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LANGUAGE CHANGE IN LATE OLD NORTHUMBRIAN: THE STRONG
VERBAL SYSTEM

Tesis presentada para la colación del título de Doctora en Filología

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To my parents and sister.

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List of abbreviations

cp.	compare
DOE	*Dictionary of Old English*
DOEC	*Dictionary of Old English Corpus*
Dur	Durham
DurRitGl	Gloss to the *Durham Ritual*
EDD	*English Dialect Dictionary*
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
etc.	*et cetera* (and other things)
f(f).	folio(s)
i.e.	*id est* (that is)
Jn	John's Gospel
JnGl	Gloss to John's Gospel
JnPrlg	Prologue to John's Gospel
LAEME	*Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*
Li	Gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*
Lk	Luke's Gospel
LkGl	Gloss to Luke's Gospel
LkPrlg	Prologue to Luke's Gospel
MCOE	*Microfiche Concordance to Old English*
ME	Middle English
Mk	Mark's Gospel
MkGl	Gloss to Mark's Gospel
MkPrlg	Prologue to Mark's Gospel
MS	Manuscript

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Mt	Matthew's Gospel
MtGl	Gloss to Matthew's Gospel
MtPrlg	Prologue to Matthew's Gospel
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PDE	Present-Day English
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Ru	Gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels*
s.v.	*sub verbo* (under the entry)
vs.	*versus* (against)
WS	*West Saxon Gospels*

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1. Introduction

1.1. An introduction to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and aims of the thesis

The *Lindisfarne Gospels* is a Latin Gospel book produced in the 8th century in the northern British isle of Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumberland, and it is now one of the most famous items held at the British Library (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.IV), as part of the collection donated by Sir John Cotton (d. 1702). Heavily embellished with drawings and intricate patterns, and beautifully bound, the manuscript is usually considered one of the greatest achievements of British medieval art. Some even go further, labelling the Gospels as "one of the great landmarks of human cultural achievement" (Brown 2003: 1). These Gospels also constitute "the most extensively studied medieval book in the world" (Backhouse 1989: 165), and even though the original binding was torn apart, the pages of the manuscript have all remained intact to this day.

The manuscript of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, written in Latin, was given an interlinear gloss in Old Northumbrian (a northern British dialect) in the 10th century, making this text one of incalculable value for linguistic research purposes, since it is the oldest known English translation of the Bible, as well as one of the few texts in late Old Northumbrian that are available to us. It is important to remark here that, while the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is, indeed, the oldest full translation of the Gospels, it is not the first record of liturgical materials being translated into English. The Venerable Bede was involved in the translation of the Gospel of Saint John by the time of his death in 735, and the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A.i) was also given an interlinear gloss during the 9th century (Brown 2016: 29). In this respect, the British tradition holds "a record unequalled by any other language community of western Christendom" (Marsden 2012: 271) as the oldest community to start translating large

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chunks of the Bible – or in the case of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the complete text of all four Gospels – into the vernacular.[1]

Old Northumbrian has repeatedly been described as more advanced and innovative than other varieties of the time (e.g. Cole 2012 and 2014, McColl Millar 2016, Rodríguez Ledesma 2016). This statement implies that the Old Northumbrian texts present a series of characteristics that are usually associated with processes happening at a later period in the history of the English language (see section 2.4).

The aim of this study is twofold. First, to analyse late Old Northumbrian strong verbs using the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* as a source for linguistic data.[2] Second, to compare this gloss with other glosses of the time: the Old English gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* and to the *Durham Ritual*, the latter glossed by the same scribe as Lindisfarne probably at a later date, as well as the first English translation of the Gospels in the West Saxon dialect. This dissertation aims to assess whether this innovative nature of late Old Northumbrian can be seen in strong verbs. I will be concentrating on two analogical processes affecting these verbs, namely, regularisation (from strong to weak) and vowel transference, as well as anomalous forms of strong verbs seen throughout Lindisfarne.[3] With this study I intend to add to topics of scholarly debate such as the authorship of Lindisfarne, Durham's more conservative nature, and Owun's (one of the Rushworth scribes) alleged copying of Lindisfarne (see sections 5.2.5, 6.1 and 6.2).

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[1] In a medieval context, the term *vernacular* is used to refer to languages other than Latin, "in contrast to [...] notions as standard [and] lingua franca" (Crystal 2008: 511).
[2] For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the gloss as Lindisfarne and to the Latin text as the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The same method will be used to differentiate gloss from MS in the other texts (Rushworth vs *Rushworth Gospels*, Durham vs *Durham Ritual*).
[3] 'Vowel transference' refers here to the process of levelling whereby the vowel of the preterite singular began being used for the preterite plural and viceversa.

1.2. Background: Verbs in Old English and the shift from strong to weak classes

In order to understand the processes of regularisation and vowel transference, one should look at the Old English strong verb paradigm. In Old English, verbs had two tenses: a present and a preterite, expressing non-past and past, respectively. Verbs were divided into two major categories: strong verbs and weak verbs. Weak verbs formed their preterite and past participle by adding a dental suffix, while strong verbs formed their different tenses by means of ablaut or vowel alternation. Four vowels are given for the conjugation of a strong verb (one for the present, one for the 1st and 3rd person singular preterite indicative, one for 2nd person singular, plural preterite indicative and preterite subjunctive, and one for the past participle), while weak verbs (except those affected by i-mutation) used the same root vowel throughout the whole paradigm.

