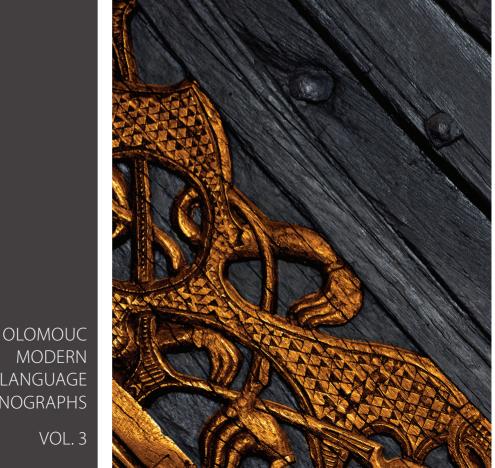Joseph Embley Emonds and Jan Terje Faarlund

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Acknowledgements

Reviewing Process

Finally, we would also like to thank four reviewers, all distinguished scholars in the field of English and/or Scandinavian languages, who read the text at some stage of its coming into existence. Their remarks and comments were often of great help. Two of them reviewed the complete final version of the monograph in accordance with the Czech publishing procedure. Their reviews are at the publisher's and available on request.

Short Biographies of the Authors

Several books by the authors have been incorporated into the References.

Joseph Embley Emonds received an MA in mathematics at the University of Kansas in 1964. After teaching for a year at the U.S. Naval Academy, he studied linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After a year at the University of Illinois Center for Advanced Study and a year teaching at the Université de Paris VIII, he received his PhD from MIT in 1970. He was Assistant and Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles (1970–1979). In this period he also taught at Princeton University and at the Université de Paris VII, and received a Guggenheim Fellowship.

He then became Professor of Linguistics at the University of Washington (1980–1991).This period included a year at the Stanford Center for Advanced Study and semesters at the Universities of Aix-Marseille and Paris VIII.

He was a teaching fellow at Tilburg University (1992) and then Professor of English Language at the University of Durham (1992–2000), where he joined the European Science Foundation Eurotyp Project. He was a visiting professor at Kanda University of International Studies, a fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Science, and a research fellow at Nanzan University. In 2000–2007, he was Professor of Linguistics at Kobe Shoin University.

In 2007–2009 he taught for two semesters at the University of Vienna and spent one year as a Research Fellow at the University of the Basque Country. Since 2010, he has been Professor of English at Tomas Bata University in Zlín and, since 2012, Visiting Professor of English at Palacký University in the Czech Republic.

Jan Terje Faarlund, after graduating in Scandinavian linguistics from the University of Oslo in 1974, taught at the University of Trondheim, as a full professor from 1981 until 1997, interrupted by two periods (1979–80 and 1983–85) serving as professor of linguistics and Norwegian Studies at the University of Chicago. During this period he also worked on the European Science Foundation Eurotyp Project.

He was a professor of Scandinavian Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Oslo from 1998 to 2013. In 2004/5 he led an international research group at the Centre for Advanced Study in the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters in Oslo. He is now a research coordinator at the Centre for the Study of Mind in Nature (a center of excellence at the University of Oslo).

He has been a visiting professor and guest lecturer at several universities abroad, including University College London, Universität Hamburg, Moscow State University, Universitá di Studii di Napoli, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, and Yamagata University, Japan.

Faarlund's main fields of research are mainly within syntactic theory, the theory of grammatical variation and change, and also Mesoamerican languages. He has also been involved in work related to typology, the theory of science, and questions concerning language and evolution.

Faarlund is an elected member of the Philological Society, the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, and the Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters, and he has received the Gad Rausing Prize from the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters.

Preface: The Method of Syntax in Language History

Ludmila Veselovská (Palacký University)

This book seems rather special in several different ways: first, in its content, second, in its implications for future research, third, in its method, fourth, in what it teaches us about traditional historical scholarship in linguistics, and fifth, in its place, time, and mode of publication (its place in this series). I do not try to rank these in any special way, but nonetheless I feel that all these aspects of this study are important. Of course, as the series editor, I have an interest in focusing on its strengths, but on the other hand, if it did not have these strengths, I would not have troubled, much less asked, to write these remarks. I will discuss each of these aspects in the order in which they are mentioned above.

(i)   **Content**. It is probably the content of this study that is its easiest aspect to understand and its most entertaining one, at least for a linguist like myself who is not specialized in diachronic linguistics or in any forms of Germanic other than Modern English. Schematically, the content is simple: Modern English and its predecessor Middle English are continuations of the early unwritten Scandinavian language spoken by the Danes and Norwegians who, following the Viking invasions, settled in England for two hundred years before the Norman Conquest. In fact, the first such settlers probably *were* Vikings, that is, the ones who after having come, seen, and conquered, liked it and stayed on. This understanding of the contents justifies the more or less metaphoric title of the book.

This monograph claims that Middle and Modern English are not descendants of "Old English," the language of *Beowulf* and the Venerable Bede, the language which holds a place of honor as the ancestor of English in hundreds of English departments around the world. It argues that rather, especially after the Norman Conquest, there was a competition between Old English and the language of the Scandinavian settlers as to which would become the sole national language of England. The latter, which the authors call "Anglicized Norse" in this book, won out, at least in terms of grammar.

The chapters on the sources of the (Early Middle) English lexicon make clear that this competition, while real enough, was not a hostile

one. In fact, the book argues that after they were deprived of property and power by the Normans, both the Norse and the Anglo-Saxons made an effort, and succeeded, in creating a new lexicon which was hardly recognizable as being closely related to either Old English or to Old Norse, a new kind of "lexical amalgam." Here there was not competition but cooperation between the two peoples, who found themselves in the same subjugated position with respect to the ruling Normans. The real competition was not between lexicons, but between the underlying grammatical systems, although, as is the case worldwide, speakers in England after the Conquest were essentially not conscious at all of the grammars they were using (while they were conscious of words, and took them from both the source languages). This book tries to demonstrate that during all this lexical sharing, the grammar of the new generations nonetheless became unambiguously that of the Scandinavians in England, that is, the grammar of the settled descendants of the Vikings.

(ii) **Future research.** The arguments for this "content" or main hypothesis are the subject matter of this book, especially from Chapter 3 on, and it is not for me to review them here. But there is a consequence of this content for further research which the authors barely mention. If their hypothesis is correct, what will become interesting is the research undertaken by Old Scandinavian specialists based on trying to read the earliest Middle English as Scandinavian texts, with, of course, many intrusions from Old English and perhaps other sources. The book is thus also special in that it suggests quite a new slant on Middle English vocabulary.

Moreover, this book has challenged the assumption that a core of Middle English vocabulary can be attributed to Old English, independently of reference to a central Scandinavian component. What is made strange by the hypothesis proposed here is the existence of significant numbers of Old English words in Middle English which lack Norse cognates. It is probably fair to say that most current scholars of Middle English have next to no idea of exactly which vocabulary items lack such cognates, and yet this is now important. If this book is on the right track, such knowledge needs to grow and be systematized, so

that reasons can be found for why Middle English incorporated certain words from Old English and not others.

For example, here are some Modern English content words that survive from Old English and for which *there seem to be no cognates* in Scandinavian or Romance; they are not so easy to collect (pers. comm. with JE and JTF): *abide*, *bird*, *body*, *evening*, *evil*, *game*, *itch*, *keep*, *laugh*, *meadow*, *mouth*, *nest*, *old*, *path*, *pretty*, *read*, *shadow*, *sheep*, *thimble*, *vat*, and *walk*. For several of these concepts, one can imagine why they might have been borrowed: the early settlers experienced them differently and/or much more frequently in England than in Scandinavia, e.g., *game*, *meadow*, *path*, *read*, *sheep*, *thimble*, and *vat*. For me, here, this kind of speculation is pure guesswork. For others, this area should lead to interesting lexical and historical research. Those most suited to it would be those with a good knowledge of Old Scandinavian. Section 1.4 suggests some areas of vocabulary where such borrowings might be culturally expected.

(iii)   **The method of this book.** Diachronic linguistic studies traditionally concentrate on the development of vocabulary or on the description of phonetic change. The latter is not discussed at all in this book and vocabulary is covered only partially. The main content of this book is a syntactic hypothesis: Middle English has the syntax of the language of the Vikings and their settled descendants. Therefore, it is not surprising that its method of research consists of syntactic comparisons: Middle English syntax is compared to that of Old Scandinavian, Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages, Old English, and West Germanic languages such as Dutch and German. The surprising thing, in fact, is how rarely diachronic linguistic scholarship has used syntactic argumentation, of the type found in, say, Lightfoot (1979). Full-length books such as Roberts and Battye (1994) which focus on formally describing syntactic changes were rare before 2000.

Because the depth and structure of the syntactic analyses remain rather transparent (though the analyses of stranded prepositions and split infinitives are somewhat more deductive), they are accessible to readers not steeped in syntactic theory. At the same time, the authors claim that languages in a given stage of their development either have

a given construction (e.g., subject raising, head-initial order, productive pre-verbal particles, split infinitives, stranded prepositions, etc.) or they do not.

This syntactic method of comparison again makes this study special, since so many treatments of syntactic change seem to adhere to a syntactic view which perceives the language system as a collection of unrelated constructions, each of which has an independent life. In this kind of "flower garden model" of historical syntax, an attested construction or a collocation is given a label, and then the researcher is content to list the first and last blooms of this flower and to describe the time intervals during which the flower is most abundant and when it decreases in frequency. The periods are vaguely attributed to uniformalized factors (avoiding ambiguity, competition between different grammars, the influence of Latin or French, the requirements of meter, feelings that a morpheme is verbal or nominal, focusing or defocusing, etc.), without ever giving any predictive conditions for the observed seasons for the growth and decline.

Of course, the fact that the authors of this monograph do not treat constructions as just scattered or concentrated groupings of flowers implies that their more idealized predictions sometimes run up against seeming counter-examples, which then just have to be put to the side. But the predictive impulse seems to me refreshing, and more promising by far than the fetish for counter-examples, i.e., late archaic examples of a lost construction, the presence of which could also be attested in a synchronic language system without proving much more than an expected idiosyncrasy.

(iv) **Some common practices in historical scholarship on language contact.** This monograph focuses principally on the impact and spread of Norse in England in the period when French-speaking Normans had supplanted Norse speakers as the rulers of the country, i.e., after the Norman Conquest. This separation between when the Vikings invaded and settled large parts of England and when their language most affected it differs from the usual treatments in histories of English, which combine both aspects in a certain chapter and often date the period of Scandinavian influence as ending with the Con-

quest. This practice is in accord with a widespread assumption that a new contact language has its greatest influence during the period when its native speakers are having their maximal economic, social, and political impact on the society which it is entering.

The scenario of Scandinavian outlined here shows how misleading and inaccurate this assumption is. It seems that whenever the language of a new population supplants a native language, the death or radically decreased use of the original language almost always follows a significant time lag. Contact languages often have their greatest impact on a language well after the period of initial contact, which is often a period of conflict and upheaval. Thus, the Viking incursions in England and the struggles between the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians were centered in the 9th and 10th centuries, and yet, as this study shows, the real lasting effect of the Norse language on England began a century later. In the same vein, and plausibly for the same reasons, there was hardly any mixing of French and English just after 1066: the real influence of French can be found as late as 200 years later.

(v) **The where, when, and how of this book**. This monograph is the third in a series of Olomouc Modern Language Monographs (readers can consult their titles on the page following the title page) because one of its authors, Joseph Emonds, has been working in Olomouc during the period of his research on this topic. My personal inspiration as an editor in this series and that of my colleagues, especially Markéta Janebová, Michaela Martinková, Jonáš Podlipský, and Šárka Šimáčková, is to bring the level and scope of linguistic research produced in the Czech Republic back to the internationally recognized standard achieved in our First Republic. We think this volume and the others in the series, both in their contents and modes of presentation, show that we are not failing in our mission.

Within this broad perspective, I also hope to give pride of place to research works that focus on justifying formal analyses in linguistics, especially in syntax. This monograph, with its central focus on syntactic argumentation, fits in with this perspective very well. Moreover, while encouraging formal approaches, our work in Olomouc, both at our OLINCO linguistic conferences and in this series, does not aim at

exclusively formalizable hypotheses and outcomes, and here again it is fortunate that this monograph has sociolinguistic, second language, and lexicographical dimensions.

As the series editor, I, of course, have "had to" read the whole manuscript. The fact is, in spite of this, I have really enjoyed it, learned a lot, and found many new questions to ponder. The readers have the opportunity to read the book without having to, so I hope for them it will be even more rewarding, as well as thought-provoking and maybe even provocative.

Introduction

What Is This Language Called English?

In this Introduction, we will broadly sketch what type of language English is, the populations who are considered (and consider themselves) to speak English, and the historically motivated "stages" of English (Old, Middle, Modern). Then, using these broad ideas, we will formulate the main question treated in this study: are Old and Middle English simply different diachronic stages of a single language, or are they two closely related languages that in fact have separate historical sources?

0.1 The Germanic Language Family

In the 19th century, the main finding of extensive scholarship in linguistics (or philology, as this new field was then termed) was the discovery that most of the languages of Europe and many of those of central Asia were descended from a single pre-historic "proto-language" now referred to as Indo-European. This research achieved much more than this, however. It found methods and argumentation that successfully grouped the descendants of Indo-European ("IE") into relatively clearly defined sub-families of languages, such that each sub-family in turn descended from some proto-language that itself was a "daughter" of IE.

These daughters of IE were sometimes languages with extensive written records, such as Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, and some were the sole members of a sub-family (Albanian, Hittite). Thus, the Romance languages as an IE sub-family were descended from a well-attested written language, Latin. Any unattested (pre-historic) daughters of IE from which a sub-family descended were regularly referred to as proto-languages.[1]

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1   Later scholarship often went on to establish finer distinctions. Thus, it is now widely thought that today's Romance languages descend not directly from Classical Latin, but from some more "popular" unwritten Latin, which is then termed "Proto-Romance."

One of the most astonishing achievements of 19th-century philology was the discovery and establishment of Proto-Germanic and the Germanic sub-family of IE. Its modern members include Afrikaans, Dutch, English, Frisian, German, Swiss German, Yiddish, and all the languages that are broadly termed Scandinavian. In fact, the discovery of the nearly exception-less laws of 19th-century Germanic scholars, the Danes Rask and Verner, and the Germans Bopp and Grimm, can be said to be Historical Linguistics' finest hour. The comparative studies of Franz Bopp had established the Germanic sub-family in the 1810s, and soon afterwards Erasmus Rask set up the sound correspondences (with the IE Classical Languages) that are the basis of Germanic linguistics to this day. The extension and formalization of these correspondences, "Grimm's Law" (1822) and "Verner's Law" (1870), led to the first school of linguistics that claimed scientific status, the Leipzig "Neogrammarians" that dominated the field well into the 20th century.

The other large IE sub-families which border the Germanic-speaking area are Slavic to the East, Romance to the South, and Celtic to the West (e.g., Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh).[2] In today's linguistics, and this book follows this assumption, there do not seem to be any central disputes as to which languages are Germanic and which are not. That is, in particular, *Danish, Dutch, English, German, and Norwegian are indisputably Germanic.*

We need to say something about the criteria used by linguists to set up the IE and other family relationships or "genealogy" among languages. Prior to the emergence of the 20th-century focus on syntax, both structur-alist and generativist, the criteria were "regular sound changes" from parent to daughter languages and considerable sharing of core or daily life vocabu-lary: basic counting, kinship terms, familiar body parts, and vocabulary for natural things (*day, night, water, fish, sun, moon, die, tree*, etc.). The latter factor does not really distinguish so clearly among Germanic languages, and as we will see in the appropriate chapters, vocabulary which contains extremely large numbers of cognates, around 50%, is especially irrelevant for the issue we address: in which branch of the Germanic family does English belong?

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2   The languages spoken to the North of the Germanic area in northern Scandi-navia are not Indo-European, e.g., the neighboring Finnish and Saami are in the Finno-Ugric family.

However, a third implicit factor in even the most traditional grouping of languages has always been shared morphosyntax, particularly in the details. Thus, Slavic languages, such as Czech, Polish, and Russian, and Romance languages, such as French, Italian, and Spanish, have as groups many grammatical characteristics that set them apart from languages in other sub-families. One need only call to mind the Slavic case system on nouns and its patterns of perfective aspect, etc., or Romance pronominal clitics and its causative constructions, etc., to appreciate the centrality of morphosyntax in determining these groupings.

In contrast, there are many languages today that are never even remotely considered as part of a certain genealogical sub-family, principally because their morphosyntax is atypical of the sub-family. Thus, Maltese and Tagalog (Philippines) and Haitian Creole are not taken as Romance languages, no matter what their phonologies might suggest. Similarities in phonology and even core vocabulary do not counter-balance the evidence of syntax. In the other direction, the fact that Armenian undergoes two of the three steps of Grimm's Law ("consonant mutation") does not lead linguists to classify it as Germanic.[3]

But in the case of the Germanic grouping, the kinship based on sound changes, established in the 19th century, is not contradicted by any morpho-syntactic evidence that one of its members is somehow Slavic or Romance. Here are some typical morphosyntactic Germanic properties that confirm the 19th-century decisions that a language is Germanic; none is an "if and only if" condition, but each Germanic language, at some point in its history, has most of the following properties:

- definite determiners, with initial non-labial obstruents
- at most four distinct productive morphological cases on nouns
- adjectival agreement with nouns in at most pre-nominal position
- comparative and superlative inflections -*r* and -*st* on adjectives
- a relatively differentiated system of reflexives (several forms)

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3   The similarity of Germanic and Armenian consonant mutation "is a question of independent developments, and in no way indicates any particular 'sub-grouping' of these two branches within the Indo-European family." (Charles de Lamberterie, pers. comm.)

- a highly productive system of noun-noun compounding with right-hand heads
- the finite verb in second position in main clauses
- a synthetic past tense inflection formed with a dental stop

Slavic and Romance languages regularly fail almost all of these tests, while current or earlier written versions of all the Germanic languages pass them all. If an IE language were found which underwent most Germanic sound changes, and yet failed, say, more than half of the above diagnostic tests, any claim that the language, contra its morphosyntax, were some kind of lost or distant Germanic language would be met with skepticism, if not ridicule.

And in fact, *the sub-groupings within Germanic*, which will be a central concern for us, have very much been set up in traditional scholarship *according to grammatical criteria*, such as those listed above. In this tradition, the Germanic languages consist of three subgroups: *East*, *West*, and *North* Germanic. The only attested representative of East Germanic is the now extinct Gothic. East Germanic is therefore not going to concern us from now on. The West Germanic languages are Old English and the continental Germanic languages Frisian, Dutch, High German, and Low German, with their historical forerunners, and their later offshoots such as Yiddish and Afrikaans. The North Germanic languages are the Scandinavian languages: Icelandic, Faroese, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, all descending from a rather uniform Old Scandinavian or Old Norse.[4] The general assumption that until now was widely taken for granted is that Middle and Modern English descend from Old English in the same way that Middle and Modern High German descend from Old High German, etc. The object of the present book is to question and refute this view.

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4   The term Old Norse is conventionally used for the Western dialects of Old Scandinavian, those of Norway and Iceland, to the exclusion of the East Scandinavian of Denmark and Sweden. Since the Norsemen who settled in England mainly came from Denmark and Norway, we will adopt the rarely-used term Norse as a synonym for the cumbersome "Western Mainland Old Scandinavian."

0.2 A Working Definition of English

The initial and main immigration into England of Germanic-speaking peoples took place in the middle and the second half of the first millennium A.D. One of the first groups to arrive was the Angles, from the northwest seacoast of what is now Germany, and their name became attached both to the country and the Germanic language spoken there (England and English).

Since that initial birth of the name "English," informal practice seems to have been the following:

> Any settled community of Germanic speakers that constituted a significant part of England's population has considered its language to be English (or a dialect of English, which comes to the same thing).

From the very beginning, it is probable that after the Saxons and Jutes who immigrated with the Angles had settled for a few generations, they also considered themselves English and were considered to "speak English." Any later identifiable differences among these groups became differences between "English dialects," even in cases where they were not mutually comprehensible.

This use of the label English for any native Germanic tongue spoken by settled populations in England never seems to have changed. Most strikingly, the French-speaking (and later bilingual) economically and socially dominant Anglo-Normans switched to English in the period 1250–1400. At that time,

> the upper classes carried over into English an astonishing number of common French words. In changing from French to English, they transferred . . . their ecclesiastical, legal, and military terms, their familiar words of fashion, food, and social life, the vocabulary of art, learning and medicine . . . . the French words introduced into English . . . in the century and a half following 1250, . . . were also such as people who had been accustomed to speak French would carry over with them into the language of their adoption. (Baugh 1957, 201)

The effects on the language of the mostly illiterate peasants spoken before this were vast. Today it is acknowledged that over 60% of English words are of Romance origin, and of these the most common flowed into

the language at this time. In addition, it seems likely that this lexical "invasion" led to English losing the uniform initial stress rule of Germanic, and replacing it with what Chomsky and Halle (1968) sometimes refer to as the "Romance Stress Rule."

And in spite of all this, neither the Normans nor the English around them ever thought that this former francophone community was not "speaking English." The Normans had become a "settled community of Germanic speakers that constituted a significant part of England's population," as we stated above, and so they "considered their language to be English." And no one has ever taken issue with this conclusion.

The same practice for using "English" holds up to the present, e.g., any overseas populations whose language is mutually intelligible with an English dialect in England are also speakers of English—hence those whose native language is Germanic and who live in India or Jamaica or Nigeria or the United States of America all say, when asked to give their native language, that they speak English. This is the working definition of English used by its own speakers.

We agree with the informal definition of English: a language is a dialect of English if it is a Germanic language spoken natively by a community well settled in England. One speaks English, then, by a sort of "droit du sol" (a legal right based on location) rather than by a "droit du sang" (a legal right based on descent).[5]

There is an important consequence of this conclusion. The name of the language "English" is thus unrelated to any claim or hypothesis that a current or any earlier stage of English is necessarily genealogically derived (in the accepted sense of historical linguistics) from the language(s) of the earliest Germanic-speaking immigrants, those now commonly referred to as Anglo-Saxons. Modern English is unquestionably Germanic by virtue of its phonological history, its core vocabulary, and its morphosyntactic system. But nothing in what has been said implies that it is descended from the language of the Anglo-Saxons, and rightly so, since they were not the only Germanic-

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5   One must nonetheless keep in mind that to be English, a language must be genealogically Germanic. Thus, Welsh or Scots Gaelic or non-Germanic languages of South Asia spoken by groups settled in England are, of course, never seriously called "English" or "English dialects."

speaking immigrants from across the North Sea. Within the Germanic sub-family, the question of the genealogical descent of English remains open.[6]

0.3 Middle vs. Modern English

Before investigating the genealogical descent of Modern English, we need to specify more carefully the nature of the generally agreed earlier "historical stages" of the language, so that the questions we treat can be linked to certain time periods and the historical events associated with them.

Several different scholarly approaches to the history of English situate an important watershed in a 100-year period around 1500, ca. from 1450 to 1550. The language in several centuries before this time is called Middle English, and the language since then is called Modern English. The different linguistic events that comprise this change are not all causally related, though some links have been suggested (which need not concern us here).

(i)   **The onset of printing.** William Caxton introduced printing to England in 1476, and there followed an explosion of books and other written material, disseminated, usually for profit, throughout England. For obvious reasons, this led to a printers' standardization of spelling, and wide availability of huge numbers of texts which were not "dialectal."

(ii)   **Greek, Latin, and Renaissance vocabulary.** During this period and continuing into Elizabethan times, massive numbers of new vocabulary items were introduced, many far less "learned" and more frequent than generally imagined. By the end of this period, most such vocabulary was fully integrated into spoken and written English, thus changing considerably the "feel" of Middle English.

(iii) **Standardized language of a world power.** Under the Tudors, England and English went from being an influential regional country to arguably the most influential country and language in the world—or

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6   Just as the Germanic etymological root of "French" does not suggest that this language is Germanic, so the etymological root of "English" does not suggest it derives from Anglo-Saxon. There is no a priori burden of proof on disputing this widespread belief.

very close to it. The existence of its many great writers reinforced this international and standardized use.

(iv) **The Great Vowel Shift.** Just after standardized printing, a new system of pronouncing tense vowels, including diphthongization, spread through the dialects and finally made English spelling quite "unphonetic" and unique in Europe. Modern English (post-vowel-shift) thus sounds and looks very different from pre-vowel-shift Middle English.

(v) **Re-analysis of the modal and auxiliary system.** During this period, the grammar of modals became entirely unlike that of lexical verbs, and the modern use of the auxiliary *do* in questions and negations became obligatory (Lightfoot 1979, Chapter 2; Biberauer and Roberts 2008, Section 5). Consequently, Modern English sentence patterns, especially in main clauses (the most frequent), differ greatly from those of Middle English.

The coinciding introduction of all these changes throughout the entire (standardized) language certainly made Modern English sound and look extremely different from Middle English, and so one cannot take issue with the broad consensus that these two stages merit two different labels. The labels are in fact shorthand for the above five quite revolutionary changes.

Yet in spite of these strong justifications for distinguishing two stages of English, we must point out that only the last one affects the morphosyntactic system of the language in any important way. From the point of view of language history or language relatedness, there are no reasons to consider Modern English as anything other than an almost prosaic continuation of Middle English. This is anecdotally reflected in the fact that those who can read Shakespeare without difficulty can, if motivated, quite easily learn to read Middle English.

The challenge of reading Middle English is facilitated by the influx of familiar modern words of Romance origin into the Late Middle English of the 14th century. If one continues back to the Early Middle English of the 13th century the task is harder, since the reader is deprived of the large store of familiar Romance vocabulary, and faced with nearly pure Germanic vocabulary, much of which went out of use by modern times.

In summary, the direct ancestor of Modern English is thus Early Middle English, especially the East Midlands dialect written in the centers of Cambridge, London, and Oxford. This conclusion, which we will examine in more detail in Chapter One, is widely accepted and, in its main thrust at least, not particularly controversial. We do not simply take this for granted, but consider it justified on the basis of the above discussion.

0.4 Old vs. Middle English

The transition from Middle to Modern English coincided with a period of dramatic national aggrandizement, as just seen, while the transition from Old to Middle English took place during the opposite, a period of national deprivation and defeat, known as the "Norman Conquest" of England, starting in 1066.

Now the simple fact of military and political defeat in itself need not have any serious impact associated with great language change; for example, nothing dramatic happened to the morphosyntax of German or Japanese during and after World War II. But something did happen to Old English at the time of the Conquest, in addition to the military and political events. These changes, which we will list below, have led linguists to name England's pre-Conquest Germanic language "Old English" and its post-Conquest Germanic language "Middle English." In order to understand the distinction, we must briefly examine the demographics of England prior to the Conquest.

From the time of the sixth-century Anglo-Saxon immigration, a tradition of literary and religious writing had grown up and flourished in England, centered in monasteries in the area around the capital, Winchester. Most of the surviving documents of this period are copies from the century preceding the Conquest, but were apparently first written over several centuries, and conformed to a sort of "standard language," which in modern times has been named Old English; see Sections 1.1 and 1.2 below. The grammar (morphosyntax) of this language is fairly well understood, and is outlined in such works as Mitchell and Robinson (1992) and Traugott (1992).

Old English morphosyntax, as well as its phonological inventory and basic vocabulary, groups it unambiguously with modern languages such as Dutch, Frisian, and German. These languages then constitute, and we fully agree, a coherently definable West Germanic sub-family of Indo-European.

Nonetheless, during the Old English period, there transpired an event with major consequences for the history of English, namely the immigration and settlement in especially eastern and northern England of large numbers of Scandinavians, speakers of a contemporary North Germanic language, Norse. Again, see Section 1.2 for more detail. This massive immigration, starting in the early ninth century, was accompanied by first a partial and ultimately, in 1013, the total subduing of the Anglo-Saxons by the Danes and Norwegians (at that time not clearly separate countries). Northern and eastern England (north of the Thames) became settled Scandinavian kingdoms, though their extent had been reduced by the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred in 878 to "only half" of England, the so-called Danelaw.[7] That is, North Germanic-speaking Scandinavians settled in and ruled half of England from ca. 860, and subsequently, after 150 years of see-saw conflict with their West Germanic southern neighbors, finally took over the whole country.

What happened to Old English in this period of conflict with the Danes? To judge by the only non-speculative source of evidence, the surviving manuscripts, very little. Old English texts show hardly any influence from Old Scandinavian vocabulary (Baugh and Cable 2002, 99) nor, on the basis of the constructions studied throughout this volume, any basic changes in morphosyntax. In fact, this lack of influence is not surprising, because Old English was the language of a country in conflict with the Scandinavian kingdoms in England, and one with almost no Scandinavian settlement (see Map 1 on page 33).

But then the situation changed after the Norman Conquest. French-speaking William and his descendants quickly and completely destroyed any political structure of the resident Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians other than that of their own French-speaking elite, and this draconian new Norman order apparently led to the following rather dramatic changes in English, all discussed in the literature on the history of English.

(i)   **Lapse of written English.** The main socio-linguistic consequence of the Conquest was the temporary but significant cessation of English

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7   Chapter One will recount in more detail the rarely peaceful history of the contending forces between 878 (the founding of the Danelaw) and 1013 (the conquest of all of England).

being a written language. The conquerors were French-speaking, and socially and economically, their victory and rule over the country were complete and revolutionary, as discussed in greater detail in Sections 1.3–1.5 below.[8] Essentially, all writing in England for over a century, whether religious, literary, or legal, had to be in French or Latin.

(ii) **Loss of most Old English vocabulary.** Material identified as Middle English began to be written again in the late 12th century. The sources that will be reviewed in Chapter One claim that as much as 80–85% of the vocabulary that appears somewhere in Old English manuscripts disappears in Middle English. This is not due (solely) to any rapid replacement by French words, since the latter did not start to enter English in any numbers until ca. 1250, after French-speaking Normans first began to write in English.

(iii) **Delayed and massive borrowing from Scandinavian.** As we will see in Chapter Two, traditional historians of English are forever puzzled by the fact that the large numbers of Scandinavian daily life and grammatical words in Middle English appear only *well after* the Old English period, when English again began to be written. These mysteriously late "borrowings" do not fit comfortably into textbook chapters on "Scandinavian Influence" (the Vikings, etc.) which are invariably separated (using the date 1066) from the subsequent chapters on "The Norman Conquest and French influence."[9]

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8   One rather straightforward definition of revolutionary is that all property and positions of authority and military power change hands, from one social group to another. As our discussion in Chapter One will show, this exactly characterizes England in the decades that followed the Norman Conquest.

9   These histories also recognize that (living) languages (English not being endangered) do not generally borrow daily life and grammatical words from a dying second language that they engulf. When it displaced Provencal, French did not start to borrow daily life and grammatical vocabulary from the latter. The oddity of Middle English "borrowing" from Scandinavian has spawned a mini-industry promoting the idea that Middle English is a creole. The maxim for this school of thought seems to be "we must be cautious, as historically, anything can happen. That is, there are no predictive principles of language change, and Middle English proves it." Such reasoning is obviously circular.

