prevalent.

The Northern Subject Rule is evident in northern ME, Middle Scots, and in their present-day dialects. It has close counterparts in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton; however, I was not able to find any examples of the Northern Subject construction in these *Orrmulum* texts.

In conclusion, the evidence for Scandinavian influence in these *Orrmulum* texts is robust. Every morphological and syntactic feature in ME, which is arguably due to Scandinavian contact (the third-person-plural PN paradigm *they*; the Northern/Midland present participle *–ing*; nominals and participles ending in *–ing*; and the noun-plural *–es*, and genitive-singular *–es*; the phrasal genitive; the reflexive *–self*; relative ellipsis and complementizer deletion; stranded prepositions; and changes in word order), is accounted for in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*, except for C-deletion. However, the syntax in the grammar of *The Orrmulum* would permit C-deletion in PDE.

Evidence of Celtic influence in these *Orrmulum* texts is also present. Features that are considered to be complexifications due to Celtic (the progressive construction, cleft sentences, and the verb paradigm '*to be*,') as well as those features that are considered to be simplifications (the loss of the Germanic reflexive **sik* in OE, and the loss of the dative external possessor) are all features present in the grammar of *The Orrmulum*. Regional Celtic influences (the periphrastic '*do*' and the northern subject rule) are not, however, evident in *The Orrmulum*.

The findings from this study may contribute to the field of English linguistics by joining the conversation concerning the origins and development of linguistic features in English, through an investigation of sociolinguistic and linguistic-internal factors, on the basis of available evidence.

Some limitations of this study include an in-depth analysis of the internal syntactic changes that occurred in the grammar of ME. Additionally, the lexical heritage of Scandinavian contact in English was not addressed. Townend (2002) argues that the Anglo-Norse contact in Viking-age England was one of mutual intelligibility rather than one of bilingualism. There is evidence for Anglo-Saxon literary relations with Scandinavia. During the reign of Cnut, London may well have been skaldic poetry's center of production and distribution in the North (Bjork 2001: 389, citing Frank 1985: 179). "Poems seem to offer good evidence that in England, 'Anglo-Saxon and Norse poets could meet and hear each other perform'" (Bjork 2001: 396, citing Opland 1980:

170) There are numerous examples and analogies between Anglo-Saxon and ON literature yet to be investigated, which may provide further evidence of how language contact with Scandinavian shaped English.

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APPENDIX A

THE DOMESDAY BOOK

"the king's men … made a survey of all England; of all the lands in each of the counties; of the possessions of each of the magnates, their lands, their habitations, their men, both bond and free, living in huts or with their own houses or land; of ploughs, horses and other animals; of the services and payments due from each and every estate.
After these investigators came others who were sent to unfamiliar counties to check the first description and to denounce and wrong-doers to the king. And the land was troubled with many calamities arising from the gathering of the royal taxes."

(http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/compiling.html)

APPENDIX B

THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE

1137.   … When King Stephen came to England, he held his assembly at Oxford, and there he arrested Bishop Roger of Old Sarum and his nephews, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and Chancellor Roger, and put them all in prison until they surrendered their castles. When the traitors realized that he was a mild and soft and good man and did not enforce justice, they all committed terrible crimes. They had don him homage and sworn oaths, but they did not keep faith. All of them were forsworn and their pledges abandoned, for every powerful man built castles and held them against him – and they filled the country with work on castles; when the castles were built, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they seized those men who they thought had any property – men and women, both by night and by day – and put them in prison to get their gold and silver and tortured them with indescribable torture, for never were there any martyrs so tortured as they were. They were hung up by the feet and smoked with foul smoke. They were hung by the thumbs or by the head, and coats of mail were hung on their feet. Knotted string was placed about their heads and twisted until it went to the brain. They put them in a prison in which there were serpents and snakes and toads, and killed them that way. They put some into a torture house, that is in a chest that was short and narrow and shallow, and put sharp stones in it and pressed the man inside so that they broke all his limbs. In many of the castles there were filltes and snares – these were chain fetters one of which was all that two or three men could carry. It was adjusted in this way, namely, fastened to a beam, and they placed a sharp iron around the man's throat and his neck so that he could not [move] in any direction – neither sit nor lie nor sleep, but [had to] support the whole [weight of the] iron. They killed many thousands by starvation.

I neither know how to, nor can I, recount all the horrors and all the totures theaat they did to the wretched men in this country. And it lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and it kept gtting worse and worse. They regularly levied taxes on the villages and called it tallage. When the wretched men had nothing more to give, they robbed and burned all the villages sso that youmight easily go a whole day's journey [and] you would never find a man settled in a village or land tilled. Then grain was dear, also meat

and cheese and butter, because there was none in the country. Wretched men died of starvation; some went begging alms who at one time were rich men others fled the country….

