
Summary

The origins of Middle English has been highly debated, and after Emonds and Faarlund published their 2014 book *English: The language of the Vikings?* the debate has been restarted. Emonds and Faarlund claim that the West Germanic Old English died out and was replaced by the North Germanic language Anglicized Norse, Old Norse syntax with Old English vocabulary. This thesis will examine the work done by Emonds and Faarlund, and argue that Old English simply developed into Middle English, and that there is not sufficient evidence to back up the claim of English being a North Germanic language.

Table of Contents

Summary	i
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
Abbreviations	x
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Discourse	1
1.2 A brief history of the English language	2
2 Literature review	5
2.1 The emergence of the creolisation hypothesis	6
2.2 Rebuttals	7
3 Anglicized Norse?	9
3.1 The hypothesis	9
3.2 Emonds and Faarlund’s methodology	11
4 Classifying languages and language death	13
4.1 The Indo-European language family	13
4.2 The Classification Problem	14

4.3	Language death	16
5	The Middle English lexicon	19
6	Norse Properties of ME Syntax Lacking in OE	21
6.1	Change of Word Order in Verb Phrases	21
6.2	From Old English Prefixes on Verbs to Middle English Post-Verbal Particles . .	24
6.3	Subject-to-Subject and Subject-to-Object Raising	25
6.4	Periphrastic Auxiliary Verbs	26
6.5	Infinitival Clauses as Predicate Attributes	27
6.6	Stranded Prepositions	27
6.7	Exemption of the Preposition from Sluicing	29
6.8	Conclusion	29
7	Split Infinitives and the Category of <i>to</i>	31
7.1	The position of the infinitive marker	32
7.2	Influence from Norse?	35
8	Morpho-Syntactic Properties of Old English Lacking in Old Scandinavian and Middle English	37
8.1	The Norse Character of Middle English ‘Verb Second’	38
8.2	Lack of case-marked relativisers	38
9	Innovations Shared between English and Mainland Scandinavian	41
9.1	The Phrasal Host of the Genitive Suffix	41
9.2	Analytic Grading for Longer Adjectives	42
10	The Hybrid Grammatical Lexicon of Middle English	43
10.1	Grammatical Verbs	44
10.2	Modal Auxiliaries	45
10.3	Pronouns	46
10.4	Prepositions	47
10.5	Conclusions	47

11 The Sparse Inflection of Middle and Modern English	49
11.1 Case Inflection on Nouns and Adjectives	50
11.2 Loss of Specifically Scandinavian Inflections	51
12 Conclusion	53
Bibliography	53
Appendix	59

List of Tables

1.1	Comparison between Old English and Middle English (Website1 (2017) Website2 (2017))	4
6.1	Effect of date of composition on the position of positive nominal objects in Old English (statistically significant) (Pintzuk and Taylor, 2006, 255)	22
10.1	Potential ancestors of Middle English pronouns and demonstratives (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 142)	46
11.1	Example of Old English neuter noun	50

List of Figures

4.1	The Indo-European language family. (Hoad, 2006, 13)	14
7.1	The IM-in-T analysis (Faarlund, 2015, 4)	34

Abbreviations

OE	=	Old English
ON	=	Old Norse
ME	=	Middle English
EMOD	=	Early Modern English
PDE	=	Present Day English
X ⁰	=	Head of X

Introduction

1.1 Discourse

The last couple of years there have been several discussions about the origin of the language we today know as English. What was long agreed upon, has been called into question, primarily by the professors Joseph Embley Emonds and Jan Terje Faarlund in their 2014 book 'English: The Language of the Vikings', where they discuss whether or not the English language we know today is an Anglicized version of Old Norse, rather than a continuation from the Anglo-Saxon language of Old English. The controversial hypothesis even got mainstream media attention, because it is so different from the pervasive view.

This thesis will use Emonds and Faarlund's book as a stepping stone to look into the ideas they have presented, and the validity of their arguments. The thesis aims to analyse and critique the arguments put forth in Emonds and Faarlund (2014) and hopefully present some arguments of its own.

The thesis will begin with a brief explanation of the generally accepted theory of how the English language developed, which will be followed by a presentation of Emonds and Faarlund's view. In chapter three, the thesis will explain how we classify languages, as Emonds and Faarlund's suggestion involves English being a *North Germanic* language, rather than a *West Germanic* language.

After this, the thesis will go through the arguments presented by Emonds and Faarlund, and look at what evidence there is for their hypothesis, and compare it to other evidence, both in favour and not in favour of their view.

This thesis does not contain any experiments, as we are dealing with languages that have died out, and been replaced. As such it is a purely theoretical piece of work. The main focus of this thesis will be the development from Old English to Middle English, or possibly from Old Norse to Middle English, depending on which hypothesis you subscribe to. The important shift from Old English to Middle English happened around the time of the Norman invasion of Britain, in 1066.

1.2 A brief history of the English language

English in its current form (henceforth Present Day English) is believed to have evolved from Middle English, which is believed to have evolved from Old English. This section functions as a short summary of the generally accepted story of the emergence and evolution of the English language up until the Middle English period (as any later does not hold any relevance for this thesis).

It is commonly accepted that Old English developed sometime in the 5th century AD, following the decline of the Roman Empire, and the influx of new settlers to Britain (Leith and Jackson, 2007, 2). Old English was divided into four main dialectal areas, based upon some of the kingdoms in current day England. Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish are the most noteworthy dialectal groupings of Old English (Barber, 1993, 105). Although there are large differences between these dialects, for the purpose of this thesis, Old English will be treated as one language, but when relevant we might look at the difference between Northern varieties of Old English and Southern varieties of Old English.

During the Old English period, we also have the Viking Age, in which Vikings came from Scandinavia to plunder, trade and kill. The Parker Chronicle has an entry for what is considered to be the first Viking attack on England.

“The opening encounter was recorded in the Parker Chronicle in an entry for the year 787 (actually 789, the scribe having made [a] copying error [...] so that all the years between 754 and 845 are two out):

‘In this year King Beothric took to wife Eadburh, daughter of Offa. And in his days came for the first time three ships and then the reeve [the King’s official] rode tither and tried to compel them to go to the royal manor, for he did not know what

they were, and they slew him. These were the first ships of the Danes to come to England.’¹” (Crystal, 2004, 65)

At the beginning of the Viking age, the Vikings simply attacked and went back north with their loot, but starting in 865 the Vikings settled down in the north of England, and spread to conquer quite a large part of Britain, which was known as the Danelaw (McCrum et al., 1992, 68).

The Danelaw was established in 886, with the Treaty of Wedmore. In this treaty, the Vikings vowed to “leave Wessex alone and to ‘confine activities to areas east of Watling Street and north of the Thames,’ or east of a line from Chester to London” (Dawson, 2003, 41). The settlement of Vikings in England led to increased contact between Old English and Old Norse.

By the mid 10th century, most of England was back under English rule, but the Norse Vikings who had settled there, decided to stay, and to subject themselves to West Saxon rule (Dawson, 2003, 42).

This was not meant to last, however. A new influx of Viking invasions started in 991, and several second and third generation Vikings joined in with the invaders (Dawson, 2003, 42). This was viewed as a massive betrayal by the current Wessex king, Aethelred, who ordered that all foreigners outside of the Danelaw should be killed (ibid.).

This order was not welcomed by the Norse king Sveinn, who invaded East Anglia and Northumbria, and scorched Oxford (Dawson, 2003, 43) King Aethelred ended up fleeing to Normandy and Sveinn took the throne. Sveinn died shortly thereafter, but after some minor difficulties, his son, Canute, was able to become king of the entirety of England², and he ruled until the Norman conquest in 1066.

There was almost constant contact between the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings from their first raid in 789 and up to (and beyond) the Middle English period, and the Vikings had a massive impact on the English language (Leith and Jackson, 2007, 61).

The Norman Conquest in 1066 marks the end of the Old English period, and the beginning of the Middle English period. As the Normans became the ruling power, the (Old) French language became the language of the elite. Britain now was a trilingual nation. French was used in school, law, and high society, Latin was used in church and English was used by the

¹It should be noted that even though the text refers to “Danes”, the Vikings came from all over the western parts of Scandinavia.

²And Denmark/Norway

commoners.

English gradually became more and more popular, and in 1385, children were learning English in school (Higden, 2006, 387). The influence of French changed English, especially when it comes to spelling, and we also see an influx of several new vocabulary items (Knowles 1997:49).

The differences between Old and Middle English are vast, and they include not only vocabulary changes (which are easy to explain), but also a change in the structure of the language itself. This includes a loss of inflection, imposing a stricter word-order rules and much more.

As a demonstration of how different Old and Middle English are, I have included a text below in table 1.1. It is The Lord’s Prayer in Old English and in Middle English.

Old English	Middle English
Fæder ure þu þe eart on heofonum si þin nama gehalgod tobecume þin rice gewurþe þin willa on eorðan swa swa on heofonum urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us to dæg and forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum and ne gelæd þu us on costnunge ac alys us of yfele soþlice.	Oure fadir þat art in heuenes halwid be þi name; þi reume or kyngdom come to be. Be þi wille don in herþe as it is doun in heuene. yeue to us today oure eche dayes bred. And foryeue to us oure dettis þat is oure synnys as we foryeuen to oure dettouris þat is to men þat han synned in us. And lede us not into temptacion ut delyuere us from euyll.

Table 1.1: Comparison between Old English and Middle English (Website1 (2017) Website2 (2017))

In appendix 1, you will find the Old English version glossed. The Lord’s prayer is good for comparisons, because translations of the Bible are generally available, and you can be sure that you are getting the same text, as Bible translations are supposed to be very faithful to the source text.

As is clear in the comparison, there are clear lexical, syntactic and grammatical differences between the two texts.

We will now briefly discuss some of the earlier literature, before we discuss the hypothesis. Then we will examine how we decide a language classification, before we go through the arguments presented in Emonds and Faarlund (2014).