(iv)   **Some twenty grammatical changes—in a pattern.** As mentioned above, English again began to be written, about a century after the Conquest, with a morphosyntax remarkably different from Old English.[10] Traditional and generative scholarship (e.g., Mustanoja 1960; Allen 1980; van Kemenade 1987; Fischer 1992; Roberts 1997; McWhorter 2004) is replete with descriptions and analyses of these diachronic changes in Early Middle English grammar. But most notably, *all these differences, which are the focus of this book, follow a pattern.* They all involve "changes" in Middle English syntax in the direction of North Germanic characteristics.

These modifications of Middle English grammar produced paradigms and patterns that had been absent or vanishingly rare in Old English texts, or conversely, concerned the loss of Old English properties that are also lacking in North Germanic Scandinavian languages. This book will discuss about 20 such differences (depending on what counts as "separate differences") between Old and Middle English grammar.

While there are a few Middle English innovations that are not typical of North Germanic, they do not seem characteristic of West Germanic either, e.g., the beginnings of the progressive tenses, the present tense 3rd singular ending *-s/-z*, the coalescence of gerunds and present participles using a single inflection *ing*. These innovations, interesting in themselves, are specific to Middle English, just as the histories of all languages present language-specific developments. To repeat, they are typical of neither North nor West Germanic.

In summary, one cannot deny that the break between Old and Middle English is as sharp as, or even sharper than, that between Middle and Modern English. And very importantly, the Old/Middle English break very much *concerns the structure of the language itself*; it is very little connected with how English was used or how it was perceived. It is especially the sheer number (and also centrality: word order, morphological case, pervasive prefixation patterns, preposition stranding, etc.) of *the morphosyntactic changes*

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10   Some late-12th-century works are the book *Ormulum* and the last installments of the monks' *Peterborough Chronicle*. The sharp grammatical discrepancies between Old and Middle English seem to be the motivation for the title of McWhorter (2004), *What happened to English?*

that has led analysts to treat them as the defining hallmarks of the change to Middle English. When English began to be written after the Conquest, these new characteristics were clearly in the ascendant, most strongly in the former Danelaw (cf. Chapter Three), while many aspects of Old English (as well as most of its vocabulary) had disappeared or been reduced to remnant percentages, especially in the South and Southwest (Section 3.1.1).

A little reflection on the changes discussed in (ii)–(iv) makes it obvious that somehow Middle English "moved closer to" or "amalgamated" with the language of the Scandinavians in England, even as that language, according to traditional accounts, died out. In fact, that "lost" language, which in England was not a recorded language, is nothing more than a fiction in traditional accounts. The reader may be guessing that we think that that language did exist, and indeed remained very much alive. Namely, the lost language of the Scandinavians who settled in England prior to the Conquest, who had governed the greater part of it for two centuries, began to be written only ca. 1150 and is nothing other than Middle English.

Traditional scholars of the history of English stop far short of any such conclusions about the changes evident in Middle English. They typically treat them in isolation from one another, sometimes with references to vague terms such as "loss of inflection," "simplification," "increasing transparency," or "intermingling of populations." The changes of Middle English are widely conceived of as consequences of the mostly illiterate subjects of the Normans no longer having a reliable written (monastic) standard English to adhere to. As a result, according to traditional scholarship, this peasant population ended up massively altering and simplifying the previously inflected and complex West Germanic language Old English, unsystematically mixing it up with North Germanic syntax.[11]

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11   In sharp contrast to these implausible rationalizations of why Old English changed so quickly, Norwegian, which was not written for 400 years, did indeed change, but in nothing like so radical a fashion. Similarly, the highly inflected Czech language, after the national defeat in 1620 in the Thirty Years' War, was written very little for some 250 years. If the traditional account of the changes from Old to Middle English were at all plausible, Czech peasants and villagers with German-speaking rulers among them should have gone about massively changing their morphosyntax and daily life vocabulary in the direction of German. But, almost needless to say, Czech underwent essentially no German-inspired changes of either type.

Throughout this book, we take issue with these traditional perspectives, and argue for a scenario according to which Middle English developed along a quite standard diachronic path from an earlier version of Norse. This resulting "Anglicized Norse" did indeed undergo a serious *relexification* in the direction of Old English, for the reasons given in Section 1.4, but such events are commonplace in sociolinguistics. [12]

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12   A reader of an earlier version, grappling with our hypothesis, wondered if there are records of francophone Normans encountering "a community of Norse speakers." Apparently, the reader assumed that such a community could be identified as not speaking English, which (s)he circularly assumed had to be a continuation of Old English. But, of course, any such settled speakers of Middle English would say, in line with our discussion earlier in this Introduction, that their native Germanic tongue was English, or a dialect of it. Just as English speakers all say today.

Chapter One

The Germanic Language(s) of England

1.1   **The Birthplace of Middle English**

The uncontroversial forerunner of Modern English is the 14th-century Middle English dialect spoken in Britain's "East Midlands." As can be seen in Map 1 on page 33, the East Midlands dialect area, as understood by scholars of Middle English, covers a larger area than the word "east" might suggest; the region extends from the Thames in the south to the Humber in the north, east of a line running roughly north-northwest from Oxford to Manchester, and hence includes the 14th-century capital, London.

Scholarship on the history of English seems to agree unanimously on this line of descent. Going backwards, Modern English arises from the "Chancery English" of London (15th century); cf. the summary in Pyles (1971, 155–58). This was in turn based on the 14th-century East Midlands dialect seen, for example, in the writings of Chaucer. "The type of English that contributed most to the formation of the standard was the East Midland dialect . . . that became its basis, particularly the dialect of the metropolis, London" (Baugh and Cable 2002, 192). Moreover, the emergence of that dialect as the basis of a national language was further favored by the fact that "the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, [are] in this region" (Baugh and Cable 2002, 193).

All the available evidence thus indicates that the ancestor of today's Standard English is the Middle English of what before the Norman Conquest (1066) was called the Danelaw, though after the conquest this region no longer had a legal existence.

A further curious fact supporting the Danelaw area as the source of Middle English is the conclusion of Baugh and Cable (2002, 193), from dialect evidence, that "[su]ch support as the East Midland type of English received from the universities must have been largely confined to that of Cambridge." Notice that the less influential Oxford is in the small part of the East Midlands outside the Danelaw.

The texts in this dialect have a recognizable syntax that separates them from a different and also identifiable Middle English system, broadly termed "southern." This division is quite apparent, and in fact insisted on, in both Kroch and Taylor (1997) and van Kemenade (1997), even though these authors differ in their analyses of word order patterns in the two dialects.

> we will be content to show that there was at least one northern dialect and one southern dialect with the characteristics that we describe. (Kroch and Taylor 1997, 322n1)

> The V2 pattern . . . for OE is largely maintained in the earliest ME of the West Midlands and southern dialects, except for the complete loss of the I-final phrase structure option. . . . In the North and the Northeast Midlands, the areas of greatest Scandinavian settlement and linguistic influence, the history of the V2 pattern is different from the history in the South. (Kroch and Taylor 1997, 310)

On Map 1 this "northern/Midlands dialect" *includes Chaucer's London* and spreads to the East Midlands and North, to the north and east of the dark line. The "southern dialect" covers the area roughly to the south and west of the Thames.

In this study, we try to determine the synchronic nature and historic source of this East Midlands version of Middle English, which then also reveals the synchronic nature and historic source of Modern English. The southern syntactic dialect of Middle English shares more features with Old English than does the East Midlands dialect, and doubtless was the actual historical descendant of Old English. It did not survive as a written language alongside Modern English.

As for lexical contributions to the vocabulary of Middle English, we claim that the relative contributions of different languages to a given language's lexicon cannot decide on a language's genealogy. Especially when comparable large percentages are at stake, a language's lexical sources do not even centrally bear on its ancestry. What must instead determine the conclusions is rather the historical provenance of a language's grammatical system, i.e., the properties of its syntactic constructions.

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

Map 1

In the case at hand, we will show that both synchronically and historically, *Middle (and Modern) English are unmistakably North Germanic and not West Germanic.* That is, Middle English does not develop from Old English. Old English is the language of mainly West Saxon texts, of which the last exemplars are widely taken to be the earlier Peterborough Chronicles ("PC") through 1121 (Freeborn 1998, 82). The last installments of the PC (1122–1151) show signs of what we interpret as the "language death" of Old English in the East Midlands (Peterborough being located squarely in its center), namely the loss of inflection and the introduction of fixed word order (Freeborn 1998, 84).

We thus claim that Middle and Modern English are instead direct descendants of the language spoken by Scandinavians who had relocated in England more than two centuries prior to the Norman Conquest. We refer to this earlier language as Norse. Since over time this Norse acquired a large number of words from Old English (we will return to how many), we may use the synonym "Anglicized Norse" for the early Middle English of the East Midlands spoken and written in the 12th and 13th centuries.

1.2   Pre-conquest Co-habitation of Norse and Old English: Conflict→ Warfare→ Separateness

As a prerequisite for our linguistic treatment, it must be understood that "Middle English" arose under very particular linguistic and sociolinguistic circumstances in the English East Midlands (and also North) over a period of roughly 160 years, from about 1070 to 1230. Highly respected traditional scholarship on this language has concluded that Middle English, in terms of both its lexicon and its syntax, was not so much a descendant of Old English as it was a new fusion of Old English and the Scandinavian language of England (Baugh and Cable 2002, 95–105). As we will see, this fusion was a kind of "solution" to an unusual situation which arose as a result of the total, rapid, and catastrophic conquest of England by the French-speaking Normans in 1066.

Prior to this conquest, Britain had witnessed ca. 200 years of Scandinavian settlers and the English vying for control, especially, but not only, of eastern and northern Britain (850–1066). Their co-habitation had been largely adversarial, during which both sides competed for political supremacy.

The Scandinavian-speaking descendants of the Vikings were increasingly predominant until 878, when the successes of the Saxon King Alfred led to a roughly equal division of the country (English control in the south and west and Danish control in the north and east). The region of Danish control was named the "Danelaw," and covered the entire area northeast of a line from London to Chester, largely coinciding with a Roman road. Strong corroborative evidence that the Scandinavians firmly established themselves mainly in the Danelaw is provided by the maps of Scandinavian place names in England, e.g., in Freeborn (1998, 43), which indicate places that had not previously been settled. After the truce with King Alfred in 878, the Danelaw (half of England) became an area of *Scandinavian law and administration.* It was not part of the English polity. The situation for nearly 200 years was then that England consisted of two countries with a highly unstable border, the Danelaw and Wessex (= "Old England").[13]

A geographical point of the utmost importance for this study's argument is that the Danelaw, where Scandinavians settled extensively, *almost exactly coincides* with the East Midlands area, whose speech would later develop into Modern English. The dialect areas are those of the map in Baugh and Cable (2002, 191). The reader should note that the western limit of the "East Midlands" (dark line on Map 1) closely matches the southwestern limit of both the new colonial settlements and of Danish political control (red line on Map 1).

Following the Norse colonization begun in 850, the Scandinavians in the north-eastern half of the island constituted the dominant and settled strata. It was they who from time to time had to fight off West Saxon incursions. The latter finally succeeded, partly as a result of winning the Battle of Brunanburh (937), in controlling a unified and independent England, but for less than 40 years. "In 954, Eadred, grandson

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13   Textbook histories of English, when describing the country rather than the language, somehow rhetorically present a "founding myth" of a leafy, prosperous, and unified island under home rule, periodically fighting off Scottish and Norse intruders, with a few periods of partially yielding to them and others of idyllically peaceful co-existence, broken off only by the greatest invading army of all, the Normans. As discussed in the text, this fanciful reconstruction is far from the realities.

of Alfred, became the King of all England from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel" (Oliphant 1878). But in 991, the Danes again defeated the English, at the Battle of Malden in Essex, very much in the South, after which the West Saxon king had to pay them tribute before fleeing to Normandy 20 years later.

A flashpoint occurred in 1002, when the Saxon King Ethelred ordered the massacre of all Danish adult males. As a result the Danish King Sweyn, whose sister was among those killed, undertook to conquer all of England and after a decade of intermittent but fierce warfare, he fully succeeded. He, his famous son Canute, and his grandson Harold then *ruled all of England from its capital, Winchester, until 1041*, only 25 years prior to the Norman invasion. During this 25 years, the King of England was Edward the Confessor, a French Norman whose mother Emma was of pure Danish descent.

Other than through his deposed father's genes, Edward was in no way Anglo-Saxon. When the Danish King Sweyn was conquering all of England in 1003–1014, Edward's mother (the wife of Ethelred) took her young child to France, where he was raised. When she was widowed, she astutely married Sweyn's famous son Canute (becoming by her marriages the queen of both contending sides). When Canute's son died (1041), Emma managed to get her son Edward accepted by both the Danes and Saxons. He repaid her schemes by dispossessing her, just prior to his much-touted turn to religion. While he was busy confessing, his "unified kingdom" was beset by violent clashes, including among the Saxon clans. "Edward [the Confessor] died in January 1066 and Harold assumed power, claiming Edward had designated him as heir."[14] Though as the Saxon champion Harold defeated a Danish army (Stamford Bridge, 1066), he reigned only a few months before being dispatched in September by William the Conqueror at Hastings.

In retrospect, Sweyn's conquest, 50 years prior to William the Conqueror, had effectively put an end for 400 years to any truly native monarch's successful claims to rule all England. The near-total predominance of Danish forces and personalities throughout 11th-century England, well before the Conquest, is generally underplayed, and is instead refashioned into

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14   Source: www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/harold_ii_godwineson.shtml.

a mythical assimilation of Danes into an imaginary unified English society. As we will show, the assimilation was quite the other way round.[15]

1.3 The Languages of England at the Time of the Conquest

Unsurprisingly, the languages of two rival populations with different political and cultural allegiances, competing for hegemony and often in a state of war, had remained separate prior to 1066. English texts of this period, by scholarly agreement called Old English, largely originate in areas west of London with little Scandinavian settlement. English political power, culture, and literature was centered at Winchester in Wessex, which uninterruptedly produced Old English texts, including those which survive today. Also uncontroversially, in the period before the Conquest, Old English dialects were spoken in all parts of England, including in the Danelaw. Nonetheless, its more influential surviving texts are from Wessex, and constitute what today is called Old English.

On the other hand, in the East Midlands and North of England, the language of the Scandinavian colonists was the North Germanic Norse.[16] In the early decades of their settlement, York, in the North, became a Scandinavian city, and preceding the Norman Conquest, Scandinavian culture and economic predominance expanded and strongly established itself in the East Midlands area. Like many other colonists, Norse speakers found little reason to change to the native tongue of those whose lands they were settling.

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15   A 12th-century source reported that in the first years of the 11th century, "the same language was spoken in England as in Norway and Denmark" (Burnley 1992, 418). Apropos of this remark, Burnley calls into question "the author's linguistic judgment" (presumably preferring his own interpretation, that the phrase "the same language" here must mean something else, such as "a language other than Romance." We impose no such fanciful interpretation and take the statement at its face value.

16   As discussed in the Introduction, the term used for any Germanic language spoken natively by a significant proportion of the population in England has always been "English." No doubt Norse speakers encouraged any newcomer to speak how they spoke, "in English," i.e., with a lot of Anglicized vocabulary, rather than as in Scandinavia.

the Five Boroughs—Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham—became important foci of Scandinavian influence . . . . Up until the time of the Norman Conquest the Scandinavian language in England was constantly being renewed by the steady stream of trade and conquest . . . . [M]any of the newcomers . . . continued to speak their own language at least as late as 1100 . . . [Relations between Scandinavians] and the English were too hostile to lead to much natural intercourse . . . . The number of Scandinavian words that appear in Old English is consequently small, amounting to only about two score . . . associated with . . . sea-roving and . . . the social and administrative system of the Danelaw. (Baugh and Cable 2002, 96, 99)

Thus, the spread of Scandinavian culture and influence in the north and east had relatively little effect on Old English, i.e., the language of Wessex.[17] The specialized semantics and very limited extent of the few "cultural borrowings" from Norse into Old English correspond to what we can expect under conditions of unwelcome expansion and colonization; a native language borrows terms for novel concepts introduced by the newcomers, but not for those already expressed in its own vocabulary. Baugh and Cable (2013, 95) observe that in fact, besides a multitude of place names, *only three* (!) Old English borrowings from Scandinavian (*law*, a *hold* of land, and *boatswain*) survive in Modern English. We can conclude, then, that at the time of the Conquest, Old English, the language of Wessex, had not borrowed significantly from Norse.

(1)   **The language of Wessex ca. 1070.** During the initial period of the Norman Conquest, the basic language of Wessex was *an Old English essentially free of Norse influence.*

On the other hand, there are no really significant written records of the English variant of Norse, so we just cannot determine how much Old

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17   The literature on the history of English (e.g., Trudgill 2011a) contains speculation about the "spoken Old English" of this time. Much of it contains attempts to deal with the abrupt break between Old English and early Middle English. Our account does not, and need not, extrapolate from the only evidence we have, namely written texts.

English vocabulary the colonizers/colonists had by this time incorporated into the Norse of the Danelaw (post-Conquest, the term is geographical, not political). Nonetheless, we can say with some certainty that at the outset of Norman rule, the Danelaw contained many speakers of two distinguishable languages, one of them being Norse.

(2)   **The languages of the Danelaw ca. 1070.** During the initial period of the Norman Conquest, two languages were commonly spoken in the Danelaw and Northern England, *a version of Norse and a version of Old English*.

It is further probable that of these, Norse was predominant. Not only was Norse the language of the country's rulers and new settlers, but also one contemporary observer, 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" (cited in Freeborn 1998, 46–47).[18]

This conclusion does not mean that the speakers of these Danelaw languages kept separate. First, there must have been significant mingling in market towns (Oliphant 1878). Second, given the likelihood that more males than females emigrated from Scandinavia, many Danelaw families consisted of Norse-speaking men and Old English-speaking women. It is common enough that many women learn their husband's language (Ehrlich 1997) and then make free use of their native vocabulary when lacking for words in the new tongue. Of course, they then pass on this vocabulary from either source to their children. Through both these avenues, the Norse in the Danelaw was probably significantly "Anglicized" well before the Conquest.

However, we cannot accurately estimate how much English vocabulary Norse had borrowed during two centuries prior to the Conquest. In Baugh and Cable's phrasing, was there "much natural intercourse" *in the Danelaw* between Scandinavians and English? The traditional view is that there was so much that most Scandinavians completely abandoned their native tongue and adopted the language of the English peasants that they ruled. While there is no independent evidence for this highly unlikely scenario (i.e., that English completely supplanted Norse), it seems

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18   In note 15 above, Burnley (1992, 418) uses a slightly different translation.

indisputable that the Scandinavians' vocabulary was culturally much influenced by English social and economic arrangements around them, for reasons we will now review.[19]

1.4 Medieval Cultural Borrowing: From South to North

On every count, the Scandinavians in England had strong incentives for using cultural borrowing to *massively extend their vocabulary*. Elsewhere in Europe, the Norsemen had been invading and successfully governing lands with much more developed cultures, notably in Normandy and Sicily (the lavish reigns of the two Rogers). England was no exception.

(3)   Areas of English culture for which Norse needed to acquire vocabulary:

- Old English had a large vocabulary for *Christian practices and beliefs*. The Norse arrived without Christianity, but by the Conquest they had become entirely Christian;
- moreover, the concepts and practices of *monastic life* also required vocabulary;
- England had been *a Roman province for ca. 300 years*, so Old English must have retained vocabulary for road-building, town layouts, channeling water, and building construction that far exceeded those in the original Scandinavia-based Norse;
- especially given its Roman history, *crops and food production* must have been more varied in the moderate climate of England than in colder Scandinavia. Such factors presumably motivated the immigration of Scandinavians in the first place (there were no factors such as persecution or overpopulation);
- Old England had a *written culture*, and presumably a wider use of documents and practices based on them (inheritance, property, schools) than did Scandinavia;

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19   Our view is that by 1070, Norse had borrowed extensively enough from the Old English lexicon that people started to call it English. Moreover, during the first century or so of Norman rule, writing in England was almost exclusively in French or Latin. So it was natural enough to refer to any writing in England not in these languages as "English."

- according to the discussion in Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 124–31 and sources cited there), Old England was notably advanced and recognized in *architecture*, *sculpture*, *carving*, *metal-working*, *jewelry*, and *embroidery* (tapestries).

Since in the 60 years just preceding the Conquest, Scandinavians either ruled all of this cultivated country, England (1013–1041), or were fighting to do so (before and after), Norse had undoubtedly borrowed many hundreds (quite possibly thousands) of open class words for these new cultural concepts, even before the Conquest took hold. We therefore call this lexically enhanced version of Norse "Anglicized Norse." Hence, under the hypothesis we advance below, in which Middle English derives syntactically from Scandinavian, we still expect the Anglicized Norse lexicon to contain a high percentage of borrowings from Old English.

1.5   Consequences of Conquest: Dispossession→ Integration→ A Common Tongue

William the Conqueror and his French-speaking Norman armies overran and completely subdued all of England in 1066 and the following decades. With him came thousands of basically aristocratic and ecclesiastical colonists, eager to share out the country's land as the spoils of war. By the 1090s, the Norman builders of castles and cathedrals had consolidated their control. During this same time both the societies of Old English and Norse speakers in England were laid low by the thorough and merciless Conquest, which wiped out the political and economic influence of both.

Under the Norman regime, two previously separate peoples became united in servitude. Joint Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian rebellions were crushed and regions laid waste. One last pocket of initial resistance, a northern rebellion, was savagely answered by massacres and a scorched earth policy, and came to be referred to as the "harrowing of the North." To mark their victory in the region, the Normans began Durham Cathedral in 1093. Further south, another relatively long united resistance of the two populations in the late 11th century was led by the folk hero Hereward the Wake, who used the marshlands north of Ely as his base. His defeat was finally brought about as a result of betrayal by local monks,

who revealed safe paths in the marshlands for use by mounted Norman knights.[20]

Scholarship generally agrees (see further citations below) that both Englishmen and Scandinavians were thoroughly dispossessed and practically enslaved under the Conquest. The common ancestry of the English Norse and Normans more than two centuries previously apparently counted for nothing. Histories of the English Language tend not to dwell on the social horrors of 12th-century England under the Normans (cf. Freeborn 1998, 84–85), or on the sometimes united efforts of the English and Scandinavians to resist them. Better sources on such events are social histories of pre-modern England, BBC documentaries, and the web.

The greatest cause of misery was the extraction of wealth of any kind from those who held it before the Conquest. Most sources report that by 1100, all property of any note was in the hands of Normans (Baugh 1957, 192–94). One of the main tools of this expropriation was the thorough land and property census carried out by the Normans soon after their arrival, called by its victims and now universally *The Domesday Book*. The Bishop of Hereford, one of the very ecclesiastics who William had brought to England, described it thus:

> the king's men . . . made a survey of all England; of 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 any wrong-doers to the king. And the land was troubled with many calamities arising from the gathering of the royal taxes.[21]

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20 A BBC documentary series on the Normans in August 2010 recounts this episode in the ultimately suppressed resistance to Norman rule. According to the following web page http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/hereward-the-wake-englands-national-hero-wasnt-really-english-after-all-6152081.html, which gives further references, "Hereward the Wake, the guerrilla leader who fought William the Conqueror for five years from 1066, was, according to new research, a high-ranking Dane."

21 Further, this document had the effect of "ending years of confusion resulting from *the gradual and sometimes violent dispossession of the Anglo-Saxons by their*

Pyles (1971, 152) summarizes:

Almost at the end of the Old English period the great catastrophe of the Norman Conquest befell the English people—a catastrophe more far-reaching in its effects on English culture than the earlier harassment by the Scandinavians who had subsequently become one with them."[22]

In the wake of common and lasting misfortune, what apparently followed was the intermingling and integration of the disenfranchised masses of English and Scandinavian speakers in which "*the two languages existed for a time side by side [in] the northern and eastern half of England*" (Baugh and Cable 2002, 101). There were certainly no significant population shifts of either group, since the feudal Norman landowners excelled in "wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces";[23] they wanted as many serfs as possible, and so bound them to the land, forbidding movement more tightly than before the Conquest.

But whatever social tendencies were at work in the East Midlands and the North (i.e., the Danelaw, but no longer so named), the miserable circumstances gave rise to a complete *fusion* of two previously separate populations, speakers of Old English and speakers of Scandinavian. It is incontrovertible that the two distinct linguistic communities of 1066 ended up speaking a single language by, say, 1300, i.e., what is today called Middle English. For our purposes, it is pointless to speculate on the details of why or how this happened.

What, then, was this single language? Let us keep in mind that these two Germanic languages were *not* so close; they do not display the "typological closeness" that Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 264) presuppose without argument. North Germanic languages are grammatically ("typologically")

Norman conquerors" (our emphasis, JE and JTF; Modern English translations from http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/compiling.html).

22   The choice of the tense *had become* in Pyles's last clause is inconsistent with the hostility between the Saxons and the Scandinavians prior to the Conquest (Section 1.2 above). It was rather *after* the Conquest that the two peoples, in bearing "the great catastrophe," *would become one*.

23   Abraham Lincoln's phrase for Confederate slaveholders in his Second Inaugural Address of 1865.

quite different from West Germanic languages, including Old English. Chapters Three through Five will review the differences in detail, but for a start we can mention factors of clausal word order, the grammar of verbal prefixes and particles, preposition stranding, the possibility of split infinitives, and the formation of possessive phrases. Consequently, the change during the 12th and 13th centuries from two languages to one (spreading gradually over all of England) is not simply the merging of two highly similar systems.[24] At least in terms of grammar, one of the two languages essentially died out.

Which one was it? All sources agree that Middle English has great numbers of both Old English and Norse words, and that in addition Old English and Norse had a high percentage of mutually comprehensible cognates. In light of the syntactic arguments we will present, there are only two plausible ways to describe this change. During the two centuries after the Norman Conquest, one of the following two scenarios occurred:

(4)   a. **Middle English developed from Old English** (a commonly accepted view). *Old English underwent **many fundamental** grammatical changes, incorporated much Norse vocabulary (over two centuries), and became Middle English.*

b. **Middle English developed from Norse** (this book's view). *Norse underwent **essentially no** grammatical changes other than those initiated on the Mainland, incorporated somewhat more Old English vocabulary (over four centuries), and became Middle English.*

Pyles (1971, 119–20) words his otherwise groundless defense of the traditional position (4a) strongly, citing a rhapsodic summary (from 1874) of the presumed death of Norse in England: "England still remained England;

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24   The term "creolization" has been used to describe the formation of Middle English, among others by Bailey and Maroldt (1977) and Poussa (1982). This characterization is based mainly on the lexicon and on grammatical simplification. According to Poussa, this creole later developed into a koiné. However, as we will show, the syntactic features of Middle English show few, if any, traces of a syntactic mixture. Thus, if "creole" is meant to include syntax, then Middle English was not a creole but a continuation of Norse. Only if "creole" does not include syntax can one say that Middle English was a (Scandinavian-based) creole.

the conquerors sank quietly into the mass of those around them; and Woden yielded without a struggle to Christ." The Danish kings Sweyn's and Canute's 30 years of successful 11th-century rule over all of England following a decade of victorious warfare subduing the Saxons hardly qualifies as "yielding without a struggle."[25]

We give more credence to a quite different scenario sketched by John of Trevisa, a Cornishman who, in 1387, translated a Southwestern text from ca. 1327 (Strang 1970, 160). He comments on what he considers to be England's essentially different and mutually incomprehensible (Germanic) tongues:

> also concerning the Saxon tongue that is divided *and has barely survived among a few uneducated men* [our emphasis, JE and JTF] (there) is great wonder, for men of the east with men of the west . . . agree more in pronunciation than men of the north with men of the south.
>
> Therefore it is that Mercians, who are men of Middle England, . . . understand better the languages on either side, Northern and Southern, than Northerners and Southerners understand each other (Modern rendering from Freeborn 1998, 183)

This author thus straightforwardly asserts that Saxon (i.e., Old English) is dying out in the 14th century and limited to small numbers of illiterates, despite the wondrous fact that its eastern and western speakers (e.g., from Kent and Cornwall) understand each other. Consequently, the different language of the Mercians (i.e., a name for those from the Midlands) has become the lingua franca of the whole country. Strang interprets Trevisa's passage differently, seeing it as the beginning of deprecatory comments about minority dialects, noting that both the contemporaries, Trevisa and Chaucer, ridicule northern dialects in their own ways. That is, both of them have dissociated these differently pronounced dialects from

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25   We leave religion aside, since royalty in Denmark, and hence the general population, had converted to Christianity in the 10th century without help from the English. The use of England for English in the quote is perhaps not innocent, as no one can claim that England became Denmark.

the predominant language (Anglicized Norse) of the East Midlands, which is well on its way to becoming the national standard. In our view, Trevisa's main point is to chronicle the demise of Old English (Saxon), whose last strongholds were in his native South, and its replacement by Norse.[26]

Before we present our arguments for our conclusion (4b), the next chapter examines the contributions of Proto-Germanic cognates in Old English and Norse to the open class component of the Middle English lexicon, and argues that they *furnish no reason to choose* between (4a) and (4b). Subsequent sections then turn to our main argumentation and show that the grammar and morphosyntax of Middle English overwhelmingly favor our view (4b): *that Middle English developed from Anglicized Norse.*[27]

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26   In the material following this passage, his ridicule of dialect is limited to attacking the speech of the North.

27   Especially in pre-modern social conditions, there is no reason to expect a language replaced by another should die out "quickly." According to Pintzuk and Taylor (2006), in the century after 1250 about 3% of English texts show verb-final word order, suggesting that a very few writers still used dialects descended from Old English.

Chapter Two

The Middle English Lexicon: Cultural Integration Creates Anglicized Norse

Before turning to grammar, let us reflect on whether and how Middle English might have expanded its lexicon through cultural borrowing. The traditional assumption that Middle English derives directly from Old English reaches an impasse when faced with the fact that Middle English is permeated with the daily life terms of Norse.

However, taking the opposite tack, the even larger percentage of borrowed Old English vocabulary in Middle English is quite understandable. In the two centuries prior to the Conquest, the intensive cultural mixing in the Danelaw, summarized in Chapter One, brought a huge number of new words into the Norse of the economically predominant Danes. Then in the two centuries just after it, the newly found solidarity between the two now dispossessed Germanic populations in this area provided a strong impetus for fashioning a single language out of what had been two. And crucially, our examination in Chapters Three through Five of the grammatical developments of this unified tongue strongly confirms that *the syntactic source of Middle English was Norse.*

2.1   The Lexical Amalgam of Norse and Old English

We argue in this section that the resulting common tongue, i.e., the early "Middle English" of the East Midlands, was *lexically* an *amalgam* of the two languages (Baugh and Cable's term), which were in any case to some extent mutually comprehensible. Norse and Old English daily life vocabularies, as well as the basic inventories of grammatical morphemes, are intermingled in Middle English in a way that simply does not happen unless separate linguistic populations thoroughly mix, intermarry, and converse in a common language. So in no way can Middle English be construed as some surviving dialect of Old English with "many" Scandinavian loans for "new concepts" introduced by the newcomers, whose language was otherwise lost.

