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CONTACTS AND CONFLICTS: LATIN, NORSE, AND FRENCH

Matthew Townend

THE MULTILINGUAL MIDDLE AGES

AS a number of chapters throughout this volume stress, a history of the English language is something very different from a history of language in England. Of no period is this more true, however, than the Middle Ages. To write linguistic history by looking only at English would give an entirely false impression of linguistic activity in England; it would be like writing social history by looking at only one class, or only one gender. But in addition to misrepresenting the linguistic history of England, such a one-eyed view would also misrepresent the history of English itself. One cannot look at English in isolation; for much of its history the English language in England has been in a state of co-existence, or competition, or even conflict with one or more other languages, and it is these tensions and connections which have shaped the language quite as much as any factors internal to English itself. Obviously, there is not the space here for a full-scale multilingual history of England in the medieval period; nonetheless in this chapter I wish to look briefly at the other languages current in England in the Middle Ages, and how they impacted on English.

Three snapshots will serve to introduce the complex multilingualism—and, therefore, multiculturalism—of medieval England. First, in his *Ecclesiastical*

History of the English People (completed in 731), the Anglo-Saxon monk Bede talks about the five languages of Britain:

Haec in praesenti iuxta numerum librorum quibus lex diuina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum uidelicet Brettonum Scottorum Pictorum et Latinorum, quae meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis.

('At the present time, there are five languages in Britain, just as the divine law is written in five books, all devoted to seeking out and setting forth one and the same kind of wisdom, namely the knowledge of sublime truth and of true sublimity. These are the English, British, Irish, Pictish, as well as the Latin languages; through the study of the scriptures, Latin is in general use among them all.')

Bede is talking about Britain here (*Britannia*), not simply England, but one would only need to take away Pictish—spoken in northern Scotland—to represent the situation in England, leaving some four languages at any rate. (By British, Bede means what we would call Welsh, and the language of the *Scotti* is what we would now call Irish.)

For a second snapshot, let us consider a 946 grant of land by King Eadred (who reigned 946–55) to his subject Wulfric. The charter is written in a form of Latin verse, and in it Eadred is said to hold the government *Angulsaxna cum Norþymbris / paganorum cum Brettonibus* ('of the Anglo-Saxons with the Northumbrians, and of the pagans with the Britons'), while his predecessor Edmund (who reigned 940–46) is described as king *Angulsaxna & Norþymbra / paganorum Brettonumque* ('of the Anglo-Saxons and Northumbrians, of the pagans and the Britons'). In these texts, 'pagans' means Scandinavians, and so peoples speaking three different languages are recognized here: the Scandinavians speak Norse, the Britons speak Celtic, and the Anglo-Saxons (of whom the Northumbrians had come to form a part) speak Old English. The text itself, being in Latin, adds a fourth language.

And for a third snapshot we may turn to the monk (and historian) Jocelin of Brakelond's early thirteenth-century *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*. Jocelin tells us the following about the hero of his work, Abbot Samson:

Homo erat eloquens, Gallice et Latine, magis rationi dicendorum quam ornatui uerborum innitens. Scripturam Anglice scriptam legere nouit elegantissime, et Anglice sermocinare solebat populo, et secundum linguam Norfolchie, ubi natus et nutritus erat, unde et pulpitum iussit fieri in ecclesia et ad utilitatem audiencium et ad decorem ecclesie.

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('He was eloquent both in French and Latin, having regard rather to the sense of what he had to say than to ornaments of speech. He read English perfectly, and used to preach in English to the people, but in the speech of Norfolk, where he was born and bred, and to this end he ordered a pulpit to be set up in the church for the benefit of his hearers and as an ornament to the church.')

Here we can observe a trilingual culture exemplified within a single person. Samson's native language is English—and a dialectally marked English at that—and it is English which he uses to preach to the laity; but his eloquence in Latin and French makes him a microcosm of learned and cultured society in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, where two learned languages tended to take precedence over the majority's mother tongue.

It is no coincidence that all three introductory snapshots are taken from texts in Latin; in the written mode (as opposed to the spoken), it is Latin, and not English, which forms the one constant in the linguistic history of medieval England. And it should also be noted how my three snapshots are chronologically distributed over the Old English and early Middle English periods—one from the eighth century, one from the tenth, and one from the early thirteenth. It is sometimes claimed that post-Conquest England was the most multilingual and multicultural place to be found anywhere in medieval Europe at any time; but in fact there was nothing in, say, 1125 which could not have been matched in 1025 or 925, so long as one substitutes the Norse of the Scandinavian settlements for the French of the Norman. The Norman Conquest makes no great difference in terms of the linguistic complexity of medieval England; it merely changes the languages involved.