Originally, in Germanic, weak verbs were formed by the addition of a derivational suffix to the stem, which could be *j, *oj, *aij, or *noj (Hogg 1992: 157). Only the first two survived fully into Old English, and the third one included only four verbs: *habban* 'to have', *libban* 'to live', *secgan* 'to say', and *hycgan* 'to think'. Overtime, however, these [*j] suffixes sometimes became [i] and sometimes were lost completely (Hogg 1992: 158).[4] In the evolution of the English language, these suffixes also affected the stem vowel in a process known as i-mutation, a development by which "the vowels of a syllable preceding a suffix containing [i] or [j] moved towards the front upper corner of the vowel space" (Radić-Bojanić & Wattles 2005: 227). In other words, the original stem vowel of the verbs was fronted (if it was a back vowel) or raised (if it was a front vowel), and afterwards the original [j] was lost. Hogg gives the example of class I weak verb *trymman*

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[4] Fellow PhD candidate Elisa Ramírez Pérez from the University of Cardiff is currently researching the loss of –*i*-formative in class II weak verbs in Lindisfarne, Rushworth and Durham.

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'to make strong', which was originally *trumman, but when adding the [*j] suffix, the [*u] in the stem turned into [*y] (for a full account of this process see Hogg 1992: 157-159).

Class I weak verbs present infinitives ending in –an or –rian, while class II weak verb infinitives end in –ian (except –rian, as these belong to class I). They can also be distinguished by the third person singular present ending (class I -eþ vs. class II –aþ), and present plural endings (class I –aþ vs. class II -iaþ), as well as the preterite (class I –ede vs. class II –ode) and past participle (class I –ed vs. class II –od).[5] Full inflections can be found in Tables 1-3 below.

Strong verbs, on the other hand, can be categorised into seven different classes according to the type of ablaut they present (see Table 4 below). The ablaut variants in classes I to VI result from ablaut alternations in Proto-Indo-European (PIE) (*e - *o - *ø - *ø), while class VII shows reduplication in the present and preterite singular (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 226). Class VII is also different from classes I-VI as it presents greater ablaut variation than any of the other classes (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 227, see also Table 4 below).

Classes I and II are the most "stable" of the seven, as they did not suffer much variation during the Old English period in relation to their Proto-Indo-European origins (Hogg 1992: 152-153). Class I reflects an ablaut pattern of PIE vowel plus [*j] (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 234), and it can be exemplified by stīgan 'to climb' (stīgan – stah – stigon – stigen). Class II reflects an ablaut pattern of PIE vowel plus [*w] (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 236), and is represented by ceosan 'to choose' (ceosan – ceas – curon – coren).

Class III, on the other hand, is not as stable as classes I and II. This class reflects an ablaut pattern of a PIE vowel before two consonants, with the first one being a sonorant (Hogg

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[5] All of these inflections are based on the late West Saxon dialect, which is the variety normally used as a sort of standard for the study of the Old English period.

& Fulk 2011: 239). This would be the case of *berstan* 'to burst' (*berstan – bærst – burston – borsten*). However, some originally class V PIE verbs adopted the ablaut variation of class III during the Germanic period, therefore creating different subclasses in class III. These are verbs that have a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant after the root vowel (Hogg 1992: 153), such as *bindan* 'to bind' (*bindan – band – bundon – bunde*n). All subclasses and ablaut series for class III can be seen in Table 4.

The verbs that fall under the class IV category are those that follow an ablaut pattern of a PIE vowel plus one single sonorant, divided into those with a liquid consonant such as *beran* 'to bear' (*beran – bær – bæron – boren*) and those with a nasal consonant such as *niman* 'to take' (*niman – nam*, *nom – namon*, *nomon – numen*). It should be noted, nonetheless, that only two class IV verbs had a nasal consonant in the root: *niman* and *cuman* 'to come' (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 243-245; Hogg 1992: 154). Class V presents the same ablaut series as class IV, except for the fact that the past participle vowel is *e* instead of *o* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 246). In this class we find verbs where the ablaut vowel is followed by a consonant which is not a nasal or a liquid, such as *giefan* 'to give' (*giefan – geaf – geafon – giefen*). As for class VI, the ablaut pattern present in this class is unique to it and may be exemplified by *faran* 'to go' (*faran – for – foron – faren*).

Lastly, class VII is very diverse and presents five different subcategories (see Table 4). What unites all of these subcategories into one single class is that the verbs belonging to class VII "originally formed the pret[erite] with an initial reduplicative syllable, with or without ablaut alternation of the root vowel" (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 251), a process that was preserved in Gothic but not so much in Old English, with just a few relics to show that it ever existed such as the form *heht* of *hatan* 'to command' – instead of non-reduplicated *het* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 253). In Old English the preterite of class VII verbs

is formed with *eo* (*ea* in Northumbrian); one example is *healdan* 'to take' (*healdan –*

heold – heoldon – healden).

For the purpose of this study, I have decided to follow the traditional classification of

strong verbs into seven different classes and weak verbs into three separate classes. This

paradigm organisation has been used since the 19th century. However, more recently,

there have been criticisms to this categorisation. The main argument behind these

criticisms lies on the fact that it was drawn based on Proto-Germanic instead of Old

English, but the criteria used for this classification in Proto-Germanic are not necessarily

functional in Old English (Krygier 1998 and 2001). For example, the division of weak

verbs into three different classes "seems to be a gross oversimplification" (Krygier 1998:

125), while the strong verb classification "is full of weaknesses" (Krygier 1998: 126),

such as class VII being so heterogeneous that "the main criterion for assignment to this

class seems to be impossibility of assigning them to any of the other six", and the internal

differentiations of class III being "so large that it is difficult to find any common

denominators" (Krygier 1998: 126). Even in Present-Day English it is acknowledged

among scholars that the irregular verbal system in English (developed from the Old

English strong verbal system) is the hardest to classify in a systematic way out of all West

Germanic languages (Anderwald 2009: 5). In his reconsideration of the strong verbal

system, Krygier (2001) argues that the Proto-Germanic characterisation of strong verbs

is not applicable in Old English simply because Old English did not, in fact, have a strong

verb system at all (2001: 56). He argues instead for a different timeframe: first, Proto-

Germanic, where a fully working strong verb system is in place; then, Old English, when

a collapse of the Proto-Germanic system happens and there is an attempt at rearranging

the linguistic material into new categories using the vocalic structure of the stem as a

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criterion; lastly, the period from Middle English to the present, when a new system emerges and only a few strong verb classes survive (2001: 56).