(The Peterborough Chronical – Rositzke 1951: 159)

APPENDIX C

THE ORRMULUM TEXTS

- Orrmulum Homily

- Orrmulum Admonition to Kings and Lords

- Orrmulum Admonition to Soldiers

- Orrmulum Admonition to Eye-Witnesses

- Orrmulum Admonition to Priest and Congregation

- Orrmulum Admonition to Husbands and Wives

- Orrmulum Dedication

The Ormulum Homily vii/viii v 3264-3426

Nu wile icc here shæwenn 3uw;

Off ure laffdi3 mar3e.

Off - hu 3ho barr þe laferrd crist;

Att hire rihhte time.

Swa þatt 3ho þohh þæraffterr wass;

A33 ma33denn þweorrt ũt clene!

vii. Secundum lucam. Exíít edictum.

An romanisshe *ke33se*king.

Wass augusstuss 3ehatenn.

& he wass wurrþenn *ke33se*king;

Off all mannkinn onn eorþe.

& he gann þennkenn off himm sellf;

& off hiss miccle riche.

& he bigann to þennkenn þa;

Swa sum þe *boc uss* kiþeþþ.

Off - þatt he wollde witenn wel;

Hu mikell fehh himm come.

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3iff himm off all hiss kine|dom;

Illc mann an peninng 3æfe.

& he badd settenn upp o writt;

All mannkinn forr to lokenn.

Hu mikell fehh he mihhte swa;

Off all þe weorelld sammnenn.

Þurrh þatt himm shollde off illc an mann;

An pening wurrþenn reccnedd.

& ta wass sett tatt iwhillc mann.

Whær summ he wære o lande.

Ham shollde wendenn to þatt tun;

Þatt he wass borenn inne.

& tatt he shollde þær forr himm;

Hiss hæfeddpeninng reccnenn.

Swa þatt he 3æn þe *ke33se*king.
Ne felle nohht i wíte.

& i þatt illke time wass;

Iosæp wiþþ sannte mar3e.

I galilew. & i þatt tun;

Þatt nazaræþ wass nemmnedd.

& ta ðe33 baþe forenn ham;

Till þe33re baþre kinde.

Inntill þe land off 3errsalæm;

Þe33 forenn samenn baþe.

& comenn inntill beþþleæm;

Till þe33re baþre birde.

Þær wass hemm baþe birde to;

Forr þatt te33 baþe wærenn.

Off dauiþþ kingess kinness menn.

Swa summ þe goddspell kiþeþþ.

& dauiþþ kingess birde wass;

I beþþleæmess chesstre.

& hemm wass baþe birde þær;

Þurrh dauiþþ kingess birde.

Forr þatt te33 *wærenn off* hiss kinn;

& himm full neh bitahhte.

& sannte mar3ess time wass;

Þatt 3ho þa shollde childenn.

& tær 3ho barr allmahhti3 godd;

Ðatt all þiss weorelld wrohhte.

& wand himm sone i winndeclũt;

& le33de himm inn a cribbe.

Forrþi þatt 3ho ne wisste whær;

3ho mihhte himm don i bure.

& tohh þatt godd wass borenn þær.

Swa dærnelike onn eorþe.

& wundenn þær swa wreccheli3.

Wiþþ clutess inn a cribbe;

Ne wollde he nohht forrholenn ben.

Þohhwheþþre i þe33re clutess.

Acc wollde shæwenn whatt he wass;

Þurrh heofenlike takenn.

Forr sone anan affterr þatt he.

Wass borenn þær to manne;

Þær onnfasst i þatt illke land.

Wass | se3henn mikell takenn.

An enngell comm off heoffness ærd;

Inn aness weress hewe.

Till hirdess þær þær þe33 þatt nihht;
Biwokenn þe33re faldess.
Þatt enngell comm. & stod hemm bi;
Wiþþ heoffness lihht. & leome.
& forrþrihht summ þe33 sæ3henn himm;
Þe33 wurrdenn swiðe offdredde.
& godess enngell hemm bigann;
To frofrenn. & to beldenn.
& se33de hemm þuss o godess hallf;
Wiþþ swiþe milde spæche.
Ne beo 3e nohht forrdredde off me;
Acc beo 3e swiþe bliþe.
Forr icc amm sennd off heoffness ærd;
To kiþenn godess wille.
To kiþenn 3uw þatt all follc iss;
Nu cumenn mikell blisse.
Forr 3uw iss borenn nu to da33;
Hælennde off 3ure sinness.

An wennchell þatt iss iesu crist;

Þatt wĭte 3e to soþe.

& her onnfasst he borenn iss;

I dauiþþ kingess chesstre.

Þatt iss 3ehatenn beþþleæm;

I þiss iudisskenn birde.

& her icc wile shæwenn 3uw;

Summ þing to witerr tákenn.

3e shulenn findenn ænne child;

I winndeclutess wundenn.

& itt iss inn a cribbe le33d;

& tær 3ët mu3henn findenn.

& sone anan se þiss wass se33d.

Þurrh an off godess enngless;

A mikell hĕre off engleþeod.