THE LANGUAGES OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

The basic timelines of the non-English languages of medieval England can be stated quickly; a more nuanced account will follow shortly. Celtic (or strictly speaking, Brittonic Celtic or British) was, as Chapter 1 has already noted, the language of those peoples who occupied the country before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, and is likely to have remained a spoken language in parts of England through much of the Anglo-Saxon period, before it became confined to those areas which are (from an Anglocentric perspective) peripheral: Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Scotland. Latin was spoken and read right through the medieval period, beginning with the arrival of the missionaries from Rome in
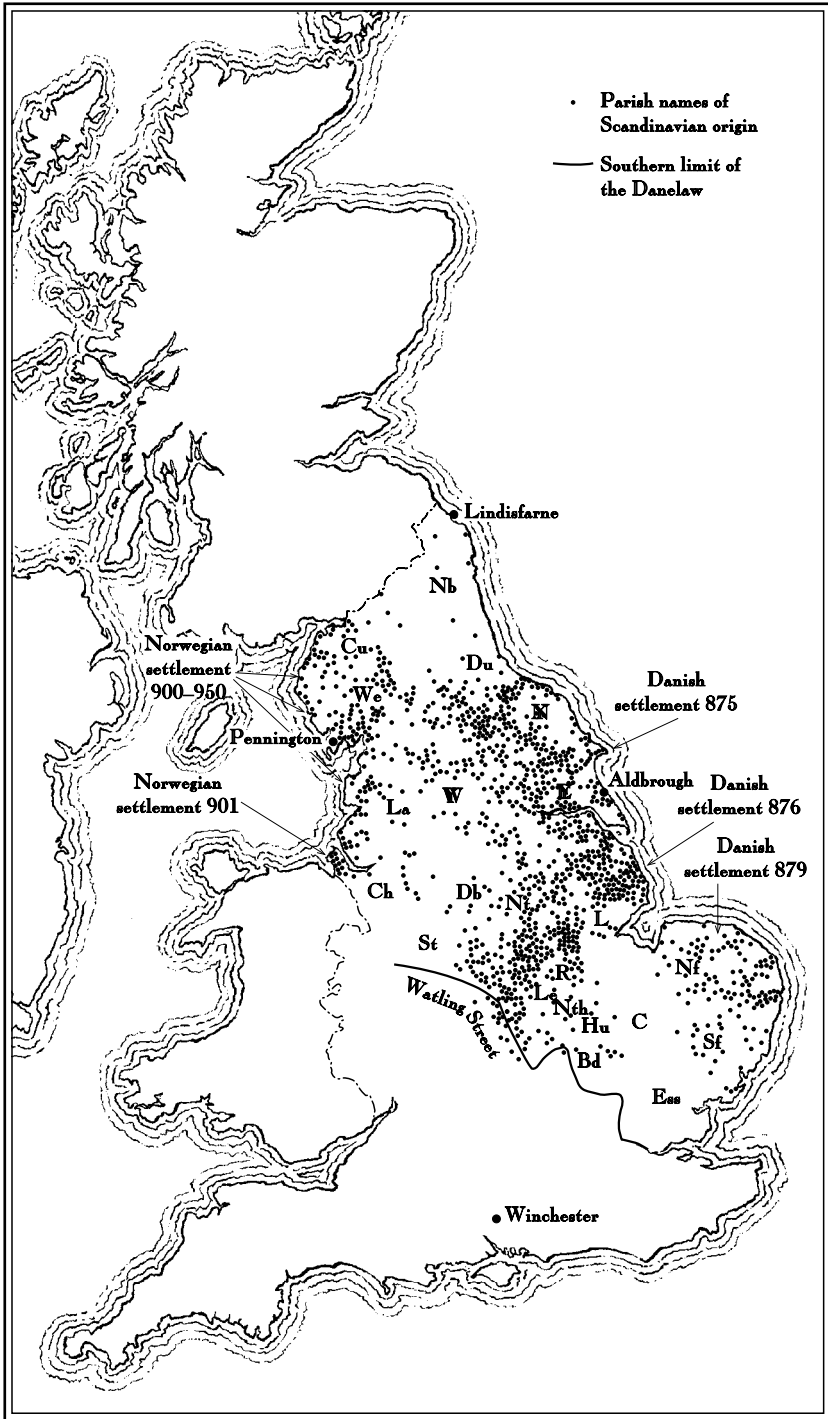
Parish names of Scandinavian origin

Southern limit of the Danelaw

Lindisfarne

Nb

Norwegian settlement 900–950

Cu

Du

We

N

Danish settlement 875

Pennington

Aldbrough   Danish settlement 876

Norwegian settlement 901

La

W

L

Danish settlement 879

Ch

Db

N

L

St

N

L

Nf

Watling Street

R

L

Nth

Hu   C

Sf

Bd

Ess

Winchester

FIG. 3.1.   Scandinavian settlement in Anglo-Saxon England
Source: Based on A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), Map 10.

597. Old Norse was the language of the Scandinavian settlers who entered the country in the Viking Age, and settled especially in the north and east of England (see Fig. 3.1). French was the language of the Norman conquerors who arrived in 1066, although in time it came to be spoken more widely by the upper and middle classes. In the study of language contact and the history of English, these languages—in particular, Latin, French, and Norse—are what would be termed 'source languages' or 'donor languages'. But of course to describe Latin, Norse, and French in such terms, while accurate enough for the study of English, is deeply misleading, as it leads us to think of them only insofar as they exist to contribute to English, like satellites revolving round a sun. But to repeat the point made in the introduction to this chapter, these languages are just as much a part of the linguistic history of England as English is (and their literatures, as will be noted below, are just as much a part of the literary history of England as literature in English is).

Before proceeding to review these three languages as they existed in England, it is worth saying a few words about Celtic. Celtic appears to have had little impact on English; for this reason it is likely to be the most overlooked language of medieval England, and for this reason too it features little in the present chapter. It appears that fewer than a dozen words were borrowed from Celtic into English in the Anglo-Saxon period, such as *brocc* ('badger') and *torr* ('rock'), even though Celtic was widely spoken in Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the early period. The standard explanation for this, which there seems little reason to doubt, is that since the Britons were the subordinate people in Anglo-Saxon England, they are likely to have been the ones who learned the language of their conquerors (Old English) and who gave up their own language: it cannot be a coincidence that the Old English word for 'Briton', *wealh*, also came to mean 'slave' (it survives in modern English as the first element of *walnut*, as the surname Waugh, and, in the plural, as the place-name Wales). However, Celtic would assume a much more central place if one were writing a history of language in England rather than a history of the English language; the most eloquent monument to this is the great quantity of place-names in England which are of Celtic origin, especially river-names (such as Derwent, Ouse, and Lune).

In the languages of medieval England it is Latin, alongside English itself, which is, as has been said, the one constant—a surprising situation for a language which was not, after all, ever a mother tongue. Though its use in Anglo-Saxon England is normally dated to the Roman mission of 597 (and certainly its unbroken history in England begins at this point), it is, as Chapter 1 has pointed out, also possible that the newly settled Anglo-Saxons may have encountered spoken Latin (in addition to Celtic) among the Romano-British peoples whom they conquered

in the fifth and sixth centuries. Nevertheless, leaving aside this one exception, the history of Latin in England is of course the history of a primarily written language. This is not to say that Latin was not spoken, for it was—endlessly and exclusively in some environments—but simply that it was always a learned second language. Furthermore, Latin was the language of learning, and for most of the time this meant that it was the language of the church. Church services were conducted in Latin throughout the Middle Ages; Latin was spoken in the monasteries and minsters; Latin was the language of the Bible. But there was almost no one speaking or reading Latin in England who did not also possess English (or sometimes French) as their first language.

Old Norse in England could not have been more different. With the exception of a handful of inscriptions in the runic alphabet, Norse was never written down in England, only spoken. However, spoken Norse appears to have been both geographically widespread and surprisingly long-lived, no doubt because it formed the first language of a substantial immigrant community. Settled Norse speakers were to be found in England from the 870s onwards, following the Viking wars of the time of King Alfred (who reigned over Wessex 871–99) and the establishment of the so-called Danelaw; that is, the area to the north and east of the old Roman road known as Watling Street (although the actual term 'Danelaw' dates from the eleventh century). It is clear that England was settled by both Danes and Norwegians—and perhaps even a few Swedes—although as the Scandinavian languages at this point were hardly differentiated from one another it is not much of a misrepresentation to speak of a unitary language, here called Norse (though some other writers employ the term 'Scandinavian'). Norse continued to be spoken in the north of England certainly into the eleventh century, and quite possibly into the twelfth in some places. In the early eleventh century the status of Norse in England received a high-level fillip through the accession of the Danish King Cnut and his sons (who ruled over England 1016–42).