Moreover, if the Scandinavian and Old English speakers in the Danelaw were, or felt, separate under the Norman Conquest, community identities would have served to conserve each group's grammatical speech patterns. But the harsh realities of the Conquest leveled these differences and provided the basis for the integration of the Scandinavian and English-speaking populations.

We stressed earlier that any period of the influence of Norse on English vocabulary did not actually coincide with the era of Scandinavian supremacy, as repeatedly observed by adherents of the traditional view of Middle English, e.g., Strang (1970) and Burnley (1992, 418–19). The creation of the lexical amalgam is indisputably in the period *following* the Norman Conquest. Though this fact is well known, it has hardly ever been pointed out as meaningful in the scholarly literature, which follows instead a misleading tradition of situating linguistic events (e.g., language loans) chronologically inside periods of earlier historical events that actually precede and lead up to them. More in line with Middle English realities is the comment of Campbell (1959, 220):

> The great influx of Scandinavian words into Old English caused by the Norse settlements in England is not fully reflected in Old English texts, and the development of these words is mainly *a branch of Middle English studies*. [Our emphasis; we would also omit *fully*. JE and JTF]

The integration of the lexicons of the two languages was greatly aided, as Baugh and Cable (2002, 96) observe, by the fact that the Anglian dialect (from an area with large-scale Scandinavian settlement) "resembled the language of the Northmen in a number of particulars in which West Saxon showed divergence." Moreover, differences a thousand years ago in pronunciation and vocabulary did not separate West (Anglo-Saxon) and North (Scandinavian) Germanic lexicons as decisively as today.

> many of the more common words of the two languages were identical, and if we had no Old English literature . . . , we should be *unable to say that many words were not of Scandinavian origin* (Baugh and Cable 2002, 97; our emphasis, JE and JTF)[28]

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28   As these authors note, the phonological differences between Norse and Old English sometimes clarify the source of Middle English words; cf. the Appendix on phonology.

This passage, penned by eminent historians of English, is practically an admission of the logical circularity of the traditional position (4a): one can show that Middle English derives from Old English only by *assuming* that the Middle English cognate vocabulary derives from Old English rather than from Norse. Less drastically, there is a huge vocabulary shared by these two languages; we estimate that as much as 50% of this vocabulary (see the next section) can be equally well attributed to both Old English and Norse. Moreover, this common vocabulary greatly facilitated the learning of both languages by speakers of the other, especially under the integrated conditions imposed by the Norman Conquest. Thus, even under our hypothesis that Middle English is not West Germanic, its lexicon still shares with Old English a descent from a common ancestor, Proto-Germanic, then probably less than some 2,000 years in the past.[29]

2.2 The Daily Life Nature of Norse Words in Middle English

The pervasive presence of *specifically Scandinavian vocabulary* in the Middle English of daily life shows how thoroughly Norse and English fused into a new lexicon in 12th-century families speaking (creating) Middle English. A crucial observation is that

> the new words could have supplied no real need in the English vocabulary . . . . The Scandinavian and the English words were being used side by side, and the survival of one or the other must often have been a matter of chance. (Baugh and Cable 2002, 100)

Of words not alike in Old English and Norse, some 1,800 Middle English words "*designating common everyday things and fundamental concepts,*" by either "*fully convincing*" or "*probable*" evidence, come not from Old English but from Scandinavian (Baugh and Cable 2002, 99–105). In order to appreciate

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29 Sometimes, but, of course, not always, separate cognate languages remain to some extent mutually comprehensible. The common ancestor of Italian and Spanish was spoken some 2,000 years ago, and neither language today seems to be a total mystery to the speakers of the other.

this, let us look at about 30% of the examples they select to exemplify Scandinavian "loans" in English. In (5) we group together and then alphabetize every third example of words they discuss under several different headings.

(5)   *bait*, *band*, *birth*, *bloom* (not meaning *flower* as in German), *brink*, *call*, *cow*, *crook* (as in *crooked*), *die*, *dike*, *dregs*, *egg*, *flat*, *flit*, *freckle*, *girth*, *hale* (in good health), *keel*, *kindle*, *link*, *low*, *nag*, *odd*, *race*, *ransack*, *root*, *sack*, *scant*, *scare*, *score*, *scrape*, *screech*, *sister*, *skirt*, *sky*, *snare*, *tattered*, *thrift*, and *whisk*

Almost certainly, Old English already had words for, say, 90% of these objects and concepts. Yet Middle English speakers used the Norse words—not because the concepts were culturally new, but because Scandinavian parents naturally passed on large parts of their own vocabulary to their children. Thus, the "loans" from Scandinavian cannot be borrowing in any usual sense, even if one wants to dispute our hypothesis (4b).[30]

To underscore this point, let us contrast the denotations of the above words with those of a similar number of later "daily life" borrowings from French in (6).[31]

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30   Bailey and Maroldt (1977, 27) argue that Middle English is the result of Old Norse / Anglo-Saxon creolization prior to French creolization, and that the Scandinavian lexical contributions "also show that basic vocabulary items are as borrowable as any other!" We see no justification for this sweeping conclusion. Indeed, Anglicized Norse borrowed basic Old English vocabulary (see our Section 6.1), but the mixing of basic vocabulary in Middle English was due to the highly specific social conditions which we outline in the text. In contrast, though borrowing from French was extensive, Middle English did not borrow its "core vocabulary."

31   Just as Norse and English vocabularies were not integrated until more than three centuries after the Viking invasions, so the entry of French vocabulary into English was also delayed. "In 1170 relatively few French verbs had been absorbed, and although some dialects had borrowed many Scandinavian verbs, the likeness of verb-classification between ON and English was so close that these loans filled and reinforced the strong-weak-anomalous classification" (Strang 1970, Section 154). Jespersen (1938) also documents how significant borrowing from French, outside of military, religious, and food terms, began only in the mid-13th century. The borrowings came into the language largely because Norman French speakers started to predominantly write and speak English at about this time, i.e., after Middle English had taken on its characteristic form.

(6)   *add, approve, argue, arrange, ball, boil, bottle, button, chair* (with a back), *cider, cup, domain, equal, flower, fork, fry, garden, grand, ink, juice, lamp, letter, lettuce, marriage, master, mason, napkin, offer, orange, park, pea, peach, pear, plate, porch, promise, question, roast, scarf, servant, table, vase,* and *vest*

The words in (6) plausibly qualify as cultural borrowings, especially since English speakers were largely impoverished medieval peasants, while French speakers were frequently literate, well fed, well housed, well clothed, and by no means poor. Even when the English had cultural counterparts, the Norman versions had different social significance, so names for the new social variants (*master, marriage, table, vest*) had new terms. As a result, it is easy to believe that Old English and/or Norse lacked words for most of these objects and concepts, at least in the way medieval life was organized. These words denoted things and ideas culturally borrowed from upper- and middle-class Norman descendants and thus differ strongly from those in (5).

Another list of Scandinavian "loans" in (7) is from Strang (1970), and according to her the words first appear in written English *in the late 12th century*, i.e., a hundred years after the Conquest. She calls them "a handful of examples out of hundreds." (We alphabetize her list.)

(7)   *bull, cast* (throw), *dream, egg, fro(m), grey, hap* (luck), *ill, skill, skin, take, though, want, wing*

And here is a Wikipedia list of words from Norse (distinguished from modern borrowings, which it lists separately). The underlined words in this list are overlaps with the lists (5) and (7) of the scholars just cited, which no doubt count among its un-cited sources. We can confirm that all the others are indeed from the Scandinavian vocabulary.

(8)   *anger, awe, bag, <u>birth</u>, blunder, both, cake, <u>call</u>, cast, cosy, cross, cut, <u>die</u>, dirt, drag, drown, egg, fellow, <u>flat</u>, flounder, gain, get, gift, give, guess, guest, gust, hug, husband, <u>ill</u>, kid, law, leg, lift, likely, <u>link</u>, loan, loose, <u>low</u>, mistake, <u>odd</u>, <u>race</u>* (running), *raise, <u>root</u>, rotten, same, scale, <u>scare</u>, <u>score</u>, seat, seem, <u>sister</u>, <u>skill</u>, <u>skin</u>, <u>skirt</u>, skull, <u>sky</u>, stain,*

steak, *sway*, <u>*take*</u>, <u>*though*</u>, *thrive*, *Thursday*, *tight*, *till* (*until*), *trust*, *ugly*, <u>*want*</u>, *weak*, *window*, <u>*wing*</u>, *wrong*

Again, the notions in (7)–(8) must have been expressible in Old English. It is inconceivable that such concepts would be "culturally borrowed" from a dying language into a living language on its home territory.

We instead agree with the thrust of Baugh and Cable's conclusions; Middle English vocabulary was not due to English "borrowing" from Norse; rather, Middle English was an "amalgam" of the two languages, in particular with respect to its lexicon. This amalgam resulted from *complete social integration* of the two linguistic communities in the East Midlands and North (understood as extending northward from London), and it extensively utilized the lexical resources of both. But even so, in consulting several Middle English word lists of various sorts, we invariably find that the percentages of Middle English vocabulary attributed to Norse are understated. We attribute the low percentages given for Norse vocabulary in Modern English to the circular *assumption* that any word with an Old English cognate comes from Old English rather than Norse.[32]

The sole purpose of discussing the thorough Middle English lexical amalgam of Old English and Norse here is to emphasize: *no convincing argument about the overall source of Middle English as a system can be based on lexical study of its open class items*, because neither language is anywhere near the dominant source of the daily life vocabulary of Middle English.[33]

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32   For instance, a *Collins Dictionary* publicity page enthusiastically invites the reader to find that 147 Modern English words have an Old English source, but in fact 99 of them have Norse cognates. So the list contains only 48 words with a sure Old English source. If *Larousse* tried to sell a French dictionary on such a flimsy etymological basis, it would be a joke. Given Baugh and Cable's lists of words with only a Norse source, *Collins* could easily construct a much longer Norse list if it wanted to appeal to the Scandinavian market.

33   A reader has observed that our discussion of the open class Middle English lexicon relies mainly on Strang (1970) and Baugh and Cable (2002), which "hasn't been updated for some decades." But our arguments for the source of Middle English depend not on open class vocabulary, but rather on syntax (Chapters Three through Six) and the grammatical lexicon (Chapter Seven). In addition, there is no indication in more recent literature, e.g., Miller (2012), that the Scandinavian influence is *less* than previously thought. The newer discussions, frequently couched in terms of "creolization," point toward more Norse influence, not less.

Consequently updating our admittedly limited lexical sources would be irrelevant for establishing (or disconfirming) our study's hypothesis. For further discussion of aspects and examples of the Middle English lexical amalgam, see Miller (2012, 91–119).

There is in fact one further indication of how the two cultures fused under the Conquest, which indicates Scandinavian predominance. Tellingly, Strang (1970, 258–59) notes that the Norse *-son* is the standard Middle English patronymic, replacing the Old English *-ing* about 1200 and "in time adopted throughout the country" (Freeborn 1998, 49). That is, new family names in Middle England were Norse names.

This includes the name of the Anglo-Saxon leader who was defeated by the Normans. Harold Godwinson was "the second most powerful man in England after the monarch," because he led "opposition to the growing Norman influence in England encouraged by the king, Edward."[34] Though Harold is often revered as the "last Anglo-Saxon king," his (non-royal) family was entwined with Canute's court through marriage, and his brother Sweyn was presumably named after Canute's father, the conqueror of England who had deposed Edward's father in 1013. In 1045, Harold had become Earl of East Anglia, the heart of the Danelaw. Thus, except for those from Canute's court, Anglo-Saxons are totally absent from the 11th-century scene, after losing political power in the wake of the Battle of Malden (987), not only in the Danelaw but by 1013, apparently everywhere.

2.3 Relative Contributions to the Middle English Open Class Lexicon

We do not contest the common assumption that *the lexicon* of the new language, Middle English, ended up as more English than Scandinavian. This widespread belief is nonetheless based on assuming that a Middle English cognate of an Old English word always descends from the latter, all else being equal. Yet, as Baugh and Cable (2002, 97) make clear, "if we had no Old English literature . . . , we should be unable to say that many words were not of Scandinavian origin." That seems to imply that if a word appears in

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34   The source for the quotes in this paragraph is: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/harold_ii_godwineson.shtml, with more information from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harold_Godwinson#Family_background.

Old English, we can say its modern descendant is not Norse. This is of course a complete non sequitur; whether such a word is from Norse or Old English is exactly the question; an Old English antecedent of a Middle English word is at best suggestive. There is *no "burden of proof" on claiming that Middle English words derive from Norse cognates* rather than from Old English.

Another factor loosening the traditional tie between the Old and Middle English lexicons is the striking disappearance of most Old English vocabulary. Denham and Lobeck (2010, 372) estimate that "about 85% of the 30,000 Anglo-Saxon words died out after contact with the Scandinavians and the French, . . . only about 4,500 Old English words survived." These authors cite no source, but the size of the Old English lexicon is consistent with estimates on both the Oxford English Dictionary project website http://www.youtube.com/watch?v =fVc84pC9OEE&feature=youtu.be and the website http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Changes_to_Old_English_vocabulary. No doubt this figure comprises words and spellings from every possible source, and far exceeds what any native speakers actually controlled. But indisputably, many thousands of Old English words existed somewhere before 1100, yet disappeared by 1300. This baffling anomaly in traditional histories of English becomes unremarkable only in the light of our hypothesis that Old English died out in Middle English times. That is, the Middle English lexicon is in no way a robust continuation of Old English.

Consequently, we need some kind of determination of how much Old English contributed to it. Our first estimate is based on lists given in Freeborn (1992) of Middle English words derived from Old English and Norse. He does not pretend to exhaustive lists—he basically wants to show that Middle English has "a lot of" Norse words and also many more with both Norse and Old English cognates. We have found his estimates of the latter are too low (he lists 460, but we find 571), so our totals for the Middle English vocabulary based on his lists are as follows:

(9)   a. Old English and Norse cognates   571   50%

       b. Old English source only   405   36%

       c. Old Norse source only   <u>163</u>   <u>14%</u>

       d. Total vocabulary listed   1,139   100%

Extrapolating from these figures, we can assume that about 60% of Middle English words (571) from Old English sources (976) are Proto-Germanic cognates (excluding French and Latin sources).[35]

A second calculation of relative contributions to the Middle English lexicon begins with Denham and Lobeck's figure of 4,500 Old English words surviving into Middle English. Again assuming that 60% of these are cognates, then some 2,700 words common to Old and Middle English have Proto-Germanic cognates in Norse, while 1,800 are from Old English only. Moreover, we have Baugh and Cable's estimate that according to "fully convincing" or "probable" evidence 1800 Middle English open class words "*designating common everyday things and fundamental concepts*" derive from Norse. (Their ratio between the two classifications is 50–50.) Plausibly, the fully convincing 900 were not near (mutually comprehensible) cognates, while the probable 900 were. Thus, let us conservatively count only Baugh and Cable's "fully convincing" 900 as from Old Norse only, leaving their "probable" 900 among the 2,700 cognates. We arrive at a second estimate for the major Germanic sources of the early Middle English lexicon, i.e., the lexicon of essentially illiterate peasants, serfs, and villagers.[36]

(10)   a. Proto-Germanic cognates   2,700   50%

   b. Old English source only   1,800   33%

   c. Old Norse source only   <u>900</u>   <u>17%</u>

   d. Total vocabulary   5,400   100%

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35   The Middle English vocabulary glossary http://www.librarius.com/gy.htm contains about 1,900 entries, but more than half are of French or Latin origin.

36   It is known that hardly any English vocabulary is Celtic. Possible sources other than Proto-Germanic were therefore borrowings from Latin/Romance and native coinages. It is hard to believe these constituted 40% of Old English lexemes, so our estimate is conservative. This total estimated size of the daily vocabulary of Middle English is for a period prior to improving socio-economic conditions and an increased rate of borrowings from French from 1250 onwards.

If our estimates in (9) and (10) are anywhere near representative, the new open class vocabulary in Middle English (based in the Danelaw) drew in a 2-to-1 ratio from Old English and Norse sources.[37]

If anything, the calculations extrapolated above *underestimate* the contribution of the Norse lexicon to that of Middle English. Thus, Burnley (1992, 415) reports: "Modern etymology estimates that over 45 per cent of the commonest words . . . in Present-Day English are of Germanic origin, nearly half of which are from sources other than Old English." Now what is the implication of saying that "nearly half" of the Germanic core of today's English is not from Old English? As there is not much borrowing from Dutch and German among the currently commonest words, where would most of this other half come from? (Words such as *trek*, *napkin*, *wanderlust*, *blitz*, *spiel*, *stein*, etc. are not the commonest.) If one's estimate is "nearly half," the actual conclusion of modern etymology reported by Burnley is that nearly half of the Germanic core of today's English is from Norse, which exceeds our more conservative estimate of about a third of the (non-cognate) vocabulary. For expository purposes, then, it is safe to conclude that the relative contributions of Norse and Old English to the Middle English lexicon approximate the percentages in the two tables above.

Under either a traditional scenario (4a) or our scenario (4b), the rate of borrowing into the Middle English open class lexicon turns out to be the same. If Middle English derives from Old English (4a), the evidence indicates that over 200 years (say 1070–1270), the resulting so-called "Norsified English" (the term coined by Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Section 9.8) incorporated ca. 1/6 of its vocabulary from Norse, since the Old English texts show that very little borrowing preceded the Conquest. If, rather, Middle English derives from Norse (4b), lexical borrowing doubtless began earlier in the Danelaw, as argued in Section 1.4, meaning that Anglicized Norse incorporated ca. 1/3 of its vocabulary from Old English over 400 years (870–1270). The rate of lexical borrowing is thus identical in both scenarios (1/6 in 200 years).

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37   These approximate figures raise a question. Is 5,400 a plausible size for an open class lexicon for the everyday things and concepts of uneducated 12th-century English peasants? Poor and illiterate medieval peasants no doubt controlled considerably fewer words than speakers do today, and further much of their vocabulary is plausibly unattested in the writing of the time.

What, then, are the implications of this "lexical stand-off" between the two scenarios for how Middle English developed? The conclusion is simple: *the make-up of the Middle English open class lexicon has essentially no bearing on which pre-Conquest language it came from.* Consequently, detailed study of the Middle English open class vocabulary has no bearing on choosing between hypotheses (4a) and (4b).

Summarizing, over the course of, say, ca. 400 years (870–1270) of Norse colonization (200 years) and integration (200 years), either:

- **The traditional view** (4a): During two centuries, Old English speakers *in their own country* added to or replaced around a sixth of their vocabulary with that of Norse settlers, whose language was dying out; or:

- **Our proposal** (4b): During four centuries, Norse speakers *in a new country and culture* added to or replaced around a third of their vocabulary with that of Old English speakers around them, who were slowly adopting Norse.

Now, no principles of linguistic descent even remotely depend on differences in sources of vocabulary of this order. If they did, English would necessarily be classed as a Romance language.[38] We must look for relevant genealogical evidence elsewhere, and in accord with an often unarticulated linguistic practice of 200 years, namely:

(11) **Genealogical Descent. A** language's genealogy is properly determined by its grammar, including its morphosyntactic system, and patterns of regular sound change.[39]

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38   By such a criterion, probably even late Middle English would then be a Romance language. According to the website http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loanword, 29% of English words derive from French, 29% from Latin, and 26% from all Germanic sources combined.

39   The term "genealogical" is of course unrelated to biological genes. Thus in historical linguistics, Latin is a genealogical ancestor of French; Albanian descends genealogically from Indo-European, etc.

This view has its roots in the historical linguistics of the 19th century and has no special relation to a generative approach. Although language descent was originally based on morphology and regular phonological change, structuralists at least understood that syntax must play a central role as well. No structuralist ever reclassified English as Romance on the basis of phonology (loss of Germanic initial stress) and/or the late Middle English influx of French/Latin derivational morphology. As we will see, the grammatical (and also some phonological) differences between Norse and Old English strongly and unambiguously point to Middle English being in the North Germanic family, not in West Germanic.

Chapter Three

Norse Properties of Middle English Syntax Lacking in Old English

Even though Anglicized Norse and Old English speakers incorporated large numbers of Old English words into their common and expanding lexicon, they simply could not avoid resolving many "grammatical dilemmas" such as those listed below as they developed a common grammar from combining two different vocabularies.

(12)   Sample of differences between West and North Germanic syntax:

• Should they use underlying head-initial (North Germanic) or at least partly head-final (West Germanic) verb phrases, e.g., in infinitives?[40]

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40   A series of papers on diachronic changes in English (Roberts 1997; Biberauer and Roberts 2005 and 2008) take for granted, in accord with tradition, that Middle English derives from Old English.

The latter two assume that head-final structures must all be derived from head-initial structures by movement, as in Kayne (1994). Under this view, the head-final verb phrases of West Germanic, including German and Old English, result from first moving V out of VP and adjoining it to a higher functional head v, and then fronting to the SPEC of vP the "remnant VP" (whose internal head is then silent). This movement is said to be forced by a D feature in this SPEC, even though VPs which seem to contain no DP, as in the German examples (i), still satisfy this "strong D feature."

(i)   a.   *Mary denkt, dass John [$_{VP}$ sehr schnell noch weiter] reiste.*
              "Mary thinks that John traveled even further very quickly."
        b.   *Mary denkt, dass John [$_{VP}$ zu spät nach hinten] geschaut hatte.*
              "Mary thinks that John glanced backwards too late."
        c.   *Der Hund ist so aufgeregt, dass er [$_{VP}$ ständig hin und her] läuft.*
              "The dog is so excited that it runs constantly to and fro."

Though we are not so convinced by this approach, readers that are can take our term "head-final VP" to mean "head-final vP after remnant VP movement." Later sections will give our views on the Biberauer/Roberts proposal for Middle English word orders.

- Should the new tongue allow preposition stranding (*The man that I spoke to*) or not?
- Should the infinitival particle *to* be a free morpheme (North Germanic) or a prefix (West Germanic) on the lexical V?
- Should the passive/past participle use a prefix or not (West Germanic *ge-*)?
- Should the directional particles sometimes be V-prefixes (West Germanic) or not?
- Should the new language have "raising constructions" (North Germanic) or not?
- Should restrictive relative clauses be introduced only by invariant relativization markers (North Germanic), or should it also have relative pronouns showing the case of the relativized noun phrase (West Germanic)?

We will now show that *every one of these questions, and others as well, were resolved in favor of North Germanic.* Now almost universally, even when massive lexical borrowing is under way, native speakers maintain their grammars. Though speakers changing their language "often impose not only content words but also grammatical features of their native languages on the language they are learning . . . . These [grammatical] effects ordinarily disappear in subsequent generations, but not always" (Kroch et al. 2000, Section 2).[41] That is, second language learners eventually adapt and, after

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41   Since these authors assume that the second language learners in the Danelaw were the Norse speakers, they add the proviso that Norse grammatical features *lived on in Middle English*, *contrary* to what they admit to be the usual case. Their general remarks here on imperfect language learning fit into our scenario better: English speakers in the Danelaw temporarily imported some Old English features into their Anglicized Norse, but these, as "ordinarily" happens, disappeared in late Middle English.
      We do not claim that second language communities *never* manage to impose an aspect of their grammar onto a language they are adopting; see, e.g., our note 70 with respect to 14th-century Norman French. However, as Kroch et al. in fact imply, the burden of proof is on those who propose them. So these authors, after first *assuming without argument* that Middle English derives from Old English (as everyone has, prior to this work), accept this burden of proof in their essay about the effects of Norse on Middle English syntax. But in our view, the Norse character of Middle English syntax involves no long-term effects of imperfect learning, since the latter is *just a later version of Norse.*

a few generations at most, adopt a more or less unchanged native grammar. Under our hypothesis (4b), this is exactly what happened in the Danelaw / East Midlands. In the case at hand, we will show that the grammar that was retained was decisively Norse. The second language learners that lived there were therefore those speaking Old English.

Our overall argument that Middle English descends from Norse depends not on its exhibiting any one syntactic feature of Norse, but rather on Middle English having so many of these features, while at the same time *exhibiting essentially no Old English characteristics not shared by Norse.*

3.1 Change of Word Order in Verb Phrases

All the Germanic languages exhibit considerable variability in their verb-complement order at their medieval stages, unlike most contemporary standard varieties. Modern German and Dutch are verb-final (OV), while Modern English sides with Scandinavian in its consistent VO pattern.

Although the OE data are to some extent inconclusive, and have triggered conflicting analyses (Fuss and Trips 2002; Pintzuk 2002a, 2002b), earlier extensive research of both generative (Lightfoot 1979; van Kemenade 1987) and non-generative inspiration (Stockwell and Minkova 1991) concluded that the basic word order of Old English verb phrases largely conformed to that of the modern West Germanic languages; that is, the dominant underlying Old English word order in VP was V-final, and the Verb Second position in main clauses was due to movement.[42]

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42 There are, however, data (Pintzuk 2005) that suggest the presence of some head-initial VP structures in Old English, in contrast to the considerably more frequent head-final order. In light of these contrasts, Roberts (1997) proposes to analyze OE as underlyingly head-initial. Assuming with Kayne (1994) that underlyingly, heads are always initial, Biberauer and Roberts (2005) extend the main aspects of the OE analysis to all West Germanic languages. There is no conflict between their proposals for West Germanic and this study. However, Emonds (2013a) argues for a different approach to the directionality of headedness in syntax, deriving it instead from a language's prosodic stress patterns.

We also call attention to another consideration. Since early Anglicized Norse was not yet written, when some of its native speakers, such as some Lindisfarne monks, wrote in English, their writing could plausibly have mistakenly exhibited some of their native VO word order.

In Norse, it was rather VO order which predominated, although there was still some variation, with some marked cases of OV order, which seems to have changed to an underlying VO order significantly earlier, by the 9th century (Faarlund 2002, 949; 2004, 160–66).

(13) a. *Hon skyldi bera ǫl víkingum.* (*Hkr* I.68.3)
          she should carry ale.ACC vikings.DAT
          "She was to bring ale to the Vikings."

      b. *Hon hefir mint mik þeira hluta.* (*Hkr* I.102.17)
          she has reminded me.ACC those things.GEN
          "She has reminded me of those things."

      c. *Sárit mundi hafa grandat honum.* (*Band* 74.6)
          wound.NOM-the might have harmed him.DAT
          "The wound might have done him harm."

In accordance with this basic order, a non-finite auxiliary normally precedes the main verb, as shown in (13c).[43]

3.1.1 The Source for Middle English Word Order

It thus seems natural to conclude that Norse VO word order is the source of the innovative VO order that came to predominate in 12th-century Middle English, as there is no other plausible source for this pervasive change. The completion of the change can be dated at ca. 1200–1250, after which time English systematically exhibited VO order. (The date 1200 is from van Kemenade 1987, Section 6.1.1. The year 1250 accords with Pintzuk and Taylor 2006; cf. note 27.)[44]

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43   There are exceptions to the VO order in Norse texts. They may be due to left-adjunction to V' (Faarlund 2004, 161), or to a scrambling process, also known as Object Shift, whereby a complement of the verb is moved into the I-domain (or the "middle field") (Haugan 2000, 208ff.). In Modern Mainland Scandinavian this affects only light pronouns, but in Norse, as in Modern Icelandic, it can affect full DPs as well.
44   We are comfortable with saying a change is complete if 97% of texts exhibit it, as reported in (14) below. Similarly, though clauses such as *if he were here* still occur, we agree with Jespersen's (1938) unqualified statement that English had

Our hypothesis does not require going into how Old English speakers came to adopt Scandinavian word order, though it is consistent with the proposal laid out in Fuss and Trips (2002). Their account is based on Old English speakers in the Danelaw having *more than one internalized grammar*; in particular, they came to have access to Norse grammar as they learned this language, which was spoken around them. In our view, this bilingual status would not last more than a couple of generations. Later, after the Norman Conquest, this scenario spread through the rest of England as the "northern dialect" (of the East Midlands and North) became dominant southwards and westwards.

Under the traditional view (4a), Old English speakers, especially in the South and West, never learned a second language, so the idea that they had access to a second internalized grammar is rather presumptuous and speculative—unless, as we claim, Middle English was by that time essentially a second (different) language, namely the VO language Norse. Probably the first book in this language is the late 12th-century *Ormulum*, by the North Lincolnshire monk Orm "in an East Midland dialect of English."[45]

Pintzuk and Taylor (2006) provide the following figures for the sharply declining frequency of head-final VP structures with non-negated objects throughout the Middle English period:

(14)   1150–1250   28.4% OV
       1250–1350   3.1% OV
       1350–1420   1.3% OV

(already at that time) lost the past subjunctive. Isolated or dialect archaisms tell us nothing about a language's synchronic system.

45   For a study of the many Scandinavian characteristics of this volume, see Trips (2000). The unorthodox spelling system in the 12th-century *Ormulum* is remarkable for its innovations and inventiveness, which depart strikingly from Old English spelling (Freeborn 1998, 86–92). In texts assuming continuity from Old to Middle English, these (consistent) innovations are often assumed to be a personal oddity. We speculate that the Scandinavian author Orm felt that he was inventing *ab initio* a writing system for the previously unwritten Anglicized Norse, and so he conscientiously introduced (enduring) graphic mechanisms such as double consonants after short vowels.

These dates and percentages indicate that English was robustly a VO language after 1250, i.e., 97% of examples show this word order. The remaining 3% are archaic remnants of "imperfect learning" of Anglicized Norse (Middle English) by Old English speakers. This conclusion is fully expected under our hypothesis of Anglicized Norse spreading through the entire former Danelaw from roughly 1070 to 1230, and after that to the whole of England.[46] Given that Dutch word order did not change when it lost case, ours is the only straightforward account that explains why English did not remain similar to Dutch and Old English.

The figures in (14) reflect the position of non-negated objects. With negated objects, the situation is different in Middle English, the figures given by Pintzuk and Taylor (2006) being 41.0%, 18.2%, and 20.3%, respectively, for the three periods. This slower rate of change also correlates with the same development in Scandinavian. We do not have comparable statistics for Norse, but a general impression from extensive reading and counting is that any pre-verbal Norse objects during the later period are typically negated. Here are a few examples from late (15th-century) Old Norwegian (from Mørck 2011):

(15)   a.   *skal oc alrigh then ij nordgardhenom syther <u>jnga tiltalo</u> thil den*
            haghan hafua (*DN* XII, 204)
            shall also never that in Northfarm sits no demand to that
            pasture have
            "the one who owns the Northfarm shall also never have any
            demand on that pasture"

       b.   *fornemdh landhskyldjh skal <u>inkthe t</u> quitte* (*DN* XI, 203)
            above-mentioned land-rent shall nothing redeem
            "the above-mentioned land rent shall redeem nothing"

       c.   *the skula <u>ingen hinder</u> giøra Oslo æder Oslo borgare* (*DN* I, 102)
            they shall no obstruction make Oslo or Oslo citizens
            "they shall make no obstructions for Oslo or for the citizens of Oslo"

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46   The rare head-final VPs in the later periods can be attributed to the influences of surviving Old English dialects in bilingual writers.