Despite these shortcomings, the traditional categorisation of Old English verbs is not devoid of advantages, which is why I have decided to use it. Firstly, it has been used for over two centuries, which means scholars are familiar with it and will be able to follow this study easily. Moreover, this categorisation is used to organise the inflectional systems of all Germanic languages, which proves advantageous for any comparative studies that could stem from this piece of research. For clarity's sake when explaining my data in chapter 5, I have attached tables exemplifying the differences between all the verbal classes below. All the tables are based on the expected forms in West Saxon.

Table 1. Weak verbs: Class I exemplified by *fremman* 'to do' (based on and Wright & Wright 1908: 260 and Hogg & Fulk 2011: 260-261)

present				preterite			
	indic.	subj.	imper.			indic.	subj.
sing.	1	*fremme*	*fremme*		sing.	1	*fremede*	*fremede*
	2	*frem(e)st*	*fremme*	*freme*		2	*fremedest*	*fremede*
	3	*frem(e)þ*	*fremme*			3	*fremede*	*fremede*
plur.		*fremmaþ*	*fremmen*	*fremmaþ*	plur.		*fremedon*	*fremeden*
infinitive	pres part.			past part.			
fremman	*fremmende*			*gefremed*			

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Table 2. Weak verbs: Class II exemplified by *sealfian* 'to anoint' (based on and Wright & Wright 1908: 268 and Hogg & Fulk 2011: 280)

present				preterite			
		indic.	subj.	imper.			indic.	subj.
sing.	1	*sealfie*	*sealfie*		sing.	1	*sealfode*	*sealfode*
	2	*sealfast*	*sealfie*	*sealfa*		2	*sealfodest*	*sealfode*
	3	*sealfaþ*	*sealfie*			3	*sealfode*	*sealfode*
plur.		*sealfiaþ*	*sealfien*	*sealfiaþ*	plur.		*sealfodon*	*sealfoden*
infinitive *sealfian*	pres part. *sealfiende*			past part. *gesealfod*			

Table 3. Weak verbs: Class III exemplified by *habban* 'to have' (based on Wright & Wright 1908: 271 and Hogg & Fulk 2011: 290)

present				Preterite			
		indic.	subj.	imper.			indic.	subj.
sing.	1	*hæbbe*	*hæbbe*		sing.	1	*hæfde*	*hæfde*
	2	*hæfst*	*hæbbe*	*hafa*		2	*hæfdest*	*hæfde*
	3	*hæfþ*	*hæbbe*			3	*hæfde*	*hæfde*
plur.		*habbaþ*	*hæbben*	*habbaþ*	plur.		*hæfdon*	*hæfden*

infinitive	pres part.	past part.
habban	*hæbbende*	*gehæfd*

Table 4. Strong verbs: Classes (based on Wright & Wright 1908: 247-257)

	present	pret. singular	pret. plural	past part.
class I	ī	ā	i	i
class II	ēo	ēa	u	o
class III a	i	a	u	u
class III b	e	ea	u	o
class III c	eo	ea	u	o
class IV	e	æ	ǣ	o
class V	e	æ	ǣ	e
class VI	a	ō	ō	a / ae
class VII a	ā	ē	ē	ā
class VII b	ǣ	ē	ē	ǣ
class VII c	ō	ē	ē	a
class VII d	ēa	ēo	ēo	ēa
class VII e	ea	ēo	ēo	ea

Table 5. Strong verbs: Accidence (based on Hogg 1992: 148)

		present					preterite	
		indic.	subj.	imper.			indic.	subj.
sing.	1	-e	-e		sing.	1	-∅	-e
	2	-est	-e	-∅		2	-e	-e
	3	-eð	-e			3	-∅	-e
plur.		-að	-en	-að	plur.		-on	-en
infinitive		pres part.			past part.			
-an		-ende			-en			

During the history of the English language, weak verbs have always been the dominant pattern (the most frequent type of verb), with strong verbs adding up to no more than 300 or 400 in the Old English days (367 according to Branchaw 2010a: 87) – a number that was "constantly decreasing" (Blake 1996: 66-67). Weak verbs have also been the productive class (Stark 1982: 8), which means that any new verb that entered the Old English language would be classed as weak by the speakers, especially class II weak verbs (Kastovsky 1992: 395). However, despite class II being the productive class, class I was still the most common type of weak verbs, and not only that, but also the largest group of Old English verbs overall (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 258; Tío Sáenz 2015: 79). In fact, the designation of the weak classes originally referred to the frequency of these verbs, with class I being the most common one and class III the least frequently attested (Stark 1982:

11).[6] Taking into account that weak verbs were the productive and dominant pattern, it is safe to assume that they were also the stable inflectional pattern, with strong verbs being the unstable pattern (Anderwald 2009: 44; see section 1.3).

Many strong verbs have become weak throughout the history of the English language. However, the timeframe for this change is problematic, as it has long been associated with the Middle English period. Branchaw states that "in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the [strong verb] system began to break down in a serious way" (2010a: 87), and Fertig signals the year 1100 as the earliest attestations of analogical regularisation in strong verbs (2013: 2). Similarly, Lass postulates that this process of strong verbs transferring to the weak conjugation was "common all through the [Middle English] period, but increased in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries" (1992: 133). In fact, the number of strong verbs decreased so effectively that by the Early Modern English period (16th century onwards) the number of purely strong verbs had shrunk to 72 (Branchaw 2010a: 87, according to the list in Quirk et al 1985: 114-120).