Wass cumenn űt off heoffne.

& all þatt hirdeflocc hemm sahh;

& herrde whatt te33 sungenn.

Þe33 alle sungenn ænne sang;

Drihhtin to lofe. & wurrþe.

& tuss þe33 sungenn alle imæn;

Swa summ þe goddspell kiþeþþ.

Si drihhtin upp inn heoffness ærd;

Wurrþminnt. & loff. & wullderr.

& upponn eorþe griþþ. & friþþ;

Þurrh godess mildheorrtnesse.

Till iwhillc mann þatt habbenn shall;

God heorrte. & god*e* wille.

& sone anan se þiss wass þær.

Þurrh godess enngless awwnedd;

Þe33 wenndenn fra þa wăkemenn.
All űt off þe33re sihhþe.

Annd te33 þa sone tokenn þuss.
To spekenn hemm bitwenenn.
Ga we nu till þatt illke tun;
Þatt beþþleæm iss nemmnedd.
& loke we þatt illke word;
Þatt iss nu wrohht onn eorþe.
Þatt drihhtin godd uss hafeþþ wrohht;
& awwnedd þurrh hiss are.
& sone anan ðe33 3edenn forþ;
Till beþþle|æmess chesstre.
& fundenn sannte mar3e þær;
& iosæp hire macche.
& ec þe33 fundenn þær þe child;
Þær itt wass le33d i cribbe.
& ta þe33 unnderrstodenn wel;
Þatt word tatt godess enngless.
Hemm haffdenn awwnedd off þatt child;
Þatt te33 þær haffdenn fundenn.

& ta þe33 wenndenn hemm onn3æn;

Wiþþ rihhte læfe o criste.

& tokenn innwarrdlike godd;

To lofenn. & to þannkenn.

All þatt te33 haffdenn herrd off himm;

& se3henn þurrh hiss are.

& sone anan þe33 kiddenn forþ;

Amang iudisskenn þeode.

All þatt te33 haffdenn herrd off crist.

& se3henn wel wiþþ e3hne;

& iwhillc mann þatt herrde itt ohht;

Forrwunndredd wass þæroffe.

& ure laffdi3 mar3e toc;

All þatt 3ho sahh. & herrde.

& all 3hőt held inn hire þohht;

Swa summ þe goddspell kiþeþþ.

& le33de itt all tosamenn a33;

I swiþe þohhtfull heorrte.

All þatt 3ho sahh. & herrde off crist;

Whas moderr 3ho wass wurrþenn.

Ormulum admonition to kings & lords

Maþew þe goddspellwrihhte se33þ.
O þiss goddspelless lare.
Þatt tatt unnfæle herode king.
Wass gramm. & grill. & boll3henn.
Forrþrihht. son summ himm awwnedd wass.
Off þatt kalldisskenn genge.
Þatt cumenn wass inn till hiss land;
A new king forr to sekenn.
To lutenn himm. to lakenn himm.
To bu3henn himm o cnewwess.
& wen iss þatt he wass forrdredd.
& serrhfull inn hiss herrte.
Forr þatt he wennde þatt tatt follc.
Upp onn himm cumenn wære.
Wiþþ strenncþe forr to niþþrenn himm.
To wannsenn himm hiss riche.
& wel itt mihhte ben þatt he.
Wass gramm & grill & boll3henn.
All forr þe náness. forr þatt he.
Swa wollde don hiss lede.
To ben all þess te mare offdredd.
Off himm. & off hiss e33e.
Forr 3iff þe riche mann iss braþ.
& grimme. & tór to cwemenn;
Hiss lede þatt iss unnderr himm.
Himm dredeþþ þess te mare.
& tohh swa þehh ne till þe follc.
Ne till þe laferrd nowwþerr.

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Niss þatt nohht þwerrt üt god inoh.

Till þe33re sawle berrhless.

Þatt he be grimme. & a3hefull.

& braþ & tór to cwemenn.

Forr he ma33 ben swa grimme mann;

Þatt he beþ laþ hiss lede.

& tatt iss e33þerr himm & hemm.

Unnhalsumm to þe sawle.

& forr þi birrþ himm stanndenn inn.

To don wiþþ word & dede.

Þatt hise lede lufenn himm.

& blettcenn himm wiþþ herrte.

Forr þatt iss himm & ec hiss follc.

God hellpe to þe sawle.

& tohh swa þehh iss ned tatt he.

Dredinng. & a3he sette.

Onn alle þa þatt lufenn toþþ.

& woh & unnsahhtnesse.

To don hemm foll3henn la3he. & griþþ.

All þe33re æbære unnþannkess;

3iff þatt te33 þe33re þannkess griþþ.

Ne kepenn nohht to foll3henn.

Forr miccle bettre iss to þe mann.

Wiþþ lif. & ec wiþþ sawle.

To don all hiss unnþannkess god;

Þan ifell hise þannkess.