Literature review

In 1977, Bailey and Maroldt published their article ‘The French lineage of English’, which proposed that Middle English was a creole that developed after the Norman conquest. The hypothesis suggests that the invaders learnt English imperfectly and then expanded their reduced English into this new language — Middle English (McWhorter, 2002, 217). This chapter will briefly discuss theories like Bailey and Maroldt’s about what happened to the language in Britain between the Old and Middle English periods.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Old English period ended with the Norman conquest of Britain, and we saw a decline in written English, as French became the language of the ruling class, and Latin was the language of the church. John Trevisa describes the language situation in Britain in his translation and update of the Latin *Polychronicon*. Trevisa actually talked about how English was changing, and he had his own comment as to the reason for the change:

“And thauzhe men of Englonde hade in the begynnenge a langage tripartite, as of the sowthe parte of Englonde, of the myddelle parte of Englonde, and of the northe parte of Englonde, procedenge as of thre peple of Germanye, borowe moche in theire speche now, as of. [So Harl. MS., but perhaps as of should be cancelled.] thro the commixtion [folio 79b] with the Danes and after that with the Normannes. The corrupcion of that natife langage is causede moche of ij. thynges, that is to say, childer sette to schole after the commenge of Normannes in to Englonde were compellede to constru in Frenche ageyne the consuetude of oþer naciones. In so moche that the childer of nowble men, after that thei were taken from the cradelle, were sette to lerne the speche of Frenche men. Wherefore churles seenge that,*

willenge to be like to theyme, laborede to speke Frenche with alle theire myzhte.”

(Higden, 2006, 159, vol. 2)

Trevisa here describes the English language as divided in tree – Northern, Southern and Middle English.¹ He then goes on to talk about the decline, or *weakening* of the English language, due to lack of use in school, as children learned French in school, and children of noble men were taught French from the cradle.

2.1 The emergence of the creolisation hypothesis

Bailey and Maroldt were among the first to propose the *creolisation hypothesis*, and different versions of it has been debated since then. Bailey and Maroldt (1977), as mentioned above, talks about the possibility that French influenced Old English to the degree that Middle English was not a continuation of English, but rather a *creole* of Old English mixed with Old French.

The term creole is hard to define, and there has been much discussion of what a creole actually is, but we will not go into this in any depth. For the purpose of this thesis, we will be using a simple definition of the term creole:

“Pidgins can and do develop into a new and more sophisticated language (a creole) to accommodate a wider range of function than the primarily economic restrictions of pidgins allow. Creolization, as this “evolutionary” process is called, is considered a natural linguistic process, and reflects the “maturation” of an inferior language (substrate) to reflect the sophistication and complexity of the dominant language (superstrate) with which it has had extensive and prolonged contact. When the structure of the language becomes stable enough to be passed on to the next generation, it has become a creole language” Ryan (2005).

Ryan (2005) defines a creole as basically a grown up pidgin. It has grown up and “become stable enough to be passed on to the next generation”. What is meant by that, is that the language is ready to get some of its own native speakers.

Bailey and Maroldt (1977) claim that Middle English actually was a creole based on Old French, with Old English as the secondary language. They argue that Old French had such a

¹Other scholars talk about seven different “main” English dialects, based on the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England (Mercia, Sussex, Northumbria, Essex, East Anglia, Wessex and Kent).

high status in society in England, that it became the superstrate language in the creole, despite the low number of native speakers (Bailey and Maroldt, 1977, 28).’

There is no doubt that French has had an impact on the English language, because English has many words that come from French (Nielsen, 2005, 98). French has also impacted the way English *sounds*, by being the source for new phonemes, not to mention that French is likely the source for initial /h/-dropping (Nielsen, 2005, 98).

The idea that Middle English is a creole has been highly criticised, and Danchev (here cited in Nielsen (2005)), in 1997, talked about how although English was highly influenced by language contact, he would not classify it as a creole, because:

“Middle English can be described as a normally transmitted language with an accelerated rate of development, but without break of continuity, and a more than average percentage of contact-induced changes” (Nielsen, 2005, 99).

Dachev emphasises that although Middle English is not to be considered a creole, it’s borrowing and getting calques from Old French (Nielsen, 2005, 100). Where Bailey and Maroldt (1977) argue that Middle English is really Anglo-French, there are other scholars who argue for English being created as a creole of a different configuration.

Anthony Warner considers Middle English to be a creole based off of English and Latin, whereas Poussa considers it to be based off of English and Old Norse (Ryan, 2005). Although they are arguing for different languages being the superstrate in the creole, their arguments are very similar. Middle English has an extensive borrowed lexicon, it has adopted new sounds and the difference between Old English and Middle English is vast – almost as if though the two were completely different languages.

2.2 Rebuttals

Dalton-Puffer (1995) point out that the scholars who presented the creolisation hypothesis might have overlooked important aspects of the discussion, like how exposed the population has been to the languages, as creoles require spoken language contact.

“If we are going to apply a creolist viewpoint to historical language material we need to determine whether we can work on the same implicit premises. In actual

fact, it is extremely difficult to say anything definite about Middle English in this respect. Interpretation of the possible amount and length of contact between native speakers of the two languages vary immensely” (Dalton-Puffer, 1995, 37).

Dalton-Puffer goes on to discuss the symptoms of language death, because if it is the case that Old English is replaced by a creole with French or Norse as the superstrate language, then that means that Old English dies. An early symptom of language death is “the cessation of giving and using proper names in the recessive language” (Dressler, 1988, in Dalton-Puffer (1995) p 41). So we would see typical Old English names being replaced by typical French names, if French was the superstrate in the possible creole. Dalton-Puffer (1995) concludes that in Middle English “Norman first names seem to have totally replaced the Anglo-Saxon ones early in the Middle English period” (p. 41).

There are several other symptoms of language death as well, and we will talk more about the symptoms of language death in chapter five. For now, the important bit is that Dalton-Puffer (1995) concludes that yes, Middle English does share some features with creoles, but that it itself is not a creole. It is a result of language contact, but not a creole, and she emphasises the importance of being precise in terminology use (Dalton-Puffer, 1995, 48).

Anglicized Norse?

Joseph Embley Emonds and Jan Terje Faarlund (henceforth E&F), two acclaimed linguists, created quite a stir when their book was published in 2014. The notion that English was a descendant from Old Norse, and that Old English had simply died out, was a new notion, and both the linguistic community and the mainstream media reacted with shock at the idea. Some viewed the suggestion as preposterous, whilst others tentatively believed it.

English: The Language of the Vikings was, and still is, a highly controversial book, because it goes against the commonly accepted ideas and theories about how the English language developed. Following the publication, a host of linguists wrote about the hypothesis. This chapter will outline the main parts of the hypothesis.

3.1 The hypothesis

As mentioned in chapter 1, the generally accepted idea is that Middle English is a descendant of Old English. It has not been challenged to this degree until E&F presented their hypothesis. As mentioned in chapter 2, some scholars, such as Bailey & Maroldt (1977) and Poussa (1982) have argued for a creole origin of the English language, though creolisations of different languages, but they did include Old English. E&F are the first to seriously entertain the idea of, and find it likely that Old English died out and was replaced by an entirely new language, descending from Old Norse.

Old English, as previously mentioned, died out around 1066, and what we know as Middle English developed in a period of linguistic instability. England was a trilingual country,

with French being the language of the ruling class, Latin being the language used in religious contexts, and English being used by normal people, at home (as French was officially taught in school). Because of the lack of an official written language, we have many variations of the early Middle English language (Smith, 1999, 92), which makes it hard to define Middle English as just one thing, but we do have to remember that all languages are always in the process of change.

The Middle English language was vastly different from Old English, for various reasons, including a loss of inflection (Freeborn, 1993, 84), a change in pronunciation (Freeborn, 1993, 78), vocabulary and several other grammatical changes. The differences between Old and Middle English are vast, and because of the change in status, we have fewer sources of early Middle English than of Old English. A more thorough discussion of the changes will take place in the main part of the thesis, as we discuss the changes and their origin, as presented by E&F.

It is in the differences between Old and Middle English that E&F base the thesis of their book. They claim that there are two different alternatives to explain the large differences between Old and Middle English and they explain them as follows:

“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** ([Emonds and Faarlund’s] 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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 44).

The quote above very briefly describe the two camps in this matter, with most historical linguists on one side, and Emonds and Faarlund on the other.

The authors use the term ‘Anglicized Norse’ for the language that developed after 1066, and has since developed into Present Day English, whereas most other literature call it ‘Middle English’. ¹ It is important for the reader to remember that they essentially mean the same language, but the connotations of them are different. ‘Middle English’ implies that it is a descendant of Old English, whereas ‘Anglicized Norse’ implies that it is a descendant of Old Norse.

¹Of course, Emonds and Faarlund acknowledge that ‘Middle English’ and ‘Anglicized Norse’ are just two names for the same language, but they consistently use ‘Anglicized Norse’, because they do not believe that the language in question is a descendant from Old English

As has been shown by several scholars (e.g. Kroch and Taylor 1997, 2000a; Kroch 2001; Trips 2002), language contact can lead to syntactic change (Elenbaas, 2007, 270). What E&F are trying to show with their hypothesis is that in this case of language contact, it did not lead to internal language change, but rather the death of the original language, and a takeover by the outside language, incorporating some of the original language's vocabulary.

Their view clearly states that rather than Old English developing into a new language, Middle English, it simply died out, and Old Norse swept in to take its place. The large numbers of Viking settlers in Great Britain is one of the reasons for assuming that it was relatively painless for Old Norse to take over after Old English, but recent studies have cast doubt on whether there actually were that many Viking settlers in Great Britain. These shocking findings were presented in Leslie et al. (2015), a cohesive study on the genealogy of the British population. Most people expected there to be a high ratio of Viking DNA present in the British population, but the study found "no clear genetic evidence of the Danish Viking occupation and control of a large part of England, either in separate UK clusters in that region, or in estimated ancestry profiles, suggesting a relatively limited input of DNA from the Danish Vikings and subsequent mixing with nearby regions" (Leslie et al., 2015, 313).