Finally, we may consider French. As is well known, one of the consequences of the Norman Conquest was that the new rulers of the country spoke a different language from their subjects. Originally the Normans had been Scandinavians—the term 'Norman' comes from 'Northman'—who had been granted a territory in northern France in the early tenth century. These early Normans spoke Old Norse, just like the Scandinavians who settled in England at about the same time. By the early eleventh century, however, the Normans had given up Old Norse and had adopted the French spoken by their subjects and neighbours; it is an irony that this formidable people gave up their own language, and adopted that of their conquered subjects, not once but twice in their history. French, of course,

descended from Latin; it was a Romance language, not a Germanic one like Old English and Old Norse. French as it came to be spoken in England is often termed Anglo-Norman, though it should be noted that this designation is based as much on political factors as it is on linguistic ones.

The history of the French or Anglo-Norman language in England falls into a number of episodes, but at the outset it is important to stress that there is little value in older accounts which depict two distinct speech-communities, English and French, running on non-convergent parallel lines for a number of centuries. Nor are direct comparisons between the French and Norse episodes in England's linguistic history necessarily helpful, as the circumstances were significantly different: French speakers in England probably formed a considerably smaller percentage of the population in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than had Norse speakers in the ninth and tenth, and they were also of a higher social status. In the first decades after 1066, of course, those who spoke French were the Norman invaders, but not many generations were required before the situation had become very different; parallels with the languages of other immigrant minorities suggest that this is not surprising. From the middle of the twelfth century at the latest, most members of the aristocracy were bilingual, and what is more their mother tongue is likely to have been English; there can have been very few, if any, monolingual French speakers by that point. A hundred years later, in the thirteenth century, one begins to find educational treatises which provide instruction in French, and it seems from the target audiences of such treatises that not only was French having to be learned by the aristocracy, it was also coming to be learned by members of the middle classes. One consequence of this opening-up of French to those outside the aristocracy is that the language began to be used in increasingly varied contexts. In other words, French became less restricted in usage precisely as it ceased to be anyone's mother tongue in England and instead became a generalized language of culture. And the cause of this was not the Norman Conquest of England—an event that was by now some two centuries in the past—but rather the contemporary currency of French as an international language outside England. In time, however, the pendulum swung back, and English took over more and more of the functions developed by French (as is explored in the next chapter); by the mid- to late-fourteenth century, the 'triumph of English' was assured.

It should also be stressed that, at different times, there was a thriving literary culture in England in all three of these languages. Latin and French are the most obvious. Latin works were composed in England right through the medieval period, from beginning to end and then beyond. Bede and Anglo-Saxon hagiographers, for example, were active in the seventh and eighth centuries, Asser, the

biographer of Alfred the Great, in the ninth, Benedictine churchmen like Ælfric in the tenth and eleventh, and Cistercians like Ailred of Rievaulx in the twelfth. Scholastics like Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century and the courtly John Gower in the fourteenth continued this practice, as did the humanist authors of the early Renaissance. As for French, Ian Short has pointed out just how remarkable a body of work was produced in England in the twelfth century: the first romance in French composed anywhere was produced in England, not France, as were the first historical, scientific, and scholastic works in French. Even the *Song of Roland*, a celebrated landmark in medieval French culture, is found first of all in an English manuscript.[1] Indeed, it is little exaggeration to claim that the evolution of French as a written literary language was largely due to the Norman Conquest; while in the eleventh and twelfth centuries French in England may have advanced slowly in its role as 'a language of record' (in Michael Clanchy's phrase),[2] it made exceptionally rapid progress as a language of literature and culture. Even when English was beginning to re-establish itself as a medium for written literature in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the composition of French works continued unabated, and it is quite possible that the earliest poems of Geoffrey Chaucer were in French. The English literatures of Latin and French are perhaps familiar enough, but there were also times in the history of England when literature in Old Norse was composed and enjoyed in England, most importantly during the reign of Cnut, king of England, Denmark, and—briefly—of Norway as well. Oral Norse praise-poetry, of the type known as skaldic verse, was a popular genre at Cnut's court at Winchester and elsewhere, and Norse poetry in England exerted an influence over both English and Latin compositions of the period. For all three of these languages, then, it is not just that works circulated and were read in England; many original works were composed in this country, a testimony to the vitality of England's multilingual literary culture, and another reminder of how misleading it is to take a monolingual view of the past.

The phenomenon known as language death occurs when no one speaks or uses a language any more, either on account of the death of its users or (less radically and more commonly) on account of their shift to using a different language. Reviewing the three main 'source languages' in medieval England, one can first see that, since Latin in England was, as already indicated, not a mother tongue, the notion of language death is not really applicable. The death of the Norse

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[1] I. Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992), 229.

[2] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (2nd edn.). (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 220.

language in England is likely to have occurred in the eleventh century in most places, as that is when the Norse speech community seems to have shifted to using English. As for French, one could argue that the standard form of language death occurred in the twelfth century, with the demise of French as the mother tongue of the aristocracy; after the twelfth century, French was in much the same position as Latin in its status as a learned language, although the constituencies and functions of the two languages were different (see further, pp. 70–1). Language death is an important phenomenon, not just for the languages and speech communities involved, but for their neighbours and co-residents. As we shall see in the rest of the chapter, it was in their deaths, just as much as in their lives, that the non-English languages of medieval England exerted an enormous influence on English itself.

CONTACT SITUATIONS

The historical sociolinguist James Milroy insists: 'Linguistic change is initiated by speakers, not by languages'. What is traditionally termed 'language contact', or 'languages in contact', is in reality contact between speakers (or users) of different languages, and an emphasis on speaker-activity has far-reaching implications for the writing of linguistic history. As Milroy observes, 'the histories of languages such as English … become in this perspective—to a much greater extent than previously—histories of contact between speakers, including speakers of different dialects and languages'.[3] This is one reason why the previous section paid due attention to the non-English speech communities, and to the uses of languages other than English, that were such a defining feature of medieval England. Languages do not exist apart from their users, and any study of language contact must be emphatically social in approach. In this section the actual processes of contact will be examined, before moving on to look at their linguistic consequences.

The nature of the social contact, together with the configurations of the speech communities, has a governing effect on the type of linguistic impact that will occur. Clearly, contact between languages—or rather, between users of languages—involves bilingualism of some sort. This bilingualism can either be individual or societal; that is, one may have a society which is at least partly made up of bilingual speakers, or conversely a bilingual society which is made up

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[3] J. Milroy, 'Internal vs external motivations for linguistic change', *Multilingua* 16 (1997), 311, 312.

of monolingual speakers. So, for the contact between Norse and English speakers in Viking Age England, it is likely that, at least for pragmatic purposes, speakers of the two languages were mutually intelligible to a sufficient extent to preclude the need for bilingualism on either a major or minor scale (in the form of a society which was made up of bilingual individuals, or else one which relied on a small number of skilled interpreters). Viking Age England was thus a bilingual society dominantly made up of monolingual speakers of different languages; as an analogy it may be helpful to think of contemporary contact between speakers of different dialects of English.