Ormulum admonition to soldiers

& ec þær comenn to þe flumm.
Þe ke33se kingess cnihhtess.
Till sannt iohan. to fra33nenn himm.
Off þe33re sawle nede.
& sannt iohan hemm se33de þuss.
3iff þatt 3e wel 3uw lokenn.
Fra clake. & sake. & fra þatt toþþ.
Þatt foll3heþþ 3iferrnesse.
Þatt holeþþ o þe la3he follc.
& rippeþþ hemm. & ræfeþþ.
& 3iff 3e tellenn forr inoh.
Þatt tatt te king 3uw findeþþ;
Þa mu3he 3e þurrh clene lif.
Wel hellpenn 3ure sawless.
Her he forrbæd te cnihhtess ec.
To foll3henn 3iferrnesse.
To sekenn sakess o þe follc;
To rippenn hemm. & ræfenn.
Forr 3iferrnesse iss hæfedd plihht;
& foll3heþþ helless bisne.
Forr hellepitt niss næfre full;
Ne 3iferrnesse nowwþerr.
Forr wha se itt iss þatt gredi3 iss.
& 3iferr affterr ahhte;
A33 alls he mare. & mare gett;

A33 lisste himm affterr mare.

& nohht ne ma33 he wurrþenn full.

To winnenn eorþlic ahhte;

Na mar þann helle ma33 beon full.

To swoll3henn menness sawless.

Þe cnihhtess wærenn wæpnedd follc;

To fihhtenn forr þe leode.

To werenn hemm wiþþ wiþerr þeod;

Þatt wollde hemm oferrganngenn.

& 3iff þe33 haffdenn lefe till.

All affterr þe33re wille.

To takenn off þe la3heleod.

Þatt tatt te33 sholldenn nittenn;

Þe33 munndenn fon att oferrdon.

Þurrh sinnfull 3iferrnesse.

& forr þi fand hemm þe33re king;

All þatt te33 sholldenn nittenn.

Þatt te33 ne sholldenn nohht te follc;

Þurrh 3iferrnesse rippenn.

& forr þi badd hemm sannt iohan;

Forrbu3henn 3iferrnesse.

& letenn iwhillc oþerr man;

Wel brukenn all hiss a3henn.

Ormulum admonition to eye-witnesses and victims of prosecution

Crist 3aff hiss a3henn lefe lif.

To þolenn dæþ o rode.

Forr hise posstless. & forr þe;

& forr all follke nede.

Forr swa to lesenn all mannkinn;

Üt off þe deofless walde.

& te birrþ foll3henn cristess sloþ.

& te birrþ wìlenn swelltenn.

Forr cristess þeowwess. 3iff mann hemm.

All saccless wìle cwellenn.

Forr swa to cwennkenn crisstenndom.

& cristess la3hess dill3henn.

3iff þatt mann wìle crisstenndom.

& cristess name dill3henn;

Þa birrþ þe stanndenn þær onn3æn.

& werenn cristess þeowwess.

& cristess name. & crisstenndom;

Whil þatt ti lif þe lassteþþ.

& forr þe soþe lufe off crist.

& ec off cristess þeowwess;

Þe birrþ 3iff þatt te falleþþ swa;

Full bliþelike swelltenn.

& ta þu foll3hesst opennli3;

Þe laferrd cristess bisne.

Þatt forr mannkinne lufe swallt;

Full bliþelike o rode.

& ec þe laferrd crist attflæh;

Forr þe to gifenn bisne.

Þatt tu mihht flen. & berr3henn swa.

Þi lif wiþþ godess lefe;

& shunenn þa þatt wilenn þe.

Wiþþ utenn gillte cwellenn;

3iff þu ne mihht nohht habbenn 3ët.

God lusst. god mahht. god wille.

To þolenn marrtirdom forr crist;

& forr þe rihhte læfe.

Ormulum admonition to priest & congregation

Nu loke 3ure preost tatt he;

3uw bliþelike spelle.

Þatt he 3uw illke sunennda33;

Att allre læste lære.

Off all. hu 3uw birrþ ledenn 3uw;

& lefenn upp o criste.

& lufenn godd. & lufenn mann;

& godess la3hess haldenn.

& 3uw birrþ swiþe bliþeli3;

3uw turrnenn till hiss lare.

& haldenn itt. & foll3henn itt;

A33 affterr 3ure mihhte.

Nu - 3iff þatt 3ure preost. & 3e.

Þuss farenn 3uw bitwenenn;

Þa ma33 ben god till 3ure preost.

& till 3uw sellfenn baþe;

Þatt tatt iudisskenn preost wass swa;

Bihenngedd all wiþþ belless.

& tatt himm wass swa mikell ned;

Þatt godd hemm herrde ringenn!

& te birrþ cnelenn to þi godd.

& lutenn himm. & lakenn.

& te birrþ lufenn wel þi preost;

& lutenn himm & lefftenn.

3ët forrþenn þohh he nohht ne beo;

Swa god mann summ himm birrde.