Not all scholars agree with this timeframe in regards to the regularisation of Old English strong verbs, however. In his 1994 monograph, Krygier studied the process causing English strong verbs to become weak from the Old English times until the 15th century. His study includes several forms from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, but is not restricted to it. His main aim is to determine which factors caused strong verbs to undergo the shift. In the Old English section of his study, he looks at the influence of phonology in the shift from strong to weak, concluding that verbs with single sonorants in the coda were less likely to undergo the process, and verbs with a dental consonant in the coda were more

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[6] This refers to type frequency, not token frequency; i.e. class III was the least commonly found class of weak verbs, but the verbs in class III were very commonly used.

susceptible to the shift (Krygier 1994: 71, 75); however, no "phonological factor could be held solely responsible for the strong-to-weak shift" (Krygier 1994: 253). In terms of class, Old English class IV verbs are unlikely to become weak, according to Krygier (1994: 76). This could be due to the small number of verbs belonging to this class or to their root structure, as a majority of them present a single /r/ or /l/ (sonorant consonants) after the vowel, which, as explained above, is a factor that prevents the shift, according to Krygier (1994: 71, 75). On the other hand, classes VI and VII favour the change. Krygier hypothesises that this could be due to the fact that both these classes have identical vowels in the preterite singular and plural ($\bar{o}$ for class VI and $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{e}o$ for class VII, depending on the subtype), and this uniformity might have contributed to the shift (1994:76). Moreover, the ablaut series in classes VI and VII contrasts directly with class IV, which has different vowels in all four forms and seems to resist the change to weak. Krygier also points to Old Norse influence as a factor in the change from strong to weak in Old Northumbrian, as one could hypothesise that strong verbs with Old Norse weak counterparts were likely to undergo this shift. His results in this respect are, however, not significant (Krygier 1994: 78-79). Outside of the Old English period, the influence of Norman French has been signalled out as a main influencing factor after the Conquest, as French speakers reanalysed English strong verbs with dental elements as weak, and as their speech was considered prestigious and fashionable, English native speakers adopted the feature too, but expanding it to all kinds of strong verbs (Krygier 1994: 251-253). For my own study, I will take into account all of the variables analysed by Krygier. Other studies on the shift from strong to weak verbs, such as Hooper's (1976), take frequency into account, concluding that the less frequent a verb is, the more likely it is to undergo this process of regularisation. This variable will also be taken into account in my study.

Moreover, changes in the English verbal system also occur today. In Present-Day English, it is not uncommon to see the innovative form *thunk* as a past participle for *think*, which speakers have based on models such as *sink-sank-sunk* (Fertig 2013: 1). Regularisation is seen, for instance, in the elimination of third person present *–s* in many English dialects, especially African-American English (Williams 1987: 174). Non-standard weak participles of irregular verbs are still in use in some Present-Day English dialects, rendering forms such as *sellt* instead of *sold* and *knowed* instead of *knew* (Anderwald 2009: 62). The use of weak past tense forms for irregular verbs in Present-Day English shows that, generally, high-frequency words are less affected, and no noticeable regional distribution is recorded, although they are slightly more common in Scotland (Anderwald 2009: 67-70).

1.3. Theoretical framework

Past tense formation in English in a weak vs. strong (or regular vs. irregular) dichotomy has been discussed in different theoretical frameworks. Anderwald has summarised and explained all of these in great detail in her work (2009: 17-48). Hence, I will follow her and give an overview of these theories, focusing mainly on the approach I have decided to use (a combination of the Network Model and Natural Morphology).

Chomsky and Halle were the first to "attempt [...] deriving the different past tense forms in a generative framework" in 1968 (Anderwald 2009: 18). They propose that irregular verbs can be systematised following the Vowel Shift Rule, which they define as "the pivotal process of Modern English phonology" (Chomsky & Halle 1968: 187).[7] However, their theory cannot explain the English verbal system without a number of *ad hoc* rules to account for backness, rounding, and tenseness of tense vowels (see Chomsky and Halle

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[7] Not to be confused with the Great Vowel Shift.

1968: 188-219) and does a poor job of accounting for strong verb ablaut in the history of English (see Anderwald 2009: 18-21 for a criticism of this theory). Another theory that attempts to explain the English verbal system under a generative framework is Lexical Phonology and Morphology. This approach postulates that lexicon is arranged in strata (i.e. layers), with lexicon entries stored at the base and morphological rules stored at different strata. According to this method, "the difference between strong and weak past tense forms are accounted for simply by affixation on different [strata]" (Anderwald 2009: 25). That is, strong verbs are created in Stratum 1 and regular verbs add past tense suffixation in Stratum 2. Once Stratum 1 is applied, it blocks the process in Stratum 2. For example, past tense forms like *rode* are created at Stratum 1, then "they must by-pass" the regular *–ed* addition process that takes place at Stratum 2 to avoid a wrong form like *roded* (Katamba & Stonham 2006: 101). The problem with this theory, as with Chomsky & Halle's proposal, is that it cannot account for the majority of strong verbs, as it disregards verbs that are identical throughout the whole paradigm (*hit – hit – hit*), or weak verbs with an additional vowel change (*mean – meant – meant*), among other issues (see Anderwald 2009: 25).

In contrast to the stratum theory we find Optimality Theory, which proposes a parallel model that relies on three basic components: GEN (from "generate"), universal constraints, and EVAL (from "evaluate"). GEN "constructs candidate output forms [...] and it specifies a relation between [them] and the input" (McCarthy 2002: 8). GEN is universal, meaning that "the forms emitted by GEN for a given input are the same in every language" (McCarthy 2002: 8). GEN's output is constrained by a finite number of constraints, which are ranked hierarchically. In this theory, constraints are universal, but constraint ranking is language-specific (Anderwald 2009: 27). The third component, EVAL, "imposes a harmonic ordering on all the candidates" (McCarthy 2002: 6), which

means that it evaluates the GEN output against the hierarchy of constraints, rendering an optimal candidate. Constraints fall into two different categories: faithfulness and markedness. Faithfulness constraints "require identity between the input and the output candidate [using GEN]" (McCarthy 2002: 13), while markedness constraints "evaluate the form of the output candidate" (McCarthy 2002: 13). This theory works well in phonology, with universal constraints such as 'syllables must not have a coda', but it is unclear how it could be applied to morphology (Anderwald 2009: 30). For example, in the case of past formation, a universal constraint would have to be 'add –ed'. However, this does not work for strong verbs, nor does it account for other languages. Stipulating language-specific constraints, then, "leads Optimality Theory *ad absurdum*" (Anderwald 2009: 31). The Stochastic Optimality Theory (Boersma & Hayes 2001) proposes a variation of Optimality Theory in which constraints are not ranked absolutely, but rather "it assumes a continuous scale of constraint strictness" (Boersma & Hayes 2001: 45). Nonetheless, this theory does not present a model for the past tense.