The shocking news that the Vikings might not have settled and mixed with "the locals" to the extent that we previously had expected does make E&F's hypothesis slightly less realistic, as much of the hypothesis is based on mixing of the two language groups.

3.2 Emonds and Faarlund's methodology

E&F have been criticised for their methodology and choice of sources for this work. Several times they reference Wikipedia, YouTube and introductory books on the subject, rather than peer-reviewed published scientific articles (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 70-71). This does impact the impression the paper gives us, as it gives the impression that E&F are ignoring peer-reviewed articles in favour of introductory books, which makes you wonder why they would do that.

Their hypothesis is based entirely on syntax, so the book talks mostly about syntax. As one would expect with a topic like this, this is a purely theoretical work. There are no surveys or experiments, as there are no native speakers of the languages in question.

Classifying languages and language death

When Emonds and Faarlund argue that Present Day English (PDE) has developed from Old Norse (ON) rather than Old English (OE), they are arguing that PDE is a North Germanic language, rather than a West Germanic language. This chapter is dedicated to explaining what exactly is meant by North and West Germanic, and will discuss the criteria (or lack thereof) for belonging to each class.

4.1 The Indo-European language family

Both North and West Germanic languages belong on the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family. The theory is that all languages classed as Indo-European are descendants of an older language, reconstructed to as Proto-Indo-European (Hock and Joseph, 2009, 34). The Indo-European language family contains several languages, some of them are shown in Fig. 4.1 below. The figure does not contain all languages that belong to the Indo-European language family, as the family is vast, and only a small part of it is relevant to this thesis. The Indo-European language family contains over 445 languages that are in use today, and a lot more that have died out.

As you can see in fig. 4.1 the generally accepted idea is that Old Norse is a North Germanic Language, and is the common ancestor for Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. English, however, has generally been considered a West Germanic Language, more specifically its parent-language is Anglo-Saxon/Old English (OE) and then Middle English (ME) and then Present Day English. A simplification would be that English and Norwegian are cousins, they

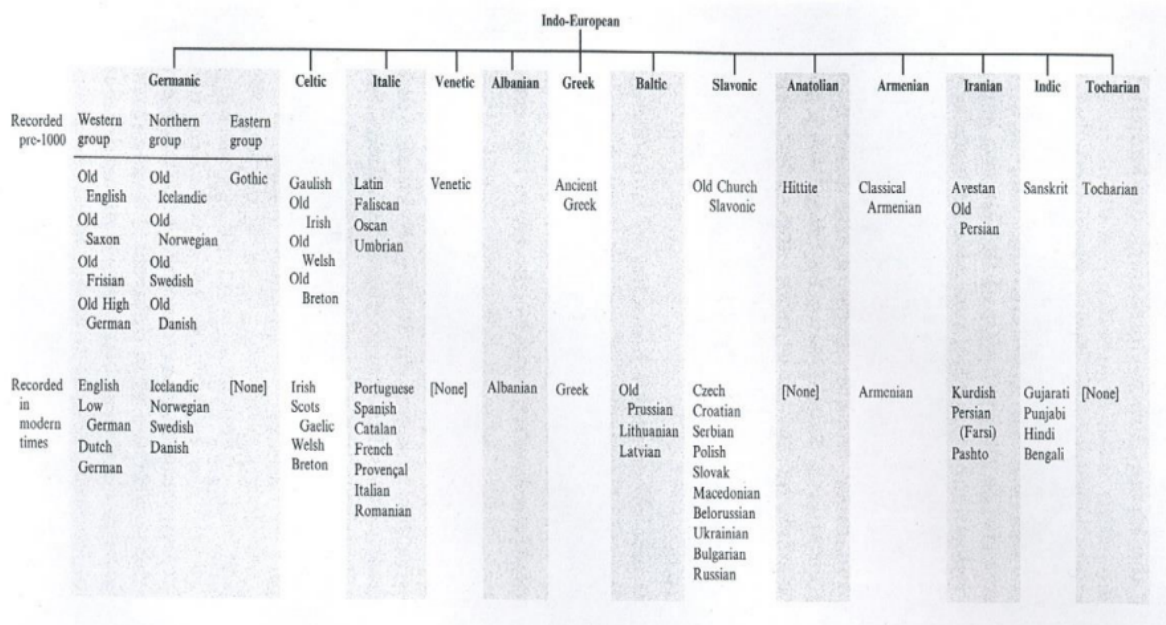


Figure 4.1: The Indo-European language family. (Hoad, 2006, 13)

have the same ancestors, and are not the closest relations, but pretty close. It is when it comes to the development of the language that is PDE that Emonds and Faarlund disagree with the accepted hypothesis.

Emonds and Faarlund suggest that the OE language died out around the time of the Norman Conquest (1066), and the language that grew forth was not a continuation of OE, but rather an Anglicised continuation of the North Germanic language of Old Norse. Because their suggestion leads to a restructuring of the family tree, we need to examine just how these languages are classed as individual languages, and from there we can discuss the feasibility of English being a North Germanic language.

4.2 The Classification Problem

“Genealogical Descent. A language’s genealogy is properly determined by its grammar, including its morphosyntactic system, and patterns of regular sound change.”

(Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 57)

Where what we consider ‘normal’ families have genetic qualities that bind them together, language families have language features that bind them together. We will now briefly discuss the different methods of finding out whether or not languages are related. There are two main

ways of classifying languages: genealogically and typologically. Typological classification is based on linguistic features that the languages have in common, whereas genealogical classifications are based on the languages history and descent (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 67). First of all, we need to be aware that it is not enough to show that the languages are similar, as there can be several reasons for similarity between languages. Campbell and Poser (2008) list these five explanations as the most common ones for similarity between languages:

1. Accident (chance, coincidence).
2. Borrowing (language contact).
3. Onomatopoeia, sound symbolism, and nursery forms.
4. Universals and typologically commonplace traits.
5. Genetic relationship – inheritance from a common ancestor.

They argue that the only way to prove a genetic relationship is to eliminate explanations 1-4, so that one is only left with explanation 5 (Campbell and Poser, 2008, 11). One argument that strengthens the case for two languages to be genetically related, is to show that “their similarities are not helter-skelter or sporadic, but that they are *systematic* and *recur* in large sets of words” (Hock and Joseph, 2009, 435). This means that the case for there being a genetic relationship between two languages is more likely if the similarities show a consistent pattern.

Campbell and Poser (2008, 4) also show that three sources have traditionally been considered key when it comes to classifying languages:

1. Basic vocabulary
2. Grammatical evidence
3. Sound correspondence

As contact-induced transfer is well documented, the first source is rather unreliable, and E&F base their entire argument on the second source, grammatical evidence. They are, in other words, completely ignoring the third source, sound correspondence. Sound correspondence is especially important, because there “is essentially no way for systematic sound correspondences to arise through anything other than genealogical relationship” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 67).

It is certainly a weakness that E&F's hypothesis does not account for systematic sound changes. They base their entire hypothesis on grammatical evidence, but it is important to remember that "syntactic evidence for relatedness is only admissible in 'instances so distinctive they could not easily be explained by borrowing or accident' (Campbell & Poser 2008, 177)" (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 68). It is this criterion that the arguments E&F present will have to stand up to.

This thesis will try to show that E&F's hypothesis does not hold up to such scrutiny, and that there is *no basis* for claiming that Middle English is a North Germanic language.

4.3 Language death

In chapter 2, we briefly discussed the symptoms of language death. An important part of E&F's hypothesis is the idea that Old English died, and this death made room for Anglicized Norse. As discussed in chapter 2, an early symbol of language death is the loss of traditional names in the recessive language. "The result ist [sic] that Norman first names seem to have totally replaced the Anglo-Saxon ones early in the Middle English period" (Dalton-Puffer, 1995, 41). Although this does seem to point towards Old English dying out, the names that have replaced the Anglo-Saxon ones are Norman names. For it to support E&F's hypothesis, we would have to see Anglo-Saxon names being replaced by Norse names.

The next symptom for language death is a relaxation in speaker attitudes, little correction of young speakers with an incomplete grammar. This is very hard to measure, as we do not have access to spontaneous language production. The written records from the time are limited, but ideally to evaluate this, we should have recordings of speakers. That is of course impossible, as the languages are dead. Dalton-Puffer (1995) argues that "the dialect situation in Middle English mirrors on a larger scale such a situation where grammatical and pragmatic norms are relaxed" (p. 42). The linguist John of Trevisa also talked about the spoken language at the time, especially in Northumbria¹:

"Alle the langage of men of Northumbrelonde, and specially in Yorke, sowndethe so that men of the sowthe cuntre may vnnethe vnderstonde the langage of theyme, whiche thyng may be causede for the nye langage of men of barbre to theyme, and also for the grete distaunce of kynges of Englonde from hyt, whiche vse moste the

¹north of the river Humber

southe partes of that londe, returnenge not in to the costes of the northe but with a grete multi—tude” (Higden, 2006, 163).

What Trevisa writes here is that all people in Northumbria, especially the city of York² are hard to understand when they speak. Trevisa speculates that it might be because they live so far away from the kings of England³ It is possible that this is a change in speaker attitudes, but it is also possible that the Northumbrian accent was too difficult for Trevisa, a southerner, to understand.

“The change in speaker-attitude towards the recessive language goes hand in hand with another phenomenon, that of monostylism. That is to say the recessive language ‘becomes inadequate for certain speech situations, domains and functions’ (Dressler, 1988, 189) By all accounts, this is exactly what happened in Early Middle English” (Dalton-Puffer, 1995, 42)

As mentioned in chapter 2, England was a trilingual country at this point, with French being used by the ruling class, Latin in church, and English by commoners. This means that Middle English was very informal, oral and very much not accepted in “high society”. This did not get to continue for too long, however, due political events and the rise of nationalism in Europe (Dalton-Puffer, 1995, 42).