The situation with French was clearly very different, as English and French—being respectively a Germanic language and a Romance one—were so dissimilar as to permit no form of mutual intelligibility. In such circumstances one must therefore think in terms of individual bilingualism. But of course exactly who those individuals were, and what form their bilingualism took, changed over time. Once their early monolingual period had come to an end, initially it was the Norman aristocracy who spoke French as their first language and who learned English as their second. But soon these linguistic roles had been reversed and French, as we have seen, became the learned second language, after which it also began to be learned by those below the level of the aristocracy. However, it is important to stress that French speakers in England always formed a minority; the majority of the population were monolingual, and the language they spoke was English.

The situation for Latin was different again. All those who knew Latin also spoke at least one other language, and in the post-Conquest period sometimes two (French and English). Being the language of books, Latin also introduces another form of language contact: that between an individual and a written text in a foreign language. One might think of the contact between users and books as a sort of second-order contact—clearly it does not represent the same form of societal bilingualism as that between individuals—but at the same time it is important not to overplay this difference. In the medieval period even written texts had a dominantly oral life: literature was social, texts were read out loud, and private silent reading had barely begun. In any case, Latin was the language of conversation and debate in many ecclesiastical and scholarly environments: it was spoken as a learned language in just the same way as French was in the later medieval period, so one should not dismissively characterize Latin as a 'dead' language in contradistinction to French, Norse, and English.

How do these various circumstances of bilingual contact (whether individual and/or societal) work out in terms of their effect on English? That is, the question to be asked is: how exactly do elements from one language come to be transferred

into another language, whether those elements are words, sounds, or even syntactical constructions? As stated above, languages in contact do not exist apart from their users, so there must be specific, observable means by which linguistic transfer occurs. Words do not simply float through the air like pollen; as James Milroy insists, what we are dealing with here is the history of people, not of disembodied languages.

In understanding and analysing the processes of linguistic influence a crucial distinction made by modern linguists is that between 'borrowing' on the one hand and 'imposition' or 'interference' on the other (and it should be noted that 'borrowing' has a more precise meaning here than in older treatments of the subject). This distinction turns on the status of the person or persons who act as the bridge between languages, and may best be appreciated through modern examples. Suppose a speaker of British English learns a new word from a speaker of American English, and subsequently uses that American-derived word in their own speech: that would be an example of borrowing, and the primary agent of transfer would be a speaker of the recipient language. Suppose, on the other hand, that a bilingual French speaker uses a word or a pronunciation from their mother tongue when speaking English. A new word or pronunciation, derived from French, would thereby be introduced into a passage of spoken English; that would be an example of imposition or interference, and the primary agent of transfer would be a speaker of the source language. Of course, for either of these processes to lead to a change in the English language more broadly, as opposed to simply in the language of one individual at one time, the word or pronunciation would have to be generalized, by being adopted and used by other speakers of the recipient language. In considering this process of generalization one can see again how a study of language contact must really be part of a wider study of social networks.

This distinction between borrowing and imposition (as I shall henceforth call it) is also very helpful in understanding the phonological form which is taken by transferred elements. The linguist Frans van Coetsem, who has elucidated this distinction, writes as follows:

Of direct relevance here is that language has a constitutional property of *stability*; certain components or *domains* of language are more stable and more resistant to change (e.g. phonology), while other such domains are less stable and less resistant to change (e.g. vocabulary). Given the nature of this property of stability, a language in contact with another tends to maintain its more stable domains. Thus, if the recipient language speaker is the agent, his natural tendency will be to preserve the more stable domains of his language, e.g., his phonology, while accepting vocabulary items from the source language. If the source language speaker is the agent, his natural tendency will again be to

preserve the more stable domains of his language, e.g., his phonology and specifically his articulatory habits, which means that he will impose them upon the recipient language.[4]

That is to say, a word that is transferred through borrowing is likely to be nativized to the recipient language in terms of its phonological shape or pronunciation, whereas a word that is transferred through imposition is likely to preserve the phonology of the source language, and introduce that to the recipient language. We shall meet both of these phenomena in the examples analysed below.

Lexical transfer—the transfer of words from the source language to the recipient language—is not, of course, the only form of linguistic influence that may occur when users of two languages come into contact, although it is certainly the most common. So-called bound morphemes (parts of words like prefixes or suffixes) may also be transferred, as may individual sounds, or word-orders and sentence structures, or (at the written level) letter forms and spelling conventions. In other words, while its most common form is lexical, linguistic influence can also be morphological, or phonological, or syntactic, or orthographic. All the so-called subsystems of language can be affected through contact, and in the history of English's contact with other languages in the medieval period, all of them were.

CONSEQUENCES FOR ENGLISH

As we turn to consider the consequences of language contact for the English language, it is inevitable that our point of view should become more Anglocentric, and less able to hold all the languages of medieval England within one balanced, multilingual vision. Nonetheless, a reminder is in order before we go on, that the history of the English language forms only a part of the linguistic history of England in the medieval period, and in the course of what follows I shall also indicate briefly some of the ways in which English influenced the other languages as well; the results of language contact were not in one direction only.

When one considers the consequences for English of contact with other languages, it is vocabulary that inevitably looms largest. It is well known that the size of the English lexicon as a whole has grown steadily over the course of time: estimates place the size of the Old English lexicon at *c* 50–60,000 words, and

[4] F. van Coetsem, *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1988), 3.

that of Middle English at 100–125,000 (that of modern English is placed at over half a million). This expansion has occurred overwhelmingly through the transfer of words from source languages, rather than through the formation of new words out of native resources, as has happened much more, for example, in German. However, it should be noted that Old English was much more similar to German than modern English is in its fondness for word-formation out of native elements; it has been estimated than while as much as 70 per cent of the modern English lexicon is comprised of loanwords, the comparable figure for the Old English lexicon is probably less than 5 per cent.

As a preliminary categorization, prior to looking at some actual passages, it is worth distinguishing between, on the one hand, loanwords proper and, on the other, loan-translations and semantic loans (though the term *loan* or *loanword* is conventionally used to cover the whole range). A loanword, as strictly defined, may arise either through borrowing or imposition, but it involves the incorporation of a lexical item from the source language into the lexicon of the recipient language; and the item may undergo phonological and morphological adaptation in the process, depending on the mode of transfer. Representative loanwords in Old English are *munuc* ('monk', from Latin *monachus*), *lið* ('fleet', from Old Norse *lið*), and *prut* ('proud', from Old French *prud*). In a loan-translation (sometimes known as a calque), the elements of the lexical item in the source language are translated into corresponding elements in the recipient language; the form of the source item is not actually transferred. Old English examples are *wellwillende* (literally 'well-wishing, benevolent', from Latin *benevolens*), *anhorn* (literally 'one-horn, unicorn', from Latin *unicornis*), and (as a partial loan-translation) *liðsmann* ('fleet-man, sailor', 'follower', from Old Norse *liðsmaðr*). Finally, in a semantic loan the form of a lexical item in the recipient language remains the same, but its meaning is replaced by the meaning of an item from the source language; in Saussurean terms, that is, the signifier (i.e. the sequence of sounds, the physical element of the sign) stays the same but the signified (i.e. the meaning) changes. Examples are Old English *synn* (where the original meaning 'crime, fault' has been replaced by the meaning 'religious transgression' from Latin *peccatum*) or modern English *dream* where the present meaning derives from Old Norse *draumr*, but the form derives from the cognate Old English *dream* ('(sounds of) joy'); the Old English word for 'dream' was *swefn*, which has since disappeared from the lexicon. Clearly the category of semantic loan merges into that of semantic change more generally.