Note that in (15c) the negated object precedes the infinitive, while the positive indirect object follows it. Relics of preposed negative objects can still be found in Modern Scandinavian, typically in an archaic style.[47]

(16) a. Danish
         Jeg havde ingenting sagt
         I had nothing said
         "I had said nothing"

      b. Norwegian
         Snakket ville ingen ende ta
         gossip.DEF would no end take
         "The gossip would never end"

The fact is, Old English OV word order in the VP did not "change" in Middle English; it simply died out with West Saxon.[48]

3.1.2 Possible Old English Sources for Middle English Word Order

We do not consider here various a-theoretical accounts of word order changes, which more or less say that some random instance of a V-Object order can just "spread" willy-nilly to a whole language. Such "anything can happen" approaches are non-predictive, and outside the framework of our study.

More systematic approaches to explaining Middle English word order in terms of internal properties of Old English are pursued in Roberts (1997) and Biberauer and Roberts (2005). In the first of these, the fact that actual V+ (usually focused) Object orders can surface in Old English (1997, 411–12)

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47   The constructions in (16) are currently analyzed synchronically as a result of object shift, moving a negated object to the NEG-position.
48   One cannot emphasize too much how strikingly Middle English word order prefigures that of Modern English, with no trace of West Germanic verb-final order. To illustrate, Pyles (1971, 178–179) provides a 19-line passage from Richard Rolle's *The Form of Living* (early 1300s in Northern dialect), where "it is possible to put it word for word into Modern English." That is, his translation into Modern English vocabulary, without a single modification of word order, yields an entirely natural passage. Only two phrases in his entire modern rendering are a bit awkward: *it is in more sweetness spiritually* and *for that may no man deserve.*

plays a role in differentiating it from Dutch, whose West Germanic order has remained stable up to the present. In contrast, these relatively rare Old English sentences might provide data that Middle English learners could re-analyze in terms of head-initial VPs.

The fact is, we do not deny that such a word order change might occur, since it might well have in pre-history when North Germanic lost the presumably head-final VPs of Proto-Germanic (Indo-European). But if such word-order change based on re-analysis is possible in principle, it is *certainly very rare*; nothing testifies to this more than the history of West Germanic languages. Variants on the Dutch and German systems have steadfastly adhered to basic head-final orders for over a millennium. There-fore, a small number of post-head object DPs in Old English, with most of them clearly recognizable in context as focused, would not easily suffice to cause a massive and central word order change, independently of the same change of North Germanic, not then long in the past.[49]

Biberauer and Roberts (2005) lay more stress on the fact that straight-forward head-initial analyses of North Germanic and Middle English are formally simpler than the "vP pied-piping" analysis they advocate for Old English. That is, the purported language-internal change from Old English to Middle English word order is due to a simplification of the grammar carried out by successive generations. But again, the lack of such changes in other West Germanic languages renders this explanation suspect. We cannot say that simplifying changes are carried out by language learners because they are economical, and then say that they must be economical because they occurred in the history of English. This is circular, because outside the history of English, the simplication in question has either not occurred, or is extremely rare.

3.2 From Old English Prefixes on Verbs to Middle English Post-verbal Particles

Like other West Germanic languages at the time, Old English had a produc-tive system of directional and aspectual verbal prefixes, such as the perfec-

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49   Absolutely proto-typical head-final languages such as Japanese and Turkish can exhibit discourse-prominent post-verbal DPs (and other single XPs) in root clauses, with no effect at all on their canonical word orders.

tive prefixes *ge-* and *be-* in (17a–b).⁵⁰ These examples are comparable with the Modern German (17c).

(17)   a. *Đa wæs Romana rice <u>ge</u>wunnen* (*The Goths and Boethius* b17)
            then was Romans' reign won
            "Then the empire of the Romans was conquered"

      b. *ond hine þær <u>be</u>rad* (*Cynewulf and Cyneheard* 10)
            and him.ACC there overtook
            "and overtook him there"

      c. *Ich habe den Brief <u>be</u>antwortet/geschrieben.*
            I have the letter answered/written
            "I replied to/wrote the letter"

In German, such particles can follow only Vs that are in the finite "second position" of main clauses: *Sie nimmt den Brief heraus* "She takes the letter out." The standard and frequent Old English pattern of these particles is like the rest of West Germanic, as amply illustrated in Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 58–59).

Although the astonishing number of grammatical differences between Old and Middle English rarely seem to surprise traditional scholars,⁵¹ most of these sources are quite struck by the complete and relatively rapid loss of the Old English prefixal system. Here is the view expressed in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (Burnley 1992, 446):

> One familiar Old English grammar (Quirk and Wrenn 1957, 109–114) lists thirty-four distinct prefixes in Old English, only a small proportion

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50   This prefix remains to this day as *ge-* in West Germanic Dutch and German.

51   These traditional histories are pretty much mired in empiricist methodology, which holds that linguistics consists of no more than accurately recording and summarizing facts. With this perspective, strictly speaking, no groupings or properties or "facts" are ever astonishing, since empiricists readily hold that "anything can happen" (despite the overwhelming disproof of this provided by centuries of natural science). Thus, empiricist histories of English are content once facts and changes have been described, and see no reason to investigate further.

of which continued in use beyond the first half of the thirteenth century [1250]. Some, such as *a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *to*, *ge-*, and *ymb-*, were widely used in words inherited from Old English in the early Middle English period, but the patterns declined in productivity. *Ge-* . . . persists throughout the period in the south . . . it had not been productive in these positions for many centuries . . . . Many Old English prefixes . . . were no longer productive and rapidly disappeared altogether.

An even more dramatic summary is cited by Biberauer and Roberts (2005):

one cannot avoid the impression of the prefixes having been swept away almost overnight. The suddenness of the change is remarkable in view of the longish and stable OE period. (Hiltunen 1983, 92)

Since the Old English system of verb prefixes of this West Germanic type is so extensive, Mitchell and Robinson list only prefixes that are "not so easily recognizable," i.e., there are many more.

(18) a. Directional: *a-* "away," *be-* "around," *to-* "apart," *wiþ-* "against," *ymb-* "around"

b. Aspectual: *be-* "transitivizer," *for-* "intensifier," *ge-* "perfect," *on-* "negation"

As observed by Burnley above (and many others), the West Germanic system of prefixes became much less prominent in the Middle English period, and died out as a productive pattern by the end of it. Instead, Middle English rather suddenly developed a system of *post-verbal particles* which took over the role of the prefixes.[52]

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52   The examples are from Freeborn (1998, 83). Dalton-Puffer (1996) shows that French suffixes replaced many Germanic prefixes in Middle English. However, the principal lexical influence of Anglo-Norman French (consisting of massive borrowing) is significantly later, and provides synonyms for the (still extant) Anglicized Norse verb-particle system, rather than replacing it.

(19) a. *te eorl stæl <u>ut</u> [and] ferde efter Rodbert eorl of gloucestre*
          (*Peterborough Chronicle* for 1140)
          the earl stole out and went after Robert, earl of Gloucester

      b. *he reuede þe landes [and] læide micele geldes <u>on</u>.*
          (*Peterborough Chronicle* for 1140)
          he robbed the lands and laid great taxes on

A most informative essay (Lamont 2005) on *The Historical Rise of the English Phrasal Verb* integrates the findings of ten authoritative treatments of the introduction of "phrasal verbs" in early Middle English (i.e., collocations of verbs and post-verbal intransitive Ps), including those by L. Brinton, D. Denison, R. Quirk, and O. Fischer. To these sources we may add the summary of Burnley (1992, 444–46), quoted in part above. These contributions essentially concur that Old English lacked such collocations (though of course motion verbs might combine with directional adverbs such as *forth*), but that these combinations were suddenly plentiful in early Middle English. Lamont, before turning to the post-verbal particles of Modern English, summarizes:

> Several authors on the subject claim that Old Norse, which already had a fairly robust incidence of phrasal verbs, must have incited the production of English phrasal verbs with post-verbal particles, although the degree to which Old Norse is responsible for this is unclear (Smith 1996: 140, Fischer 1992: 386) . . . . [Phrasal verbs were] common by the fourteenth century (Millward 1996: 179) . . . Middle English underwent a shift in syntax from many instances of SOV to SVO as it lost many synthetic inflections (and consequently possible word orders) from Old English, becoming a much more analytic, or word-order based, language . . . . In other words, Old English "forbrecan" became "to break up."

In discussing mid-12th-century and early 13th-century Middle English, Strang (1970, Section 153) underscores the central importance of this rapid development of the verb-particle construction, which she seems to equate with any particle placement following the verb:

But one factor is clearly of the highest importance . . . . This is the development of the verb-particle combination (phrasal verb), in which the particle may be a preposition or adverb. Such combinations were *virtually unknown in OE*, which used particles with verbs in separable prefix form (as does Modern German), and *for some reason* this arrangement came increasingly to be preferred. [our emphases, JE and JTF]

The reason that eludes Strang, and further explains the somewhat mysterious link between verbal word order and the non-prefixal use of P, is that post-verbal particles *straightforwardly continue the same construction in Norse*.[53] North Germanic had lost such verbal prefixes in pre-historic times, and its system is exactly what appeared in Middle English. That is, the directional and aspectual Middle English particles were generally post-verbal, not only in main clauses but also *in dependent clauses and infinitives* (as in today's English). Here are some examples of how the Norse aspectual particle *upp* "up" may combine with and follow verbs.

(20) *koma upp* "appear," *lúka upp* "open up," *brenna upp* "burn up/down," *hefja upp* "rise up, start, begin"

In the same way, combinations of verbs and post-verbal particles (underlined) are found in 13th-century Danish:

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[53] Biberauer and Roberts (2005, Section 4.1) suggest a theoretical link between the VP-initial verbs of Middle English and the loss of the West-Germanic pre-verbal particle system. However, the direction of causality they favor seems unclear: did the decline in particle verb combinations favor object-shifted head-initial vPs, or is simple object shift the cause of particles following Middle English verbs?

Similarly, Akimoto's (1999) addition of a causal link, beyond the history of the languages involved, is both unlikely and, in light of our hypothesis, unnecessary. We doubt that the two factors are necessarily related. The head-final VPs of Japanese lack any system of verb-prefixation similar to West Germanic. Czech phrases, including its VPs, are head-initial (any final V are focused), yet exhibit an elaborate and productive verb prefixation system similar to head-finalWest Germanic.

(21) a. *Thæt samæ ær logh of garth <u>delæs vp</u> so sum hws <u>deles vp.</u>*
          (*JL* 44.12)
          the same is law if fence demolish.ᴘᴀss so as house demolish.ᴘᴀss
          "The law is the same if a fence is demolished as when a house is
          demolished."

      b. *Udæn off alt korn <u>commær fyrræ yn.</u>* (*JL* 154.19)
          except if all corn comes before in
          "Unless all the corn comes in earlier."

Modern English parallels are obvious. This system of post-verbal direc-
tional and aspectual particles, inherited from Norse, has vastly expanded in
use and practically become a trademark of Modern English. The result is that
nowadays the patterns of transitive particle verbs are essentially identical in
English and Norwegian: object pronouns usually precede the particle, while
full DPs more typically follow the particle.

(22) a. *Ho kasta ut boka.*
          she threw out the book

      b. *Ho kasta den ut.*
          she threw it out

      c. *Han drakk opp ølet.*
          he drank up the beer

      d. *Han drakk det opp.*
          he drank it up

This is a straightforward continuation of the Norse system, cf. Old Norwe-
gian:

(23) a. *Nu vill guðbrandr lata <u>bera ut</u> barnet* (*LO* 6461)
          now will Guðbrand.ɴᴏᴍ let.ɪɴꜰ carry.ɪɴꜰ child.ᴅᴇꜰ
          "Now Guðbrand will let the child be exposed"

b. *hann <u>hellir ut</u> bøner fyrir dom stol Cristz* (*Hóm* 13.26)
he pours out prayers for judgement seat Christ's
"he makes prayers for Christ's tribunal"

c. *at hann hefi <u>þic upp</u> á tið ambunar þinnar* (*Hóm* 9.8)
that he lifts you up at time reward.ɢᴇɴ yours
"that he extols you at the time of your reward"

d. *En þæir læystu <u>hann ut</u> með þusundum xíí. gullzkillinga* (*LO* 6788)
and they loosened him out with thousand 12 goldshillings
"And they absolved him with 12,000 gold shillings"

Under the conventional view that Middle English developed from Old English, this system requires a thoroughgoing and complex grammatical change to be hypothesized, as seen in the rather tangled discussions and summaries of Strang and Lamont. However, under our view, the emergence of post-verbal particles in Middle English is essentially a non-event. Middle English just continued the established and robust Norse pattern.[54]

3.3 Subject-to-Subject Raising

A familiar pattern in Modern English is the so-called subject-to-subject raising, whereby the subject of a subordinate clause may occur on the surface as the subject of the matrix clause. Compare (24a) and the raising version (24b). Sentences of this kind have the structures in (24c) and (24d), respectively:

(24) a. *It is likely / seems that John is the most competent person.*

b. *John is likely / seems to be the most competent person.*

c. *It seems [that John is the most competent person]*

d. *John$_i$ seems [t$_i$ to be the most competent person]*

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54   Today's English post-verbal particle system is very far from the separable prefix system of West Germanic. Modern English has atrophied verbal prefixes in only a few lexical verbs (*downplay, oversee, undercut*, etc.)

This is a characteristic feature of Modern English, where a large class of predicates besides *seem* allows this raising construction, e.g., *happen, continue, cease, prove, tend, be likely, be apt, be liable.*

A similar construction may seem to exist in Modern German, but it is limited to the verb *scheinen* "seem" (25a). There is, however, good reason to reject a raising analysis in this case, as argued by Ebert (1975) and Hawkins (1986), since non-subjects can also be "raised" in this context (25b–c).

(25) a. *Johann scheint krank zu sein.*
      John seems sick to be
      "John seems to be sick."

     b. *Ihm scheint geholfen zu werden.*
      him.DAT seems helped to be
      "He seems to be helped."

     c. *An dem Wagen scheint noch gearbeitet zu werden.*
      on the.DAT car seems still worked to be
      "On the car there still seems to be work to be done."

More importantly, subject raising is absent from Old English. "Unquestionable instances of subject-raising with verbs like *þync-* 'seem' are hard to find" (Traugott 1972, 102). Denison's (1993) extensive and careful chapter on subject raising comes to an uncharacteristically strong conclusion, finding in Old English only a single example that is "a translation from Latin." He concurs with Warner (1992) that "Subject Raising was rare before the second half of the Middle English period" (Denison 1993, 221).[55]

Hawkins (1986, 82) succinctly summarizes:

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55   Further on, Denison (1993, 228) continues: "there are . . . no examples like [*Bob is unlikely to lose the race*] until Middle English, when the new 'probable' senses of *likely* (borrowed from Old Norse) and *like* (influenced by Old Norse) both find a Raising usage; see here Fischer (1991, Section 2.4.2)."

(26) "Old English had very similar Raising and Tough Movement possibilities to those of Modern German, i.e., effectively no S[ubj] to S[ubj] or S[ubj] to O[bj] Raising."

In contrast, with the Norse verb *þykkja* "seem" and other verbs with similar meaning, subject raising (underlined) is a *normal and unmarked construction*.[56]

(27) a. *ok þótti <u>hann</u> vera inn ágæzti maðr.* (*Finnb* 51.5)
and seemed he.NOM be the noblest man.NOM
"and he seemed to be the most noble man."

b. *Furðu úspálig sýnisk okkr <u>þú</u> vera.* (*Finnb* 105.20)
very unprophetic.NOM seem us.DAT you.NOM be
"You do not seem to us to be very good at prophesying."

c. *Þorleiki virðisk <u>engi</u> jafnvel til fallinn at vera fyrirmaðr.*
(*Laxd* 183.26)
Thorleik.DAT seemed none.NOM equal-well to fallen.MSC.NOM to be foreman.NOM
"Nobody seemed to Thorleik to be well suited to be the leader."

d. *þa er <u>hon</u> tæcr at vitia austrsættar mæð varmum oc biartum geislum* (*Kgs* 7)
then when it takes to visit east-horizon with warm and bright rays
"when it begins to visit the horizon in the East with warm and bright rays"

Rare or not, English definitely exhibits subject raising well before Chaucer. Here are four Middle English examples from Denison (1993); the raising predicates are underlined:

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56 The Norse examples (27a–c) are from Old Icelandic sagas, which are original texts, not translations, and influence of Latin on this genre was minimal. (27d) is from an original Old Norwegian text.

(28)   a.   *& war & wirrsenn <u>toc</u> anan ut off hiss lic to flowenn*
             and pus and corruption took at-once out of his body to flow
             "and pus and corruption at once began to pour out of his body"
             (Denison 1993, 234; *Orm.* 4782, ca. 1180)

       b.   *Hire bleo <u>bigon</u> to blakien.*
             her countenance <u>began</u> to grow-pale
             (Denison 1993, 234; *St Marg.* (1) 22.4, ca. 1200 or 1225)

       c.   *Þe ȝeres of grace <u>fyl</u> þan to be [1303].*
             the years of grace fell then to be [1303]
             "It happened then to be 1303 A.D."
             (Denison 1993, 233; *HS* 75, ca. 1303)

       d.   *I sai it noght for-qui þat yee ne <u>ern lickli</u> lel men to be*
             I say it not for-the-reason that you not are likely loyal men to be
             "I do not say it because you are not likely to be loyal men."
             (Denison 1993, 229; *Cursor* 4877, ca. 1325; transl. JE and JTF)

So the question is where the robust subject-raising construction of Late Middle English and Modern English comes from. A Latinate origin has been suggested, but much more plausibly, the source of subject raising is in the spoken language, that is, Anglicized Norse. The Modern English versions of these Middle English raising predicates are *take*, *begin*, *fall*, and *be likely*.[57] Middle English raising to subject, with language-particular variations in which predicates are subject to it, is thus fairly certain to be an uninterrupted continuation of Norse syntax.

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57   *Take* is no longer a subject-raising predicate, but as a grammatical verb from Norse, it continues to exhibit some raising patterns as part of its behavior: *the car took three hours to fix*; *Ann has taken to having tea*. As often observed, subject raising is tied to certain predicates, as seen in modern contrasts such as *You are likely/*probable to be loyal men* and *Officials often happen/*occur to take bribes*.

3.4 Subject-to-Object Raising

This construction is traditionally known as *accusative with infinitive*; in generative terminology certain instances of it are called *Exceptional Case Marking* (ECM) or *Raising to Object*. In this configuration, what would be the subject of a subordinate clause appears to be the object of a matrix verb, in that it receives (accusative) case from it and can be a reflexive pronoun bound by a higher subject.

(29) a. *Do you want her/*she to speak louder?*

    b. *I believe John/myself to be ill.*

    In Raising to Object, the element in the higher object position does not receive a theta (semantic) role from the matrix verb; (29a) is not a question about whether "you want her," nor does (29b) mean that "I believe John." So the grammatical objects of the higher verbs appear to be "raised" from a lower position as the subject of a dependent clause.

    This raising is not to be confused with so-called "small clauses" that appear with perception verbs as in (30), where (30a) does indeed imply that "I heard John," and (30b) that "I saw her." Nor, as we will see, are causative constructions taking "bare infinitives" as in (30c–d) properly treated as a subcase of Raising to Object.

(30) a. *I heard John cough.*

    b. *I saw her coming back.*

    c. *We had/let him look at the letters.*

    d. *You made my brother forsake his religion.*

    Traditionally named "accusatives with infinitives" formed with perception and causative verbs as in (30) occur freely in languages such as French and Modern German, but these same languages lack Raising to Object / ECM. And moreover, once these types of complements as in (30) are excluded from discussion, true Subject to Object Raising / ECM as in

(29) is entirely absent from Old English; see again the conclusion (26) of Hawkins (1986). Van der Auwera and Noël (2011, 22), with reference to Fischer (1994, 94–96), concur: "in Latin translation, Old English and Old German had S-O raising structures, but these were calques from Latin."[58]

We can be fairly sure, however, that the ECM / Raising to Object construction of today's English is not due to the influence of Latin. And exactly like Raising to Subject, it was very common in Norse. In (31) instances of Raising to Object are underlined.

(31) a. *ok sagði <u>Sigmund vera úbœttan</u>* (*Nj* 103.31)
        and said Sigmund.ACC be unatoned.MS.ACC
        "and said that Sigmund had not been atoned for"

      b. *þit félagar kallið <u>guð yðarn svá margar jarntegnir gera.</u>*
        (*Hkr* II.232.21)
        you.NOM fellows say god.ACC your so many miracles.ACC do
        "You and your fellows say that your god can perform so many miracles."

      c. *Nemi maðr boðorð guðs . . . ok kenni <u>sik svá hafa ást guðs.</u>*
        (*Hóm* 3.18)
        Learn.SUB man.NOM God's commandments and know.SUB
        himself.ACC so have love.ACC god's
        "Man should learn God's commandments and know that he thus has God's love."

Although, outside of causative and perception verbs, there is a scarcity of Subject to Object Raising in early Middle English, Chaucer's 14th-century writing uses the construction freely; see the discussion and examples of Denison (1993, 183–88). But the same source also gives Middle English examples of Subject to Object raising, including the following infinitives, *before 1300*:

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58   Denison (1993, 172–175) gives Old English accusatives with infinitives with causative and perception verbs. He then concludes, again agreeing with Hawkins (1986), that this combination "is rare in Old English with two-place verbs other than perception verbs and causatives and is virtually confined to Latin influenced texts."

(32)   a. *ne nalde he nawt þolien þe þeof forte breoken hire.*
         nor not-would he not permit the thief to break-into it
         "nor would he allow the thief to break into it."
         (Denison 1993, 178; *SWard* 8, ca. 1200 or 1225)

      b. *and þet Ich demi riht ant wisdom to donne.*
         "and that I consider to be right and wise to do"
         (Denison 1993, 199; *SWard* 209, ca. 1200 or 1225)

      c. *Ghe wiste of water it boren ben.*
         she knew from water it born be
         "She knew it to have been born from water."
         (Denison 1993, 176; *Gen. and Ex.* 2632, ca. 1250)

We have seen that West Germanic, in particular Old English, lacks both raising constructions. At the same time North Germanic has undeniably had them since the earliest times, exactly as they are continuously attested in English in the 13th century (rarely) and in the 14th century freely. So we must again conclude: Middle and Modern English, in contrast to Old English, have the raising syntax of a North Germanic language.

3.5 Periphrastic Auxiliary Verbs

There are many studies recording how, from the very beginning, Middle English texts exhibit a range and frequency of auxiliary verbs that are uncharacteristic of Old English. Many are cited and discussed in Fischer (1992, Section 4.3.3, 250 ff.), who summarizes: "In Middle English 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 Old English had the subjunctive." This section will focus on just three of these novel Middle English periphrastic constructions.

For those who focus on typological generalizations, Middle English is "analytic," while Old English was "synthetic." For most traditional accounts, this change "just happened," although writers seem to be at pains to discover Old English antecedents of analytic constructions and Middle English vestiges of synthetic ones, motivated apparently by the conviction that inside a single language, there must have been some "gradual transition" from one

typology to another, sandwiched into the period during which, in the first decades of Norman rule, no English texts were produced. Another tack is to propose that Old English written (or transcribed) in the 10th and 11th centuries must have been archaic, with gradual transition then already in progress in the untutored (and unattested) speech of "ordinary people" in these centuries (Trudgill 2011b). Under this view, English was changing gradually over a longer period, even though no records survive to substantiate this.

As we now see, our account of this change of typology in the national language of England has a different explanation: the Old English speakers of both the Danelaw and Wessex simply switched languages; they switched from a West Germanic tongue to a North Germanic one.

3.5.1 The Source of Future Auxiliaries

Scholarship agrees that in Old English the present tense was also used to express future reference (Kirch 1959; Fischer 1992, 240; Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 108).

(33) *þas flotmenn cumaþ*
      "these seamen will come" (Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 108)

As a result, the Latin future was regularly translated by the Old English present. The ancestors of the later future auxiliaries, namely the modal verbs *sculan* and *willan*, had the lexical content of necessity or obligation, and wish or intention, respectively, what are generally called "deontic meanings." Old English did not use them to indicate simple futurity.

However, this state of affairs changed right at the start of the Middle English period. "In Middle English, the non-past is still regularly used to refer to the future, although *periphrastic constructions are more numerous, even in the early Middle English text*s" (Fischer 1992, 241; our emphasis, JE and JTF). One of Fischer's future periphrastics is from the 12th-century *Ormulum*; see also note 10:

(34) *And whase wilenn <u>shall</u> þiss boc efft oþerr siþe writtenn,* (*Orm.* 48–49)
      and whoever wish shall this book at another time write
      "And whoever shall wish to copy this book at some other time,"

Meanwhile, in Norse, two auxiliary verbs were used to express future tense, *munu* and *skulu*. The former was the more neutral one, expressing pure future reference (35a), while *skulu* could also be used to express obligation (35b).

(35) a. <u>mun</u> hon fœða meybarn frítt ok fagrt ok <u>mun</u> þú unna því mikit
(*Gunnl* 5.10)
will she give-birth girl-child.ACC beautiful and fair and will.2s
you.NOM love it.DAT big.NEU.ACC
"She will give birth to a beautiful and fair baby girl, and you will love her very much."

b. þá svarar Skirnir svá, at han <u>skal</u> fara sendiferð, en Freyr <u>skal fá</u>
honum sverð sitt (*Snorra Edda*, quoted from Kirch 1959)
then replies Skirni.NOM thus that he shall go mission and Frey.NOM
shall get him.DAT his sword.ACC
"Then Skirni replies that he will go on the mission and that Frey will get him his sword"

By the 13th century, in Danish, *skulu* seems to have become the most common way to express future tense.

(36) a. *then timæ the sculæ skiftæ, tha <u>sculæ</u> 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."

b. *So hielpæ hannum guth at han <u>scal</u> ey gøræ . . . ant en thæt rætast*
(*JL* 54.1)
so help.SUB him God that he shall not do other than the rightest
"May God help him so that he will not do other than what is most right."

At just this time, the use of *shall* in English (a cognate of the Scandinavian *skulu*) increases remarkably. In one translation from Latin of the Benedictine Rules from the first quarter of the 12th century, the Latin future is still regularly translated by the present tense. But in another version just

a few decades later, many of those presents are replaced by *shall* or *will* (Kirsch 1959), which Kirsch attributes to Scandinavian influence.

Of course, a development of modal verbs such as *shall* and *will* into future tense markers is a possible and natural kind of grammaticalization, which might have accidentally taken place independently in Old English, as it in fact did in Norse earlier on. But compounded with the other Norse characteristics of Middle English described in this (and the following) chapters, our hypothesis of Norse as the ancestor of Middle and Modern English is a simpler and more natural account.

3.5.2 The Possibility of Two Modals in a Row
Another characteristic that seems to unite Norse and Middle English modals and set them apart from Old English is a (perhaps limited) ability to occur in sequence. According to Fischer (1992, 277), Old English (like Modern English) does not allow two modals in a row. In contrast, she observes that 12th-century combinations such as those in (37a) can be found from Early Middle English onwards. The lists of examples in Visser (1963–73) show this possibility continues throughout Middle English; Lightfoot (1979, 110) gives the last such example from 1532 (37b).

(37) a. *Þatt mannkinn shollde muȝhenn wel/ Upp cumenn inntill heoffne* (*Orm.* 3944–45)
        that mankind should may well up come till heaven
        "that mankind should be able to go up to heaven"

     b. *before my letters shall may come unto your grace's hands.* (Cranmer, *Letters*)

Lightfoot (1979, Section 2.2) places no restrictions on these sequences, but Fischer claims that the only free combinations are when the first modal is a future auxiliary (as just seen in the previous subsection, this latter use is itself an innovation interior to Norse).

Like Middle English and unlike Old English, Norse also allows two modals in a row. Norse examples of modal sequences include those where the first indicates future, but other modal sequences can be found with *munu* "may" and *mega* "can, be able to":

(38) a. *Munt þú þat ætla mega* (Nygaard 1906, 194)
      may you that consider be.able
      "you should be able to think of that"

  b. *hvárt hann myndi mega niðr leggjast* (Nygaard 1906, 195)
      whether he might be.able down lie.REFL
      "whether it might be possible to bury him"

Thus, though there may be limits on these combinations, the possibility itself is simply a Middle English continuation of Norse grammar, and is another discontinuity separating them from Old English.

3.5.3 Perfect Infinitives (*have* + past participle)

In Old Scandinavian texts, there are a good number of perfect infinitives with this form. Especially following an auxiliary, they are very common, but they also occur after the infinitive marker *at* "to":

(39) a. *Þú vilt honum <u>þjónat hafa</u>* (*Kgs* 56.19)
      you will him served have
      "You will have served him."

  b. *er þér skylduð <u>gert hafa</u>* (*Fbr* 29.12)
      which you should done have
      "which you should have done"

  c. *hvart virðulegra er <u>at hava</u> þa <u>fenget</u> með sva mikilli sœmd* (*LO* 7545)
      whether nobler is to have.INF them got.SUP with so great honor
      "whether it is more noble to have obtained them with such great honor"

The construction also occurs in Middle English, relatively frequently after 1300 (Fischer et al. 2000, 100–101). Among their examples are the following:

(40) a. *Than if I nadde spoken . . . /Ye wolde <u>han slayn</u> youreself anon?*
      (Chaucer *Troilus* IV 1233)
      "Then if I had not spoken, would you have killed yourself at once?"

b. *And wolde <u>have kist</u> his feet* (Chaucer *Knight* 1758)
   "and wanted to kiss his feet"

c. *The worste kynde of infortune is this,/ A man to <u>han ben</u> in prosperitee,*
   And it remembren whan it passed is. (Chaucer *Troilus* III 1626)
   "The worst kind of misfortune is this, for a man to have prospered
   and to remember it when it has passed."

d. *more scheomeful uorte <u>habben</u> <u>i speken</u>, ase ich spec,*
   (Fischer 1992, 325; *Ancr.* [Nero] 143.18–20)
   "more ashamed to have spoken as I spoke,"

In contrast, perfect infinitives in Old English, according to Fischer's discussion, are extremely rare, and some of the few examples found by scholars appear for the most part to be translations from Latin. It thus appears that the spread of this construction in Middle English is due to its rather ordinary and established status in Old Norse.

3.6 Infinitival Clauses as Predicate Attributes

Old Scandinavian seems to have quite a developed use of infinitival clauses as arguments of predicates, a property which passed unchanged into Middle English. We have seen in Section 3.5.3 that its infinitives can have an (analytic) perfective form, and in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 that raising infinitives are "remnants" of both underlying subject and object clauses.

A third grammatical relation that Old Scandinavian can realize as an infinitive is the predicate attribute position after a copula, with or without an introductory preposition. That is, it has a construction consisting of a full lexical subject, a finite copula, and an infinitival phrase, where the subject also serves as the subject of the infinitive (not as its object).[59]

(41) a. *Hann var [at byrgja kvíadyrnar]* (*Fbr* 47.17)
      he was at/to close fold-gates.A
      "He was about to close the gate of the fold."

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59 In the last two examples there is an additional *at*. This is a regular preposition
"at," so the morphemic sequence is strictly "to be at to V."

b. *Þeir hǫfðu verit at þrjú sumur [at gera haug einn].*
(*Hkr* I.106.5)
they had been at three summers to make mound one
"They had been working three summers to make a mound."

c. *Hann var at [at hlaða skútuna]. (Nj 28.20)*
he was at to load skiff.A-the
"He was loading the skiff."