The next symptom of language death is lexical borrowing. In cases of language death, we generally see huge amounts of loans from the dominant to the recessive language. The lexicon of Middle English has words of several different origin. We are going to talk about the Middle English lexicon in the next chapter, so we will skip it for now.

There are, of course, several more symptoms of language death, and a language does not have to fulfil all, or most of them, in order to be a language that’s undergoing a shift, and maybe be on its way over the edge. Dalton-Puffer (1995) was mostly talking about the creolisation hypothesis proposed by Bailey and Maroldt (1977), that Middle English was a creole with French as the dominant language and Old English as the recessive one, but her points are valid for E&F’s hypothesis as well, as it also deals with the idea of language death.

Having looked at some symptoms for language death, that is not evidence that Old English died out for the benefit of Old Norse. Dalton-Puffer (1995) actually argues more for the idea of

²the southern capitol of Northumbria.

³Who lived in the south.

an Anglo-French creole than Anglicized Norse.

The Middle English lexicon

As was briefly mentioned in chapter 2, the Middle English lexicon is full of borrowings from other languages, both French, Latin and Norse. E&F focus on the relationship between Old Norse, Old English and Middle English, in their hope of proving that Middle English is a direct continuation of Old Norse syntax.

“We argue [...] 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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 47).

E&F argue that in the Old English period, the languages did not influence each other, but that the “the creation of a lexical amalgam is indisputably in the period *following* the Norman Conquest” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 48, emphasis theirs). It is interesting to note, however, that Old Norse and Old English is by many scholars, such as Townend (2008) and Dawson (2003), considered to be mutually intelligible.

“The English and Norse language varieties involved here were genetically closely related and are generally believed to have been mutually intelligible. For example, Thomason and Kaufman state that Norse and English at the time of their contact were structurally and lexically close enough that “it was relatively easy to understand the other language without learning to speak it” although “one could never be in doubt which language was being spoken” (1988:303)” (Dawson, 2003, 46)

The amount of Old Norse and Old English cognates means, according to E&F, that “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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 49). In other words, they are saying that with such a high number of cognates, the words could just as well be an inheritance from Old Norse, and that it is bias that makes us assume they come from Old English.

Middle English has many Old Norse words that it is clear they have not adopted because Old English lacked the terms for it¹, as they are everyday terms. “Almost certainly, Old English already had words for, say, 90%, of these objects and concepts” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 50). E&F argue that they were adopted into the language when Scandinavian parents taught their children Norse vocabulary (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 50).

E&F (2014, 52) conclude that the Middle English lexicon was an amalgam² of Old Norse and Old English. They also claim that “about 60% of Middle English words from Old English sources are Proto-Germanic cognates (excluding French and Latin sources)” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 55). They correctly point out that there “is no ‘burden of proof’ on claiming that Middle English words derive from Norse cognates rather than from Old English” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 54), but by the same logic, claiming that the cognates come from Old Norse rather than Old English is not enough to substantiate the hypothesis of Anglicised Norse on its own.

Bech and Walkden (2016) point out that “the case that Middle English is a lexical amalgam is not convincingly made. This is because E&F’s claims are based not on the research literature, but on a handful of textbook sources”. For more insight into the topic of Old Norse lexical impact on Middle English, the reader can check out Townend (2008). We will not discuss the topic of lexicon more than this, as E&F themselves admit that it is not really relevant to their hypothesis.

¹As is the case with many French loan words (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 51)

²A mixture.

Norse Properties of ME Syntax Lacking in OE

One of Emonds and Faarlund’s main arguments for their hypothesis, is that there are Norse properties in Middle English syntax, that are not present in Old English syntax. This chapter will examine some of these properties, and try to explore whether or not they are sufficient to back up the claim of a North Germanic genealogical relationship.

6.1 Change of Word Order in Verb Phrases

“It thus seems natural to conclude that Norse VO word order is the source of the innovative VO order that came to predominate in the 12th-century Middle English, as there is no other plausible source for this pervasive change.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 62)

E&F claim that there is a “pervasive change” from OV word order in OE to VO word order in ME, but it might not be true that there is such a dramatic change.

Although it is certainly the case that there was a change in word order from OE to ME, the change might not have been as big or sudden as E&F claimed, nor might it stem from ON, as E&F claim.

Table 6.1, from Pintzuk & Taylor (2006, 255), shows the difference in number of preverbal positive nominal objects in Old English (i.e. OV word order).

<i>Date of composition</i>	<i>Preverbal</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Preverbal (%)</i>	<i>Prob. weight</i>
OE1 (before 950)	803	1,416	56.7	.53
OE2 (after 950)	1,165	2,310	50.4	.48
Total	1,968	3,726	52.8	–

Table 6.1: Effect of date of composition on the position of positive nominal objects in Old English (statistically significant) (Pintzuk and Taylor, 2006, 255)

“If half of all relevant clauses are already VO before 950, then the argument for VO being an inheritance from Scandinavian at least loses some of its force.” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 72)

Table 6.1 shows that Old English had 56.7% cases of OV, which is a large number, but it does not mean that OE was *overwhelmingly* OV. In fact, Taylor and Pintzuk (2012, 34) show that OE actually had substantial evidence of VO word order.

“Word-order in Old Norse is freer than in Modern English. That does not mean however that words may appear in any sequence”. (Barnes, 1999, 223) (Davis, 2006, 87)

Davis (2006) lists Barnes’ (1999) description of Old Icelandic (used synonymously with Old Norse) as the best outline of ON, OE and Old High German syntax, and extrapolates his points as such:

- “The finite verb must be the first or second element.
- In dependent clauses the finite verb is usually second.
- Independent clauses may have the verb in either first or second place. When they start with a finite verb they need not be interpreted as interrogative or imperative, as would be the case in modern English. The unmarked order of declarative independent clauses is subject-object, and often leads to subject-verb-object. However when there is an initial adverbial the order is adverbial-verb-subject-object.
- Direct and indirect objects are not fixed relative to one another, though the most common word order is direct object - indirect object.
- Complements follow the subject or object they complement.”

(Davis, 2006, 87)

Taylor and Pintzuk (2012) show that Old English had 4 word orders in frequent use:

- “O V Aux
- V Aux O
- Aux O V
- Aux V O”

(Taylor and Pintzuk, 2012, 29)

These four word orders were all used by the same speakers, and you will find all of them in any text of considerable length from the OE period (Taylor and Pintzuk, 2012, 29). VO constructions were much more common in AuxV constructions than in VAux constructions. In fact, 49.5% of AuxV constructions were VO, as opposed to the 13.9% in VAux constructions (Taylor and Pintzuk, 2012, 34). As Taylor and Pintzuk point out, the shift from VAux to AuxV started in the Old English period and was completed in the Early Middle English period (Taylor and Pintzuk, 2012, 43). As this meant more AuxV constructions, it makes sense that this led to more VO constructions.

Bech and Walkden (2016, 73) point out that despite E&F’s claim that the other West Germanic languages are OV, this is simply not the case.

“[F]or instance, Yiddish has shifted from OV to VO in its history (Santorini 1992:598 fn. 6; Kiparsky 1996), and Mòcheno, a modern Tyrolean dialect of German, displays mixed OV/VO (Cognola 2008, 2013). A change from OV to VO also takes place in Classical Greek (Taylor 1994), Western Finno-Ugric (Kiparsky 1996:172), and across Romance (e.g. Zaring 2010); this casts doubt on E&F’s claim that the change from OV to VO is ‘extremely rare’ (p.66).” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 73)

Not only did Old Norse and Old English have similar word order, there is also an extra factor from Old English that accounts for the decline of OV word order. Therefore, the change from OV to VO word order cannot be seen as an argument for E&F’s Anglicized Norse.

6.2 From Old English Prefixes on Verbs to Middle English Post-Verbal Particles

The emergence of post-verbal particles in Middle English is essentially a non-event. Middle English just continued the established and robust Norse patterns. (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 72)

Present Day English uses verbs with postverbal particles that have directional and aspectual meaning, whereas Old English (and many other West Germanic languages) use a system of verbal prefixes. E&F claim that this is a direct inheritance from Old Norse, as it came into use during the Middle English period (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 68).

Although E&F express their view that the emergence of post-verbal particles was "a non-event", the case might not be that simple. As Bech & Walkden (2016, 74) point out, at least three monographs have been written on the topic, Hiltunen (1983), Elenbaas (2007) and Thim (2012). E&F ignore the majority of these, and only indirectly cite Hiltunen in passing.

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) (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 68)

Despite E&F's belief that Middle English is a continuation of Norse, Hiltunen does not have any faith in Norse (or French) being the reason for the change:

"Although it is difficult to say in the end what sets the process of change in motion, it could hardly have been Norse or French influence in this case, since the language had already internally reached a state where the prefixes had lost many of their earlier capacities. But this does not of course deny the possibility of foreign influence (especially that of Norse in this case) accelerating a process already underway." (Hiltunen, 1983, 98)

Hiltunen argues that Old Norse or French cannot be the source of the change, because the prefixal system seems to have declined already in the late Old English period. One example is the words *hatan* and *behatan* ('to order/command'), in which the latter has the prefix *be-*, but the words appear to be synonymous (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 74).

Elenbaas, in her 2007 doctoral thesis, examine the possibility of language contact between ON and English being the reason for the change from prefixes to post-verbal particles, but points out that “the paucity of the data makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the influence of the language contact situation with Old Norse on the position of the particle” (Elenbaas, 2007, 278). She nevertheless concludes that “this could suggest that the sharp rise of the postverbal particle patterns was further accelerated by the contact with Old Norse.” (Elenbaas, 2007, 278).