On the other hand, psycholinguistic theories have tried to explain the English past tense as an example of "the distinction between two fundamentally different psychological mechanisms, [...] the creation of rules [...], and word storage" (Anderwald 2009: 33). This theory implies that there is a clear-cut distinction in people's psyches between strong and weak verbs: strong verbs need their past tenses to be stored in the lexicon, while for weak past tense forms only the stem needs to be memorised. In sum, this is a dual-route hypothesis, whereby processes of remembering are used for strong forms and processes of rule application are used for weak verbs. However, weak forms may also be memorised if they are very frequent, such is the case of the doublets *dove/dived* and *dreamed/dreamt*, where people's judgment of the regular forms depends on how often they used them (Pinker 1999: 137-139). According to Anderwald (2009: 36), the effects of frequency

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seem to have been added to this theory *ad hoc*, which has a "watering down" effect on the original purpose of the postulation.

In contrast to the dual-route nature of psycholinguistic theories we find Connectionism, the study of artificial neural networks (Daugherty & Seidenberg 1994: 353). Connectionist approaches present a single-route theory, which means only one mechanism is used to explain past formation and there is no difference between strong and weak inflections. For the study of the English past tense, Daugherty & Seidenberg propose a model in three layers that takes the phonological form of the present tense of a monosyllabic verb as input and produces the corresponding past tense form as an output (Daugherty & Seidenberg 1994: 368). These three layers are: phonological representation (where every phonemic segment is represented by a pattern of activation such as back, labial, etc.), network architecture (with three layers: input, hidden, and output; where the output and input layers have the same interpretation and are fully connected to the hidden layer), and training and scoring output (where a phonological form of the present is activated on the input unit and a past form is generated). The combination of these three layers results in a model that was able to learn all the regular items (1994: 368-375). However, Daugherty & Seidenberg recognise in their own work that their model does "not address all the phenomena concerning the past tense" (1994: 383), and connectionist approaches have been heavily criticised as they "do not consistently come up with the correct past tense forms [and] often bring up utter nonsense" (Anderwald 2009: 37).

A theoretical framework that takes a different approach is Bybee's Network model (1985, 1995). This theory stems from the belief that people do not speak in isolated morphemes or words; therefore, units of memory may store multiple morphemes and even multiple words (Bybee & Hopper 2001: 8). The units that are stored then form "a network based on the user's experience with language, and from this network, recurrent patterns emerge"

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(Bybee & Hopper 2001: 8). Her model can be summarised in four key points (Bybee 1985:117-134):

1. Words are represented in the lexicon as having varying lexical strength, which is increased every time a phonological and semantic match is made between a stored word and a word in processing. Lexical strength is both gradient (matches can be direct or closely related) and dynamic (it changes with use and can become more or less strong over time). A complex form may have its own representation and its own individual strength if it is frequent enough.

2. Lexical connections vary in closeness depending on the number and nature of the features constituting the connection. Words can be connected in the semantic plane (e.g. *mouse* and *rat* are both members of the supracategory *rodents*) or in the phonological plane (i.e. phonological similarity between two words: e.g. *sing* and *sang* are more closely related than *bring* and *brought*). If words are connected both semantically and phonologically, then a morphological relation is created. Semantic connections are the strongest category and the most important in determining the closeness between two given words. However, morphological relations (which consist of semantic and phonological connections) are the strongest sort of connection between words. The degree of closeness in morphological relations depends on three factors: (i) the aforementioned semantic relation, (ii) phonological similarity, and (iii) frequency, with high-frequency words creating more distant lexical connections than low-frequency words. Psychological connections may also happen; this is evidenced in innovations such as *goed** instead of *went*. As with lexical strength, lexical connection is also a gradient and dynamic notion.

3. Words that are morphologically complex, regular, and low-frequency are mapped onto representations with the shared semantic and phonological features.

4. Words that are morphologically complex, irregular, and high-frequency have their own lexical representations, but are associated by means of lexical connections with morphologically-related words.

As evidenced above, frequency plays a large part in determining lexical strength in the Network Model, which in turn makes words more or less connected to each other: high-frequency items are more independent or opaque, while lesser frequency items are linked to each other (see Bybee 1985: 111-135). Bybee also distinguishes source-oriented and product-oriented schemas. In the case of the English preterite tense, weak verbs would form a source-oriented schema, as they follow traditional rules (adding suffix –*ed*), while strong verbs are product-oriented schemas, in which "morphologically complex forms are linked to each other, based on family resemblances" (Anderwald 2009: 39). For example, the verb *string – strung – strung* is a product-oriented schema and because the connections in this pattern are so strong, the schema is extended to new verbs like *strike – struck – struck* despite this verb having /aɪ/ in the present tense and not /ɪ/ (Bybee 1985: 130-131, see also Anderwald 2009: 39). Moreover, Bybee postulates that the task of generation of English irregular (strong) past forms is a lexical retrieval task for a speaker and does not involve its generation from an underlying form by the addition of feature-changing rules (Bybee 1985: 113).

The Network Model is related to Natural Morphology as both come to similar conclusions, but Bybee's model explains how and why token and type frequencies behave differently, while Natural Morphology does not (Anderwald 2009: 39). Natural Morphology is a dual-route theory which postulates that irregular inflections appear in the lexicon plane while regular inflections are produced by rules (Anderwald 2009: 45).