In searching for the earliest English infinitives that serve as predicate attributes (after a copula), Fischer (1992, 336–37) concludes that "it occurs in Old English only in translated prose; it remains a construction foreign to the Old English grammatical system." On the other hand, she finds: "The construction becomes more common English idiom in the Middle English period, especially the one containing the infinitive *to cumen* "to come." She then goes on to discuss her idea that the construction develops in this period from a confusion between earlier infinitives and present participles, a factor which seems to us unnecessary to introduce.[60]

We rather attribute this new Middle English use of an infinitive as a predicate attribute (Fischer labels it the *he is to comenne* type) not to a grammatical confusion among native speakers, but rather to their language being Anglicized Norse. In this language, the predicate attribute infinitive was already established, as seen in (41).

3.7   Stranded Prepositions

3.7.1 The Special Syntax of Modern English and Scandinavian
Preposition stranding means that prepositions can appear by themselves *inside clauses* when their complement DPs are either *relativized or moved to the front of the clause.* This is generally the result of a movement operation, either "Ā-movement," i.e., topicalization (42a), *wh*-movement in

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60   As Fischer is aware, the "confusion analysis" is problematic, since the progressive use of the present participle was not yet productive; this participle occurred regularly only with certain verbs, which she discusses.

direct and indirect questions (42b–c) and in relative clauses (42d), or "A-movement" as in the passive (42e).

(42) a. *[That issue]$_i$ we never talked about t$_i$.*

     b. *What$_i$ did you talk about t$_i$?*

     c. *She asked me what$_i$ we were talking with John about t$_i$.*

     d. *the issue which$_i$ he talked about t$_i$ with Ann*

     e. *[That issue]$_i$ was talked about t$_i$ at length.*

In the widest sense, a preposition is stranded when followed by an empty slot that constitutes its complement, even when the NP complement of the preposition is not overtly represented. In current English, this sort of stranded preposition is found in relative clauses introduced by an invariant complementizer (where the complementizer may be null, so-called "contact relatives") as in (43a), in infinitival relatives (43b), and with parasitic gaps (43c).

(43) a. *[the issue]$_i$ (that) he talked about e$_i$ with her*

     b. *We have [an important issue]$_i$ to talk with her about e$_i$.*

     c. *[That topic]$_i$ we left t$_i$ without having talked about e$_i$.*

These exact same patterns exist in Mainland Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian), except that these languages do not have relative pronoun counterparts to *wh*-words in regular use. The Norwegian sentences in (44) exemplify preposition stranding as a result of movements parallel to those in (42), and in (45) the prepositions are followed by an empty slot as in (43).

(44) a. *Den saka snakka vi aldri om.*
       that issue.DEF talked we never about
       "That issue we never talked about."

b. *Kva snakka de om?*
what talked you.PL about
"What did you talk about?"

c. *Ho spurde meg kva vi snakka om.*
she asked me what we talked about

d. No relative pronoun counterparts to *wh*-words

e. *Den saka vart snakka om.*
that issue.DEF was talked about

(45) a. *den saka (som) han snakka om*
the issue.DEF that he talked about

b. *Vi har ei viktig sak å snakke om.*
we have an important issue to talk about

c. *Det emnet forlet vi utan ein gong å ha snakka om.*
that topic.DEF left we without even to have talked about
"That topic we left without even having talked about."

No other Indo-European language has all of these patterns; most Germanic and other languages have none of them. Frisian allows preposition stranding only in interrogative sentences;[61] Dutch allows it under very restrictive conditions, e.g., neither in passives nor with overt *wh*-pronouns (van Riemsdijk 1978).

3.7.2 The Source of Stranding: Old Scandinavian / Middle English

Old English had limited preposition stranding of the type in (43a–b), that is, in relatives with invariant or null complementizers and in infinitival relatives. But according to van Kemenade (1987, 153) this Old English

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61   This one feature is, of course, not sufficient to classify Frisian as North Germanic, given the fact that it groups with West Germanic with respect to most other parameters.

stranding is highly circumscribed: objects of a stranded preposition must be personal or locative *pronouns* on the left periphery of a PP, VP, or CP. Her Section 5.3 shows with many examples and, we think, solid argumentation that this Old English preposition stranding must involve *preposition-internal traces of clitics*. In other words, West Germanic excludes preposition stranding, except that Old English circumvented the full ban only with second position clitics. Accordingly, both clitics and hence the limited Old English version of preposition stranding disappeared "when the loss of morphological case was completed around 1200" (van Kemenade 1987, Section 6.3.3). In her view, then, Old English preposition stranding is simply unrelated to the stranding of Middle and Modern English.

Although full preposition stranding is nearly non-existent outside North Germanic, scattered instances of it are not totally unknown in other languages. It is found marginally in non-standard French with one preposition, *avec* "with":

(46) *la femme que j'ai parlé avec/*sur/*pour/*de*
      the woman that I spoke with/about/for/of

This would, of course, not be the only Germanic feature in French—beside the name of the language itself!

Otherwise, preposition stranding is unknown in Indo-European, but it can occasionally be found in one form or another in languages as diverse as Hungarian (Dékány and Hegedűs 2014), in Berber (J. Ouhalla, pers. comm.), and in the Mesoamerican language Zoque (Faarlund 2012; Jiménez 2014). From its extreme rarity we conclude that, descriptively, its presence in Middle English and Scandinavian must be the same phenomenon, i.e., English preposition stranding is just one more property of North Germanic.

With respect to preposition stranding, van Riemsdijk (1978) posed a by now classic question for syntactic theory: *why* is preposition stranding *so rare* in the world's languages? After all, it parallels a syntactic process which is extremely common across languages, namely the fronting of a nominal complement away from a phrasal head. Compare examples (47) and (48) to those in (42) and (43), respectively.

(47)   *[That issue]$_i$ we never discussed t_i.*
What$_i$ did you discuss t_i?
She asked me what we were discussing t_i.
the issue which$_i$ he discussed t_i
[That issue]$_i$ was discussed t_i .

(48)   *[the issue]$_i$ (that) he discussed e_i.*
We have [an important issue]$_i$ to discuss e_i.
[That topic]$_i$ we left t_i without having discussed e_i.

These familiar patterns could, after all, be called "Verb Stranding." The only difference from Preposition Stranding is that phrases in the latter move out of one extra maximal projection, namely out of PP as well as VP.

So the question is why *some, but very few*, languages, and not others, have it. Attempted explanations in terms of preposition incorporation or (lack of) case morphology (Kayne 1984) are faced with serious empirical problems because these processes are so much more widely attested.[62] As an alternative, we will argue below that the actual early history of preposition stranding in Old Scandinavian can go a long way toward accounting for why it emerged when and where it did.

As we have seen, this process did not exist in Old English in any general sense. Then it suddenly shows up in 13th-century Middle English (Fischer 1992, 389). She gives and translates the following examples (1992, 390):

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62   A promising line of inquiry might consist of relating preposition stranding in English and Scandinavian to the liberal possibilities for extraction across clause boundaries in those languages, which is unusually free in, e.g., Norwegian.

(i)   a.   Who$_i$ do you think [she told me [that she had met friends of t_i today]]?

      b.   Den boka$_i$ vart eg imponert [da du sa [at du kjende den [som har skrive t_i]]]?
           that book was I impressed when you said that you knew that that has written
           "I was impressed when you said that you knew him who has written that book"

We are, however, not going to pursue this possible parallelism any further here.

(49) a. *ah þe gode ich ga aa bisiliche <u>abuten</u>*
        (*St.Marg.*(1) (Bod) 30.35–36)
        but the good I go always busily about
        "but the righteous ones I always war against constantly"

      b. *nuste nan kempe, whæm he sculde slæn <u>on,</u>*
        (*Brut.* (Clg) 13718–19)
        knew no soldier who he should slash on
        "No soldier knew whom he should strike at"

      c. *And getenisse men ben in ebron,/ Quilc men mai get wundren <u>on</u>*
        (Gen.&Ex. 3715–16)
        and giant men are in Hebron, which men may yet wonder about
        "And giant men are in Hebron which one may still wonder at."

More examples from the 13th century are cited by Pyles (1971, 179).

(50) *it es swa harde to com <u>to</u> for þe freelte of oure flesch and þe many*
      temptacions þat we er umsett <u>with</u> þat lettes us nyght and day.
      (from Richard Rolle, *The Form of Living*, 14th century)
      "it is so hard to come to for the frailty of our flesh and the many temp-
      tations that we are set about with that hinder us night and day."

As indicated above, we attribute this emergence of unrestricted prepo-
sition stranding in early Middle English to its North Germanic affiliation,
Since Middle English does not continue Old English but is rather Anglicized
Norse, when written documents in Middle English began being preserved,
they contained the relatively new but expanding preposition stranding
construction of North Germanic.

Though this preposition stranding was not widespread at first, it
appears mostly in relative clauses where the relativized item is the comple-
ment of the stranded preposition (underlined), as in these examples from
Old Norwegian:

(51)   a. *í þau konungs herbergi er helzt munu vera góðir siðir í̲ hafðir*
          (*Kgs* 42.22)
          in those king's quarters that most may be good customs.NOM in had
          "in those king's quarters where good customs may be best kept up"

       b. *þat er mér þótti engi vón í̲ vera* (*Barl* 101.32)
          that that me.DAT seemed no hope.NOM in be
          "that which I thought there was no hope in"

In Old Danish, such free stranding of prepositions in relative clauses
significantly expanded in the 13th century, especially with the locative *thær*
"there" used as a relative adverbial.

(52)   a. *Æn røuær annæn man bondens woghæn, thær hans husfrw*
          sithær a̲ (*JL*74.10)
          but robs other man farmer.DEF.GEN carriage there his wife sits on
          "But if another man robs the farmer's carriage that his wife is sitting
          on."

       b. *Fær man i annæn mans scugh oc hugger thær han a ey sielff loth*
          i̲ (*JL* 92.30)
          goes man in other man's forest and cuts there he owns not self part in
          "If a man goes into another man's forest and cuts where he owns no
          share."

Topicalization with preposition stranding is also found in Norse texts
at least as far back as the 13th century.

(53)   a. *þat vilda ek at þú rœddir ekki u̲m̲b̲.* (*Mork* 1280)
          that.ACC wished I that you talked not about
          "I would wish that you did not talk about it."

       b. *þess máttu Gautar illa á̲n̲ vera.* (*Hkr* II.95.2)
          that.GEN could Gauts badly without be
          "It was hard for the Gauts to do without that."

c. *en Oðin ok hǫfðingja xii. blótuðu menn ok kǫlluðu goð sín ok trúðu á lengi síðan* (*Hkr* I.19.21)
    and Odin.ACC and those chieftains.ACC 12 worshipped.3PL men.NOM and called gods.ACC their and believed. 3PL in long since
    "And people worshipped Odin and the 12 chieftains and called them their gods and believed in them long thereafter."

d. *þæn log skal land dømes <u>mæth</u>.* (*JL* 2.19)
    that law shall land judge.PASS with
    "By that law shall [the people of the] country be judged"

This variety of examples demonstrate that preposition stranding was already a signature characteristic of North Germanic syntax, in contrast to the contemporary situation in West Germanic.

3.7.3 Conditions for the Emergence of Preposition Stranding

How could such a rare syntactic pattern abruptly appear throughout Old Scandinavian? It seems possible to identify three different factors which may have made it possible to strand prepositions in North Germanic, two of which at least were absent from West Germanic. Those factors may have worked in combination to strengthen an impulse towards preposition stranding. The three factors are: (i) invariant complementizers introducing relative clauses; (ii) locative adverbial relatives, and (iii) preposition fronting. We therefore need to look at these possible catalysts for how preposition stranding could arise in Old Scandinavian.

(i) **Invariant Complementizers in Relative Clauses.** North Germanic in historical times did not have declined relative pronouns (unlike Old English; see Section 5.2). Relative clauses were introduced only by an invariant particle or complementizer, *es*, later *er*, eventually replaced by *sem*, and then *som* in the modern varieties. This is the type of stranding in (43), exemplified for Old Scandinavian in (51) above.

(ii) **Locative adverbial relatives**. Locative relatives were also originally introduced by *er*, with an adverb such as *þar* "there" as its antecedent. Eventually *er* could be dropped after *þar*, which then

came to serve as a relativizing adverb. As elsewhere in Germanic, locative adverbs could combine with prepositions (cf. atrophied Modern English *thereby*, *thereupon*, German *darin*, *davon*, etc.). In Old Scandinavian, this could also happen with relativizing adverbs, and in those cases the preposition would be stranded. This is what we see in the examples in (52).

(iii) **Preposition Fronting**. The third factor facilitating preposition stranding in Old Scandinavian is what may be termed preposition fronting. A preposition may be separated from its complement and topicalized alone, (54a), or prefixed to the verb, (54b), while the complement remains *in situ*. West Germanic does not exhibit this property.

(54) a. *ok <u>af</u> hefir þú mik ráðit <u>brekvísi við þik</u>* (*Laxd* 98.14)
      and off have.2s you.N me.A advised importunity.D with you.A
      "and you have taught me not to be importunate with you"

     b. *ok hversu hann er <u>frá</u> rekinn <u>sínu ríki</u> at saklausu* (*Mork*)
      and how he is from driven his power.DAT at innocence
      "and how he is wrongly driven from his power"

In all three constructions, the ties between the preposition and an immediately following complement are severed, and so we suggest that once the complement is "free" from the P, it is also free to be topicalized. In an initial theorization of preposition stranding, Emonds (2013b) calls this "Permissive Subordination."

Whether or not those factors can be shown to be the definitive causes leading to full-blown North Germanic preposition stranding, i.e., the movement of any full complement away from the preposition as in (42)–(43), it remains a fact that this possibility became a feature of Scandinavian syntax and not of West Germanic; it became part of English syntax only in Middle English, as Anglicized Norse developed as the language of all of England. It is significant that this development did not take place in Old English, even though some but not all of the roots of the construction were already present there. We thus attribute this large-scale expansion of stranding

in Middle English to the fact that this language does not continue Old English. Rather, free preposition stranding indicates that Middle English is Anglicized Norse.

Finally, the change from the usual ban on stranding to full stranding appears to have *taken place only once in presently known linguistic history*. The result is that North Germanic, including Modern English, is the only language group in the world exhibiting this curious phenomenon in its full form.

3.8 Exemption of the Preposition from Sluicing

A phenomenon related to preposition stranding, i.e., the structural separation of the preposition from its complement, is the behavior of prepositions in connection with *sluicing*. Sluicing is a kind of clausal ellipsis, described by Ross (1969) and analyzed in more detail by Merchant (2001), among others. In sluicing, a question word remains in an indirect question, while the rest of the indirect question is elided.

(55)   *Anne invited someone for the weekend, but I don't know who.*

According to Merchant (2001), the final *wh*-word is in fact a CP, where the IP is deleted after extraction of the *wh*-word; in other words, the interrogative word represents a whole clause in the surface structure.

(56)   *Anne invited someone for the weekend, but I don't know* $_{CP}$*[who*$_i$ $_{IP}$*[Anne invited t*$_i$*for the weekend.]]*

Such sluicing is widespread among the languages of the world. Merchant presents data from more than 30 languages from at least ten different language families, and, relevant for our purposes, it exists in all the Germanic languages.

The aspect of sluicing that is of interest in our context is where the remaining *wh*-word is the complement of a preposition. As we can see from (57a), the preposition is stranded before being deleted along with the rest of the IP. This is then a covert parallel to ordinary preposition stranding. Since German does not allow preposition stranding, the translation using this variant of sluicing (57b) is ungrammatical.

(57)   a. *Anne was waiting for someone, but I don't know who [~~she was waiting for~~].*

    b. **Anna wartete auf jemanden, aber ich weiss nicht wen.*
       Anna waited on someone but I know not whom
       "Anna was waiting for someone but I don't know whom."

As an alternative to preposition stranding within a clause that has undergone ellipsis, a common cross-linguistic means of sluicing a clause containing a questioned *wh*-word is to "pied-pipe" the preposition with its complement, whereby the preposition is fronted together with the question word. This is possible both with standard questions (58a) and with sluicing (58b) (but in a more formal register). It is therefore also grammatical in German (58c), as there is no stranding when there is pied-piping.

(58)   a. *For who(m) was Anne waiting?*

    b. *Anne was waiting for someone, but I don't know for who(m) [~~she was waiting~~].*

    c. *Anna wartete auf jemanden, aber ich weiss nicht auf wen.*
       Anna waited on someone but I know not on whom
       "Anna was waiting for someone but I don't know for whom."

Since preposition stranding is general and common in Scandinavian, as well as in English, we expect that Scandinavian also allows preposition stranding and then deletion with sluicing; this is borne out in the Norwegian (59a), which thus contrasts with German. As in English, pied-piping in questions belongs to a formal and literary register in Mainland Scandinavian; in fact, in Norwegian, it is totally obsolete. But with sluicing it is still current, as an alternative to stranding, as in (59b).[63]

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63   The Mainland Scandinavian languages have no case opposition in the *wh*-word, unlike the English *who/whom*.

(59) a. *Anne venta på nokon, men eg veit ikkje kven.*
          Anne waited on someone but I know not who
          "Anne waited for someone, but I don't know who."

      b. *Anne venta på nokon, men eg veit ikkje på kven.*
          Anne waited on someone but I know not on who
          "Anne waited for someone, but I don't know for who."

As seen in the previous section, West Germanic languages generally do not strand prepositions. So again, as expected from our analysis that *covert Ps in sluicing are stranded*, these languages must include the overt preposition in sluicing; cf. German (57) vs. (58). As with ordinary preposition stranding, the sluicing pattern for covert stranding here shows another clear parallel between English and Scandinavian, in opposition to West Germanic.

In addition to the two alternative sluicing constructions shown in (57)–(58), there is a third possibility found in both English and Scandinavian. When the *wh*-word is fronted and the preposition stranded, the IP can be deleted, *except for the preposition*:

(60) a. *She was talking with someone, but I don't know <u>who with.</u>*

      b. *Ho snakka med nokon, men eg veit ikkje <u>kven med.</u>*
         she spoke with someone but I know not who with

This version of sluicing is, however, limited to a few prepositions. This in fact makes the affinity between English and Scandinavian even more striking, since the prepositions that are permitted are the same ones in both systems. Thus while the prepositions *to* and *with* are fine in this construction, as are their Scandinavian equivalents, *about* and *of* do not seem to be possible in any of the languages.

(61) a. **She was talking about someone, but I don't know who about.*

      b. **Ho snakka om nokon, men eg veit ikkje kven om.*
         she spoke about someone but I know not who about

The questions of exactly which prepositions allow this order pattern, and why, will not be investigated further here.[64] The main point remains: in all three sluicing patterns the syntactic behavior of Middle and Modern English and of Mainland Scandinavian is the same, and contrasts sharply with the patterns of West Germanic.

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64   As we see from the examples in (61), this restriction does not seem to have anything to do with the phonological form of the preposition, since the Scandinavian *om* is as short as *med,* or English *to.*

Chapter Four

Split Infinitives and the Category of *to*

The Norse / Middle English properties of the previous chapter seem, at least at first glance, to be North Germanic innovations, whose West Germanic (Old English) counterparts are closer to the presumed grammar of Indo-European. For the construction studied in this chapter, the pre-verbal infinitive marker, the West Germanic variant is probably the more innovative, in that the corresponding morphemes of Norse and Middle English are still free morphemes, like their Proto-Germanic predecessor. But however one conceptualizes the issue of which construction is innovative and which conservative, we will see that there is no doubt about either the West Germanic nature of Old English *to* or the North Germanic behavior of Middle English *to*.

4.1   General Development of Germanic Infinitive Markers

"Split infinitive" denotes a construction where some free morpheme, typically a sentence or frequency adverbial, appears *between* the infinitive marker and the verb. Despite prescriptive pressure and a school grammar prohibition in English, these are widespread in colloquial speech, as well as in many writing styles.

(62)   *It is important <u>to always come</u> in time.*
       We told him <u>to not come</u> back.
       She promised <u>to never tell</u> it to anybody.

The Mainland Scandinavian languages have exactly the same split structures; in Norwegian they are used more and more frequently, especially in the spoken language. The Norwegian equivalents of (62) have exactly the same morpheme orders:

(63) a. *Det er viktig <u>å alltid komma</u> i tide.*
           it is important to always come in time

    b. *Vi bad han om <u>å ikkje komma</u> tilbake.*
           we asked him of to not come back

    c. *Ho lova <u>å aldri fortelja</u> det til nokon.*
           she promised to never tell it to anybody

Turning now to the history of the infinitive construction, the Germanic infinitive, like the infinitive in other Indo-European languages, derives historically from a verbal noun. This deverbal noun also had case inflection during the oldest stages of Germanic (Demske 2001). At some point the case inflection of these deverbal nouns was lost, the derivational suffix *-an* was reanalyzed as an inflectional suffix, and the forms ending in *-an* became verbs. The preposition preceding this verbal form was then reanalyzed as an infinitive marker.

Traces of the original PP status of infinitives can be seen in the OV language Gothic (East Germanic), where the object of the infinitive precedes it, but follows the preposition (that is, infinitive marker), as in (64a). It is, however, clear that the preposition marker *du* governs the following but non-adjacent infinitive *bairan*, not the NP *akran*. A typical example of a "split infinitive" in Gothic is seen in (64b; Demske-Neumann 1994, 54).

(64) a. *du akran baíran* (Rom. 7:4)
           to fruit bear.INF
           "(in order) to bear fruit"

    b. *du ni vaurkjan* (I Cor. 9:6)
           to not work.INF
           "(in order) not to work"

We have no way of knowing what the further destiny of the Gothic preposition preceding the infinitive would have been, but in these examples, it is a separate word introducing the infinitival clause, as in North Germanic.

In West Germanic, on the contrary, this kind of preposition always became a proclitic or a prefix adjacent to the verb. In Old English, the

infinitive marker *to* was *invariably* adjacent to the following verb. In examining 1,652 cases of *to* and Old English infinitives in the *York-Toronto-Helsinki parsed corpus of Old English*, S. Pintzuk (pers. comm.) has found that all were adjacent, with no intervening constituent. This obligatory adjacency is still the case throughout West Germanic, where the infinitive markers, e.g., Dutch *te* and German *zu*, are bound prefixes that can*not* be separated from the verb, even by another prefix: *auszugehen* "to go out" vs.*zu ausgehen* (German). Thus, in West Germanic, "infinitives cannot be split," i.e., the infinitive marker must be adjacent to the following verb form.

Fischer (1992, Section 4.6.2.6) summarizes for English, drawing a distinction between Old and Middle English: "instances of the so-called split infinitive have been found . . . as early as the thirteenth century" and "the split infinitive does not yet occur in Old English." Thus, the infinitive marker is invariably a bound verbal prefix in West Germanic languages Dutch, German, and Old English, but not in Middle English.

4.2 North Germanic Infinitive Markers in COMP

In North Germanic the development took a different course. Several facts about the use of the infinitive in Old Scandinavian show that the infinitive marker is not inside the VP, but in C as a complementizer.

(65) a. *þeir ætluðu <u>at hengja hann</u>* (*Hkr* III.307.3)
      they intended to hang him
      "they intended to hang him"

   b. *hann hafði þeim því heitit, <u>at fylgja þeim á fund Svía-konungs</u>*
      (*Hkr* II.139.20)
      he had them.ᴅ that.ᴅ promised to follow them on meeting Swede-king.ɢ
      "he had promised them to go with them to meet the King of the Swedes"

There is a close association between the use of the infinitive marker *at* and the null subject pronoun PRO. That is to say, obligatory control infinitives with PRO subjects are headed by the word *at*. In other contexts, for example those of raising to subject, this infinitive marker is not used (cf. Faarlund 2004, Chapter 10).

(66)   a.   *þá skalt þú <u>rísa ór rekkju</u>* (*Nj* 20.13)
         then shall you rise from bed
         "Then you have to get up."

       b.   *þótti honum hon <u>vel hafa gert</u>* (*Hkr* III.391.18)
         seemed him.DAT she.NOM well have done
         "She seemed to him to have done well."

       c.   *ok kenni sik <u>sva hafa ast guðs</u>* (*Hóm* 3.19)
         and know himself.ACC so have love god's
         "and know that he thus has the love of God"

The sentences in (66) are all raising constructions with a subject trace rather than a subject PRO. So these infinitives are not CPs, and in such constructions they are not introduced by the infinitive marker. CPs, on the other hand, are introduced by complementizers, and this is the only place where the infinitive marker *at* can occur. This is explained if we assume that the infinitive marker is in the C position, precisely like the complementizer *at* in finite subordinate clauses. This placement has also been argued for in connection with Swedish in Platzack (1986) and Beukema and den Dikken (1989), and with Icelandic in Holmberg (1986) and Sigurðsson (1989).

Given that the infinitive marker is in C in Old Scandinavian, we would almost expect to find instances of split infinitives. But they are very rare at this early stage. This might be taken to indicate that the infinitive marker is a prefix or proclitic on the verb, as in West Germanic, and not a separate word in C. There are, however, several arguments that such an analysis must be rejected (Faarlund 2007, 62–63):

(i)   **Orthographic practice.** Neither in manuscripts before 1400 nor in philological editions of editions of them is the infinitive marker ever joined to the verb, so we never find, for example, **atvera* "to be" as a single word. Prepositions, on the other hand, are *frequently* joined to the first word of the complement, as in *þar alande* "there in-country" (*Konungs skuggsjá*, p. 39b of the manuscript[65]). In standardized spelling this would be *þar á landi*.

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65   This is a 13th-century Norwegian text. Facsimile edition [by L. Holm Olsen

(ii) **Coordination.** When two infinitival phrases are coordinated the infinitive marker is not repeated in the way that prefixes usually are (as in, for example, *rewrite and rephrase*, not **rewrite and -phrase*), see (67). This is not an argument against a clitic status of the infinitive marker, but it argues against its status as a prefix.

(67) *þat var siðr konungs, <u>at rísa</u> upp snimma um morna <u>ok klæðask</u>*
it was habit king's to rise up early in morning and dress.ʀᴇꜰʟ
<u>ok taka</u> handlaugar, <u>ganga</u> síðan til kirkiu <u>ok hlýða</u> óttu-song.
(*Hkr* II.81.21)
and take handwashes go since to church and hear morning-song.
"it was the King's habit to get up early in the morning, get dressed and wash his hands and then go to church to hear the matins"

(iii) **Competition with other C.** Following the words *en* "than" and *nema* "except, unless," the infinitive marker is not expressed, as shown in (68). This is because *en* and *nema* are also complementizers occupying the C-position. Thus there is no place for the infinitive marker, which is also a C.

(68) a. *Kjartan kaus held<u>rat vera</u> með konungi <u>en fara</u> til Íslands* (*Laxd* 129.17)
Kjartan chose rather to be with king than go to Iceland
"Kjartan chose to stay with the king rather than go to Iceland"

b. *ængi maðr á ånnur mål <u>at dæila</u> í kirkiu <u>nema biðia</u>*
no man has other matters to perform in church except pray
fyrir ser ok ollu cristnu folke (*Hóm* 36.16)
for himself and all Christian people
"Nobody has any other business to perform in church than pray for himself and for all the Christian people"

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and D. A. Seip]: *Konungs skuggsiá: Speculum regale; De norske håndksrifter i fac-simile* (Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo, 1947).

(iv) **Split infinitives.** Finally, unlike in Old English, a few instances of split infinitives can be found in Old Norse texts, as in (69).

(69) a. *þau er honum þyckir <u>at betra hafa</u> en on at vera* (*ML* 10160)
    those that him.DAT seem to better have than without to be
    "those things that seem to him better to have than to be without"

b. *með sua myklom riddarastyrck <u>at viðr hialpa</u> honum* (*Str* 10484)
    with so great knight's strength to with help him
    "to help him with such great chivalrous strength"

It seems somewhat puzzling that split infinitives are so rare in early Old Norse texts. But the lack of an element between the infinitive marker and the verb may be due to other circumstances, an epiphenomenon. The reason may be either because there is no structural position in the structure between the two words, or because whatever could appear there is covert. If *at* is in C, the subject ought to follow immediately in Spec-IP as in finite clauses, but in a non-finite CP the subject is the invisible PRO. The verb is merged in V, however, so that there would still be room for other constituents in between, such as a sentence adverbial. But a sentence adverbial, including a negation, must follow the verb in Old Norse obligatory control infinitives.

(70) a. *<u>at láta eigi</u> skera hár sitt* (*Eg* 6.13)
    to let not cut hair his
    "not to have his hair cut"

b. *<u>at ágirnask ekki</u> Svía-konungs veldi* (*Hkr* II.118.9)
    to covet not Swede-king's power
    "not to covet the power of the Swedish king"

This pre-negative position suggests that verbs also move to I in non-finite CPs in Old Norse, corresponding to what we also find in its finite subordinate clause:

(71) *ef konungr <u>bannaði eigi</u>* (*Eg* 190.21)
      if king forbade not
      "if the King did not forbid it"

The structures of (70)–(71) are similar in resulting from V-to-I movement, and show that verb movement is not dependent upon a finite feature in the verb. As a result of verb movement there is just one position between the infinitive marker *at* in C and the verb, which is occupied by the invisible PRO subject. The fact that *at* and the verb are not adjacent in the syntax, then, explains why we never find the two words joined together in Old Norse manuscripts. If cliticization had been possible we would expect to have observed at least some instances of the infinitive marker joined to the verb. But cliticization is usually not possible over covert phrases, as also evidenced by the so-called *wanna* constructions in spoken English: *Who do you wanna win the race?*

4.3   Split Infinitives in Mainland Scandinavian

In Modern Scandinavian, as we have seen, split infinitives are regular and frequent, but they are not the only possible place for modifying adverbs. As an alternative, the adverbial may occur to the left of the infinitive marker, exactly as in Modern English. As an alternative to (63) we also have:

(72) a. *Det er viktig <u>alltid å komma</u> i tide.*
          It is important always to come in time.

      b. *Vi bad han om <u>ikkje å komma</u> tilbake.*
          We asked him not to come back.

      c. *Ho lova <u>aldri å fortelja</u> det til nokon.*
          She promised never to tell it to anybody.

The position of these adverbials is difficult to reconcile with the infinitive marker being in C.

If we assume, however, that the infinitive marker has been reanalyzed from being in C to being in I in Modern Scandinavian, the variation between

(63) and (72) is explained. And indeed, in Modern Norwegian, adverbials can be adjoined both to VP and to IP; that is, they can precede or follow I. This can be seen in finite subordinate clauses as well, where the subject is in Spec(IP). These facts show that Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages have lost V-to-I movement in subordinate clauses, so in them the verb remains in V.