There is not sufficiently evidence that the post-verbal particles are an inheritance from Old Norse, and not a natural continuation of the process that started in Old English. It is certainly not a “non-event”.

6.3 Subject-to-Subject and Subject-to-Object Raising

“Middle and Modern English, in contrast to Old English, have the raising syntax of a North Germanic language.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 78)

Subject-to-subject raising is when the subject of a subordinate clause is raised to the subject position of the matrix clause. Subject-to-Object raising, also in some cases known as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), is when the subject of the subordinate clause receives accusative from the verb of the matrix clause.

1. It is likely that Karen is the thief.
2. Karen_j is likely [e_j to be the thief]

As we can see in the example above, in (2), Karen has risen from the subject position of the subordinate clause (marked by e_j) to the subject position of the matrix clause. This is an example of subject-to-subject raising.

“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” (Hawkins, 1986, in Emonds and Faarlund (2014) p. 74)

There is no subject raising in Old English, so therefore E&F claim that it is a direct inheritance from Old Norse. This seems to be pretty uncontroversial, there is definitely subject-raising in

Middle English, and it is indeed possible that it is an inheritance from Old Norse. It can also have developed on its own in Middle English.

6.4 Periphrastic Auxiliary Verbs

“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” (Fischer, 1992, 250) in (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 78).

E&F point out that there is a huge discrepancy between the way OE uses auxiliary verbs, and the way ME uses them. This is unproblematic. The question that one must pose, however, is whether this change can be explained by a gradual change (as has historically been the explanation), or if it can be explained by E&F’s theory about Anglicized Norse.

There is general agreement that in OE the present tense was also used to express future reference (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 79). It is also the case that non-past tense can be used to refer to future in ME, but “periphrastic constructions are more numerous, even in the early Middle English texts” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, Fischer 1992, 241)

The reason why this is relevant, is that in ON, “two auxiliary verbs were used to express future tense, *munu* and *skulu*” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 80). *Skulu* is a cognate to the English *shall*, which is used today to refer to future tense, and it is also used in present day Norwegian, in the form of *skal*. The use of *shall* to mark future tense in English became popular around the 13th century (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 80), and scholars such as Kirsch (1959) have attributed this to influence from Scandinavian languages.

E&F readily agree that it is “possible” that this grammaticalization can have “accidentally taken place independently in Old English, as it [...] did in Norse earlier on,” but they view their hypothesis as “a simpler and more natural account” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 81).

They also point to the fact that, unlike in OE, both ON and ME modals can occur in a sequence, that is, two (or more) in a row. They claim that this is “simply a Middle English continuation of Norse grammar, and is another discontinuity separating them from Old English.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 82)

6.5 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.”

(Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 83)

E&F, using a quote from Fischer (1992,336-37), claim that whereas in ON and ME, infinitives could serve as predicate attributes after a copula, this was “foreign to the Old English grammatical system”. This is not to say that the construction cannot be found in OE, but Fischer (and by extension E&F) claim that this was only in translated prose. E&F point to the lack of this construction in OE as evidence that it is a feature ME inherits from ON.

(1) Hann var at [at hlaða skútuna].

he was at to load skiff._A-the

‘He was loading the skiff’

(Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 84)

The argument that you only find the construction in translated work in OE does seem especially weak, as even E&F admits that the constructions *are* found in OE. The justification that it only exists in translated texts seem like a weak argument for it being non-grammatical in OE.

6.6 Stranded Prepositions

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*. (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 84)

Simply put, preposition stranding is when the preposition is left behind (stranded) and the following DP is moved. The preposition is then followed by a trace gap, which refers to the object of the preposition, which you will find in a different position in the sentence. E&F point out that this generally is “a result of a movement operation, either ‘A’-movement,’ i.e., topicalization, *wh*-movement in direct and indirect questions and in relative clauses, or ‘A-movement’ as in the passive.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 84-85)

(1) [The example]_i that she wrote about e_i in her thesis.

(2) [What]_i are you talking about e_i?

On the other hand, we have pied-piping, in which the preposition is brought along when the PP travels to a different position in the sentence.

(3) This is a man [upon whom]_i I can trust e_i.

E&F point out that this kind of preposition stranding is also exists in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish), “except that these languages do not have relative pronoun counterparts to *wh*-words in regular use” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 85).

E&F claim that preposition stranding is a feature that English has inherited directly from Norse, as they point out that “[n]o other Indo-European language has all of these patterns” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 86). They do concede that OE also had preposition stranding, but in a limited capacity, only “in relatives with invariant or null complementizers and in infinitival relatives” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 86). They refer to van Kemenade 1987,153) and claim that “objects of a stranded preposition must be personal or locative *pronouns* on the left periphery of a PP, VP, or CP” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 87). Bech & Walkden (2016) point out that van Kemenade (1987) makes clear that “this generalization *only holds when there is an overt element in COMP* (SpecCP in modern terms). In relative clauses introduced by the indeclinable particle *þe*, stranding is not only possibly but obligatory.” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 75)

E&F point out three different factors that allow for preposition stranding, and claim at least two of them were absent from West Germanic, thus attempting to prove that it cannot be inherited from the West Germanic Old English language. The three factors are as follows:

1. **Invariant complementisers in relative clauses.** “Invariant particle or complementizer, *es*, later ‘er’, eventually replaced by *sem*, and then *som* in modern varieties.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 91)
2. **Locative adverbial relatives** Locative relatives introduced by a stranded preposition.
3. **Preposition fronting** “The preposition is separated from its complement and topicalized alone”. (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 92)

The claim that at least two of these factors did not allow for preposition stranding in OE,

has been criticised. Bech & Walker (2016, 75) claim that “the first two are robustly attested in Old English.” In fact, the first factor is covered in the rule that “relative clauses introduced by the indeclinable particle *þe*, stranding is obligatory” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 75).

Bech & Walkden (2016, 76) also have an example that fits the second factor, their example (9), where a locative relative is introduced by a stranded preposition. “Only condition (iii), preposition fronting, is absent from Old English” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 76).

Preposition stranding is certainly not evidence for Anglicized Norse, as preposition stranding was present in Old English as well.

6.7 Exemption of the Preposition from Sluicing

Sluicing is a kind of clausal ellipsis, described by Ross (1969) and analysed 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. (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 93)

Sluicing is normal in most languages, across language families (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 93). The type of sluicing that is relevant to the hypothesis of Anglicized Norse is “where the remaining *wh*-word is the complement of a preposition” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 93)

(4) Camilla picked out some clothes the other day, but I don’t know which.

In the statement above, the WH-word *which* represents an entire clause “which clothes Camilla picked out the other day”. This kind of sluicing is ungrammatical in German, as German does not have preposition stranding. As whether or not this construction is possible in a given language depends on whether or not that language allows for preposition stranding, this argument does not add or subtract anything of value from the argument of Anglicized Norse. It is simply irrelevant (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 78).

6.8 Conclusion

E&F wanted to use this chapter to “show that *every one of these questions, and others as well, were resolved in favor of North Germanic*” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 60). They wanted to

show that Middle English syntax is full of properties that Middle English has inherited from Old Norse, and that were not present in Old English.

Many of the properties were, however *not* lacking in Old English. The change in word order is inconclusive. The change seems to have happened before the process of possibly adapting Old Norse started, so it is a normal language development within Old English.

When it comes to post-verbal particles in Middle English, it is certainly *possible* that they are an inheritance from Old Norse, but we do not have conclusive proof of this. It can also be a natural continuation of Old English.

The only property that is convincing as a possible Norse property lacking in Old English is the subject-to-subject and subject-to-object raising. This is definitely something that is still in use today, and it came into use in the Middle English period. It is of course possible that this is a property that developed independently from Old Norse, but this is the only convincing argument in the chapter.

The others properties, you can either find in Old English, or they might be irrelevant to the question. These properties are not sufficient to support the hypothesis of Anglicized Norse.

Split Infinitives and the Category of *to*

“To boldly go where no man has gone before.”

The above quote is, perhaps, one of the most famous instances of the split infinitive in English. The adjective *boldly* is inserted between the infinitive marker *to*, and the verb *go*. The use of split infinitives has long been criticised by prescriptivists, but is nonetheless considered a normal construction in colloquial language use, and to a lesser degree in more formal language. The split infinitive construction is simply when something has been inserted between the infinitive marker *to* and the infinitive verb. The construction is also in normal use in the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

E&F point out that split infinitives were not present in Old English, nor in present-day Dutch or German. The construction was, however, present in Middle English.

The argument E&F present, is that the infinitive marker in Old English belongs in a different category than the infinitive marker in Middle 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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 99).

Bech & Walkden point out that it seems unlikely that Old Norse is the source of split infinitive in Middle English, as split infinitives were very rare in Old Norse, to the point of non-existence (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 78). They also argue that the split infinitive did not become common in English until the end of the eighteenth century, which does not lend credibility to the theory that it happened because of a shift in language 500-600 years earlier (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 78).

E&F also comment upon the lack of split infinitives in Old Norse, but claim that the reason

for the lack of split infinitive has to do with other rules, and does not explicitly prohibit the split infinitive:

“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.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 102)

They go on to argue that sentence adverbials, which could be inserted between the infinitive marker and the verb, must come after the verb in Old Norse obligatory control infinitives (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 102), and therefore split infinitives are *technically* possible, but in reality not. The lack of split infinitives in both Old Norse and Early Modern Norwegian means that it is not possible that the split infinitive in English stems from “a straightforward continuation of the Norse system” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 71), but it rather points to the likelihood of the two languages developing the split infinitive independent of each other.

7.1 The position of the infinitive marker

The position of the infinitive marker in a phrase structure tree has been widely discussed, and E&F base their argument on the hypothesis that the infinitive marker is located in C^0 (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 100).