With regards to the chronological stratification of the loanwords in English (that is, when the items entered the English lexicon), clearly the broad strata will correlate with the times when the source languages were spoken, or had recently

ceased being spoken, in England. But the loanwords from each of the three source languages can themselves also be subdivided and stratified, usually on phonological grounds (that is, depending on which sound-changes in the source and recipient languages the words have or have not participated in). So, the Latin loans in Old English are conventionally subdivided into early, 'popular' loans (arising through oral contact, up to *c* 600), and later, 'learned' ones (arising through Christianization and books), although some older treatments further subdivide the first of these into pre- and post-migration loans; in addition there were later book-based loans in the Middle English period. Norse loans are less easy to date and stratify, but a broad distinction can be made between those which appear to have entered English through borrowing (tenth and eleventh centuries) and those which have entered through imposition following language death (eleventh and twelfth centuries), although of course the two processes may have been occurring contemporaneously in different parts of the country. Leaving aside a few early loans in Old English, the French loans in Middle English are traditionally subdivided into two groups: an earlier group from Norman French dialect, and a later group from central French (reflecting the shift in power and influence from Normandy to Paris and the Île de France from the thirteenth century onwards).

All standard histories of the language give generous lists of loanwords (see the suggestions for Further Reading at the end of this chapter), cataloguing the fact that loans from Latin include, for example, *altar, camel, chrism, comet, crown, disciple, font, litany, martyr, mass, master, mile, mint, pipe, pound, school, silk, street, tile, triumph,* and *wall* (all these occur in the Old English period—Middle English loans from Latin are both fewer and difficult to distinguish from loans from French); that loans from Norse include *bask, beck, cast, fellow, gape, hit, husband, ill, knife, law, leg, loft, meek, skill, skirt, sky, take, though, want, wrong,* and (very importantly) the pronouns *they, them,* and *their;* and that loans from French (in the early Middle English period) include *abbey, battle, castle, chaplain, charity, council, duke, empress, folly, fruit, gentle, honour, journey, office, purity, silence, treasure,* and *virgin.* Something of the different cultural spheres from and for which these languages contributed vocabulary can be impressionistically gauged from lists such as these, broadly upholding (especially for Latin and French) the general principle that loanwords enter a language on account of either need or prestige. As can also be deduced from the lists given here, not all parts of speech are equally represented as loanwords: nouns and adjectives are by far the most frequently transferred word-classes, followed by verbs and adverbs, and far ahead of 'grammar-words' such as conjunctions and pronouns.

However, isolated lists such as these tell little or nothing about the sociolinguistics of usage. Let us, then, look in more extended fashion at three texts or passages which illustrate lexical transfer in context; as with my introductory selection, these are mere snapshots, or (to change the metaphor) windows onto a complex and continually evolving situation. I begin with a very famous, early, and canonical text, namely the nine-line poem known as Cædmon's *Hymn*, which has already been discussed in Chapter 2. According to a story told by Bede, Cædmon was a cowherd attached to the monastery of Whitby, who, through a miracle, received the gift of poetic inspiration, and became the first ever Anglo-Saxon to compose poetry in Old English on Christian subjects. (There had, of course, been poetry in Old English before Cædmon, but its subject matter was probably legendary or heroic; and there had also been Anglo-Saxon poetry on Christian subjects, but it had been composed in Latin. Cædmon is supposed to have been the first to combine the two, sometime in the 670s.) Bede tells us that Cædmon subsequently composed many poems on many Biblical subjects, but his first poem, granted to him through a miraculous dream, was a brief celebration of the creation. The poem survives in various manuscripts, but I quote it here in its earliest form (in early Northumbrian dialect):

> Nu scylun hergan hefænricæs uard,
> metudæs mæcti end his modgidanc,
> uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gihuæs,
> eci dryctin, or astelidæ.
> He ærist scop aelda barnum   5
> heben til hrofe, haleg scepen;
> tha middungeard moncynnæs uard,
> eci dryctin, æfter tiadæ
> firum foldu, frea allmectig.

('Now we must praise the Guardian of the heavenly kingdom, the might of the Ordainer and his mind's intent, the work of the Father of glory, as He, the eternal Lord, established the beginning of every wonder. He, the holy Maker, first made heaven as a roof for the children of men. Then the Guardian of mankind, the eternal Lord, afterwards adorned the middle-earth for the people of earth, the almighty Lord.')

The language of this poem shows heavy influence from Latin ecclesiastical culture, yet arguably contains not a single loanword as strictly defined. However, there are more than enough loan-translations, semantic loans, and semantic changes to characterize this as being, linguistically, a poem born out of contact with the church. Consider, for example, the terms for God in these

nine lines: *uard* ('Guardian', line 1), *metud* ('Ordainer', line 2), *uuldurfadur* ('Father of glory', line 3), *dryctin* ('Lord', lines 4 and 8), *scepen* ('Maker', line 6), and *frea* ('Lord', line 9). A hundred years earlier, none of these words meant 'God', for the simple reason that the Anglo-Saxons were as yet an un-Christianized, polytheistic people; contact with missionaries and the church has created a demand for new vocabulary which has been met by native words changing their meaning, rather than new words being introduced from Latin. Other words show a comparable shift: *heben* or *hefæn* ('heaven') seems to be in the process of changing its reference from the literal (line 6) to the spiritual (line 1), while *middungeard* ('middle-earth', line 7) may now allude to this world being positioned between heaven and hell as much as to the land being surrounded by sea. *Allmectig* ('almighty', line 9) appears to be a loan-translation of the Latin *omnipotens* (a word of identical meaning). The opening sentiment of *Nu scylun hergan* ('Now we must praise', line 1) may be modelled on the Psalms. There are other features which might also betray Latin ecclesiastical influence, but the overall character should by now be clear enough, and the moral of this analysis can be spelt out in simple terms. The changes in the Old English language which Cædmon's Hymn reveals to us have all arisen through contact with new people and new ways of doing things; language contact is always part of culture contact.