(73) a. *viss ikkje* $_{IP}$*[Ola vil komma tilbake]*
          if not Ola will come back
          "if Ola won't come back"

     b. *viss* $_{IP}$*[Ola ikkje* $_{VP}$*[vil komma tilbake]*
          if Ola not will come back
          "if Ola won't come back"

Another indication that the Modern Scandinavian infinitive marker is in I is that it now shows up in raising constructions. The complement of a raising verb such as *seem* is not a CP, and for this reason raising infinitives do not have an infinitive marker in Old Norse. But when the infinitive marker is located further down the structure in I, it then appears in raising constructions, as in Modern Norwegian, where it is now obligatory; these examples can be contrasted with the older paradigm seen above in (66b–c).

(74) a. *Ho synest *(å) ha gjort det bra.*
          she seems to have done it well
          "She seems to have done well."

     b. *Han påstod seg *(å) vera ein slektning av avdøde.*
          he claimed himself to be a relative of deceased
          "He claimed to be a relative of the deceased."

We conclude that in Old Scandinavian, the infinitive marker was in C, while in Modern Scandinavian, it is in I, and in neither stage is it a verbal prefix like in West Germanic. It is these positions of the marker *outside of V* that allow Scandinavian infinitives to be "split."

4.4 Split Infinitives in Middle English

Turning now to Middle English, Fischer (1992, Section 4.6.2.3) argues that in Old English, the *to* introducing infinitives had been mainly a marker of purpose; that is, *to* retained its earlier function as a preposition of goal, by means of which a verb phrase complement is interpreted as purpose.[66] But then in Middle English, she shows that the *to*-infinitive is the common way to express arguments as VPs in almost all positions. They come to contrast with bare infinitives, which she shows are eventually restricted to being complements of grammatical verbs (see Section 7.2.1 for more detail on this subclass).

The initial page numbers in these examples refer to Fischer (1992).

(75) a. *Telle me which thow wilt of everychone,/ To han for thyn*
         (319; *Troilus* III.412–13)
         "Tell me which one of all these you desire to have for yourself"

      b. *ah þeo þe wenden to fordon him* (321; *St. Marg.*(1) (Bod) 8.29–30)
         "but those who thought to destroy him"

      c. *þay samne schulde,/ And in comly quoyntis to com to his feste*
         (322; *Cleannes* 53–54)
         "they should gather and [to] come to his feast in seemly, fine clothes"

      d. *How he suld at þe wyf be-gin,/ And thorw þe wijf to wyn þe man;*
         (323; *Cursor* (Vesp) 741–43)
         "how he should begin with the woman, and through the woman [to] win over the husband"

In these examples, the *to*-infinitives are, respectively, an appositive to an object pronoun, an object clause, and complements to a modal. That is, Middle English infinitival *to* is not solely a meaningful item signaling purpose, but rather a general marker of non-finite clauses, as elsewhere in North Germanic.

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66   The meaning of "purpose" of the Old English infinitive marker is not in conflict with its structural position as a bound verbal prefix, which was noted in Section 4.1.

So Middle English *to* is not a preposition, but a complementizer introducing a VP. Nor is it a prefix, as we find several examples of split infinitives from the 14th century onwards. In the following examples with underlined split infinitives, (76a–b) are from Mustanoja (1960, 515), (77c) from van Gelderen (1996, 117), and (77d) from Fischer (1992, 330).

(76)   a.   *He lovied þe lasse auþer <u>to longe lye or to longe sitte</u>.*
            (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 88)
            he love the girl either to long lie or to long sit
            "He loved the girl either to lie a long time or to sit a long time."

       b.   *It is good <u>to not ete fleisch and to not drynke wyn</u>.*
            (Purvey, *Romans* 16:21)
            "It is good to not eat meat and to not drink wine."

       c.   *wide his men sende <u>for to hine finde</u>* (*Layamon* Otho 8490)
            wide his men sent for to him find.INF
            "(He) sent his men far and wide to find him."

       d.   *Also if þis man myȝte assigne þee, lord, for <u>to freely and in no weye of his owne dette or of eny oþer mannys dette to ȝeve and paie</u> eny reward to þe seid oþer man,* (Pecock *Rule* 182.22–25)
            "And if this man might assign thee, lord, to freely and in no way in his debt or any other man's debt to give and pay any reward of the said man"

Before this time Anglicized Norse (Middle English) may have lost V-to-I movement a little earlier than Scandinavian. In the same way as outlined in Section 4.3, this allowed the infinitive marker to be in I and still structurally separate from the V (not a prefix or proclitic as in Old English). In this respect, it is also significant that Middle English, in stark contrast to Old English, does *not* repeat the infinitive marker *to* when infinitives are coordinated (Los 1999, 329).

(77)   *Al for nawt þu prokest me to for-gulten & forgan þe blisse up-o blisse.*
       all for nothing you incite me to sin and forgo the bliss upon bliss
       "All for nothing you incite me to sin and forgo the bliss upon bliss."

Middle English is thus like the Old Norse in (68) above.

Overall, with respect to the possibility of split infinitives (i.e., *to* being under a structural head distinct from V), Middle and Modern English line up firmly with North Germanic, but not at all with Old English or with West Germanic more generally. Therefore, the source of this much stigmatized construction is again Norse.[67]

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67   As the split infinitive was an infrequent construction in Norse, its subsequent development ended up going both ways. Thus it spread and increased in frequency in Modern Norwegian, Swedish, and English, but it fell out of use in Danish.

Chapter Five

Morpho-syntactic Properties of Old English Lacking in Old Scandinavian and Middle English

As Old English disappeared in medieval times, certain typically West Germanic syntactic features disappeared with it. In their place, we find typical North Germanic features in Middle and Modern English. The missing Old English properties treated in this section were *indisputably absent or already disappearing in Norse,* so their absence from Middle English is straightforward evidence of the continuous use and expansion of Norse in the Danelaw.

The following Old English properties were thus "lost" in Middle English simply because they were not aspects of the Mainland Scandinavian languages in the 11th century, when Anglicized Norse was spreading southward through England. They include:

- loss of "verb third" patterns,
- lack of case-marked relativizers,
- possible subjunctive mood in indirect discourse,
- loss of (most) inherent reflexives,
- disappearance of Old English "correlative" adverbs.

5.1   The Norse Character of Middle English "Verb Second"

Both North and West Germanic languages typically exhibit a "Verb Second" (V2) property in main clauses, including declaratives, with Modern English being exceptional in this regard. In general terms, "standard V2" means that subject noun phrases, *including pronouns*, follow the finite verb in second position when some other constituent precedes the fronted V. Norse prototypically exhibits this pattern.

With regard now to Middle English, a thorough study of its pronoun placement (Kroch et al 2000) demonstrates that V2 in the texts of the East Midlands and North conforms to the standard V2 of Mainland Scandinavian:[68]

> a syntactic dialect difference between northern and southern Middle English . . . is most likely a linguistic contact effect of the Viking invasions of northern and eastern England in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the South, the Middle English V2 constraint behaves as it had in Old English; . . . In the North, however, the constraint is of the CP-V2 type, as found in modern Mainland Scandinavian and in German and Dutch.

They demonstrate in detail that in medieval Northern/East Midlands dialects, e.g., our Anglicized Norse, subject pronouns *regularly obey the general North Germanic pattern*: that is, they follow sequences of initial XP+ finite verb. This typical use of V2 continues into Middle English; there is thus an unbroken continuity between Norse and Middle English.

The relation of word order to V2 in Old English is a quite different story. Though van Kemenade (1987) claims that Old English largely conformed to standard V2, it also allowed some "Verb Third" sequences in main clauses, in which pronominal subjects (bold) are *to the left* of finite verbs which follow some topicalized phrase (underlined), as Pintzuk (1991) observes for (b) and (c).

(78) a. *On þe **ic** gelefa*. (LS 14 (MargaretAss) 119)
          on thee I believe

     b. *ælc yfel **he** mæg don* (WHom 4.62)
          each evil he can do

     c. ***ic** þæm godan sceal for his modþræce madmas beodan*. (*Beo* 384–85)
          I the good ought for his daring treasures offer

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68   The quote, from an earlier online version of this paper, echoes the claim of Kroch and Taylor (1997) reported in Chapter One. ftp://babel.ling.upenn.edu/papers/faculty/tony_kroch/papers/mev2-contact.pdf.

Old English is exceptional among Germanic V2 languages in having these "Verb Third" patterns. Now, according to van Kemenade (1987), the change in verb placement to the Modern English pattern occurs only in the early 15th century. A descriptive generalization is thus that in all Germanic languages prior to ca. 1450, subject phrases with lexical nouns *follow sequences of initial XP – finite verb*, but in Old English *pronoun subjects* need not. In this vein, van Kemenade argues that even though Middle English had head-initial VPs by the mid-13th century, it did not have Verb Third patterns. Middle English was thus a standard head-initial V2 language, and the only other languages of this type with which it was in contact were the North Germanic Scandinavian languages.

To account for this difference, Old English must have had some special property not shared with Norse or Middle English. As our hypothesis (4b) predicts, this special property, lacking in Norse, is then *predictably absent in Middle English*. On the other hand, the conventional derivation of Middle from Old English (4a) must posit a diachronic development that eliminates the Verb Third patterns. In our framework, the loss of Verb Third patterns is simply part of the eventual disappearance of all syntactic dialects of Old English.

For our purposes then, which account of Old English word order is correct is largely immaterial, though one must keep in mind that its surface patterns are very different from Norse / Middle English, so that the same grammars cannot be responsible for both. The accounts offered by various authors and sometimes articles by the same author differ. One possibility proposed in Roberts (1997) and endorsed in Haeberli (2000; 2002) and Speyer (2010) is that OE was not a V2 language at all. Other proposals argue that Old English was indeed a V2 language, but that subject pronouns did not have the status of full phrases, and so did not "count" in determining the second position in a clause. Which of these accounts is correct has no effect on our proposal.[69]

As Kroch et al. (2000) show, these Verb Third patterns persist only in the continuations of Old English in the South and West Midlands (see again Map 1 on page 33), and texts with traces of Old English syntax are rare after 1250. As seen in Chapter One, Middle English derived principally from the East Midlands, which are part of these authors' "northern dialect," and not from southern dialects, which often exhibited other vestigial patterns of Old English.

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69   Pintzuk (1991) and van Kemenade (1997) account for these departures from V2 orders differently. Kroch and Taylor (1997) present a modified version of Pintzuk's analysis.

5.2 Middle English Relativizers: Overt and Caseless

The principal way to introduce relative clauses in Old English is to use the invariant complementizer word *þe* accompanied by a gap corresponding to the relativized NP. This is the *only way* to form them in both Norse and early Middle English. *Wh*-forms as relative pronouns were unknown in both Old English and Norse.[70] There are, however, two other, albeit less frequent, ways to form relative clauses in Old English, which both disappeared (i.e., failed to appear) in Middle English: (i) "zero subject relatives" and (ii) what are called "*se þe* relatives."

In more typical relative clauses, the usual complementizer in Old English was *þe* (Strang 1970, 270); examples of gaps in positions of all four Old English cases are provided in van Kemenade (1987, Section 5.1.3) and Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 75–76). In the same vein, Norse used a different but still invariant complementizer *er*, later *sem*. In early Middle English, Old English *þe* disappeared, and: "In relative function, *þat* tends to replace *þe* from the 13th century . . . producing . . . a relative new [sic], but like the old one uninflected" (Strang 1970, 270). Since invariant *þat* spread from North to South, it looks as though the Norse *er* first relexified as the Anglicized Norse *þat*, which then spread southwards.[71]

We next briefly discuss the two versions of Old English relative clauses that simply do not appear in Middle English.

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70   In later Middle English of the late 14th century relative *wh*-pronouns begin to appear: "At the beginning of the period [1370], (*the*) *which* is just coming into use as a relative. *Who/ which* are still essentially interrogative, . . . *who* [as a relative] begins to appear very gradually from the close of the 14th century" (Strang 1970, 198). This time coincides exactly with the influence of French on English being at its greatest, due to the fact that the majority of literate speakers, who previously wrote almost exclusively in French, switched to writing in English. Since most relative clauses in French require *wh*-pronouns (Modern *qui, quoi, où, lequel* "the which," etc.), it is not surprising that the 14th-century English of French-speaking bilinguals began to exhibit English *wh*-counterparts.

71   Our hypothesis is that Anglicized Norse (Middle English) spread from the Danelaw to all of southern England in the aftermath of the Conquest, gradually replacing continuations of Old English in this region. This dovetails with the report of Fischer (1992, 296) that "Kivinaa (1966) shows that *þe* is more frequent than *þat* in south and southeast midland texts in the 12th century, while in the northeast midland texts (e.g., in the *Ormulum*) *þat* is the usual form."

(i) **Old English zero subject relatives.** According to Fischer (1992, 306–8), Old English and Middle English had a few zero subject relatives, as in (79), but basically no object zero relatives.

(79)   *Adam ben king and eue quuen/ Of alle ðe ðinge[[Ø] in werlde ben.*
       (*Gen.&Ex.* 296–97)
       Adam is king and Eve queen of all the things in world are
       "Adam and Eve are king and queen of all the things [that] are in the world."

Later in her text (1992, 311), she speaks of "the disappearance of the zero-relative construction in Middle English." This follows from their similar absence in Old Norwegian, and as far as one can tell from our present sources, from Old Danish as well. Any zero subject relatives in Middle English are simply dialectal vestiges of the Old English construction before Anglicized Norse took full hold.

(ii) ***Se þe* relatives**. Old English also had *a second means* of overtly introducing relative clauses, where *se þe* was sometimes written as one word and sometimes two, and in subject position, the *þe* after *se* could be omitted. *Se(o)* is the nominative singular of the fully declined Old English demonstrative determiner, and often unambiguously carries the case of the gapped NP inside the relative clause. The example in (80a) is from Allen (1980, 271), quoted in van Kemenade (1987, 150); (80b) and (80c) are from Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 76):

(80) a. *Ure Drihten arærde anes ealdormannes dohtor, <u>seo ðe læg dead</u>* (Aelfric's Homilies (Pope) VI.176)
          "Our Lord raised an alderman's daughter.ACC who.FEM.NOM that lay dead."

      b. *se hearpere, ðæs nama wæs Orfeus, hæfde an wif, <u>seo</u> wæs haten Eurydice*
          "the harper, whose name was Orpheus, had a wife who.FEM.NOM was called Eurydice"

c. *þystre genip, <u>þam þe</u> se þeoden self sceop nihte naman.*
darkness.GEN cloud, that.DAT that the Lord self made night name
"the cloud of darkness, for which the Lord Himself made the
name 'night'"

Mitchell and Robinson observe of their examples: "This pattern, in
which the *se* element has the case required by the adjective [= relative]
clause only, can be called the *se þe* relative." Of interest here is the
fact that Old English case-marked relative pronouns as in (80), *which
were never present in Norse*, had completely disappeared by 1300
(Strang 1970, 270). Our hypothesis (4b) straightforwardly explains
this: early Middle English lost case-marked relative pronouns because
no North Germanic language ever had them.

Though it is orthogonal to our argument, we should note in passing
that the Old English relativizer *se* sometimes took the main clause case of
the modified NP:

(81) *Ic wat wytodlice ðæt ge secað ðone hælend ðone ðe on rode ahangen
wæs.* (Mt. 1766)
I know truly that you seek the.ACC Lord whom.ACC that on cross hung was
"I know truly that you seek the Lord, who was hung on the cross."

Van Kemenade, like Mitchell and Robinson, takes the pattern in (80)
as basic, and examples like (81), cited from Allen (1980, 271), as derived
from it: "While the pronoun in COMP in *se þe* relatives often has the case
inflection characteristic of its base position in the lower clause, its case can
optionally attract to that of the antecedent" (1987, 150).

5.3 Subjunctives and Indirect Discourse

Modern German continues to use the subjunctive (underlined) in indirect
discourse with main clause word order and without the complementizer *daβ*
"that."

(82)   a. *Hans hat gesagt, seine Freundin <u>hätte</u> ein neues Auto gekauft*
       Hans has said his girlfriend had.sᴜʙ a new car bought
       "Hans said that his girlfriend had bought a new car"

       b. *Er sagt, er <u>habe</u> kein Geld*
       he says he have.sᴜʙ no money
       "He says he has no money"

This use of the subjunctive contrasts with another variant of indirect discourse in German that uses the complementizer and verb final word order of dependent clauses. In this variant, the indicative is now the rule.

In Old Scandinavian, on the other hand, the subjunctive was used in indirect speech only to specifically indicate uncertainty, doubt, or a wish. Its use for a type of indirect discourse was and is foreign to Scandinavian. That is, the subjunctive as an indicator of indirect discourse and nothing else is not a North Germanic property.

In this respect, Old English again lines up with German (West Germanic) and Middle English with Scandinavian (North Germanic). According to Fischer (1992, 314), Middle English "contrasts with Old English, where the subjunctive occurs regularly in reported speech without any indication of uncertainty on the part of the speaker," exactly as in Modern German. Therefore, as our hypothesis (4b) predicts, the subjunctive in indirect discourse never came into Middle English. As part of Old English, it was "lost" when this language was replaced by Anglicized Norse.

5.4   Disappearance of Old English Inherent Reflexives

In Middle English many inherently reflexive verbs began to lose the reflexive marking (Fischer 1992, 239; McWhorter 2004, 22–25), such as *shave*, *bathe*, *wash*, *rest*, etc. Where Old English would use reflexive constructions with object pronouns (83a), Modern English has intransitive verbs with an inherent middle or reflexive meaning (83b); McWhorter provides more examples (based on Visser 1963, 146–47).

(83)   a. *Reste ðæt folc hit on ðam seofoþan dæge.*
       rested the people it(self) on the seventh day

b. *The people rested on the seventh day.*

Old English did not have separate reflexive pronouns, but used regular personal pronouns with bound anaphoric (reflexive) reference, so the traditional view of the loss of "inherent reflexives" implies that Old English simply lost one use of a class of free morphemes in object position.

However, Norse also underwent a drastic reduction of the reflexive element, originally the full reflexive pronoun *sik*. Under certain circumstances this item was cliticized to the verb in the form *-sk*, later *-st*, and in the East (Denmark, Sweden, Eastern Norway) was further reduced to *-s* (Faarlund 2005). Assuming this reduced inflection was used by Norse speakers in England, the Middle English usage (83) only requires postulating the dropping of a simple consonantal inflection, a more likely diachronic change than the random loss of free morphemes.

In fact, adherents of the conventional view (4a) freely propose "dropping of (agreement) inflections" by both Norse and English speakers during a period of "fusion" of the two tongues, so presumably they would consider the option of dropping a reflexive suffix that we propose as more plausible than the loss of a free morpheme.[72]

5.5 Disappearance of Old English Correlative Adverbs

A venerable feature of the Classical Indo-European languages is known as the "Correlative Construction," in which two apparently coordinate clauses share copies of the same constituent, usually an adverb, conjunction, or a quantifier. According to Fischer (1992, 285–86), pairs of correlative adverbs could still relate pairs of clauses in Old English, such as *swa . . . swa* "so . . . so," *tha . . . tha, thonne . . . thonne* "when . . . then." Since word orders in Old English generally served to identify one clause as main and the other as subordinate, the pairs of identical, e.g., adverbs remained in use.

On the other hand, in Old Scandinavian, *such correlatives are unknown*. Most temporal and locative subordinate clauses are introduced

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72   For further discussion of the loss of various inflections in both Norse and Middle English, see Chapter Eight.

by the relative marker *er* with a main clause adverb as antecedent: *þá er* "then when," *þar er* "there where." Here is an example where both temporal and locative uses of this collocation appear together:

(84) *einhverja nótt, þá er veðr var kyrrt lǫgðu þeir upp í móðu eina,*
      þar er illt var til hafna (*Eg* 252.19)
      some night then when weather was calm laid they up in river one
      there where bad was to harbors
      "One night when the weather was calm they landed in a river where
      the harbor conditions were poor"

Now, with regard to correlatives in early Middle English, Fischer (1992, 285–86), comments as follows: they are "rapidly replaced by a more transparent system, in which conjunctions are distinct from adverbs." That is, the correlative pairings themselves are not part of Middle English and are replaced by simple adverbs inside two clauses of clearly distinct syntactic status, exactly as in Old Scandinavian. Even in her very early example (85) dated 1135, whose first clause has the word order of Anglicized Norse, the initial adverb and the second position of the verb in the second clause make it unambiguously the sole main clause:

(85) *þa he lai an slep in scip, þa þestrede þe dæi ouer al landes*
      (*PC* [Ld] an. 1135; 54.2–3)
      when he lay in sleep in boat, then became it dark over all lands
      "when he lay asleep in the boat, then it got dark all over the land"

Although we do not know how frequent adverbial subordinators of this disappearing type are in Early Middle English, the fact remains that neither typical Middle English texts nor Old Scandinavian exhibit the older paired correlative adverbials of Old English.

Chapter Six

Innovations Shared between English and Mainland Scandinavian

This section will present several morpho-syntactic characteristics which are common innovations in Middle English and Scandinavian but not West Germanic, and whose Norse roots are not easily found in written texts.

The basic reason for this lack is that until after the Norman Conquest, neither Northern English dialects nor Anglicized Norse were written languages. So when we find innovative features common to Anglicized Norse and Mainland Norse, our arguments cannot always be expected to be based on robust textual evidence, any more than can evidence for spoken Proto-Romance (≠ written Classical Latin) or Proto-Slavic (≠ Old Church Slavonic). Rather, we must use a time-honored method of diachronic linguistics, syntactic reconstruction. That is, if hypothesized daughter languages, here Middle English and Early Mainland Scandinavian, share some unusual and rare innovative characteristic, then it is justified to conclude that the source is in the parent of both (Norse).

Some diachronic changes in syntax are so common (a weak demonstrative developing into an article, grammaticalization of an adverbial to reinforce a weak negative word, loss of the pluperfect tense) that their common occurrence in two daughter languages cannot be used for the reconstruction of a single change in the parent. But unlike such changes, the developments we are concerned with are extremely unusual: the development of an infinitival affix into a free morpheme, preposition stranding, a case suffix on lexical nouns becoming a phrasal suffix. For example, to our knowledge, such changes have never happened even once in Romance or Slavic. So when we observe them in two languages that we know on independent grounds (all the evidence in Chapters Three through Five) to be daughters of a single parent, the method of reconstruction imposes our conclusions. That is, what we are calling shared innovations had already begun to take place

in Anglicized Norse, even though there is no written language where we can find instances of it.

When two related or adjacent languages undergo the same changes, another obvious explanation, i.e., reduction to a single event, may be language contact. We do not exclude this as a factor in the changes in this section, since there must have been extensive contact between the Scandinavians in England and in Jutland during a long period after their settlement in England. After all, the sailing distance across the North Sea is hardly more than 300 miles.

6.1   The Phrasal Host of the Genitive Suffix

As the case system of Scandinavian eroded, the genitive case suffix -*s* was reanalyzed as a phrasal clitic, as in English, Danish (19a), and Norwegian (19b). (Scandinavian uses no apostrophe.) This kind of reanalysis has never occurred in a West Germanic language. This Mainland Scandinavian pattern is exactly that of Middle and Modern English, as the glosses show.

(86) a. *pigens bog*   *pigen med sykelens bog*
          "the girl's book"   "the girl with the bike's book"

      b. *sjåførens feil*   *sjåføren av lastebilens feil*
          "the driver's fault"   "the driver of the truck's fault"

This development started as early as the 13th century in Scandinavian, with complex NPs in the genitive without agreement, and case inflection only on the head noun. The earliest examples are given in Norde's (1997, 135) thorough study of Swedish.

(87) a. *i diki annar manss* (*Older West Gautish Law*, ca. 1225)
          in ditch other.Ø man.GEN
          "in another man's ditch"

      b. *bolfast manz brut* (*Magnus Erikson's National Law*, ca. 1350)
          resident.Ø man.GEN crime
          "crime committed by a resident man"

Together with Danish, Swedish makes up the Eastern branch of Scandinavian, and is thus more closely related to Danish than Norwegian is. In fact, it is more conservative than Danish. The occurrence of a certain phenomenon in Old Swedish would therefore lead one to expect that it would occur earlier in Danish, and in the language of the Danelaw as well. So it is not surprising to find a similar example from Early Middle English in Miller (2012, 135), which has genitive case only on the last noun, as in (87a–b).

(88) *þurh þe Laferrd Cristes̲s̲ dæþ* (*Orm.*, ca. 1180)
      through the Lord Christ's death

The forms in (86)–(88) show the North Germanic pattern, where the genitive 's' is at the right edge of a multi-word NP, in contrast with West Germanic, including OE, where genitive remains a case inflection on heads.

6.2   The "Case Leveling" of Middle English Pronouns

A case-related indication of English belonging to North Germanic is provided by its notorious and much-researched extension of pronominal object forms (*me*, *him*, *her*, *us*, *them*) to all positions other than uncoordinated subjects of overt finite verbs (Emonds 1986).[73] Some relevant examples are given in (89). In these examples, * indicates that such examples belong to only highly prescriptive speech and writing.[74]

(89) a. *Mary or him̲/̲*̲h̲e̲ went to the movie.*

      b. *John is better qualified than them̲/̲*̲t̲h̲e̲y̲.*

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73   Bailey and Maroldt (1977, 46) claim that this is due to French. However, French pronouns divide between clitic forms adjoined to verbs and strong forms in all DP positions. This division has never entered English syntax, i.e., the subjective forms *I*, *he*, *she*, *we*, *they* have never been clitics, even in non-standard speech: *we/*us often/almost always go to bars*. English non-standard usage, as we claim, is almost identical to that in Danish.

74   The fixed phrase *and I* has come to occur in all syntactic positions in hypercorrect current English (Krejčová 2010). This development seems not to extend to *or I* or other subject pronouns.

c. *Ann's brother or <u>me/*I</u> should do that.*

d. *—Who wants another beer?*
   *—<u>Us</u> two! *<u>We</u> two!*
   *—<u>Her</u> over there! *<u>She</u> over there!*

All Germanic languages in which case distinctions are restricted to pronouns exhibit some tendency to extend *either* subject forms *or* object forms (e.g., in coordinate structures) to positions where case theory would dictate the other forms. Moreover, in North Germanic, this tendency in the Danish and Norwegian regions that contributed most to settlement in England, matches that of Middle and Modern English:

> Object Form default, vestigial-case Danish is remarkably similar to English in its pattern of case variation in Coordinate DPs, . . . accompanied by salient if slightly less extreme normative attitudes. (Parrott 2010)

We can see this in Danish parallels to (89):

(90) a. *<u>Mig</u> og Ole gik i bio.*
       "Me and Ole went to the movie."

   b. *Ole er bedre kvalificeret end <u>dem</u>*
      "Ole is better qualified than them."

   c. *—Hvem vil have en øl til?*
      "Who wants another beer?"
      —<u>Os</u> to. / —Ikke <u>mig</u>. / —<u>Hende</u> derovre.
      "Us two." / "Not me." / "Her over there."

In contrast, the West Germanic (i.e., Dutch) tendency is less pronounced and goes rather in the direction of extending Subject Forms such as *ik* "I" to positions where prescriptive and most adult usage requires an object form (A. van Hout, pers. comm.). So once again, Middle English acts like North rather than West Germanic.

In fact, English/Danish case leveling appears to be the "odd man out" in this area. When case on nouns is lost, the regular tendency appears to be like that in Dutch, since both Danish and Swedish (in eastern Scandinavia, which contributed only marginally to emigration to England) extend nominative rather than accusative forms to, e.g., topicalized NPs and NPs pronounced in isolation, cf. Parrott (2009). Consequently, the traditional view of Middle English (as deriving from OE) must hypothesize that the less likely Danish version of leveling happened independently in Middle English. But under our account, there was no such second instance of marked leveling; Middle English pronominal case patterns simply continued those of Old Danish.

6.3 Analytic Grading for Longer Adjectives

The older Germanic languages, including Norse, used bound morphemes to grade all adjectives, regardless of their length or complexity.

(91)   a. Old English
     sumæ bec, ða ðe <u>niedbeðearfosta</u> sien eallum monnum to wiotonne
     (Alfred's *Preface* to *Pastoral Care*)
     some books those that needful-est are.SUB all men.DAT to know
     "certain books, which are most needful for all men to know"

    b. Old Norwegian
     En þat var <u>undarlegst</u> i hans natturo (*Str* 10095)
     and that was remarkable-st in his nature
     "And that was the most remarkable thing about his nature"

In OE and Norse corpora a few examples using "more" and "most" (even "best") can be found, especially with participles, but they are few and far between, and we are not able to document any significant difference between older North and West Germanic.

The interesting point in our context is that English and Modern Scandinavian are the only Germanic languages where free words meaning *more* and *most* have come to be the general means for grading longer and infrequent adjectives, while the modern West Germanic languages continue the old synthetic form of the gradation of even long adjectives.

(92)   a. *She is more interesting than her husband.*

     b. **She is interestinger than her husband.*

     c. *This was our most difficult task.*

     d. **This was our difficultest task.*

(93)   Modern Norwegian
     a. *Ho er meir interessant enn mannen sin.*
       she is more interesting than husband.DEF her

     b. *ˀHo er interessantare enn mannen sin.*

     c. *Dette var den mest utfordrande oppgåva.*
       this was the most challenging task.DEF

     d. **Dette var den utfordrandaste oppgåva.*

(94)   Modern German
     Sie ist <u>interessanter</u> als ihr Mann.
     she is interesting-er than her husband
     "She is more interesting than her husband."

Bailey and Maroldt (1997) attribute the analytic grading of English adjectives rather to the influence of French, i.e., to a translation of *plus* "more." But given that the Norse grading source in, e.g., (93a–c) (*mest* "most") is a cognate of the English morphemes, it is far-fetched to look for a French source. Moreover, the French *plus* actually has been borrowed, but not in this most basic usage. Additionally, Germanic comparatives and superlatives, whether synthetic or analytic, are always constructed with distinct morphemes, whereas the two grades in French both use the same morpheme *plus*.

6.4 Parasitic Gaps

This is the term for the phenomenon whereby a gap t_i in one part of the sentence resulting from moving a constituent XP_i licenses a second gap with the same reference in another part of the sentence without a corresponding movement (Engdahl 1983). Consider the English (95a), with an empty object position t_i and a second optionally empty position further to the right (the "parasitic gap"), compared to (95b), which has no movement and so the second object is obligatorily expressed.

(95) a. *[$_{XP}$ That book]$_i$ I returned t_i without having read (it).*

  b. *I returned the book without having read *(it).*

Exactly the same pattern exists in today's Scandinavian, as shown by the following Norwegian examples:

(96) a. *Den boka leverte eg tilbake utan å ha lese (henne).*
    that book.DEF delivered I back without to have read it

  b. *Eg leverte boka tilbake utan å ha lese *(henne).*
    I delivered book.DEF back without to have read it

Both OE and Norse would allow object gaps in any case, parasitic or not (Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 107; Faarlund 2004, 166–68). So even if one found apparent parasitic gaps in these languages, they might simply be object gaps. Therefore we need to compare English and Scandinavian with a contemporary West Germanic language which does not allow null arguments, such as German. Speakers of Modern German do not accept sentences with parasitic gaps of this kind.

(97) a. *Dieses Buch gab ich zurück, ohne *(es) gelesen zu haben.*
    this book gave I back without it read to have
    "This book I returned without having read it."

b. *Diesen Kuchen habe ich weggeworfen ohne *(ihn) gekostet zu haben.*
   this cake have I away-thrown without it tasted to have
   "This cake I threw away without having tasted it."