The infinitive marker in Old English, according to E&F, was bound to the verbal, and had to immediately preface the infinitival verb, with no words in between. On the other hand, they claim that the infinitive marker in Old Scandinavian does not stay inside the VP (as it does in Old English), but is rather moved to C^0 , as a complementizer (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 99).

Several analyses have been presented when it comes to the placement of the infinitive marker in a phrase structure tree. This section will deal with some of these analyses. In order for an analysis to be considered viable, it must account for all of the possible utterances involving the infinitive marker.

An important aspect when considering the placement of the infinitive marker, is the Extended Projection Principle, first proposed in Chomsky (1982). The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) states that all clauses must have a DP in subject position, and it is because of the

EPP that the null pronoun PRO has been posited to hold a position in clauses without an *overt* DP. *To*-infinitives do not have an overt subject, and therefore must have a covert subject, to satisfy the EPP.

First we have the theory that Faarlund (2015) present as the IM-in-C analysis. This analysis proposes that the Norwegian infinitive marker *å* is located in C^0 , and the verb in V (or in v), and therefore allows for a sentence adverbial to split the infinitive marker from the verb, i.e. allowing for the split infinitive (Faarlund, 2015, 2)

- (1) Å alltid være beredt.
To always be ready.

The above example has the adverb *alltid* inserted between the infinitive marker and the verb. This would certainly be possible with the IM-in-C analysis, but it is more difficult to account for the non-split infinitive in this case.

- (2) Alltid å være beredt.
Always to be ready.

In the above example, the adverb precedes the infinitive marker, which is placed directly before the verb. For this to be possible, the adverb would need to be placed in a higher position than the infinitive marker in the phrase structure tree, which would not be possible if we have the infinitive marker in C^0 .

Thus, even though this analysis accounts for the split infinitive, it does not account for the non-split infinitive, and can therefore not accurately describe the use of infinitive markers.

The next analysis we will be discussing, is the IM-in-T analysis, or the IM-in-I analysis.¹ This is another analysis presented by Faarlund (2015, 4), and we shall again look into how this works in reality.

The IM-in-T analysis proposes that the infinitive marker *å* is located in T^0 , with room for adverbials to be adjoined to either spec.TP, spec.vP or spec.VP (Faarlund, 2015, 4).

As we can see in **figure 7.1**, this structure allows for adverbials to both precede and follow the infinitive marker, in other words, it allows both split and non-split infinitives. Another

¹This thesis will not closely examine the split INFL hypothesis, but will be treating TP and IP (and indeed AGRP) as interchangeable terms.

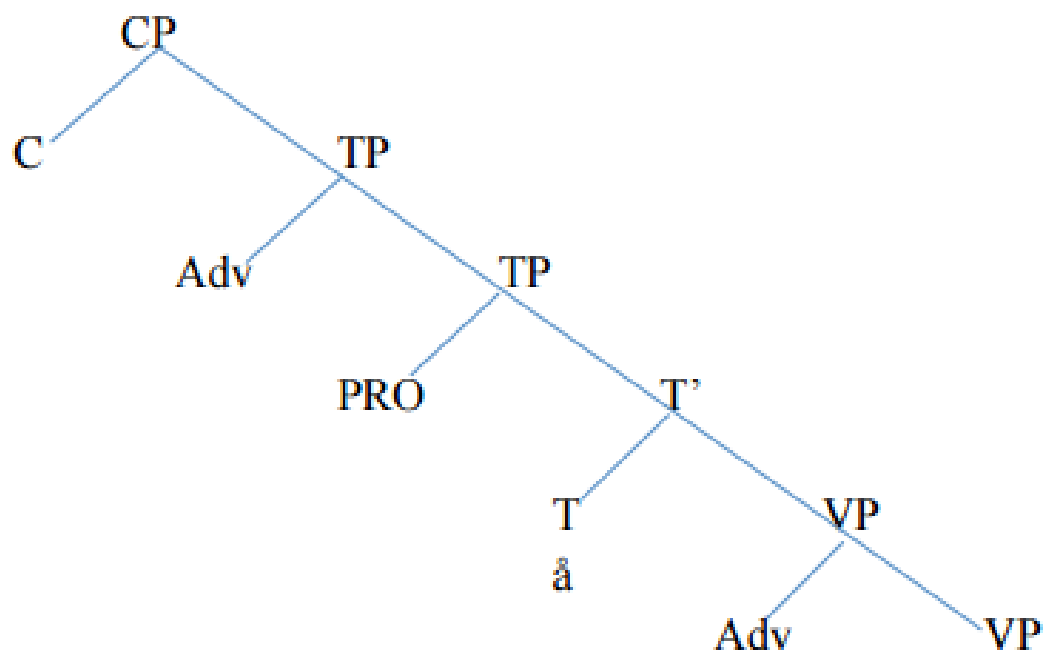


Figure 7.1: The IM-in-T analysis (Faarlund, 2015, 4)

benefit of having the infinitive marker in T^0 , is that it allows for raising from the subordinate to the superordinate clause. This would, of course, not be the case if the infinitive marker was located in C^0 , as the C would block movement (Faarlund, 2015, 4).

In the same work, Faarlund suggests a third analysis of the infinitive marker, that it is merged in T^0 , but can be internally merged in C^0 . This would allow for both split and non-split infinitive constructions, as the infinitive marker could appear both in T and in C. As we know, in all of the analyses we have mentioned, the covert subject PRO must be present, due to the EPP.² Faarlund points to historical evidence for the copy analysis over the IM-in-T analysis in Norwegian, as the structure of infinitival clauses is different in Old Norse than in Present Day Norwegian (Faarlund, 2015, 5). Both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses in Old Norse has V-to-T raising. With V-to-T raising, there is no room for the infinitive marker in T^0 (ibid.).

Faarlund's evidence for this claim is what he calls the 'double infinitive marker'. He specifically mentions only one kind of construction with this double infinitive marker, and that is with the infinitive marker immediately followed by negation, which is then immediately followed by another infinitive marker.

²Extended Projection Principle: All clauses must have a DP and a VP.

- (3) Topp 20 råd for å ikke å bli svindlet i sommerferien.
Top 20 tips for to not to be cheated in summer-vacation.DEF
'Top 20 tips for not being cheated during the summer vacation (Kleiven blogg) (Faarlund, 2015, 7)

Despite Faarlund's (2015, 7) claim that these examples should be viewed as reputable, as they "gave a multitude of [Google] hits, some even from official and presumably edited documents", the construction remains questionable, and would need to be studied further. For the purpose of this thesis, the double infinitive marker will not be considered sufficiently grammatically acceptable to base an analysis of copying without deletion with regards to the infinitive marker.

Kageyama (1992) argue that in Old English *to*-infinitives, *to* functions as an anaphor³, and that OE *to*-infinitives do not require a PRO subject, because "control is achieved by AGR *to* itself, namely that *to* functions as an anaphor" (Kageyama, 1992, 111).

It would seem that the most likely placement of the infinitive marker in present day Norwegian is in T⁰, as C⁰ would block the possibility of the non-split infinitive. The infinitive marker in Old Norse is, of course, located in C⁰.

7.2 Influence from Norse?

E&F claim that Old Norse is the source of the split infinitive in Middle English (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 107). One problem with this claim is that "the infinitive marker was in C and the verb moved to I in Old Norse," which does not allow for a split infinitive, and Middle English, which is supposed to be Norse, according to E&F, would not be able to generate the split infinitive (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 80).

The hypothesis assumes that Old Norse has degrammaticalized the infinitive marker to a free morpheme, which is what Los argues has happened to the infinitive marker from Old English to Early Middle English:

Los (2005) argues that degrammaticalization, which is generally a rare linguistic phenomenon, has taken place in English as well. However, her scenario is different: *To* started out as a preposition in prehistoric Old English, and then grammaticalized

³a word or phrase that takes its reference from another word or phrase

to a prefix in Old English, before it degrammaticalized to a free morpheme in Early Middle English. (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 80)

Los also argues that the English infinitive marker always has been in T^0 “and the only thing that has changed is its morphological status: The *to*-infinitive was a non-finite subjunctive clause already in Old English, but with *to* as a bound morpheme. As *to* became an independent form in Middle English, it raised to T^0 to check the subjunctive feature overtly rather than covertly” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 80-81).

In conclusion, there was barely evidence of split infinitive in Old Norse,⁴ and the grammatical development seems to be a language-internal, in English, which is rare, but not impossible, and it is the explanation E&F would use to explain the development in Norse. Therefore, the infinitive marker and the split infinitive construction is not a sufficiently strong argument for Anglicized Norse.

⁴Bech & Walkden were unable to find any instances of split infinitive in the Old Icelandic corpus IcePaHC, and only 3 in the Menotec corpus for Old Norwegian (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 78).

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

In contrast to the two previous chapters, that detailed E&F's claims of Old Norse properties that were found in Middle English, this chapter will focus on Old English morpho-syntactic properties that were not found in Old Norse or in Middle English.

E&F's list of Old English properties that were lost in Middle English is as follows:

- loss of “verb third” patterns
- lack of case-marked relativisers
- possible subjunctive mood in indirect discourse
- loss of (most) inherent reflexives
- disappearance of Old English “correlative” adverbs

(Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 108)

This chapter will focus on two of these properties, namely the loss of the “verb third” patterns and the lack of case-marked relativisers.

8.1 The Norse Character of Middle English ‘Verb Second’

“Middle English was [...] 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.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 110)

Present-Day English is without question an SV language, whereas Present-Day Norwegian is clearly a V2-language. V2-languages have the verb in the second position of the main clause. SV can also sometimes be referred to as verb third (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 81). E&F’s claim is that Old English was replaced by the robustly V2 Norse language, which then later evolved into a SV-language (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 110).

E&F claim that “Old English must have had some special property not shared with Norse or Middle English [...] This special property, lacking in Norse, is then *predictably absent in Middle English*” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 110, emphasis theirs). Bech & Walden (2016, 84) point out that that Middle English lost generalized subject-verb inversion in main declarative clauses, which could not happen if the language, as E&F claimed, was Norse, as Norse was consistent V2.