The second text for analysis is the inscription on an early eleventh-century grave-marker from the Old Minster, Winchester, which apparently commemorates a Scandinavian of the time of Cnut. Inscriptions are an excellent resource for linguistic history, even though they feature less regularly in histories of the language than do texts which are found in manuscripts or printed books. For one thing, inscriptions are often datable; more importantly, they tend to be texts which are socially embedded, active, and performative in the public sphere. The text on the Winchester grave-marker reads HER LIÐ GVNNI : EORLES FEOLAGA, which means either 'Here lies Gunni, Eorl's Companion' or 'Here lies Gunni, the earl's companion', and since Eorl is recorded only once as a personal name in England, the strong likelihood is that 'the earl's companion' is the correct reading. Though only five words long, this short inscription is full of interest in terms of language contact, and there are four points to note. First, Gunni is an Old Norse personal name, reminding us that language contact often results in expansion of the onomasticon (or repertoire of names) as well as the lexicon. Second, FEOLAGA is a loanword from Old Norse, where *félagi* means 'companion, comrade, trading partner'; it survives in modern English as *fellow*. Third, EORL is likely to show influence from Old Norse in its meaning; that is, it is a semantic loan. There was a native Old English word *eorl*, which tended to be

used in poetry with a general meaning of 'man, warrior, hero'. However, the cognate Old Norse word *jarl* came be a term of rank ('earl'), and in the reign of Cnut this Norse meaning was grafted onto the English form, so that the English word came to mean 'earl', and thereby ousted the earlier English term of rank *ealdormann* (which survives in modern English as *alderman*). Fourth and last, and moving on from vocabulary to syntax, the phrase HER LIÐ ('Here lies') is not found anywhere else in Anglo-Saxon inscriptions, and it is possible that it shows the influence of Latin on Old English. *Hic iacet* ('here lies') is the standard Latin memorial formula, and although it is not found in Anglo-Saxon inscriptions, one does find the comparable *hic requiescit* ('here rests'). This five-word inscription, then, is written in the Old English language using the Roman alphabet; it shows one loanword from Old Norse, one semantic loan, and one personal name; and it probably reveals Latin influence on its syntax and phrasing. Such an inscription seems an entirely fitting product of the Winchester of King Cnut, when Norse and English culture co-existed and interacted at the highest levels of society, and the whole city also partook of a Latinate, ecclesiastical air through the influence of its three royal minsters.

The third passage is from the Peterborough Chronicle, also known as manuscript 'E' of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or (in older works) the Laud Chronicle. As Irvine has already discussed in Chapter 2, the annals known collectively as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle took shape in the reign of Alfred the Great, and thereafter were kept up for some two hundred years. However, following the Norman Conquest the various recensions all fell silent, except one: the Peterborough Chronicle. This, remarkably, was maintained up to the middle of the twelfth century, thereby supplying an all-too-rare example of English composition from a time when most other writing was being done in either Latin or French (although earlier Old English texts continued to be copied in the twelfth century). The twelfth-century parts of the Peterborough Chronicle divide into the so-called First Continuation (covering the years 1122 to 1131) and the Second or Final Continuation (1132–54); the passage quoted here comes from the entry for 1135, reflecting on the death of Henry I and the accession of Stephen:

God man he was and micel æie wes of him: durste nan man misdon wið oðer on his time. Pais he makede men and dær. Wua sua bare his byrthen gold and sylure, durste nan man sei to him naht bute god. Enmang þis was his nefe cumen to Engleland, Stephne de Blais; and com to Lundene; and te lundenisce folc him underfeng and senden æfter þe ærce-biscop Willelm Curbuil; and halechede him to kinge on Midewintre Dæi. On þis kinges time wes al unfrið and yfel and ræflac, for agenes him risen sona þa rice men þe wæron swikes, alre fyrst Balduin de Reduers; and held Execestre agenes him and te king it besæt, and siððan Balduin acordede. Þa tocan þa oðre and helden her castles agenes him.

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('He [i.e. Henry] was a good man and there was great fear of him; no-one dared act wrongly against another in his time. He made peace for both men and animals. Whoever carried a gold and silver burden, no-one dared say to him anything but good. At this time his nephew, Stephen de Blois, had come to England, and he came to London, and the people of London received him and sent for the archbishop, William Curbeil; and he consecrated him as king on Midwinter Day. In this king's time everything was unpeace and evil and plunder, for those powerful men who were traitors immediately rose against him, first of all Baldwin de Redvers; and he held Exeter against him and the king besieged it, and afterwards Baldwin submitted. Then the others occupied and held their castles against him.')

Although it is a somewhat hackneyed convention for histories of the English language to take in the Peterborough Chronicle as one of the must-see sights, the text is so rich in interest that to uphold such a tradition is more than justified: almost every sentence could provide material for an entire chapter, and would illuminate all the subsystems of the language. The work is usually exhibited, as in Chapter 2, to demonstrate the demise of the Old English inflexional system and the transition to the relatively uninflected state of Middle English. Here, with an eye initially to the lexical consequences of language contact, we should begin by noting the loanwords from both Norse and French. It is not surprising to find Norse influence in a text written in Peterborough, as that place was within the Scandinavian-settled region of the Danelaw, although in fact the only Norse loan in the passage above is *tocan* ('(they) occupied, (they) took', line 8). This is, however, an important and significant word as it is a central item of vocabulary, and in due course came to oust the native Old English term *niman* (of identical meaning) from the lexicon. (In other respects, the language of the passage shows some English words holding their own against the Norse loans which we know had entered the language by this time: for instance, the third person plural possessive personal pronoun here is still the Old English-derived *her*, rather than the Norse-derived *their*). But the passage also shows a sprinkling of French loanwords, most obviously the iconic *castles* in line 9, but also *pais* ('peace', line 2) and *acordede* ('submitted', line 8). One might also note the construction of personal names such as *Stephne de Blais* and *Balduin de Reduers*, using French *de* rather than English *of*. Moreover, French influence in this passage goes beyond the merely lexical. *Pais* is interesting for phonological reasons: following the Germanic Consonant Shift (see further p. 19), only a tiny number of words in Old English began with [p], and so the introduction of Romance (French or Latin) words beginning thus marked a clear development. Orthographically, too, this passage shows a language in conspicuous transition. Anglo-Saxon spelling conventions are still present—for example *sc* has not yet been replaced by *sh* in *ærcebiscop* ('archbishop')—but they are now accompanied by Romance (and

specifically French) conventions: *u* is used for medial [v] in *sylure* ('silver'), and the digraph *th* is used in *byrthen* ('burden') alongside the older Anglo-Saxon letters þ and ð in *þis* ('this') and *unfrið* ('unpeace').