Since parasitic gaps are unusual and involve complex structures, they are not likely to turn up with any frequency in historical corpora. Nor is it at all clear how one would search for them. For this reason, we cautiously place parasitic gaps under the rubric "shared innovations," because it is impossible to determine how far back they go.

But it is nonetheless striking that this curious and complex construction, whose analysis attracted so much attention in the 1980s, is fully developed only in North Germanic and English, and not at all in today's West Germanic languages. So once again, English patterns with North Germanic.

6.5 Tag Questions Based on Syntactic Copies

In many languages, including those of Western Europe, a speaker asks for agreement in conversation by adding an invariant "tag" with question intonation to a declarative sentence: German *nicht wahr?* "not true," French *n'est-ce pas?* "is it not," Spanish *verdad?* "truth?," Czech *že?* "that." English with invariant *right?* and Norwegian with *ikkje sant?* "not true?" are no exceptions.

But English tag questions have an alternative and grammatically complex form, which starts with a copy of the first auxiliary of the declarative, reverses the polarity of the declarative, and then inverts a copy of the subject pronoun (98a).[75] Moreover, if the declarative lacks an auxiliary, these "tag questions" must contain an agreeing form of the auxiliary *do* (98b). Any variation on these restrictions is fully ungrammatical (98c).

(98) a. *John has gone home, <u>hasn't he</u>?*
      The country is a democracy, <u>isn't it</u>?
      She won't run for office, <u>will she</u>?

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75 Actually, the polarity reversal takes place only when the speaker is at least rhetorically asking for assent. Without polarity reversal, this kind of tag expresses skepticism: *Bill knows wine, does he? His choice was pretty terrible.*

    b. *John went home, <u>didn't he</u>?*
       They run for office often, <u>don't they</u>?

    c. **John has gone home, didn't he?*
       *The country is now a democracy, hasn't it?
       *She won't run for office, can she?

English is highly unusual in its common use of this kind of tag. For example, these variable tags transliterated into the Western Germanic language German are ungrammatical.

(99) a. **Hans ist nach Hause gegangen, ist er nicht?*
      * Das Land ist eine Demokratie, ist es nicht?
      *Sie wird nicht für das Amt kandidieren, wird sie?

     b. **Hans ging nach Hause, tut er nicht?*
       *Sie kandidieren oft, tun sie nicht?

In fact, the only other Germanic languages to have such "variable" tag questions are North Germanic, for example Norwegian. The rules for constructing Norwegian tag questions are exactly those of English, including the required use of the "pro-verb" *gjera* "do" with declaratives that lack auxiliary verbs:

(100) a. *John har gått heim, <u>har han ikkje</u>?*
       "John has gone home, has he not?"
       Landet er eit demokrati, <u>er det ikkje</u>?
       "The country is a democracy, is it not?"
       Ho vil stille til val, <u>vil ho ikkje</u>?
       "She will stand for election, will she not?"

     b. *John gjekk heim, <u>gjorde han ikkje</u>?*
       "John went home, did he not?"
       Ho stiller til val, <u>gjer ho ikkje</u>?
       "She runs for election, does she not?"

c. *John har gått heim, gjorde han ikkje?*
"John has gone home, did he not?"
Landet er eit demokrati, gjer det ikkje?
"The country is a democracy, does it not?"
Ho vil stille til val, gjer ho ikkje?
"She will run for election, does she not?"

Keeping in mind that these variable tag questions are grammatically quite complex, it is highly unlikely that these rules "accidentally" developed twice, in England and in Scandinavia, and almost nowhere else. They doubtless have a common origin in a common Norse predecessor. But since tag questions are basically an *informal conversational device*, we do not expect to find them in the writings of a thousand years ago, such as epic poems, sagas, sermons, rules for monks, or Bible translations. Because of this, we classify this "co-incidentally identical" common syntactic feature of English and North Germanic as a "shared innovation," though it is almost certainly more than that.

6.6 Disappearance of Old English Case Morphology

The OE morphological nominal case system was elaborate; it had four cases, all inflected differently for two numbers and two clearly distinct genders (masculine/neuter vs. feminine). Mitchell and Robinson (1992) give all the forms and much discussion. Yet the complex Old English nominal case declensions have for the most part disappeared in the earliest Middle English manuscripts. In a careful study of this loss of case, van Kemenade (1987) dates the *total loss of case on English nouns* at ca. 1200.

This dramatic change in the morphosyntax of nouns is perhaps one of the clearest and most often commented on differences between the Old and Middle stages of English. The system had basically remained intact through the Old English period, even taking into account some early Old English "weakenings" of case occasionally brought up in the literature. Scandinavian also underwent a simplification of the nominal case system, starting with Danish, perhaps in the 11th century, and not yet completed until this day in some Norwegian dialects. It is therefore a gradual process in Scandinavian, unlike in Middle English. Presumably, the language of the Norse settlers in England must have had a case system very similar to that of Old English, and

the simplification of the case inflection in Middle English must have owed much to language contact.

We, however, do not say that this difference between Old and Middle English is simply another way in which Middle English reproduces the grammar of Old Scandinavian. The loss of nominal case in this general period occurred not only in these languages, but also in Romance, Celtic, and West Germanic Dutch and Frisian. Consequently, we have preferred to place the discussion of this widely discussed hallmark of Middle English in Sections 8.1 and 8.2 rather than here.

However, it is appropriate to clarify here whether the loss of case on nouns and noun modifiers had any direct effect on other changes or innovations in Middle English. Some studies, notably van Kemenade (1987), have taken this loss of overt nominal case to be the cause of other syntactic changes which bring Middle English closer to North than to West Germanic.

But we do not share the view that there is a necessary correlation between the loss of case on nouns and other diachronic changes, such as from OV (object-verb) to VO order. Significantly, similar changes *have not taken place* in West Germanic Dutch, even though it has also lost morphological case marking in nouns. Dutch nonetheless lacks English and Scandinavian characteristics such as *basic VO word order in VP*, *free preposition stranding*, and *placement of the genitive ending as a phrasal clitic*. On the other side, Icelandic *retains* case on nouns but nonetheless has switched to VO order. So simple "loss of case on nouns" is then neither necessary nor sufficient for, e.g., a change from OV to VO word order.

Therefore, it is not simply "natural" that English changed in other ways "because" it lost case on nouns. The actual developments are certainly compatible with such case loss, but the fact is that they are, above all, *attested properties* of Old Mainland Scandinavian. In our view, these word order properties *passed on unchanged* to Anglicized Norse and hence became part and parcel of Middle English. As a result, the Middle English characteristics treated in this section require none of the belabored special accounts required under the traditional view (4a).

6.7 Analytic Indirect Objects

From its very inception as a written language, Middle English / Anglicized Norse has lost morphological case on nouns and adjectives, as just discussed.

Without a dative case, it must signal the presence of indirect objects by other means. Not surprisingly, one way to do this is with Prepositional Phrases introduced by *to* and *for*, which are plausibly Spell Outs of the PPs of direction/goal which in fact universally underlie noun phrases in dative case (Emonds and Whitney 2006).

These kinds of case-less PPs became common in Middle English, Mainland Scandinavian, and, interestingly, West Germanic Dutch, more or less as soon as these languages lost overt case on nouns. Similarly, when late Latin lost its cases some centuries prior to this, Western Romance languages also switched to PPs as the sole way to express (non-pronominal) indirect objects, as evidenced in current French, Italian, Spanish, etc. The replacement of overtly dative indirect objects by overt PPs thus seems due to Universal Grammar, and so does not concern Middle English in any special way.

However, there additionally developed a second Middle English and Mainland Scandinavian version of indirect objects, whose Modern Romance equivalents are sharply ungrammatical. This version is part of what Fischer (1992, Section 4.8.4.1; 379–82) calls "the emergence of the analytic indirect object." Here we use this term for indirect objects that are signaled by *neither* overt case nor a preposition. At first these preposition-less indirect objects could take various positions in a clause (cf. the examples in Fischer 1992, 381), but finally they came to have the same position as in Modern English and Mainland Scandinavian languages, namely after a verb and before a direct object, as seen in the English and Norwegian equivalents in (101).

(101) a. *I gave the boy a book.*

   b. *She showed the teacher the letter.*

   c. *Eg gav guten ei bok.*
      I gave boy.DEF a book
      "I gave the boy a book."

   d. *Ho viste læraren brevet.*
      she showed teacher.DEF letter.DEF
      "She showed the letter to the teacher."

The issue, then, is how frequently uninflected (analytic) and preposition-less indirect object phrases arise in the world's languages.

Without some analysis, one might think that this construction is relatively common. But in fact, an overview of generative work on such constructions in Emonds and Whitney (2006) argues that they are examples of the cross-linguistic double object "applicative construction" found in, e.g., Bantu languages, Chinese, and Indonesian, whereby an applicative suffix on a verb licenses a "preposition-less" indirect object in immediate post-verbal position.

These authors further argue that applicative constructions appear only in (i) so-called fixed word order languages with (ii) head-initial VP and PP phrases, and (iii) without any overt case marking on nouns. So when both English and Mainland Scandinavian developed "analytic indirect objects," they satisfied all three conditions, as did also, in fact, the Western Romance languages. But only the North Germanic system developed the quite special language-particular innovation of a *null applicative suffix*. Then, automatically, these "applied NPs" exhibited various morpho-syntactic properties of direct objects, i.e., they can passivize, and in principle can induce agreeing direct object marking on verbs, etc.[76]

On the basis of such arguments, Emonds and Whitney (Sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6) conclude that the analytic indirect objects of English and Mainland Scandinavian are applied objects, with the special property that the obligatory applied inflection that licenses them is null in these languages.

Now it is in fact this last property that allows us to make a shared innovation argument in favor of a North Germanic source for Middle English analytic indirect objects. Middle *English and Mainland Scandinavian are essentially unique in having null applicative verbal affixes of direction/ goal*. This shared innovation in the early Middle Ages, unattested outside North Germanic, indicates that the languages were essentially the same when it first developed.

This argument will not go through, however, if the analytic indirect objects of West Germanic Dutch are to be analyzed in the same way.

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76   In contrast to the passivizable analytic indirect objects of both Middle English and Mainland Scandinavian, Fischer (1992, Section 4.9.1) observes that Old English indirect objects cannot passivize. Nor can they do so in other West Germanic languages, such as German, or, as seen in the text here, in West Flemish.

However, there are solid reasons to believe that the preposition-less indirect objects of this language require a different analysis, and thus do not share the North Germanic innovation. First, Emonds and Whitney point out that the applicative constructions appear to be cross-linguistically restricted to languages with underlying head-initial VPs, and of course Dutch is not one of these.

But more telling is the full analysis in Haegeman (1985) of double objects in the West Flemish dialect of Dutch. This V-final language treats double objects differently with two distinct verb classes, which are reminiscent of *to* vs. *for* datives.[77] Unlike in English and Mainland Scandinavian, the indirect object in sentences translating *to*-datives can lack an overt preposition *only if it is VP-internal* (as one of two objects). Such an NP cannot passivize without the preposition resurfacing. Consequently, she concludes for West Flemish "that the indirect object *is a PP in all positions*," in which the preposition is structurally present but null (Haegeman 1985, 285; our emphasis, JE and JTF). On the basis of this, Emonds and Whitney conclude that double objects involving truly bare NPs are limited to head-initial systems, and therefore not present in Dutch.[78]

So we see that the Dutch analytic indirect objects are structurally different (and therefore have a different syntax) from those of Middle and Modern English and of Scandinavian. When Dutch lost its dative case, as a verb-final language it did not have the North Germanic option of developing a null applicative affix; its grammatical lexicon rather postulated a null preposition. As a result, the null applicative suffix is a shared innovation of only Middle English and Mainland Scandinavian, but not, as our hypothesis predicts, of Dutch.

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77   Haegeman does not use these terms. Her main theoretical point is to motivate a specific reformulation of "Burzio's Generalization," which does not concern us here.

78   Haegeman (1986) also analyzes a West Flemish counterpart to a *for*-dative, in which a passive subject seems to derive from a bare NP adjunct, similar to what is often called a "dative of interest." She argues that they originate outside the lowest VP, that is, they are adjuncts. Consequently, as passivized adjuncts, they cannot be applicative NPs; they rather appear more similar to the "affected subjects" in Japanese indirect passives.

6.8 Conclusions about Middle English Syntax

We have now reviewed about 20 syntactic constructions where Middle English and consequently, in most cases, Modern English clearly exhibit the North Germanic patterns, showing that *English syntax is uniformly North Germanic*.

In view of these arguments, a natural enough question could well be: "Are there any syntactic features in Middle English more reminiscent of Old English rather than of Norse?" And here the answer is negative. The (extensive) syntactic evidence *all goes one way*. Therefore, by the criterion of syntactic descent (11), Middle and Modern English are indisputably North Germanic. The "family trees" indicating that they are West Germanic, found in even the most recent sources, e.g., Miller (2012, 3), are all incorrect. And unless one unnaturally excludes syntax from consideration (thus begging the question), Middle English is not even a creole. This language was instead created by a remarkably large-scale importation of Old English vocabulary into both the open class and grammatical lexicons *on the syntactic model of Norse*. For this reason, we have used and will use Anglicized Norse and Early Middle English as complete synonyms.

The only grammatical issue one might still question has to do with a few aspects of inflectional morphology. We know of two North Germanic inflections that are absent from West Germanic and Middle English as well. The first lost Norse inflection is the reflexive suffix *-sk/-st*, discussed earlier in Section 5.4. But we argued there that this loss of an inflection is in fact a less drastic change than would be the loss of the inherent reflexive specification of many Old English verbs, as proposed by McWhorter (2004), working in the traditional framework of deriving Middle from Old English.

A second lost inflection is the Scandinavian definiteness marker on non-modified nouns, which English has never had. In Norse and Modern Scandinavian the definite article is a suffix on the noun, except if the noun is modified by an adjective, as in Danish:

(102) *et hus* "a house"
      hus<u>et</u> "the house"
      det gamle hus "the old house"

The traditional view of Norse and Old English contact or fusion (4a) includes the notion that Middle English loses many inflections that were

present in both of the source languages. In this respect it does not differ greatly from our view (4b). From this perspective, the Norse definiteness suffix is one of the inflections lost in Middle English, and so in itself not particularly noteworthy.

It is not impossible, but simply rare, that acquisition of a given second language by a large number of speakers (in the case of Anglicized Norse, probably half its speakers) leads to a modified grammatical pattern. In the present case, the Middle English loss of some Norse inflection is due to "imperfect learning" by Old English speakers. But earlier, we saw in note 70 a more dramatic innovation in late Middle English by French-speaking learners, who introduced *wh*-relative pronouns into English, using even the now ungrammatical *the which* based on the French *lequel*. Yet the robust Modern English use of *wh*-relatives leads no one to conclude, or even seriously think about, whether English descends genealogically from French.

If a reader hesitates to accord shared innovations and the method of syntactic reconstruction the status of reliable argumentation, we can put the arguments of this chapter in a slightly different perspective. If constructions in neighboring Middle English and Mainland Scandinavian such as the phrasal genitive inflection, parasitic gaps, and tag questions based on finite verbs were all actually independent, language-particular developments, we would expect to find similar processes rather frequently in other languages around the world, among others, scattered about in the histories of other Indo-European languages. And certainly we should find some of them in West Germanic language histories as well. But the empirical fact is that the constructions treated in this chapter are hardly even attested outside of North Germanic; to recall just one further example, the applicative inflection in double object constructions around the world is basically always overt, unlike in North Germanic, where in both English and Mainland Scandinavian it is covert (Emonds and Whitney 2006).

And besides the attested Northern Germanic developments, there should be other chance syntactic innovations shared by other pairs of languages, say Middle English and Dutch, or Middle English and German, which are absent from Mainland Scandinavian. If this were frequently true, we might doubt that shared innovations really constitute strong arguments for language relatedness. But as we have discussed, there are *no syntactic innovations* shared by West Germanic languages, including English, and yet

absent from North Germanic. Besides loss of inflection, which we do not treat as "shared innovation," one cannot find a Dutch and English construction that has developed in tandem since the Middle Ages without being more generally Germanic.

In concluding this section on the shared innovations of Middle English and Modern Mainland Scandinavian, we should keep in mind that the agents of this major linguistic change from Old to Middle English were the impoverished native populations in the East Midlands and North of England, during the harshest period of Norman French rule. This historical conjuncture decreed that it was no longer feasible or even possible to maintain two similar but separate languages in this region, and that there was every reason to refashion them into a single "tongue of the dispossessed." To do this, speakers introduced over four centuries (870–1270) as many and perhaps even twice as many Old English as Norse morphemes into the vocabulary, partly via cultural borrowing (see Section 1.4) and perhaps also because Old English speakers were in the majority. Why they chose the Norse model, as we have shown they did, will perhaps always be open to speculation. Possibly the many differences among Old English dialects meant that everyone in the East Midlands could understand Norse better than they understood other regional Old English dialects. In any case our argumentation and conclusion, based on syntax and not on lexicology, show that the genealogical descent of Middle English is unambiguously from North Germanic.

Chapter Seven

The Hybrid Grammatical Lexicon of Middle English

7.1 The Central Role of Grammatical Lexicons

In general terms, natural language lexicons have two quite separate components: an open class dictionary (which for Middle English was discussed in Chapter Two) and a "grammatical lexicon" (Ouhalla 1991). Some important differences between the two parts of the lexicon can be specified in terms of four universal "lexical categories": N, A, V, and P.

Empirically, all members of categories other than the lexical categories, such as DET, MODAL, NEG, NUM, Q, TENSE, etc., have unique grammatical behavior. Thus, no two English determiners or modals (Emonds 2000, Chapter 4) have exactly the same syntax. For instance, the universal quantifiers *each* and *every* differ in that *each* can appear without a following overt noun: *The books were each/*every old, but each/*every was valuable*. That is, each DET realizes *a distinct set of grammatical features*. We call all these non-lexical categories "grammatical categories." In contrast to them, there are large numbers of lexical category items that do not differ in their grammatical behavior. We can thus formally delineate the membership of a grammatical lexicon, which contains:[79]

- all lexical items in any grammatical categories *other than* these lexical categories;
- all affixes of *any category* (these also have unique behavior);
- importantly, closed subsets of the most common N, V, A, and P (Emonds 2000, Chapters 3–4). These are called "grammatical N, A,

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[79] By parsimony, we assume that the grammatical feature involved in specifying the different syntactic combinations of two closely related items (e.g., *each* and *every*) suffices for specifying their difference in meaning, even if present understanding does not suggest exactly how the feature is used in formal semantic representations.

V, P" Much current syntactic work uses special labels for them: "small n, v, a, p."⁸⁰

To exemplify this membership, we give in (103a) a representative list of 40 randomly chosen free morphemes from today's English grammatical lexicon (perhaps 15–20% of the total), and (103b) is a list of most current English affixes.

(103) a. Some Modern English grammatical free morphemes: *self, one, twice, thing, way, other, any, no, that, which, the, how, be, have, get, do, let, go, went, should, can, best, as, well, so, too, less, not, just, even, only, of, with, for, by, since, away, about, now, there*

   b. English affixes: *-age, -al, -(e)d, -en, -er, -(e)s, -ess, -est, -ic, -ify, -ing, -ism, -ity, -ize, -ly, -ment, -s, -th, -tion, -ton, -ward, -y, co-, de-, ex-, mis-, non-, out-, re-, un-*

The semantic bleaching which is so central in the currently much discussed diachronic process of "grammaticalization" is formally fully characterized by the passage of at least one use of an open class morpheme into a language's grammatical lexicon. This change of lexical component has been the source of numerous Quantifiers (*a lot/lots, bunch, little, tons,* French *beaucoup* "much," "most") and adverbs (esp. French *pas* "not," *point* "not at all," *toujours* "always," *maintenant* "now," *souvent* "often"). Perhaps the most notable instance of grammaticalization in the syntactic literature is the explanation of Lightfoot (1979, Chapter 2) for the loss of many Old English open class preterite presents (with "a very wide semantic range") and the development of others into Modern English non-verbal modals in the Modern English grammatical lexicon.

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80   That is, current research in syntax commonly considers the "grammatical verbs" v, e.g., *get*, to be of a different category than the lexical verbs V, e.g., *receive* and *obtain*, which differ among themselves only in purely semantic (non-syntactic) features. It seems to us that the distinction between lacking and having purely semantic features does not need to be duplicated by such differences in syntactic category. That is, *get* is a V without purely semantic features, while *receive* and *obtain* are Vs with purely semantic features.

Consider now that such "grammatical morphemes," free or bound, are not just haphazardly scattered about a language's lexicon. For example, grammatical verbs such as *be*, *get*, *do*, *have*, *go*, *let*, etc., are always the least semantically specified verbs, i.e., those broadest in meaning. This property of their meanings suggests the true nature of this separate lexical component (Emonds 2000, Chapter 4):

(104) **The Syntacticon Component.** A Grammatical Lexicon (or "Syntacticon") is the *set of lexical items in a language that lack purely semantic features.*

The basic distinction between syntactic vs. purely semantic features is from the repeated use of this division in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Chomsky 1965, 88, 143, 150–51). Purely semantic features, which differentiate items such as *destroy* vs. *damage* or *long* vs. *high*, play no role in grammar proper. On the other hand, syntactic features (e.g., ±PAST, ±ANIMATE, ±DEFINITE, etc.) are fundamental in syntax and in fact are, if anything, *more central* in semantics than the purely semantic features. As Chomsky indicates, what could be more semantically central in natural language than ±ANIMATE?

The definition of grammatical lexicons in (104) immediately allows us to identify an unmistakable empirical hallmark of its items, which follows immediately from this definition and which gives a near operational test for distinguishing these items from those of Open Class Dictionaries. Since any two items in the grammatical lexicon differ by a syntactic feature, they must differ in some syntactic behavior. Hence, such items are recognizable by their readily observable *Unique Syntactic Behavior*. A modicum of grammatical reflection shows that all the morphemes in (103) have this characteristic.

(105) **Unique Syntactic Behavior.** All and only members of the Grammatical Lexicon exhibit *Unique Syntactic Behavior*.

A correlated sociolinguistic property of grammatical (as opposed to open class) lexical items is that living languages essentially *borrow hardly any grammatical items* that are inflections or free-standing words. For instance,

even though between 1300 and 1600 thousands of French words entered the English lexicon, next to no grammatical free morphemes were borrowed.[81]

The relation of the Middle English Grammatical Lexicon to Scandinavian sources is entirely different from its relation to French, though most traditional scholarship seems to draw no linguistically significant conclusions from this. Nonetheless, *a majority of Middle (and Modern) English grammatical morphemes* are either of Scandinavian origin or have close Scandinavian cognates. The rest of this chapter demonstrates this for some salient classes of grammatical *free morphemes* in Middle English, and Chapter Eight does the same for Middle English inflections, with special attention paid to the "loss" of Old English inflection.

7.2 Grammatical Free Morphemes of Middle English

In order to appreciate how solidly Middle English grammar is anchored in North Germanic, one needs the sharp delineation given in the definition (104) between grammatical and lexical free morphemes. Traditional scholarship, as well as the current approach of Construction Grammar, often blurs this distinction, speaking of "continuums" and "clines" of grammaticalization, implying that no clear division is central to lexical or grammatical systems. Generative work on grammaticalization tends to be clearer on the division, but still distinguishes only the central and productive lexical categories of N, V, and A, and often P, from all other categories of syntax, which are referred to by the cover term "functional categories."

However, as mentioned above, the lexical categories themselves contain well-defined subsets of grammatical items, including, up to, say, ca. 20 free morphemes each.[82] And the predominant source of such grammatical verbs in Middle English, in addition to close cognates, is not Old English, but Norse.

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81   Late Middle English extensively borrowed French derivational morphology (*-able*, *-ment*, *-ise*, etc.); see Dalton-Puffer (1996). But in the area of inflection and grammatical free morphemes, to our knowledge it borrowed only two items, *very* and *just*.

82   The grammatical category NUM/Q in American English contains 21 morphemes: *zero*, *one*, *two*, . . . *nine*, *ten*, *eleven*, *twelve*, *-twenty*, *-teen*, *-ty*, *many*, *few*, *much*, *little*, *several*. Other numerals are lexical combinations of these, or are in the category noun: *hundred*, *thousand*, etc. (Jackendoff 1977).

7.2.1 The Category V: Grammatical Verbs

Research on the English grammatical lexicon and the properties of its members, much of it in Emonds (2000; 2001), has led to the conclusion that on independent syntactic grounds, English grammatical verbs are essentially the eighteen in the list in (106).[83] The grammatical V in (106a) have both North and West Germanic cognates, and those in (106b) are from Norse; the five forms from Norse either lack Old English cognates or do not exhibit Old English palatalization of velars. Only the three verbs in (106c) lack a source in Norse.

(106) Modern English Grammatical Verbs:
   a. Norse and Old English cognates (10): *come, go, have, is, let, make, need, put, say, were*

   b. Norse source (5): *are, get, give, take, want*

   c. Old English source (4): *be, bring, dare, do*

(107) **Norse infinitive cognates** of forms in (106):
   a. *ganga, hafa, er* (*<es*), *koma, lata, maka, nauð* (noun), *pute, segja, váru*[84]

   b. *eru, gefa, geta, taka, vanta* "lack, need"

These Modern English verbs are grammatical rather than lexical because they exhibit unique behaviors; any two verbs in the list differ in their syntax. Among the properties that differentiate them are the following. In English, only grammatical verbs:

- appear first in adjacent V–V sequences: *do, have, be, get, go, come; need, dare*;
- have fully suppletive past tense forms: *were, went*;

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83   Modals are discussed separately in Section 7.2.2, since their category in Modern English is not V but I.

84   *Put* is related to Danish *pute*, according to the web source www.etymolonline.com.

- have phonologically irregular 3rd singulars: *says*, *does*, *is*, *has*;
- exhibit "deictic distinctions" related to the person of their subjects: *come*, *go*, *bring*, *take*;
- combine with following passive/past participles: *be (is*, *are)*, *get*, *have*;
- can optionally serve as negative polarity modals: *need*, *dare*.

These properties demonstrate that exactly these grammatical verbs play a pivotal role in Modern English syntax, and all derive from Middle English predecessors. This set incorporates items from both Norse and Old English in the early Middle English period. Such a dual heritage in a grammatical lexicon is characteristic of a lexical creole, and we have no qualms about classifying Middle English in this way, as long as it is understood that a "lexical creole" is not a creole in the full sense; cf. note 24. A lexical creole amalgamating two languages L_1 and L_2 can be, and often is, associated with a grammar whose properties are overwhelmingly those of L_1 (here Norse, as we have demonstrated) and *not those of L_2* (Old English).

We thus emphasize that however one conceptualizes the direction of borrowing (Norse into English or English into Norse), established living languages do not "borrow" core grammatical items in the quantity seen in (106). In the East Midlands and North, the two linguistic communities must have rather set about after the Conquest, partly consciously, forging a common vocabulary; in the face of the hostile French-speaking Norman overlords and their military, common people wanted/needed to talk alike rather than differently. This resulted in a new grammatical lexicon with, highly unusually, more or less equal shares of grammatical words such as those in (106). And precisely because of this even mixture, there are *no reasons based on lexical forms* for claiming that Middle English continues one of Old English or Norse significantly more than the other. The decision about the source of Middle English, the choice between hypotheses (4a) or (4b), *must be based on something other than lexical criteri*a. As Chapters Three through Six have argued, the criterion can only be grammar.

7.2.2 The Modal Auxiliaries

Old English had at least fourteen so-called modal verbs (Lightfoot 1979, Chapter 2); in synchronic terms, those whose present tense lacks 3rd person singular agreement (Old English *-þ*), because in earlier stages of Germanic,

the presents of most of these verbs were in fact past tenses. Seven of these were the Old English "ancestors" of the Modern English modals *will/would*, *can/could*, *may/might*, *shall/should*, *must*, *ought*, *dare* (Warner 1993; Lowrey 2012). The modal usage of *need* develops later; for discussion of the "opposite histories" of *dare* and *need*, see Warner (1993, 202–3).[85]

Strikingly, as Denison (1993, 296) observes, the other half of the Old English modals "died out in the course of the Middle English period." Yet in some 700 years since, no other modals have been lost; so the strange propensity of Middle English to "lose modals" (at least one every 50 years) is in no way characteristic of Germanic diachrony, and calls for explanation.

Of the surviving seven Old English modals, at least four have transparent cognates in Norse: *kann* "can," *má* "may," *skal* "shall," and *vil* "will." Only *dare*, *must*, and *ought* possibly lack cognates.[86] From our perspective, half of the Old English modals did not just "die out" in its transition to Middle English; they died out *with* Old English. What actually happened was that Old English speakers, as they mastered Anglicized Norse, added to it a few modals, the ancestors of *must* and *ought*, to the four others already in the Norse grammatical lexicon.

Summarizing, histories of English fail to mention that so few Modern English grammatical verbs lack Norse cognates, and that a good number of them in fact lack Old English cognates. Since they are perhaps uncomfortably aware that borrowing into a grammatical inventory on the scale needed to derive Middle from Old English *essentially never happens*, they are at pains to stress how extraordinarily complete Norse social integration into English society was.[87]

We conceptualize this rather differently: after the Norman Conquest, English and Norse speakers in the East Midlands and the North did indeed

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85   Fuller lists of preterite present verbs are given in Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 52) and Denison (1993, 295–296). "In Old and Middle English, it [*need*] is a regular verb" (Warner 1993, 203).

86   In addition, Norse *eiga* "own, have," which is not a modal, is most probably a cognate of *ought*. The modal *must* might be a blend of Norse *munu* and Old English *motan* (?*munt* → *must*).

87   Rarely does such linguistic integration accompany socio-political integration, e.g., none survives from centuries of German and Czech speakers co-habiting in the present-day Czech Republic.

integrate, under the terrible social pressure imposed by the new and often merciless Norman rulers. The most obvious sign of this integration was constructing and expanding a unified lexicon, *but all the while still using Norse syntax.* In achieving this integration, there seems to have been a sort of mutual understanding *that both pre-existing grammatical lexicons should contribute roughly equal shares of words.* With grammatical verbs, those of the native Norse speakers nonetheless outnumber those brought in by Old English speakers.

7.2.3 The Category D: Pronouns, Demonstratives, and Quantifiers

Uncontroversially, Middle English 3rd person plural pronouns come from Scandinavian. This is often cited as a rare case of borrowing of grammatical words. In our perspective, this is not borrowing, but retention of some Anglicized Norse pronouns. But then what about the other pronouns, which are usually reported as all continuing Old English (Pyles 1971, 171)? The fact is that all the first and second person forms of Middle English are common Germanic and can be derived from both Old English and Norse by applying a "cooperative rule" of dropping a final stop. The only non-cognate Old English pronouns in Middle English are in the 3rd person, cf. the table (108). So either way, we have a case of pronoun borrowing, or retention, where Old English wins out in the 3rd singular[88] and Norse in the 3rd plural. We also include the forms of the demonstratives, distal *that* and proximal *this* in the neuter nominative/accusative.