“Unless this new Norse-English language somehow borrowed this particular syntactic structure from the southern descendants of Old English. But according to E&F, languages usually do not borrow syntactic structures from each other – that is precisely their reason for proposing that English must be Norse. Their basic premise for the hypothesis hence precludes that argument.” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 84)

Middle English was not consistently a V2 language, which means that it cannot be “an unbroken continuity between Norse and Middle English” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 109). Thus, the argument of V2 is not sufficient to support the hypothesis.

8.2 Lack of case-marked relativisers

Neither Old English nor Old Norse had *Wh*-forms as relative pronouns, so the most typical way of introducing a relative clause in Old English was to “use the invariant complementizer word *þe*” accompanied by a gap corresponding to the relativized NP (Emonds and Faarlund,

2014, 111). Old English does have two other ways of forming relative clauses, however they disappeared before Middle English.

You had the “zero subject relatives”, and the “*se þe* relatives” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 111). The Old English zero subject relatives disappeared, or did not appear, in Middle English, and E&F suspect that the reason for that is that “any zero subject relatives in Middle English are simply dialectal vestiges of the Old English construction before Anglicized Norse took full hold” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 112).

There was also the “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.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 112)

The argument is that because this is missing in Middle English, that is evidence that Middle English really is Anglicized Norse.

Innovations Shared between English and Mainland Scandinavian

This chapter will focus on things that supposedly are found in both Middle English and Scandinavian, but not in Old English. These are less important for the hypothesis than the constructions discussed in the earlier chapter, and therefore they will only be briefly discussed.

9.1 The Phrasal Host of the Genitive Suffix

E&F point to the similarities between the genitive suffix in Present Day Scandinavian and Present Day English, and point to this being more evidence for English being a descendant of Old Norse. “The genitive case suffix *-s* was reanalyzed as a phrasal clitic, as in English, Danish and Norwegian” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 118). According to E&F, this has never happened in a West Germanic language.

Bech & Walkden, however, point out that Allen (2008) has shown that “between Early and Late West Saxon there is already evidence for a move towards prenominal genitives” (Bech and Walkden, 2016, 90). In Late West Saxon, 83% of genitives are prenominal, whereas in early Old Icelandic, 73.7% of the genitives are postnominal. If this indeed is an innovation that English and Mainland Scandinavian, but not Old English, had shared, it would not make sense that Middle English kept the OE prenominal, while Mainland Scandinavian is postnominal. Therefore this does not work as an argument for Anglicized Norse.

9.2 Analytic Grading for Longer Adjectives

Both Present Day English and Present Day Scandinavian languages have free words meaning *more* and *most* as the general means for grading longer and infrequent adjectives, all West Germanic languages use the old synthetic form of adding bound morphemes, even to long adjectives (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 121).

(1) Denne filmen er meir spanande enn den andre.

**Denne filmen er spanandare enn den andre.*

(2) This movie is more exciting than the other.

**This movie is excitinger than the other.*

As we can see, adding bound morphemes to long adjectives can be ungrammatical in both English and Norwegian. E&F point out that Bailey and Maroldt (1997) “attribute the analytic grading of English adjectives to the influence of French,” but claim that it is “far-fetched to look for a French source” when the Norse grading source is cognate of the English morphemes (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 122).

Most West Germanic languages do add bound morphemes to all adjectives, even long ones, so did both Old English and Old Norwegian, in fact (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 121). It is interesting then to see that both Present Day English and Present Day Norwegian has moved away from this when it comes to long adjectives. Of course, we do add bound morphemes to short adjectives, such as the ones we find below.

(3) Søt - søtere - søtest

Cute - cuter - cutest

It is, of course, possible that French indeed is the source of the analytic grading in English adjectives, but it seems likely that E&F are right that this is something English and Scandinavian languages can have achieved together.

Chapter 10

The Hybrid Grammatical Lexicon of Middle English

All natural languages have two distinct lexicons, the open class lexicon and the *grammatical lexicon* (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 134). It is the latter of the two that this chapter will discuss. Where the open class lexicon consist of what colloquially can be called *content words*, the grammatical lexicon consists of grammatical units.

E&F argue that “*a majority of Middle (and Modern) English grammatical morphemes are either of Scandinavian origin or have close Scandinavian cognates*” (p. 137). As mentioned in a previous chapter, the existence of cognates does not help strengthen the argument for Middle English being Anglicized Norse. We will be looking mainly at what grammatical morphemes E&F claim are of Scandinavian origin in Middle and Present Day English. This will be a short chapter, as E&F themselves admit that “*a verdict on the source of Middle English must be based on some other factor*” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 147).

E&F conclude that “*roughly half of the non-cognate Middle English grammatical morphemes are of Norse origin*” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 147). They use this chapter to argue that the grammatical lexicon of Middle English should not be used to prove or disprove their hypothesis, as the evidence found is not clear.

As the chapter does not contain any compelling evidence for E&F’s hypothesis of Anglicized Norse, this chapter will only cover a few of the grammatical lexicon word classes.

10.1 Grammatical Verbs

E&F argue that Middle English grammatical verbs have both Old English and Old Norse sources, as shown below.

‘(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*

(b) *eru, gefa, geta, taka, vanta* “lack, need” ’(Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 138)

When discussing the topic of the Middle English grammatical verbs, and the fact that they seem to stem from both Old English and Old Norse E&F state that they have no problem defining Middle English as a *lexical creole*.

“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. 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* ” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 139, emphasis theirs).

E&F differentiate between a lexical creole and a full creole. As explained in chapter 2, the term creole has several different definitions, but perhaps the simplest understanding of it is a language that has developed from two or more languages, but are still close to the parent languages. In contrast to pidgins, creoles have native speakers. They argue that Middle English is a lexical creole, but not a full creole, as it does not involve syntax (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 44).

The idea of a lexical creole will be a common theme throughout this chapter. We will see that none of the grammatical lexicon categories can support the theory of Old Norse *or* Old English being the source of Middle English syntax on its own.

As we see from the list of grammatical verbs, there are words of both Old Norse and Old English descent. The reason why creolisation is important when it comes to these things, is that grammatical morphemes generally are not subject to borrowing, as it is much more common to borrow content words.

10.2 Modal Auxiliaries

Old English had fourteen modal verbs, but only seven of these modal verbs existed in Middle English (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 140). E&F describes the disappearance of half of the Old English modals as a “strange propensity of Middle English” that is “in no way characteristic of Germanic diachrony, and calls for explanation” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 140). Again E&F argue that the words that disappeared did so because they died out with the Old English language and that the words that continue do so because they are from Old Norse.

“Of the surviving seven Old English modals, at least four have transparent cognates in Norse. [...] Only *dare*, *must*, and *ought* possibly lack cognates. 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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 140).

Old Norse had four modals, *munu* ‘will’, *skulu* ‘shall’, *mega* ‘must’, and *kunna* ‘could’ (Haugen, 2009, 85). As E&F point out, we find similar modals in Middle English, though some of the Middle English modal auxiliaries do not have Old Norse cognates, and must be inherited from Old English (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 140). It does seem that Middle English auxiliaries might just be a mixture of different languages.

10.3 Pronouns

E&F include **table 10.1** to show where Middle English pronouns might come from. There is general agreement that the Middle English 3rd person plural pronouns come from Old Norse, but where most scholars argue that this is a case of (rare) borrowing of grammatical words, E&F argue that this is simply “retention of some Anglicized Norse pronouns” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 141). As is clearly evident in table 10.1, there is generally a lot of similarities across the three languages when it comes to pronouns. E&F also argue that in the cases where the Old English words and the Old Norse words are cognates, Middle English inherits its forms from Old Norse.

“The only non-cognate Old English pronouns in Middle English are in the 3rd person, cf. the table [10.1]. So either way, we have a case of pronoun borrowing, or retention, where Old English wins out in the 3rd singular and Norse in the 3rd plural” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 141).

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

Table 10.1: Potential ancestors of Middle English pronouns and demonstratives (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 142)

This evidence is, as E&F themselves seem to agree with, weak. As mentioned, the pronouns are similar in both Old English and Old Norse, and the exceptions are one where we see the Old English form in the Middle English, and one where we see the Old Norse form in the Middle English form.

10.4 Prepositions

- (a) ‘Old English and Norse cognates: *after, ær, 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,” *geons* “throughout,” *to-geanes* “against,” *op* “up to” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 143)

The list above, from E&F, show prepositions that are and have been in the English language.

(a) shows the prepositions that are in use in Middle and Present Day English, that you can find cognate forms of in both Old English and Old Norse. (b) shows the prepositions from Old English that have no Old Norse cognates. (c-d) show the prepositions that have been lost, (c) the cognate forms, and (d) the forms that are only in Old English.

E&F use the information above to claim that “an Old English preposition with a Norse cognate had a much better chance of continuing into Middle English than one without” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 143). This does seem to be the case, as we see a greater number of prepositions with Norse cognates making it into Middle English than without. It is, however, not evidence enough to support the theory of Anglicized Norse on its own.

10.5 Conclusions

“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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 147)

The grammatical lexicon does not have any strong evidence in favour of, or opposing the hypothesis of Anglicized Norse. Although there is some evidence of inheritance from Old Norse,

there is also clear evidence of inheritance from Old English. The grammatical lexicon of Middle English should therefore not be used as a strong argument for either side. There are grammatical sources of Middle English grammatical morphemes in both West and North Germanic languages.

The Sparse Inflection of Middle and Modern English

One of the big changes that takes place between the Old and Middle English period, is the loss of inflection. This cannot simply be explained by saying it is influence from Old Norse, as Old Norse also had inflections.