These three examples—Cædmon's *Hymn*, the Winchester inscription, and the Peterborough Chronicle—give a representative sample of the kinds of influence (especially lexical) that were exerted on English through contact with Latin, Norse, and French. Further kinds of influence will be discussed shortly, but at this point it is important to stress that not every loanword recorded in a medieval text succeeded in establishing itself and became in any way a continuing (let alone a permanent) part of the language. Instead there were many one-offs and dead ends and, as in other aspects of the history of English, one must not tell a teleological narrative, implying that there is anything inevitable about the forms taken by linguistic change. On the contrary, linguistic change occurs through thousands (or millions) of individual human choices, and so it is in this sense pre-eminently 'evitable'. Similarly, there were many developments which were only local or regional, and never became established more generally across the country. Such local developments and local histories have tended to be occluded or concealed in the post-standardization, post-print era, but in the present context it is essential that we think in terms not of a single nationwide situation of language contact, but rather of countless local situations all over the country.

A text that exemplifies both of these qualities (of dead ends and local developments) is the eleventh-century inscription on the sundial at Aldbrough church in the East Riding of Yorkshire (see Fig. 3.2). Commemorating the act of a benefactor, the inscription reads: VLF [HE]T ARŒRAN CYRICE FOR H[A]NUM 7 FOR GVNWARA SAVLA ('Ulf ordered the church to be erected for himself and for Gunnwaru's soul'). The language of the inscription is perfectly normal late Old English, except for the one word HANUM, which appears to be (and surely is) the Old Norse word *honum*, the masculine singular dative form of the third- person personal pronoun (i.e. 'him'). As has already been said, other personal pronouns were transferred from Norse to English (*they*, *them*, and *their*, while *she* may also show Norse influence; see further pp. 100–1), but this is the only extant text that records the importation of *honum* as well. There is nothing very surprising about such a loan, even though the transfer of pronouns between languages is rare: in the late Old English and early Middle English period the personal pronoun system in English (especially in the third person) underwent extensive changes, with the loss of distinctive accusative forms, and the function of the accusative being taken over by the dative forms. The entry of *they*, *them*, and *their* into English is just one sign of this process of change and renovation. But what the Aldbrough inscription shows is that, in this part of late Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire, the

FIG. 3.2.   The inscribed sundial at Aldbrough, East Riding of Yorkshire
Source: © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Photographer T. Middlemass.

Norse pronoun *honum* was also borrowed and incorporated into the local language. However, this particular innovation did not prove to be productive: it failed to be generalized through the language as a whole, and is not found again in any other source, whereas English-derived *him* has survived to this day. The Aldbrough inscription exemplifies clearly how the consequences of language contact are local and multifarious; it may be that most individual changes fail to catch on.

One might wonder whether speakers of Old English in late Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire were conscious of HANUM as a distinctively Norse item in the language of the Aldbrough inscription, or whether it had come to appear to them as a perfectly unremarkable English word (as would have been the case with CYRICE, even though that too was a loanword, ultimately from Greek but probably via Latin). In other words, how far are loanwords nativized and integrated into the recipient language, or how far do they remain a discernibly 'foreign' element? After a while, does the origin of words matter? Of course, there is no single answer to these questions—as attested by the well-known example of

the variant pronunciations of the French loanword *garage* in modern English. It is certainly important to stress that the contemporary connotations of a word are no more based on etymological origin than its denotative meaning is; after a while, most loanwords are indeed nativized and their origins become irrelevant. But what about at an early stage: did late Old English and early Middle English writers deliberately exclude (or indeed include) Norse and French loans precisely because they were conscious that they were loans?

One example that might suggest this possibility is the fascinating text known as the *Ormulum*. Composed in the late twelfth century by a certain Orm (who named the work after himself), the *Ormulum* is an extraordinarily ambitious sequence of metrical homilies, all written out using an equally ambitious spelling system that is Orm's own invention (see further pp. 87–8). The sole manuscript appears to be in the author's own hand, and the work is sadly incomplete. The *Ormulum* was probably composed somewhere in southern Lincolnshire, not far in time and space from the Continuations of the Peterborough Chronicle, and the language of the text is marked by very heavy Norse influence: many Norse loanwords are found recorded there for the first time, and Orm's third-person plural personal pronouns are the new, Norse-derived ones. However, and in this regard strikingly unlike the Peterborough Chronicle, the *Ormulum* contains very few loanwords from French—quite possibly fewer than a dozen. The reason for this cannot be lack of exposure to French influence more generally, as French orthographic practices are prominent in Orm's spelling system: indeed, the *Ormulum* may well be the first extant English manuscript to use French-derived *sh* for earlier *sc*, and *wh* for earlier *hw*. Orm's non-use of French-derived vocabulary therefore looks deliberate, and implies that French-derived terms were sufficiently recognizable to be excluded. The likely reasons for exclusion may be stylistic and/or audience-related: Orm may have felt that French-derived terms were inappropriate in associations or register, or else unfamiliar to his audience. As Orm himself tells us in the extensive Dedication of his work to his brother Walter, the *Ormulum* was conceived as a preaching tool, intended to be read out loud to lay audiences. In his inclusion of French-derived orthography but exclusion of French-derived vocabulary, Orm may permit us to glimpse a sociolinguistic situation in which literate readers were familiar with French spelling, but illiterate listeners were ignorant of French words.

It is also important to stress that the consequences of language contact were not in one direction only. The other languages of medieval England also changed as a result of contact with English, and they thereby came to differ from the variety of language spoken in the homelands from which they had come—as is the manner of 'colonial' languages throughout history. Again, Latin is the

exception here, as it was never a mother tongue, whereas the Norse spoken in England came to differ from that spoken in Scandinavia, and the French of England similarly diverged from the French of France (whether as a mother tongue or, later, as a learned language). So, for example, Old Norse poetry composed and recited in England often contains loanwords from Old English: as Roberta Frank has observed, all three of the alliterating words in the tenth stanza of Sigvatr Þórðarson's praise-poem for Cnut (*Knútsdrápa*) are in fact loanwords (Cnut is said to be *kærr keisara, klúss Pétrúsi* 'dear to the Emperor, close to Peter'), the first coming probably from French and the second and third from Latin via Old English, and together they exemplify both Cnut's European ambitions and the new cultural influences exerted upon Norse poetry—and the Norse language—in England.[5]

As has been seen, then, while lexical expansion is the most prominent consequence of language contact, contact-induced change can also occur in the other subsystems of orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax. If space permitted, much more could be said about all of these areas, but one larger question that cannot remain without discussion is the possible role language contact may have played in the English language's loss of inflexions. As is discussed elsewhere in this volume, in evolving from Old English to Middle English the English language moved from being a dominantly synthetic language (that is, where grammatical relationships are expressed morphologically through the addition of inflexions) to a dominantly analytic one (where grammatical relationships are expressed syntactically). However, did language contact play a part in this process? In this regard, it is contact between speakers of English and speakers of Norse that has often been suggested as having been crucial. As was noted earlier, English and Norse (unlike English and Latin, or English and French) were probably mutually intelligible languages, on account of their close relationship within the family of Germanic languages. However, while cognate English and Norse words were generally similar, or even identical, in their basic form the one aspect in which they often differed was their inflexional endings: compare, for instance, Old English *giest* and Old Norse *gestr* ('guest'), or *guma* and *gumi* ('man'), or *scipu* and *skip* ('ships'). In a situation in which speakers of the two languages were repeatedly in contact with one another, on a daily or even a domestic basis, it is quite possible that these inflexional differences became eroded or ignored, as they played no role (or were even a hindrance) in effective communication between speakers of the two languages. In other words, most

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[5] R. Frank, 'King Cnut in the verse of his skalds', in A. Rumble (ed.), *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 118.

inflexions were probably non-functional in Norse–English communication; hence they decayed, and alternative methods of expressing grammatical relationships came to be more prominent—above all, the method of a relatively fixed word-order.