& loc þatt tu ne tæle himm nohht;

Þohh þatt he beo to tælenn.

Forr ʒiff þe preost missdoþ. hët shall.

Wiþþ cristess hellpe betenn.

& ʒiff þatt hët ne beteþþ nohht;

Itt draʒheþþ himm till helle.

& ʒiff þi preost missdoþ. þe birrþ.

Full innwarrdlike biddenn.

Þatt drihhtin ʒife himm wille & mahht;

To betenn hise sinness.

Forr ʒiff þu biddesst forr þi preost;

Þu biddesst forr þe sellfenn.

& cwemesst godd þurrh þatt tatt tu

Swa biddesst forr ʒunnc baþe.

& tatt te laferrd iesu crist.

Wass fundenn i þe temmple.

Bitwenenn þatt iudisskenn flocc.

Þatt læredd wass o boke.

Þær þær he satt to fraʒʒnenn hemm.

Off heore bokess lare;

Þatt wass ʒuw bisne god inoh.

Loc ʒiff ʒët wilenn follʒhenn.

Þatt ʒuw birrþ ʒeorne stanndenn inn.

To fraʒʒnenn ʒure preostess.

Off all. hu ʒuw birrþ ledenn ʒuw;

& lefenn upp o criste.

Hu ʒuw birrþ follʒhenn cristess sloþ.

& cristess laʒhess haldenn.

& stanndenn ʒæn þe laþe gast;

& winnenn cristess are.

Forr ʒuw birrþ upp o kirrkeflor;

Beon fundenn offte. & lannge.

To lisstenn whatt te preost ʒuw seʒʒþ;

Off ʒure sawle nede.

Ormulum admonition to husbands & wives

Þi macche birrþ þe lufenn wel;

ȝiff þatt ȝho drihhtin dredeþþ.

& tu mihht follȝenn hire will;

Inn all þatt niss na sinne.

Inn all þatt ȝho ȝeorneþþ wiþþ skill.

To ȝunnkerr baþre gode.

& ȝiff þatt iss þatt ȝho iss all.

Wittlæs. & wac. & wicke;

All birrþ þe don þi mahht tærto.

To ȝemenn hire. & gætenn.

Swa þatt ȝho muȝhe borrȝhenn beon.

Att hire lifess ende.

Forr ȝiff þatt ȝho iss gætelæs.

& eȝȝelæs. & wilde;

ȝho gillteþþ skët. & ȝiff þüt wast.

& te niss nohht tær offe;

Þa narrt tu nohht all sinnelæs.

Off - þatt ȝho liþ i sinne.

& ȝiff þi macche iss wis. & god.

& tu wittlæs. & wicke;

Þa birrþ þi macche gætenn þe.

All þatt ȝho maȝȝ fra sinne.

Forr eȝȝþerr birrþ þurrh oþerr beon;

Hollpenn to wurrþenn borrȝhenn.

& ȝiff ȝitt baþe follȝenn rihht.

& lufenn godd. & drædenn;

& haldenn ȝunnkerr cristenndom.

Wel affterr ȝunnkerr mihhte.

Swa þatt ȝitt baþe ledenn ȝunnc.
Clennlike ȝunnc bitwenenn;
Þa follȝhe ȝitt tatt narrwe stih.
Þatt ledeþþ ȝunnc till heoffne;
ȝiff þatt ȝitt endenn ȝunnkerr lif.
All affterr cristess wille.
Wiþþ all þe rihhte læfe o godd;
& all i gode dedes.
Wiþþ lufe towarrd alle menn;
Wiþþ husell. & wiþþ shriffte.
& ȝunnc birrþ nimenn mikell gom;
To þæwenn ȝunnkerr chilldre.
& ȝunnc birrþ ȝeorne lærenn hemm.
To lufenn godd. & drædenn.
ȝiff þatt ȝitt nilenn wraþþenn godd;
Þurrh sinnfull ȝemelæste.
& ȝunnc birrþ ȝunnkerr leȝhe menn.
Rihht laȝhelike ledenn.
Swa þatt ȝitt nohht att hofelæs.
Ne nede þeȝȝm to swinnkenn.
Forr ȝunnc birrþ witenn swiþe wel.
& innwarrdlike trowwenn.
Þatt niss bitwenenn ȝunnc. & hemm.
Nan shæd i manness kinde.
& tatt teȝȝ muȝhenn gode beon.
Biforenn godess ehne.
& tatt ȝitt muȝhenn wraþþenn godd;
ȝiff ȝitt hemm oferrbedenn.
& heore leȝhe birrþ hemm beon;
Rædiȝ þann itt iss addledd.

Forr þatt iss godess bodeword.

Loc 3iff þu willt itt foll3henn.

Þatt heore da33whammlike swinnc.

Beo da33whammlike hemm 3oldenn.

& hemm birrþ. 3iff þatt hemm iss laþ.