E&F claim that the loss of inflection in Middle and Modern English is irrelevant to the hypothesis. The loss of inflection is not merely limited to English, but “Scandinavian, Dutch, the western Romance languages, and Celtic all underwent a general simplification of inflection” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 150). Because the loss of inflection is not relevant to the Anglicized Norse hypothesis, we will only skim the surface of it.

‘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’ (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 149)

The above mentioned inflections remained. This chapter will focus on the loss of inflection between Middle and Modern English. First, we will discuss the loss of case inflection on nouns and adjectives, then the loss of agreement and subjunctive inflection on verbs, and then the loss of *specifically Scandinavian inflections*.

“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 [...];
- 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;
- separate inflectional paradigms for dual number, distinct from those of plurals;
- the Scandinavian reflexive suffix on verbs, variously *-sk/-st/s*, [...]
- the Scandinavian definite suffix on unmodified nouns.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 151)

11.1 Case Inflection on Nouns and Adjectives

Both English and Norse lost morphological case around the same time, around year 1200 (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 151). Before the loss of case inflection, we would see results of case on the nouns. Old English had four cases, and in **table 11.1** below, we show how a simple noun gets inflected in each of the cases.

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	lamb	lambru
Accusative	lamb	lambru
Genitive	lambes	lambra
Dative	lambe	lambrum

Table 11.1: Example of Old English neuter noun

Table 10.1 in the previous chapter also shows us some differences between cases, this time with pronouns. In present day English, pronouns are the only place we see a morphological difference between the cases¹. We see the difference between nominative and accusative in

¹Except the genitive S.

Present Day English's pronouns like *she*, *her*. When the pronoun is in *subject position*, it receives nominative case, whereas it receives accusative case when in *object position*.

As mentioned, the loss of morphological case on nouns and adjectives happened around the same time in both Norse and English.

“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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 152).

E&F argue that it is possible that the loss of case in Middle English grew out of a process that had started in Old Norse. This is of course possible, but it seems more likely that the two changes happened independently of each other.

11.2 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*; 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” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 153)

These Scandinavian inflections are exclusively Scandinavian, they have not been shared with an Anglicized Norse at all. E&F claim that the general loss of inflection across languages in northwest Europe is “not clearly indicative of *any* specific genealogical relationships.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 153) They claim the loss of inflection is something that happens outside of all this, it is simply something that happens independently of all of this.

With how many languages are involved, it definitely seems to be an external factor. The loss of inflection between Middle and Modern English will therefore not be counted as an argument for or against the hypothesis.

Conclusion

This thesis has looked at some of Emonds and Faarlund's claims, and explored their hypothesis that Old English died out and was replaced by a new language, the North Germanic Anglicized Norse. There is great pressure on hypotheses such as this one, because they are so removed from the generally accepted theories, and they need to have very convincing arguments in order to win someone over.

Emonds and Faarlund (2014) start off their conclusion with the following sentence:

“Our unorthodox but, we think, inescapable conclusion, that Norse supplanted Old English as the language of England, seems to call for some sociolinguistic comment.” (Emonds and Faarlund, 2014, 154)

Although E&F have presented many arguments in *English: The Language of the Vikings?*, the arguments were not sufficient to back the claim of English being a North Germanic language. As we said in chapter 3, E&F would have had to present arguments that could not be explained by language contact or borrowing, and the arguments in their book did not sufficiently back their claim of a North Germanic English language.

Several of their arguments were based on statements that were not quite true, and several times they claimed certain properties could not be found in Old English when they actually could be found in Old English. Some of their arguments are strong, but unfortunately, combined with the results of the other arguments, it is not sufficient to support such a bold hypothesis.

The generally accepted view seems to better withstand scrutiny than the hypothesis on Anglicized Norse. Old English developed, through contact with other languages, and time, into Middle English, which again developed into Present Day English.

Bibliography

- Bailey, J.-C. and Maroldt, K. (1977). The French lineage of English. In Meisel, J. M., editor, *Langues en contact - Pidgins-Creoles-Languages in contact*, pages 21–53. TBL Verlag Gunter Narr, Tübingen, Germany.
- Barber, C. (1993). *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Bech, K. and Walkden, G. (2016). English is (still) a West Germanic language. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 39:65–100.
- Campbell, L. and Poser, W. (2008). *Language Classification: History and Method*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Clark-Hall, J. R. (1960). *A concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada.
- Crystal, D. (2004). *The Stories of English*. Penguin Publishers, London, United Kingdom.
- Dalton-Puffer, C. (1995). Middle English is a creole and its opposite: On the value of plausible speculation. In Fisiak, J., editor, *Linguistic Change under Contact Conditions*, pages 35–50. De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany.
- Davis, G. (2006). *Comparative Syntax of Old English and Old Icelandic. Linguistic, Literary and Historical Implications*. Peter Lang, Bern, Switzerland.
- Dawson, H. C. (2003). Defining the outcome of language contact: Old English and Old Norse. *OSUWPL*, 57:40–57.

-
- Dressler, W. U. (1988). Language death. In Newmeyer, F. J., editor, *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey. IV Language: The socio-cultural context*, pages 184–192. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Elenbaas, M. (2007). *The Synchronic and Diachronic Syntax of the English Verb-Particle Combination*. LOT, Utrecht, The Netherlands.
- Emonds, J. E. and Faarlund, J. T. (2014). *English: The Language of the Vikings*. Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic.
- Faarlund, J. T. (2015). The Norwegian infinitive marker. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 95:1–10.
- Fischer, O. (1992). Syntax. In Blake, N. F., editor, *Middle English, vol 2. The Cambridge History of the English Language*, pages 204–408. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Freeborn, D. (1993). *From Old English to Standard English. A Course Book in Language Variation across Time*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2nd edition.
- Haugen, O. E. (2009). *Norrøn grammatikk i hovuddrag. Preliminær Utgåve*. Allkopi, Bergen, Norway.
- Hawkins, J. A. (1986). *A Comparative Typology of English and German: Unifying the Contrasts*. Croom Helm, London, United Kingdom.
- Higden, R. (2006). *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden maonachi Cestrensis; together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*. University of Michigan Library.
- Hiltunen, R. (1983). *The Decline of the Prefixes and the Beginnings of the English Phrasal Verb. The Evidence from some Old and Early Middle English Texts*. Turku, Turun Yliopisto.
- Hoad, T. (2006). Preliminaries: Before English. In Mugglestone, L., editor, *The Oxford History of English*, pages 7–32. Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom.

-
- Hock, H. and Joseph, B. (2009). *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship. An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, Germany.
- Kageyama, T. (1992). AGR in Old English *to*-infinitives. *Lingua*, 88:91–128.
- Leith, D. and Jackson, L. (2007). The origins of English. In Graddol, D., Leith, D., Swann, S., Rhys, M., and Gillen, J., editors, *Changing English*, pages 39–77. Routledge, Abingdon, United Kingdom.
- Leslie, S., Winney, B., Hellenthal, G., Davison, D., Boumertit, A., Day, T., Hutnik, K., Roysvik, E., Cunliffe, B., Consortium, W. T. C. C., Consortium, I. M. S. G., Lawson, D., Falush, D., Freeman, C., Pirinen, M., Myers, S., Robinson, M., Donnelly, P., and Bodmer, W. (2015). The fine-scale genetic structure of the British population. *Nature*, 519:309–314.
- McCrum, R., Cran, W., and MacNeil, R. (1992). *The Story of English: New and Revised Edition*. Faber and Faber, London, United Kingdom.
- McWhorter, J. M. (2002). What happened to English? *Diachronica*, 19(2):217–272.
- Nielsen, H. F. (2005). *From Dialect to Standard English in England 1154-1776*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark.
- Pintzuk, S. and Taylor, A. (2006). The loss of OV order in the history of English. In van Kemenade, A. and Los, B., editors, *The Handbook of the History of English*, pages 249–278. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, United Kingdom.
- Ryan, B. (2005). Middle English as Creole: “Still trying not to refer to you lot as ‘bloody colonials’”. <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cpercyc/courses/6361ryan.htm>. Online, accessed 14.05.2017.
- Smith, J. (1999). *Essentials of Early English*. Routledge, London, United Kingdom.
- Taylor, A. and Pintzuk, S. (2012). Verb order, object position and information status in Old English. *York Papers in Linguistics*, 2(12a):29–52.
- Thim, S. K., Kortmann, B., and Traugott, E. C. (2012). *Phrasal Verbs. The English Verb-Particle Construction and its History*. De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany.
-

Townend, M. (2008). *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*. Brepols, Turnhour, Belgium.

Website1 (2017). The lord's prayer "Fæder ure". <http://www.prayer.su/english/old/>. Online, accessed 14.05.2017.

Website2 (2017). The lord's prayer "Oure fadir". <http://www.krassotkin.ru/sites/prayer.su/english/middle/>. Online, accessed 14.05.2017.

Appendix

Old English Lord's prayer

Glossed and translated by me, using the Oxford English Dictionary and Clark-Hall (1960)

- (2) Fæder ure þu þe eart on heofonum
Father our thou you are on heaven
'Our father who is in heaven'
- (3) si þin nama gehalgod
let your name be hallowed
'let your name be hallowed'
- (4) tobecume þin rice
to become your kingdom
'Your kingdom come'
- (5) gewurþe þin willa
be done your will
'Your will be done'
- (6) on eorðan swa swa on heofonum
on earth as on heaven
'On earth as in heaven'
- (7) urne gedæghwamlīcan hlaf syle us to dæg
our daily bread give us to day
'Give us today our daily bread'

(8) and forgyf us ure gyltas
and forgive us our guilts (sins)
'And forgive us our sins'

(9) swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum
as we forgive our guilters (sinners)
'As we forgive our sinners'

(10) and ne gelæd þu us on costnunge
and no lead you us on temptation
'Lead us not into temptation'

(11) ac alys us of yfele sǫþlice
But loosen¹ us of evil truthfully
'but deliver us from evil'