Two points in support of this hypothesis might be mentioned, and also two points of qualification. The first point in support is that English inflexions appear to have decayed earlier in the north and east of England than in the south and west—that is, precisely in those parts of the country where Scandinavian settlement led to contact situations between speakers of Norse and English. The second is that a similar inflexional decay appears to have occurred in the Norse language in England as well as in the English language, as can be seen, for example, in the Pennington inscription in Cumbria, a twelfth-century text in Norse runes which shows both loss of inflexions and (possibly) confusion of grammatical gender. The first point of qualification is that the gradual decay of inflexions and the tendency towards analysis (that is, towards a relatively fixed word-order) were already present in Old English, largely—as Chapter 1 has already discussed—as a result of the fixing of stress on the first syllable in the Germanic period (so that the final syllable became gradually weakened, and less capable of bearing information content); the whole process was certainly not initiated by contact with Norse speakers, only encouraged or accelerated. The second point of qualification is that it is probably misleading to label this contact-induced loss of inflexions as 'creolization'—or the development of a new mother tongue out of a pragmatic contact language—as some linguists have wished to do; pidgins and creoles arise as simplified languages of communication between speakers of two mutually unintelligible languages, whereas mutually intelligible speakers of Norse and English did not find themselves in such a situation.

The Norse inscription from Pennington is unusually late in date, and it is highly likely that by the twelfth century Norse speakers had shifted to English in most other parts of the country. One possible result of a widespread shift on the part of an entire speech community is that the language shifted to may show 'substratum influence' from the earlier language of the shifting speakers. In other words, in this case speakers of Norse may have imported into English various features of Norse in the process of language shift. This is the phenomenon labelled (in van Coetsem's (1988) term) as 'source language agentivity', and it will be recalled (see pp. 71–2) that the most likely consequence of such a shift is phonological influence from the substratum language; that is, Norse speakers may have carried over features of Norse pronunciation and articulation when they shifted to speaking English. This hypothesis may well

be the best way of explaining the very common phenomenon in Middle English of Norse-derived variants existing alongside English cognates, and differing only in phonology: so, for example, in Middle English Norse-derived *bleik* ('white, pale') exists beside English-derived *bloc*, while *coupe* ('buy') exists beside *chepe*, and *fisk* ('fish') beside *fish*, and so on (usually with identical meaning). It is hard to explain these Norse-derived variants in terms of borrowings made on account of either need or prestige; to see them as impositions arising through substratum influence is much more persuasive.

Since Latin was not a mother tongue as Norse was, the issue of language death and language shift, as noted earlier, does not arise in the same way. As for French, the process of shift occurred in the twelfth century, when French ceased to be the mother tongue for the Anglo-Norman aristocracy; after that point, the giving up of French as a learned language (like Latin) was not so much a case of language death as simply the abandonment of a curriculum. However, the one other language of medieval England that must have undergone a Norse-style language death, with possible substratum influence on English, was Celtic; but sadly the possible influence of Celtic on English (besides the handful of loanwords mentioned earlier) remains obscure and disputed. Nonetheless it is clear that at least one of the languages of medieval England continued to influence the development of English even after it ceased to be spoken (Norse); and two more, of course, exerted a longstanding influence on English even when they were no longer anyone's mother tongue (Latin and French).

CONCLUSION

I began this chapter with three snapshots that encapsulated the multilingual nature of medieval England, and the role language contact has played in the evolution of English. I will conclude by explicitly stating (or re-stating) three axioms, all of which have been exemplified in the intervening discussion. The first is that, as I said at the beginning, the history of the English language is not at all the same thing as the history of language in England, and to consider only the former is to misrepresent and misunderstand the linguistic history of the country. The second is that language contact is all about people: language contact does not occur apart from human contact, and contact-induced change is always the result of human activity. And the third, consequent on this, is

that language contact is part of cultural contact more generally: if one embarks on a study of language contact in medieval England, one is carried irresistibly onwards into the broader history and culture of that inexhaustibly interesting society.

REFERENCES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

My three introductory snapshots are quoted from Colgrave and Mynors (1969), Birch (1885–93), and Butler (1949).

The languages of medieval England

On Latin language and literature in England see Rigg (1992), Lapidge (1993, 1996), and Sharpe (1997). On Old Norse language and literature in England see Townend (2000, 2001, 2002), and also Jesch (2001). On French language and literature in England see Wilson (1943), Rothwell (1968, 1976), Short (1979–80, 1992), Kibbee (1991), and Crane (1997, 1999). On the interplay of Latin, French, and English see Clanchy (1993) and Trotter (2000).

Contact situations

For general accounts of language contact see Weinreich (1953), Thomason and Kauffman (1988), and Thomason (2001); Trudgill (1986) supplies a complementary study of dialect contact.

Consequences for English

General accounts of loanwords in English, which include sections on each of the languages discussed here, can be found in Serjeantson (1935), Jespersen (1956), Strang (1970), Burnley (1992b), Kastovsky (1992), Baugh and Cable (2002), Blake (1996), and Hughes (2000). On Latin loanwords see Campbell (1959), Wollmann (1993), and Gneuss (1996). On Norse loanwords see Björkman (1900–02), Wollmann (1996), and Dance (2003). On French loanwords see Rothwell (1991, 1998) and Cannon (1998). The text of *Cædmon's Hymn* is from the manuscript of Cambridge University Library, Kk.5.16, and is published in Dobbie (1942). The Winchester grave-marker is published in Okasha (1971) and Tweddle *et al.* (1995). The Peterborough Chronicle is quoted from Clark (1970), with abbreviations expanded. The Aldbrough sundial is also published in Okasha (1971). The standard edition of the *Ormulum* is Holt and White (1878). On language contact and the loss of inflexions in English see Mitchell (1991) and Townend (2002); on the 'creole' debate see Görlach (1986) and Allen (1997). For the Pennington inscription, see Page (1971) and Holman (1996).