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This model is concerned with naturalness, which is defined as "the overriding factor [morphologically]" in language change (Anderwald 2009: 40). Determining what is and is not natural involves external and typological evidence. The former includes facts about language acquisition, language change, and speech disorders, among others, while the latter includes implicational universals (Carstairs-McArthy 1992: 216). Naturalness is related to markedness and iconicity, which are closely connected. Markedness applies to morphological content. For example, in grammatical number, the plural is more marked than the singular because it is "textually less frequent" (Carstairs-McArthy 1992: 217) and because, in many languages, the singular can be used to refer to collectives, while a plural is rarely used to refer to individuals. This type of coding where item A is more marked than item B is called iconic. Number coding in English can be maximally iconic (*dog* vs. *dogs*) or minimally iconic (*sheep* vs. *sheep*). Unmarked and iconic items are said to be more natural (Carstairs-McArthy 1992: 217).

In this model, weak verbs are defined as maximally iconic, regular and unmarked, while strong verbs are minimally iconic, regular and marked, as their "irregularity" follows a pattern (the seven different classes of strong verbs, see Table 4 in section 1.2) and therefore can show a degree of regularity, but they are marked in opposition to weak verbs. The natural model is also concerned with uniformity (one marker corresponding to one factor; Anderwald 2009: 42). In this sense, weak verbs are the most *natural* category, which is why the switch from strong to weak verbs constitutes a "natural development" (Anderwald 2009: 66), as any change leading from marked to unmarked is natural. Moreover, naturalness is related to paradigm economy, which postulates that "only affixal inflection" is relevant, as opposed to patterns of ablaut (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992: 233). This, again, explains why strong verbs change into the weak pattern and not the other way around. Naturalness is, however, a matter of degree, which is why an *unnatural*

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morphological pattern may sometimes be successful (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992: 217). For example, even though the switch from strong to weak verbs is natural, sometimes the opposite change may happen.

The combination of Bybee's Network model and Natural Morphology constitutes the theoretical framework for this thesis. Both these models discuss two key points in the strong-to-weak transformation of Old English verbs and the vowel transference in preterite vowels. Natural Morphology brings up the point of uniformity (i.e. regularisation) and paradigm economy, while the Network Model talks about frequency and similarity, which, in other words, summarises the concept of analogy (with which I deal later in this section).

As stated above, Natural Morphology is concerned with regularisation and paradigm economy. These are both processes of simplification, a driving force in language change. This is due to the fact that speakers tend to seek "permissible shortcuts" in their language production (Williams 1987: 169). Paradigm economy is related to the principle of economy of production: a process whereby language production is made more efficient and economical, resulting at times in loss of specificity (Williams 1987: 169). Economy of production often takes the road of regularisation, i.e., the application of a rule to a pattern that was not previously subjected to it. Both the regularisation to weak and the transference of preterite vowels in Old Northumbrian strong verbs are simplification processes under the guise of regularisation.

On the other hand, the Network Model touches on the concept of analogy by stating frequency and similarity as the key points in language change. Analogy is defined by David Crystal as "a term used in historical and comparative linguistics, and in language acquisition, referring to a process of regularization which affects the exceptional forms in the grammar of a language" (2008: 24). In a process of analogy, the patterns with the

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highest type frequency are generally the ones more likely to be imitated (Fertig 2013: 113), which explains why strong verbs became weak and not vice versa. Analogical change is often regarded as an "optimisation" of the morphological system (Fertig 2013: 104), and thus, this phenomenon follows a principle of economy of production. Again, this is why strong verbs became weak and not the other way around. Not only were weak verbs more common (higher in type frequency), they were also more regular (i.e. they present less alternation) and therefore easier for speakers to produce.

However, processes of analogy cannot be random. The factors that lead a speaker to produce a new analogical form should be the same as those that lead to the acceptance of this new form by the community (Bloomfield 1993: 405). To put it simply, only changes that make sense to all of the speakers will succeed. This is due to the fact that analogical change makes use of proportional equations such as *stone – stones = cow – X*. That is to say, on the basis of singular – plural pairs such as a *stone – stones*, a speaker will determine that the way to form plurals in English is by adding *–s* (Fertig 2013: 15-16). On the other hand, a hypothetical analogical innovation using an equation such as *four – formation = two – X (X = twomation)* would most likely not be successful, as for most English speakers there is no morphological relationship between *four* and *formation* (Fertig 2013: 16). Processes of analogy can be classified into two different categories, to which I will briefly refer below on the basis of Fertig's categorisation (2013: 4):

a) Analogical formation: a form produced by a speaker on the basis of patterns discerned across other forms belonging to the same linguistic system (see proportional equations above).

b) Analogical innovation: an analogical formation that deviates from current norms of usage (see the hypothetical proportional equation of *twomation* above).

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The regularisation of strong verbs can be considered as a case of analogical formation, as it takes the preterite-formation process of another existing paradigm in the language (weak verbs). Crystal includes the regularisation of strong verbs as an example of analogical formation in his definition, albeit with a different nomenclature: "processes of analogical creation are one of the main tendencies in the history of languages, as when verbs which had an irregular past tense form in Old English came to be produced with the regular -*ed* ending, e.g. *healp* becoming *helped*" (Crystal 2008: 24). The regularisation of strong verbs is also used as an example of analogy in Fertig's (2013) study on analogy and morphological change. He explains that until the late 14th century, the past tense of *bake* was formed like that of *take* and *shake*. However, by a process of analogy with weak verbs, speakers started to form the past tense and participle as *baked*. This form "caught on and became established as the new normal" (Fertig 2013: 2).