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88   At least in the masculine. The feminine has a more obscure origin: "*She* (derivation debatable) appeared in the Middle English period in the Danelaw region, and spread rapidly" (Poussa 1982, 73).

(108) **Potential ancestors of Middle English pronouns and demonstratives**

	OE nom/acc/dat	Norse nom/acc/dat	ME nom/acc
1st sing.	*ic me/mec me*	*ek mik mér*	*i(k) me*
2nd sing.	*þu þe/þec þe*	*þú þik þér*	*þu þe*
3rd sing. masc. 3rd sing. fem. 3rd sing. neuter	*he hine him* *heo hie hire* *hit, hit, him*	*hann hann honum* *hon hana henni* *þat þat því*	*he him* *she her* *(h)it*
1st plural	*we us us*	*vér oss oss*	*we us*
2nd plural	*ge eow eow*	*ér yðr yðr*	*ye yu*
3rd plural	*hie hie him*	*þeir þá þeim*	*þey þem*
Distal sing. neuter nom.	*þæt*	*þat*	*þat*
Distal plural neuter nom.	*þā*	*þau*	*þā*
Proximate sing. neuter nom.	*þis*	*þetta*	*þis*
Proximate plural neuter nom.	*þās*	*þessi*	*þise*

It can be seen that the Modern English demonstratives *this/these* and *that/those* derive from both Norse and Old English.

In the ranks of quantifiers, the following have both Norse and Old English cognates: *all*, *some*, *many*, *few*, *much*, *little*, *one*, and the other basic numerals. *Several*, *any*, *each*, *every*, and *no* come only from Old English, while *both* and *same* derive only from Norse.

7.2.4 The Category P: Prepositions

As with verbs and pronouns, we find that among the common prepositions of Middle English many have both Old English and Norse cognates, some are only from Old English, and a few, such as *till*, have no West Germanic cognate.

Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 116–17) give a list of Old English prepositions. In (109a–b) we list those that appear in Middle and Modern English, sometimes with a shift of meaning, and in (109c–d) those that died out.

(109) a. Old English and Norse cognates: *æfter*, *ær* "ere," *æt*, *for*, *fram*, *in*, *of*, *ofer*, *to*, *under*, *wiþ* "along" (the source of *with*)

     b. Old English without Norse cognates: *be* "by" and its composites, *beforan* and *betweox*, *on-gean* "against," *þurh* "through"

     c. Old English and Norse cognate forms disappear: *innan*, *mid* "with," *ymb* "about"

     d. Old English forms without cognates that disappear: *binnan*, *bufan* "above," *eac* "besides," *geond* "throughout," *to-geanes* "against," *oþ* "up to"

Of the sixteen Middle English Prepositions in (109a–b), eleven have Norse cognates, while five from West Germanic lack Norse cognates. On the other hand, of the nine Old English prepositions in (109c–d) that "died out" in Middle English, only three had Norse cognates. In general, an Old English preposition with a Norse cognate had a much better chance of continuing into Middle English than one without. (For more discussion of Middle English prepositions, including those with roots in Norse, see Mustanoja 1960, 348–49.)

We again see how the Middle English grammatical lexicon was truly a combination of Norse and Old English sources. Among prepositions, the Old English contributions are somewhat more robust than among the verbs, but both grammatical lexicons are much in evidence.

7.2.5 Complex Subordinators

Complex subordinators can occur in Old Scandinavian: *fyrir því at* "for that.DAT," "because," and have become common in, e.g., Modern Norwegian: *fordi at* "because," along with *viss at* "if," *for at* "in order to, so that," *utan at* "without," all of them introducing finite clauses. In West Germanic, by contrast, a complex subordinator of this type is nearly impossible. Compare Modern German **für dass* "for that," **ohne dass* "without that," **in dass*

"in that," *ehe dass* "before that," etc.[89] It thus seems that West and North Germanic have different tendencies in forming complex lexical subordinators; North Germanic allows them, and West Germanic does not.

In line with our general hypothesis, this same contrast can also be observed between Middle English (like North Germanic) and Old English (West Germanic). In Middle English, one starts to get the complex subordinators *now that*, *if that*, *before that*, *save that*, *in that*, *when that*, while Old English never allowed *þe* (the general subordinator) after other subordinators (Fischer 1992, 295).

7.2.6 Norse Properties of English Adverbs: Sentence Negation

Old and Middle English are distinguished by a rather sharp difference in the formation of sentence negation. On this point, the summary of Fischer (1992, 280) is worth quoting at length:

> Between [sic] the Old and the Middle English periods some important changes took place in the system of sentence negation. In Old English, the negative adverb was *ne*, which was commonly placed before the finite verb . . . .
>
> In Early Middle English the Old English emphatic negative *ne* . . . *naht/na* ["nothing"/"never"] *(na* disappears here quite quickly) begins to be used more and more frequently and can no longer be considered to be truly emphatic . . . . [I]n Early Middle English *naht* has also acquired a fixed position; it now, practically without exception, follows *ne* and is placed after the finite verb . . . . Because *ne* was now normally supported by *naht*, it could be dropped.

Given that Middle English subject phrases were typically followed by a finite verb in both main and subordinate clauses, the main pattern of sentence negation in Middle English is thus: "subject NP – (*ne*) – finite V – *naht/ not*," where *naht/ not* is the normal and sufficient non-emphatic sentence negation.

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89   In contrast to Middle English, finite and infinitival complements of a preposition appear to again be disallowed in Modern English: *He left because/without/by/ during that the trains were running*; but cf. the surviving *in that* and *except that*.

Since this is neither the pattern of Old English nor of Old Scandinavian, we could just say that Middle English sentence negation was a language-particular innovation, and drop things there; i.e., it would then have no bearing on choosing between the traditional view of Middle English (4a) and ours (4b).

However, the rapidity of its onset, just at the time that written English changes from Old English to Anglicized Norse, suggests otherwise.

To see this, let us compare Middle English negation to the then contemporary one in North Germanic. In Old Scandinavian / Old Norse, simple clausal negation is not prefixal as in Old English, but is expressed by a single free morpheme *eigi* at the left edge of an underlying VP, thus following the subject and the finite verb (moved out of the VP):

(110) a. *ef herra Sigvatr er eigi í dalinum* (*DN* II.100)
  if lord Sigvat is not in valley-the
  "if Lord Sigvat is not in the valley"

  b. *þat mæli ek eigi* (*Nj* 219.14)
  that say I not
  "I am not saying that"

This Scandinavian ordering is exactly the same as what ends up being the most frequent way of expressing negation in Middle English, as discussed above. What plausibly happened is that the grammatical lexicon of Anglicized Norse *relexified* its negative morpheme as *naht*, without affecting the Norse "analytic" syntactic pattern. At the same time, the influence of the many Old English speakers adopting Anglicized Norse led to a "doubling" of sentence negation *naht* with the borrowed Old English verbal prefix *ne-*. Then, as is usually the case with such borrowing (Kroch et al. 2000), the prefixal *ne-*, which the imperfect learning of Old English speakers imported into the North Germanic system, died out in the course of Middle English and has never returned.[90]

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90 According to Fischer (1992, Section 4.5), *ne-* lingers with some comparative clauses, wishes, etc., reminiscent of the French negative prefix *ne in a system where post-verbal pas is more central to sentence negation. Otherwise, ne* was soon lost in Middle English.

The process just described is thus a sequence of steps taken by a community of speakers creating a single grammatical lexicon out of two. Simplifying only slightly, Old English clausal negation was prefixal, and, after a period of influence from Old English, the basic Middle English clausal negation was signaled by a post-verbal free morpheme, as in Scandinavian.

There is thus no need to posit some special diachronic process in the history of English labeled the "negative cycle" (Jespersen 1917), also called "Jespersen's Cycle" (Dahl 1979; van Gelderen 2006 and 2011), by which pre-verbal prefixes and post-verbal free morphemes keep alternating diachronically in the same language. It is not that Old English clausal negation "strengthened" to become a free morpheme in Middle English. Rather, the Old English syntax of negation died out, and Norse negation using a free morpheme prevailed.

7.2.7 Norse Properties of English Adverbs: Time Adverbials

As part of a comprehensive typological survey of phrasal adverbials in European languages, van der Auwera (1998, 92–100) investigates the use of the words corresponding to *yet* and *(any) longer*. Their normal use is in combination with a negation, as in (111).[91]

(111) *Alice hasn't arrived yet.*
      Alice doesn't live here any longer.

In some languages, the equivalents of these words can also be used in question clauses without the accompanying negation.

(112) *Has Alice arrived yet?*
      Does Alice live here any more?

The Norwegian equivalents of (112) are the ones in (113).

(113) *Har Alice komme enno?*
      Bur Alice her lenger?

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91   We thank the author for alerting us to his work on this topic.

In other words, the question is whether these negative polarity adverbs are also licensed in question contexts. As is widely known, many negative polarity items are, but some are not (English *Did he lift a finger to help?* vs. **Did he have a red cent to spend?*)

In van der Auwera's sample of European languages which allow constructions like those in (112) beside (111), we find the following Germanic languages: Danish, English, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish. In contrast, van der Auwera gives no such data from any West Germanic language (1998, 99). An ungrammatical German example would be (114).

(114) **Ist sie noch gekommen?*
      is she yet arrived
      "Has she arrived yet?"

None of the West Germanic languages are included in the list of those which allow these polarity items in question contexts. English, as usual, patterns with the other North Germanic languages, as our hypothesis predicts.

7.2.8 Overview of the Middle English Grammatical Lexicon

We have briefly surveyed category membership in the Middle English grammatical lexicon, which is populated with Norse and Old English forms in roughly equal shares. Moreover, as in its open class lexicon, about half the forms were so similar in Old English and Norse that we cannot say whether a given Middle English morpheme was derived more from one than from the other. Since such mixing of grammatical forms is not how borrowing into living languages generally proceeds, it must have another source, i.e., the mixing was a product of a unique language and grammar created by generations of children whose parents or friends often spoke some kind of English-Scandinavian hybrids as second languages.

These hybrids had lexicons whose sources are difficult or impossible to disentangle, though it is clear that *roughly half of the non-cognate Middle English grammatical morphemes are of Norse origin*. In the face of this mixed picture, a verdict on the source of Middle English must be based on some other factor. As this study has shown, that factor is its Norse syntax.

Chapter Eight

The Sparse Inflection of Middle and Modern English

Middle English lacks a number of inflections which can be found in Old English. In our view, this is no surprise, since Middle English does not derive from the latter. However, Norse influence cannot in itself explain this general tendency, since several Old English inflections were lost even when Old Norse had comparable paradigms. Respected traditional Middle English scholarship has proposed that phonologically unstressed inflections in *both* Norse and Old English were a source of grammatical confusion, what is today called imperfect learning.

> In many words the English and Scandinavian languages differed chiefly in their inflectional elements. The body of the word was so nearly the same in the two languages that only the endings would put obstacles in the way of mutual understanding. In the mixed populations that existed in the Danelaw these endings must have led to much confusion, tending gradually to become obscured and finally lost. (Baugh and Cable 2002, 104)[92]

Strang (1970, Section 156) has a similar view. As a result, these authors feel, the new generations of Middle English speakers opted for a simple solution: "Don't pronounce the conflicting inflections, *just drop them.*"

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92   Traditional histories seem to be at pains to emphasize how "gradual" these changes (disappearances) are. This phrasing is quite empty, since of course the adoption of Middle English (Anglicized Norse) as a language and full abandonment of Old English (widely termed the "southern dialects" of Middle English) outside the Danelaw took centuries. It naturally consisted of a spread from village to village, extended periods of bilingualism in many places and not others, and differences between individuals as to which languages they wrote and under what conditions.

Whether or not the speakers developing Middle English were confused, they indisputably dropped many but not all inflectional endings. Some did remain:

(115) Middle English inflections retained from Proto-Germanic:

- adjectival comparison, i.e., *-er* and *-est*,
- noun plurals and possessives,
- a version of 3rd singular present tense verb agreement, and
- a present participle suffix.

The last item on this list, the predecessor of Modern English *-ing*, calls for more comment. The traditional derivation of Middle from Old English provides no account of how the Old English participles V-*end* and derived nominals V-*ung* coalesced into the single Middle English form V-*ing* (though an account based on the form of their lexical entires is given in Emonds 1991). However, Norse used two suffixes, *-ung* and *-ing*, in derived nominals, and it is natural enough that Anglicized Norse might retain only one, i.e., the form *-ing*, as in *vik-ing* "Viking." This resulted in the early Middle English contrast, more stable in the North, "where the present participle (*-ande)* and the verbal noun (*-yng*) remained strictly separate" (Fischer 1992, 253). After English vowels reduced in suffixes, this would yield *singend/singand* → *singn(d)* in participles and *singiŋ* → *singŋ* in derived nominals.

Our account then need only posit one further language-particular morphophonological step in Middle English: participial *-n(d)* → *-ŋ*. In contrast to the spread from North to South of Anglicized Norse, this change spread from South to North: apparently, the final nasals in the two forms *singin* and *singiŋ* had lost their distinctiveness and became free variants for both uses, as they remain in non-standard English even today: non-standard *John is bringin his old girl friend.*

8.1 A Generalized Loss of Inflection

Let us next consider not the inflections which survived in Middle English, but those that were lost. There seems to be a separate factor bringing about loss of inflection in Middle English, one that affects Old English and Norse

equally. It may involve more than just the cooperative dropping of inflection, as suggested above by Baugh and Cable.

In the first centuries of the second millennium, Scandinavian, Dutch, English, the western Romance languages, and Celtic all underwent a general simplification of inflections.[93] In the face of this somewhat mysterious diachronic tendency (perhaps resulting from phonological weakening and/or language and dialect contact), it is difficult to make a convincing case that some particular losses of inflection in Middle English directly result from its Scandinavian descent. But it is an established and uncontroversial fact that Middle English arose from close language contact in the East Midlands and the North (the Danelaw). It is an equally established fact that language contact typically leads to morphological simplification (Trudgill 2011b). The traditional view (4a) is that the result of this contact was the "Norsified (Old) English" of Thomason and Kaufman (1988). However, in our view (4b), the result was rather Anglicized Norse. Either way, the morphological simplification was mediated by language contact, and the simplified inflection cannot in itself be used as an argument for either position.

Here is a list of many losses of both Norse and Old English inflections that cannot be clearly attributed to the impact of the former on the latter:

(116) The lost Norse and Old English inflections of early Middle English:

- the total loss of case on both English and Scandinavian nouns and noun modifiers, discussed more in the next subsection;
- except for a present tense third singular form and an undifferentiated plural suffix, the disappearance in Middle English of both Norse and Old English *subject-verb agreement inflections*;
- the loss in both Middle English and Scandinavian of separate subjunctive forms;

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93   Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 278–279) provide a Middle English "Simplification Table" to draw attention to how different the Middle English system was from Old English: "These features of Simplification and Norsification . . . did not appear gradually; *they appear in the earliest Middle English documents of the Danelaw*" [our emphasis, JE and JTF].

- separate inflectional paradigms for dual number, distinct from those of plurals;
- the Scandinavian reflexive suffix on verbs, variously *-sk/-st/-s*, mentioned in Section 5.4 and discussed in Faarlund (2005);
- the Scandinavian definite suffix on unmodified nouns.

The first three of these losses in Middle English correspond to those already lost or being lost in Norse, not only in England but also in Mainland Scandinavia; we discuss them briefly but inconclusively just below. Even if these three losses in Scandinavian were not complete until after Anglicized Norse acquired its independent Middle English character, the fact is that they were eventually complete in both areas. This suggests that reduced Middle English inflection is not entirely due to "language contact" or "speakers' confusion," but also to *internal diachronic development in Western Europe more generally and in North Germanic in particular*, however this is ultimately best described.

8.2 Case Inflection on Nouns and Adjectives

Both Norse and Middle English lost case inflections on nouns and noun modifiers, including adjectives, apparently about the same time. The careful study of van Kemenade (1987, cover summary) dates this loss in Middle English at ca. 1200, squarely in the period when Anglicized Norse was taking on the full characteristics of Middle English; in her view "*the base change from OV to VO (c. 1200) . . . is related to the loss of morphological case.*" Allen's (1995, Chapter 5) detailed study also confirms that Old English morphological case disappeared on Middle English nouns and determiners at this time.

Strang (1970, Section 150) discusses the last instances of reduced English adjectival agreement in the 13th century. Previously, such agreement had been very similar to that in today's West Germanic Dutch.[94] As for determiners, she observes (268–69) that except in the South, *the* and

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94   "[F]or general purposes, period IV [1170–1370] can be taken as marking the disintegration of the system of adjective concord. The system had already gone out in the North" (Strang 1970, 270). In our view, of course, what had disintegrated and gone out in the North was Old English. By 1170 it was going out in the South as well.

this were invariant, except for singular vs. plural number, by the early 13th century.

The main source of Norse in England was Danish, and in the 12th century its case inflection on nouns was eroding, just as in English. (In Norwegian this occurred later, perhaps in the early 15th century.) We nonetheless conclude this case loss in Middle English cannot be fully ascribed to language contact, as it became fully complete both on the continent and in England only after emigration had ceased, under the Normans. Nothing, however, stands in the way of considering that the process in both England and Scandinavia had at least a common origin in 11th-century Norse, and that it was then completed in both areas after contact ceased.

8.3 Loss of Agreement and Subjunctive Inflections on Verbs

Both Old Norse and Old English had paradigms of fully differentiated subject-verb agreement in both present and past tenses. Person agreement on finite verbs disappeared gradually in the various Scandinavian dialects, starting in the 14th century. Number agreement lasted longer, and still exists in some Mainland dialects. Overall, subject-verb agreement had died out in the standard dialects of Modern Scandinavia by the end of the 19th century.

Similarly, Middle English developed drastically reduced subject-verb agreement, whose final form (3rd singular *-s*) was, moreover, *unrelated to either Old Norse or Old English agreement*. Speakers of Anglicized Norse, like those of any language, though generally aware of the store of words in their language, were unaware of their internal structure and the exact nature of their bound inflections. So East Midlands speakers forging a common tongue after the Conquest were doubtless indifferent about retaining their parents' morphologies. No or new morphology were equally good, and certainly there was no educational pressure to conserve the past. As a result, Anglicized Norse developed a sparse agreement morphology: (i) *a new form*, *-s*, for the present third person singular, which finally replaced the southern *-þ* (from the Old English *-aþ*), and also (ii) a present plural verbal suffix, *-en*, that lasted into the 15th century. Old English agreement, properly speaking, as well as that of Norse, just did not survive.

The Old English subjunctive also had a full finite paradigm that was distinct from the indicative (Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 43–45). Though

traditional approaches assume the subjunctive continues even into Modern English, Middle English dialects outside the South retained no special inflections (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 279). A similar full loss of the subjunctive in Danish was complete by 1500.

8.4 Loss of Specifically Scandinavian Inflections

Two widely studied inflections in Old Scandinavian were (i) the reflexive suffix on verbs, which in different times and places had the forms *-sk/-st/-s* (Faarlund 2005); and (ii) the definiteness suffix *-en/et*, etc., on nouns, which survives today with different conditions on its distribution in Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. There is no counterpart to either of these in any version of Old or Middle English.

If, contrary to the standard assumption made today, our hypothesis (4b) that Middle English descends from Old Scandinavian were widely accepted, an enterprising new scholar might claim that here indeed are instances of Old English syntactically influencing Anglicized Norse, during the development of Middle English. And to this challenge we would reply, as we have above in this chapter, that loss of inflection in northwest Europe in the early second millennium is not clearly indicative of *any* specific genealogical relationships. It is rather part of a more general trend, as yet not clarified, involving extensive language contact and/or phonological reductions.

That is, in calculating which languages share and/or inherit which syntactic constructions, even total loss of simple inflections, including the Scandinavian ones in the last two points of (116), must at least at present be set aside. For the same reason in the other direction, we have not taken the loss of the Old English verb agreement system as related in any special way to its loss in Mainland Scandinavian. In conclusion, we do not consider the shared sparse inflection of Modern English and Modern Scandinavian (as opposed to, e.g., Modern Dutch) to be one of our syntax-centered arguments for our hypothesis (4b).

Conclusion

The Immigrants' Language Lives On

Our unorthodox but, we think, inescapable conclusion, that Norse supplanted Old English as the language of England, seems to call for some sociolinguistic comment. Is it plausible that an "Anglicized" Norse, the language of a presumably demographic minority, could become the common tongue of the whole conquered populace of the East Midlands, finally replacing Old English in this region entirely, by, say, 1250?[95] If so, by the time the Norman rulers themselves finally switched from French to English in the 14th century, this Anglicized Norse was on the road to becoming the later standard language of the whole country.

As we have seen, as medieval East Midlands families and communities combined Norse and Old English vocabularies under the Conquest, they were faced with the (unconscious) question of which basic grammatical system to use for making sentences. As discussed in Chapters Three through Five, these systems differed in many ways, among others in clausal word order, the grammar of verbal particles, the use of auxiliaries, preposition stranding, split infinitives, the formation of possessive phrases, etc. Though young speakers had no motivation to change the overall Germanic design of their fledgling Middle English, i.e., they did not need to resort to creating a true (syntactic) creole, they still had many grammatical choices to make regarding the above and numerous other differences.

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95   Essentially similar scenarios undeniably repeated themselves over and over in the Roman Empire, and are so familiar that no one even remarks them. Another more linguistically similar case is how northern French (*Langue d'oui*) has supplanted Provençal (*Langue d'oc*) in the latter's native territory. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of our hypothesis (4b) is how adamantly scholarship on English has avoided even considering it.

Though doubtless some children started using one system and some the other, speakers finally settled on a common model. Plausibly, the model derived from the families in the East Midlands and North with more social prestige, despite the fact that compared to the new French-speaking Norman overlords, all those involved were powerless and poor. Among the dispossessed, who might constitute the more prestigious?

In the 11th century, preceding the Conquest, i.e., just before the full fusion of English and Scandinavian peoples in the Danelaw, the following social factors held sway:

- in the East Midlands and North (the Danelaw), the Scandinavians had political power as a result of the reigns of King Canute and his father and son in the first half of the century;
- the Scandinavian families had settled and prospered in the Danelaw continuously from the early 800s, some 250 years, and so could not have felt themselves outsiders;
- Scandinavians settled permanently in the East Midlands and North because of their economic success in trade and agriculture. They were by no means subordinate and plausibly enjoyed a notably higher average economic status than the native English.

That is, after the Conquest, families of Scandinavian descent retained more social prestige in East Midlands communities than did those of Anglo-Saxon descent—the latter had long been politically subservient and lacked the Danes' recent history of conquest and trade success.[96] It would thus be natural during a demographic fusion if East Midlands children emulated the syntactic patterns of the more prestigious families of Scandinavian ethnicity. But whatever their motivations were, we have found that this was exactly what they did, not by sociological speculation, but by hard internal evidence that the grammar of Middle English was that of Anglicized Norse.

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96 Kroch et al. (2000, Section 2) reach a carefully researched conclusion that "for long periods in the 9th and 10th centuries, the Danes or Norwegians ruled extensive kingdoms in England, and place name evidence indicates that the population of several shires was predominantly Scandinavian."

Keep in mind that since their conquest in 1013–1066, the Danes ruled not only extensive kingdoms *in* England but *all of England*. Even after the Danish King Canute's son (d. 1042), Edward the Confessor ruled until 1066. Though treated by historians as English, he was the heir of his stepfather Canute and Danish mother Emma, as well as being brought up a Norman. This last pre-Conquest king was thus Anglo-Saxon only by the blood of his long deposed father, to whose name the epithet "Unready" had been added. This inglorious end of Anglo-Saxon political power could hardly have helped raise this people to a position of social predominance.

Interestingly, an early author who examined evidence of the interaction of Norse and English speakers in the East Midlands came to a conclusion not far removed from ours, though we do not share his laments over the loss of inflection:

> By Eadred's time [954], two or three generations of Danes and Angles must have mingled together; the uncouth dialect, woefully shorn of inflections, spoken in the markets of Leicester and Stanford, would be found to foreshadow the corruptions of the Peterborough Chronicle after 1120. The country falling within a radius of 20 miles from the centre of Rutland would be acknowledged, I think, as the cradle of the New English we now speak. (Oliphant 1878, 101–2)

The unavoidable conclusion is thus that the Middle English speakers of the East Midlands and the North did *not* "borrow" Scandinavian words and constructions; children simply learned them as part of their native language from the late 11th to the early 13th century by appropriating from their parents' and peers' Norse and Old English vocabularies on a nearly equal basis. As a grammatical system, they used the Norse model. While the parents may often have been speaking mutually comprehensible amalgams of their different native Germanic languages, their children were already creating from these vocabularies a *new North Germanic tongue* consistent with Universal Grammar—the language which we today call Middle English. And so the language descended from it, Modern English, might more aptly be called Modern Norse.

Appendix: Three Phonological Factors Suggestive of a Norse Source for Middle English

The main thrust of this book's argumentation is syntactic; that is, Early Middle English arose, not through a vast number of unrelated and accidental changes in Old English grammar, but as a seamless continuation of (a lexically Anglicized) Norse syntax. This view is corroborated by some phonological characteristics of both Norse and Middle English which differ from those of Old English.

Before we review these, we need to make clear that it is highly possible, even likely, that Middle English phonology, especially its phonetics, is very much a continuation of Old English phonology. Consider the analogy of Latin syntax spreading into regions of the Roman Empire where Romance languages are spoken today, for example France and Spain. It is a commonplace that late Romance speakers in Gaul imported aspects of Germanic phonology and phonetics into the Late Latin Romance tongue that they adopted. A similar scenario may well have caused Anglicized Norse to have a range of Old English phonological characteristics; how many such characteristics and their nature are matters that need to be clarified by further research.[97]

The properties of Old Norse phonology which strike us as significantly impacting on Middle English phonology are the following:

(i) **Pre-vocalic velars.** Perhaps the most frequently cited phonological property uniting Middle English and Norse does not actually help us to decide on the historical source of Middle English; it simply shows the deep influence of Norse. Norse *did not* palatalize the Proto-Germanic velars *k*, *sk*, and *g* before the high front vowels *i* and *e*, but Old English did. This yielded sounds spelled respectively *ch*, *sh*, and *y*. As a result some English lexical pairs even descend from the same

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97   For example, a reader of an earlier version, citing a 1923 study on the lack of word-final interdental fricatives in Old Norse, comments that words such as *path* indicate "that some native Old English phonology survived" in Middle English. This is doubtless true, as in fact already indicated by the possibility of word-initial *ĉ* (*child*). In exactly the same vein, some native Old French phonology also survived in Middle English, as shown by the initial consonant in words like *Jack*, *judge*, *juice*, *just*, *justice*, etc.

Proto-Germanic roots, one via Old English and a second via Norse: *child/kid; shirt/skirt; shipper/skipper*. Besides these, there are large numbers of Middle English descendants of both Old English words with "soft" palatal sounds and Norse words with "hard" velar sounds; the latter are much in evidence in lists such as (5) and (8), to which we can add *kind*, *king*, *kiss*, *kitten*, *skid*, *skin*, *skit*, etc.

(ii) **Loss of low off-glides.** A second phonological property uniting Middle English and Norse is the lack of diphthongs *with low off-glides*. The significance of this is rarely, if ever, remarked. Scholarship generally agrees with Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 14–15) that Old English had three such diphthongs, *ie*, *ea*, and *eo* (all possibly long or short), these being the frequent spellings. Some Modern words developed from them include *all*, *beam*, *bread*, *choose*, *deaf*, *gave*, *freeze*, etc. As documented in Freeborn (1998, 112–13), these relatively unusual syllabic nuclei disappear with no trace in Middle English words; according to Pyles (1971, 182), "monophthongization" of Old English diphthongs occurred during the 11th and 12th centuries. Our view is of course that this loss of diphthongs was just another instance of collateral loss resulting from the death of Old English.

In contrast, Norse never had low off-glides. It had only *high* off-glides (*w/y)* in three diphthongs, as shown in the sound table in Gordon (1927, 266). It is certainly not common, perhaps impossible, for a single language to develop diphthongs and then *go back to the original monophthongal pronunciations* (no English dialect reverses the Great Vowel Shift after undergoing it). Yet such a reversal is what Freeborn's discussion of Old English diphthongs clearly assumes, and in fact what the traditional scenario (4a) for Middle English *must assume*. Our view is simpler and more plausible: Norse speakers, as they developed Anglicized Norse, just never incorporated Old English low off-glides into their native phonology, even in the 11th century.

(iii) **Reduction of vowel length contrasts**. Old English had a robust contrast between long and short vowels before both double and single consonants. Many of these vowels become uniformly long or short in Middle English (Freeborn 1998, Chapters 5–6). As he shows,

Old English short vowels often lengthen in Middle English *before consonant-vowel sequences* (118–20) and conversely, Old English long vowels can shorten *before most consonant sequences* (95). This reduction in length contrasts, which do not completely disappear in Middle English, must be added to the long list of unrelated changes that the traditional view (4a) uses to derive Middle from Old English.

In our view, this phonetic development is not separate from a more general tendency in Mainland Scandinavian. Norse originally had the same length contrasts as Old English, before a fundamental shift in vowel quantity and syllable structure took place in Norwegian in the 14th or 15th century, whereby all long vowels were shortened before geminate ("long") consonants or consonant clusters, and short vowels were lengthened before single consonants. The result was a system of either VCC or VVC in stressed syllables (Garmann 2008). We consider the partial development of this property in Anglicized Norse to be simply a forerunner of this progression throughout North Germanic, and so expected under our hypothesis (4b).

We would expect, in the light of our hypothesis that Middle English is actually a North Germanic language, that new research based on this perspective will find ever more links between its phonology and that of the Old Scandinavian languages. Equally interestingly, it may find ways in which the Old English "substrate" of Middle English survives phonetically, even if Old English syntax was finally submerged in the Scandinavian sea around it.

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Résumé

It is well known that Middle English (and its descendant Modern English) has a large number of words of Scandinavian origin. This is conventionally attributed to language contact and heavy borrowing of Scandinavian words into Old or Middle English. However, this alleged borrowing was not limited to lexical words, as is the normal case in contact situations; many grammatical words and morphemes were also borrowed. This is unusual, and calls for an explanation. Even more problematic is the fact that Middle English and Modern English syntax is of a Scandinavian rather than a West Germanic type.

The explanation argued for here is that the linguistic ancestor of Middle English (and therefore Modern English) is North Germanic, with large-scale borrowings from the Old English lexicon, rather than the other way around. Middle English in fact descended from Old Mainland Scandinavian, and the fusion of the two vocabularies dates back not to early Scandinavian settlement in England, but about two hundred years later, especially the 12th century, during the full impact of the Norman Conquest. We demonstrate that numerous grammatical properties (e.g., word order, preposition stranding, infinitival and directional particles, auxiliaries, infinitival constructions, participles, and case inflections) reflect a deep and typologically significant relation between Scandinavian and Middle/Modern English. With respect to all these characteristics, Middle/Modern English groups with North Germanic rather than with West Germanic.

Key words: Danelaw, diachronic syntax, history of English, Middle English, Old Scandinavian, Norse, North Germanic, preposition stranding, split infinitive, word order change