Full hefi3li3 to gilltenn;

Beon ar. & làte o 3unnkerr weorrc.

& 3eorrnfull a33 þæronne.

Forr 3iff þe33 wirrkenn 3unnkerr weorrc.

Forrwurrþennlike. & ille;

Þa gilltenn þe33 full hefi3li3.

3æn godd. & 3æn 3unnc baþe.

Ormulum dedication

Nu, broþerr Wallterr, broþerr min
Affterr þe flæshess kinde;
& broþerr min i Crisstenndom
Þurrh fulluhht & þurrh trowwþe;
& broþerr min i Godess hus, 5
3ët o þe þride wise,
Þurrh þatt witt hafenn takenn ba
An re3hellboc to foll3henn,
Unnderr kanunnkess had & lif,
Swa summ Sannt Awwstin sette; 10
Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd,
& forþedd te þin wille,
Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh
Goddspelless hall3he láre,
Affterr þatt little witt þatt me 15
Min Drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd.
Þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihhte wel
Till mikell frame turrnenn,
3iff Ennglissh follc, forr lufe off Crist,
Itt wollde 3erne lernenn, 20
& foll3henn itt, & fillenn itt
Wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word, wiþþ dede.
& forrþi 3errndesst tu þatt icc
Þiss werrc þe shollde wirrkenn;
& icc itt hafe forþedd te, 25
Acc all þurrh Cristess hellpe;
& unnc birrþ baþe þannkenn Crist
Þatt itt iss brohht till ende.

Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc

Þa Goddspelless neh alle, 30

Þatt sinndenn o þe messeboc

Inn all þe 3er att messe.

& a33 affterr þe Goddspell stannt

Þatt tatt te Goddspell meneþþ,

Þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe follc 35

Off þe33re sawle nede;

& 3ët tær tekenn mare inoh

Þu shallt tæronne findenn,

Off þatt tatt Cristess hall3he þed

Birrþ trowwenn wel & foll3henn. 40

Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc

Amang Goddspelless wordess,

All þurrh me sellfenn, mani3 word

Þe ríme swa to fillenn;

Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word, 45

E33whær þær itt iss ekedd,

Ma33 hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt

To sen & tunnderrstanndenn

All þess te bettre, hu þe33m birrþ

Þe Goddspell unnderrstanndenn; 50

& forrþi trowwe icc þatt te birrþ

Wel þolenn mine wordess,

E33whær þær þu shallt findenn hemm

Amang Goddspelless wordess.

Forr whase mőt to læwedd follc 55

Larspell off Goddspell tellenn,

He mőt wel ekenn mani3 word

Amang Goddspelless wordess.

& icc ne mihhte nohht min ferrs

A33 wiþþ Goddspelless wordess 60

Wel fillenn all, & all forrþi

Shollde icc wel offte nede

Amang Goddspelless wordess don

Min word, min ferrs to fillenn.

& te bitæche icc off þiss boc, 65

Heh wikenn alls itt semeþþ,

All to þurrhsekenn illc an ferrs,

& to þurrhlokenn offte,

Þatt upponn all þiss boc ne be

Nan word 3æn Cristess lare, 70

Nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be

To trowwenn & to foll3henn.

Witt shulenn tredenn unnderrfőt

& all þwerrt űt forrwerrpenn

Þe dom off all þatt laþe flocc, 75

Þatt iss þurrh niþ forrblendedd,

Þatt tæleþþ þatt to lofenn iss,

Þurrh niþfull modi3nesse.

Þe33 shulenn laëtenn hæþeli3

Off unnkerr swinnc, lef broþerr; 80

& all þe33 shulenn takenn itt

Onn unnitt & onn idell;

Acc nohht þurrh skill, acc all þurrh niþ,

& all þurrh þe33re sinne.

& unnc birrþ biddenn Godd tatt he 85

Forr3ife hemm here sinne;

& unnc birrþ baþe lofenn Godd

Off þatt itt wass bigunnenn,

& þannkenn Godd tatt itt iss brohht

Till ende, þurrh hiss hellpe; 90

Forr itt ma33 hellpenn alle þa

Þatt bliþelike itt herenn,

& lufenn itt, & foll3henn itt

Wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word, wiþþ dede.

& whase wilenn shall þiss boc 95

Efft oþerr siþe writenn,

Himm bidde icc þatt hët wríte rihht,

Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ,

All þwerrt űt affterr þatt itt iss

Uppo þiss firrste bisne, 100

Wiþþ all swillc ríme alls her iss sett,

Wiþþ all se fele wordess;

& tatt he loke wel þatt he

An bocstaff wríte twi33ess,

E33whær þær itt uppo þiss boc 105

Iss wri3tenn o þatt wise.