Having established the definition and classification of analogical processes, one should look at the mechanisms behind morphological change for a further understanding of the process. One of the main motivators behind analogy is a process of reanalysis. Reanalysis is defined by Trask as a process whereby "a word, which historically has one particular morphological structure comes to be perceived by speakers as having a second, quite different structure" (1996: 102). In the case of strong verbs that became weak, for example, speakers reanalysed the strong forms as weak. Therefore, the regularisation of strong verbs is an analogical formation motivated by reanalysis. It must be mentioned, however, that not all scholars agree on the relationship between reanalysis and analogy. Fischer suggests that "reanalysis is considered primary and analogy secondary" (2016: 245). Some scholars treat these two processes as two complementary aspects of grammatical change, as I do in my analysis; others classify reanalysis under analogy, while other scholars consider analogy a type of reanalysis. A full account on these three

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positions with references can be found in Fertig (2013: 21-22). I agree with Fischer (2016) that reanalysis is primary, as it is the force that sometimes motivates analogy, and that is why I subscribe to the theory that these two processes are complementary, as one prompts the other. For example, in the word *bikini*, *bi* was reanalysed by speakers as being a prefix meaning 'two' and therefore, by analogy with other existing words in the language such as *biennial* and *triennial*, the word *trikini* to refer to a three-piece bathing suit was born, as did *monokini* to refer to a topless bathing suit. As Fischer puts it, "a new interpretation of a construction occurs first, after which it may expand by means of analogy" (2016: 246).

Morphological reanalysis can be separated into two different categories: resegmentation and revaluation. Resegmentation affects the location of grammatical boundaries (between stem and affix, for example, OE *forgifen + -ess* becoming *forgive + ness* on the basis of the common derivative suffix *-nesse*), while revaluation affects the meaning, grammatical function or category of a linguistic element (e.g. a derivational affix becoming inflectional, as in the case of English *–ing*; Fertig 2013: 27). In the case of the regularisation of Old English strong verbs, the term *revaluation* should be used, since strong verbs were revaluated as weak verbs and therefore conjugated as such, with a dental suffix. Moreover, there are four different types of reanalysis, labelled by Fertig as A-D reanalysis (2013: 28-37):

1) A-reanalysis: a type of reanalysis whereby the property of the input is reassessed, which results in a change in the conditions for the application of the rule. This type of reanalysis happens, for instance, when "affixes that could previously only be attached to nouns [...] come to be used with verbs as well" (Fertig 2013: 35), like Proto-Germanic *-ga-* (English *–y* and German and Dutch *–ig*), which could

only be used with nouns and adjectives and is now attached to verbal bases in English (*sleepy*, *runny*), German, and Dutch (Fertig 2013: 35).

2) B-reanalysis: This type of reanalysis is exemplified by the hypothetical *twomation* equation shown above. It involves the creation of a new rule where previously there was none or which replaces an existing rule with a new one. These rules may arise as innovations in child speech, such as the verb 'to beece', stemming from the belief that 'to ace' a test means getting an A (therefore, A = ace, B = beece). B-type reanalysis may also involve changing what existing rules do, rather than creating new rules. This can be seen in the new formative –*sicle* (*popsicle*, *creamsicle*), which is the reanalysis of *icicle* (*ice + ickle*; see Fertig 2013: 32-33).

3) C-reanalysis: a type of reanalysis that transforms words that were previously not affected by a rule into candidates for said rule. For example, the weak inflection for verbs in English with a dental suffix (-*ed*) is considered the "default" option for all verbs (Fertig 2013: 30).

4) D-reanalysis: a type of reanalysis that "opens the door for an overt innovation by affecting a traditional form that previously blocked a regular operation from applying to a particular item" (Fertig 2013: 36). This can be seen in the revaluation of an irregular past participle as a lexicalised adjective in Germanic languages, which in turn introduces a new, regular past participle, i.e. *sodden* from *seethe*, which coexisted with *seethed* (Fertig 2013: 28).

Following this set of categories, the regularisation of Old English strong verbs should be classified as C-reanalysis, as strong verbs, which were previously not affected by the rule of addition of a dental suffix to form the preterite tense and past participle, have now become candidates for that rule.

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As for analogy, there are different types of analogical change, such as proportional and non-proportional analogy, with proportional analogy being the creation of a new form based on a known relationship (such as *stone – stones*, *cow –* X [*cows*]), and non-proportional analogy being the modification of something old (e.g. reinterpreting *hamburger* as a compound word, therefore creating new expressions such as *chicken burger*, *veggie burger*, etc.; Fertig 2013: 47). However, it must be noted that the differentiation between proportional and non-proportional analogy has been deemed "not always clear or relevant" (Campbell 1998: 90) by other scholars.

Both proportional and non-proportional analogy can be classified into different subtypes. Subtypes of non-proportional analogy include folk etymology (see *hamburger* example above), confusion of similar-sounding words (of which I have examples in my data, see section 8.1), contamination (English *femelle* becoming *female* due to influence of the word *male*), blends (*breakfast + lunch = brunch*), and double marking of grammatical categories (non-standard plurals such as *feets*, non-standard pasts such as *camed*, etc.). There are also subtypes of proportional analogy, such as four-part analogy (the classic equations, see *stone – stones* example above), extension (extending the *–s* plural to items that originally indicated number in a different form, such as *eyen* becoming *eyes*), backformation (formation of a shorter word from an already existing term by means of deleting an affix; Crystal 2008: 49. E.g. *to burgle* entered the language later than *burglar*; *OED* s.v. *backformation*, n. and *burgle*, v.), and regularisation and irregularisation (see Fertig 2013: 43-70 for a full account of all these processes). Within proportional analogy, regularisation and irregularisation are, as their names indicate, the processes whereby a word or structure becomes a part of the regular pattern if it was irregular and vice versa. The change of strong to weak verbs would be an example of regularisation, while the shift

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of some verbs out of the regular –*ed* tense marker in Present-Day English (i.e. *quit*) would be an example of irregularisation (Fertig 2013: 56).

The regularisation of strong verbs in English also involves analogical extension, another subtype of proportional analogy (see above). This process is defined as "the generalisation of a morpheme or relation which already exists in the language into new situations or forms" (McMahon 1994: 71). In this case, the dental ending –*ed* is generalised to strong verbs too.