Loke he well þatt hët write swa,

Forr he ne ma33 nohht elless

Onn Ennglissh wríttenn rihht te word,

Þatt wite he wel to soþe. 110

& 3iff mann wile wi3tenn whi

Icc hafe don þiss dede,

Whi icc till Ennglissh hafe wennd

Goddspelless hall3he lare;

Icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all 115

Crisstene follkess berrhless

Iss lang uppo þatt an, þatt te33

Goddspelless hall3he lare

111

Wiþþ fulle mahhte follȝhe rihht
Þurrh þohht, þurrh word, þurrh dede. 120
Forr all þatt æfre onn erþe iss ned
Crisstene follc to follȝhenn
I trowwþe, i dede, all tæcheþþ hemm
Goddspelless hallȝhe lare.
& forrþi whase lerneþþ itt 125
& follȝheþþ itt wiþþ dede,
He shall onn ende wurrþi ben
Þurrh Godd to wurrþenn borrȝhenn.
& tærfore hafe icc turrnedd itt
Inntill Ennglisshe spæche, 130
Forr þatt I wollde bliþeliȝ
Þatt all Ennglisshe lede
Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt,
Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn,
Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt, 135
Wiþþ dede shollde itt follȝhenn,
To winnenn unnderr Crisstenndom
Att Godd soþ sawle berrhless.
& ȝiff þeȝȝ wilenn herenn itt,
& follȝhenn itt wiþþ dede, 140
Icc hafe hemm hollpenn unnderr Crist
To winnenn þeȝȝre berrhless.
& I shall hafenn forr min swinnc
God læn att Godd onn ende,
ȝiff þatt I, forr þe lufe off Godd 145
& forr þe mede off heffne,
Hemm hafe itt inntill Ennglissh wennd
Forr þeȝȝre sawle nede.

112

& 3iff þe33 all forrwerrpenn itt,

Itt turrneþþ hemm till sinne, 150

& I shall hafenn addledd me

Þe Laferrd Cristess are,

Þurrh þatt icc hafe hemm wrohht tiss boc

To þe33re sawle nede,

Þohh þatt te33 all forrwerrpenn itt 155

Þurrh þe33re modi3nesse.

Goddspell onn Ennglissh nemmnedd iss

God word, & god tiþennde,

God errnde, forrþi þatt itt wass

Þurrh hall3he Goddspellwrihhtess 160

All wrohht & wri3tenn uppo boc

Off Cristess firste come,

Off hu soþ Godd wass wurrþenn mann

Forr all mannkinne nede,

& off þatt mannkinn þurrh hiss dæþ 165

Wass lesedd űt off helle,

& off þatt he wisslike ras

Þe þridde da33 off dæþe,

& off þatt he wisslike stah

Þa siþþenn upp till heffne, 170

& off þatt he shall cumenn efft

To demenn alle þede,

& forr to 3eldenn iwhillc mann

Affterr hiss a3henn dede.

Off all þiss god uss brinngeþþ word 175

& errnde & god tiþennde

Goddspell, & forrþi ma33 itt wel

God errnde ben 3ehatenn.

113

Forr mann ma33 uppo Goddspellboc

Godnessess findenn seffne 180

Þatt ure Laferrd Jesu Crist

Uss hafeþþ don onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt he comm to manne, & þurrh

Þatt he warrþ mann onn erþe.

Forr an godnesse uss hafeþþ don 185

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt he comm to wurrþenn mann

Forr all mannkinne nede.

Oþerr godnesse uss hafeþþ don

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe, 190

Þurrh þatt he wass i flumm Jorrdan

Fullhtnedd forr ure nede;

Forr þatt he wollde uss waterrkinn

Till ure fulluhht hall3henn,

Þurrh þatt he wollde ben himm sellf 195

Onn erþe i waterr fullhtnedd.

Þe þridde god uss hafeþþ don

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt he 3aff hiss a3henn lif

Wiþþ all hiss fulle wille, 200

To þolenn dæþþ o rodetre

Sacclæs wiþþutenn wrihhte,

To lesenn mannkinn þurrh his dæþ

Űt off þe defless walde.

Þe ferþe god uss hafeþþ don 205

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt hiss hall3he sawle stah

Fra rode dun till helle,

To takenn ūt off helle wa

Þa gode sawless alle, 210

Þatt haffdenn cwemmd himm i þiss lif

Þurrh soþ unnshaþi3nesse.

Þe fifte god uss hafeþþ don

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt he ras forr ure god 215

Þe þridde da33 off dæþe,

& lĕt te posstless sen himm wel

Inn hiss mennisske kinde;

Forr þatt he wollde fesstnenn swa

Soþ trowwþe i þe33re brestess 220

Off þatt he, wiss to fulle soþ,

Wass risenn upp off dæþe,

& i þatt illke flæsh þatt wass

Forr uss o rode na33ledd;

Forr þatt he wollde fesstnenn wel 225

Þiss trowwþe i þe33re brestess,

He lĕt te posstless sen himm wel

Well offte siþe onn erþe,

Wiþþinnenn da33ess fowwerrti3

Fra þatt he ras off dæþe, 230

Þe sexte god uss hafeþþ don

Þe Laferrd Crist onn erþe,

Þurrh þatt he stah forr ure god

Upp inntill heffness blisse,

& sennde siþþenn Hali3 Gast 235

Till hise Lerninngcnihhtess,

To frofrenn & to beldenn hemm

To stanndenn 3æn þe defell,

To gifenn hemm god witt inoh

Off all hiss hall3he lare, 240

To gifenn hemm god lusst, god mahht,

To þolenn alle wawenn,

All forr þe lufe off Godd, & nohht

Forr erþli3 loff to winnenn.

Þe seffnde god uss shall 3ë don 245

Þe Laferrd Crist onn ende,

Þurrh þatt he shall o Domess da33

Uss gifenn heffness blisse,

3iff þatt we shulenn wurrþi ben

To findenn Godess are. 250

Þuss hafeþþ ure Laferrd Crist

Uss don godnessess seffne,

Þurrh þatt tatt he to manne comm,

To wurrþenn mann onn erþe.

& o þatt hall3he boc þatt iss 255

Apokalypsis nemmnedd

Uss wrät te posstell Sannt Johan,

Þurrh Hali3 Gastess lare,

Þatt he sahh upp inn heffne an boc

Bisett wiþþ seffne innse33less, 260

& sperrd swa swiþe wel þatt itt

Ne mihhte nan wihht oppnenn,

Wiþþutenn Godess hall3he Lamb

Þatt he sahh ec inn heffne.

& þurrh þa seffne innse33less wass 265

Rihht swiÞe wel bitacnedd

Þatt sefennfald godle33c þatt Crist

Uss dide þurrh hiss come;

116

& tatt nan wihht ne mihhte nohht

Oppnenn þa seffne innse33less, 270

Wiþþutenn Godess Lamb, þatt comm,

Forr þatt itt shollde tacnenn

Þatt nan wihht, nan enngell, nan mann,

Ne naness kinness shaffte,

Ne mihhte þurrh himm sellfenn þa 275

Seffne godnessess shæwenn

O mannkinn, swa þatt itt mannkinn

Off helle mihhte lesenn,

Ne gifenn mannkinn lusst, ne mahht,

To winnenn heffness blisse. 280

& all all swa se Godess Lamb,

All þurrh hiss a3henn mahhte,

Lihhtlike mihhte & wel inoh

Þa seffne innse33less oppnenn,

All swa þe Laferrd Jesu Crist, 285

All þurrh his a3henn mahhte,

Wiþþ Faderr & wiþþ Hali3 Gast

An Godd & all an kinde,

All swa rihht he lihhtlike inoh

& wel wiþþ alle mihhte 290

O mannkinn þurrh himm sellfenn þa

Seffne godnessess shæwenn,

Swa þatt he mannkinn wel inoh

Off helle mihhte lesenn,

& gifenn mannkinn lufe & lusst, 295

& mahht & witt & wille,

To stanndenn inn to cwemenn Godd,

To wi3nenn heffness blisse.

117

& forr þatt hali3 Goddspellboc

All þiss godnesse uss shæweþþ, 300

Þiss sefennfald godle33c þatt Crist

Uss dide þurrh hiss are,

Forrþi birrþ all Crisstene follc

Goddspelless lare foll3henn.

& tærfore hafe icc turrnedd itt 305

Inntill Ennglisshe spæche,

Forr þatt I wollde bliþeli3

Þatt all Ennglisshe lede

Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt,

Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn, 310

Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt,

Wiþþ dede shollde itt foll3henn,

To winnenn unnderr Crisstenndom

Att Crist soþ sawle berrhless.

& Godd Allmahhti3 3ife uss mahht 315

& lusst & witt & wille,

To foll3henn þiss Ennglisshe boc

Þatt all iss hali3 lare,

Swa þatt we motenn wurrþi ben

To brukenn heffness blisse. 320

Am[æn]. Am[æn]. Am[æn];·

Icc. þatt tiss ennglissh hafe sett.

Ennglisshe menn to lare;

Icc wass þær þær i crisstnedd wass.

Orrmin bi name nemmnedd.

& icc orrmin full innwarrdli3. 325

Wiþþ muþ. & ec wiþþ herrte.

Her bidde þa crisstene menn.

Þatt herenn oþerr rédenn.

Þiss boc; hemm bidde icc her þatt te33.

Forr me þiss bede biddenn. 330

Þatt broþerr þatt tiss ennglissh writt.

Allræresst wrät. & wrohhte;

Þatt broþerr forr hiss swinnc to læn;

Soþ blisse móte findenn. Amæn.

Þa Goddspelless alle þatt icc 335

Her o þiss boc ma33 findenn,

Hemm alle wile icc nemmnenn her

Bi þe33re firrste wordess.

& tale wile icc settenn to,

To don 3uw tunnderrstanndenn, 340

Hu féle sinndenn o þiss boc

Goddspelless unnderr alle.

(http://members.optus.net/englesaxe/texts/ormulum_original.html)