To sum up, the regularisation of strong verbs in the history of English can be considered a process of proportional analogical formation motivated by C-type reanalysis and, more specifically, revaluation resulting in regularisation by analogical extension.

A phenomenon that is similar to analogical extension is paradigm levelling. This term refers to the "gradual loss of a linguistic distinction" within a paradigm (Crystal 2008: 275) and it can be "thought of as implementing an association of one form with one meaning" (McMahon 1994: 74). While analogical extension involves patterns, paradigm levelling involves individual paradigms (McMahon 1994: 73). An analogical process I explore in this thesis is vowel transference, which will be dealt with in chapter 7. This is a form of paradigm levelling, as the adoption of a single form for the preterite instead of two is a result of regularisation (application of a single rule to a whole paradigm) leading to paradigm levelling.

There is no consensus on what the role of paradigm levelling within analogical theory is (see Fertig 2013: 70-76 for a full account of previous literature on this issue). In Fertig's words, paradigm levelling presents "special problems for analogical theory", as it is hard to classify as a proportional or non-proportional process (2013: 71). Some scholars have argued that levelling can be considered proportional as "the emergence of paradigm

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uniformity is always the imposition of an existing pattern on a non-uniform paradigm" (Garrett 2008: 142). Similarly, Campbell (1998: 92) classifies levelling as a proportional analogical change without further explanation. Other scholars, however, have advocated for the non-proportional nature of levelling by arguing that it "does not require a non-alternating model paradigm" (Kiparsky 1992: 58). In my own view, levelling is proportional, as it is the result of applying an existing pattern to an irregular structure.

In sum, the theoretical framework of this study is a combination of the Network Model and Natural Morphology. The shifts in the verbs studied in this thesis will be explained in terms of analogical extension (the shift from strong to weak verbs) and paradigm levelling (vowel transference between the singular and the plural), both of which can be seen as processes driven by the forces of regularisation, simplification and economy of the verbal system.

2. The *Lindisfarne Gospels*

2.1. Historical and geographical context

The island of Lindisfarne, also known as Holy Island, is a small island located off the coast of the county of Northumberland, North-West England, bordering with Scotland, in the North Sea. The isle is accessible by foot at low tide via a natural path across the sand, which was and still is the route used by pilgrims to visit the priory. However, at high tide twice a day, the island is cut off from any exterior communication for hours at a time, which probably made for an ideal location to 7th-century monks, allowing them to remain isolated and focus on their works, while at the same time not completely blocking their comings and goings as members of religious missions. The name of the isle could make reference to the first settlers or visitors to set foot on the island: *Lindis-* referring to Lindsey, in modern Lincolnshire, and *–faran* meaning 'travellers', suggesting that the toponymy refers to the people who travelled to, or from, the island (Brown 2003: 15).

The first contact Britain had with Christianity was during the time of the Roman occupation, when the native Celts were converted to their faith. By the 3rd century, Christianity was starting to become a bit more prominent in the Britain again, with bishops from London and York attending a council in Gaul in 314 (Baugh & Cable 1978: 45). After the end of Roman ruling in Britain came the arrival of the non-Christian Anglo-Saxons, and thus the Christian faith became isolated (Hogg 1992: 10).

The first missionaries to arrive in the Anglo-Saxon world trying to spread their faith in the British Isles came from Rome and under the orders of Pope Gregory the Great during what is known as Augustine's mission in the year 597 AD (Backhouse 1981: 20). This was, then, not a conversion of Britain but rather a conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in a place where Christianity already existed. Augustine's mission definitely "gave a new

impetus to British Christianity" (Hogg 1992: 10). The Christianization of Northumbria in particular didn't take place until years after the first mission, during King Edwin's ruling (617 - 633) in the year 627 AD, under the leadership of Aidan, founder of the monastery of Lindisfarne (Hogg 1992: 10).

The 7th and 8th centuries were "among the most artistically productive in the whole of English history" (Backhouse 1981: 62); and especially, Lindisfarne and the region of Northumbria were a focal point of cultural and religious activity during the time the Gospels were written, as this kingdom held not only political leadership over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during this time, but also a leadership in literature and learning (Baugh & Cable 1978: 49). Northumbria lived a true golden age during the 8th century, particularly "the two or three decades on either side of the year 700" (Backhouse 1981: 62), as the quote below reflects:

> While Canterbury was so important a seminary of learning, there was, in the Anglian region of Northumbria, a development of religious and intellectual life which makes it natural to regard the whole brilliant period from the later seventh to the early ninth century as the Anglian Period… Anglia became for a century the light-spot of European history; and we here recognise the first great stāge in the revival of learning, and the first movement towards the establishment of public order in things temporal and spiritual (Earle 1884, cited in Skeat 1912: 14)

The great majority of the earliest Old English literary material came from Anglia rather than the southern regions (Hogg 1992: 11), but this golden age manifested itself not only in writing, as exemplified by the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the works of the Venerable Bede (ca. 672-735), but also in other arts such as painting, sculpture, and metalwork.

The monastery was built in Lindisfarne in a Celtic style around the year 635 AD, where it stood until its dissolution in 1537, with a chasm in religious activity for three centuries

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in between 875 and the 12th century. A few years after the construction of the priory, in 664, Cuthbert arrived in Holy Island. He became bishop in 685, and although his ruling was short – he died only two years later, in 687 – he became an icon and cult figure for the community of brethren in Lindisfarne, where his remains were kept for years. Christianity transformed the Anglo-Saxon society, but it was the cult of Saint Cuthbert that transformed the North and its particular identity after Cuthbert's relics were translated to the altar in Lindisfarne eleven years after his death in 698. This shrine in Holy Island became a pilgrimage site. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* are just one example of the devotion the community had for their former bishop, and later beatified cleric, Saint Cuthbert, whose memory was also honoured by commissioning Bede with the work of *Life of Cuthbert*, a memoir recounting Cuthbert's life and miracles.

Although there is no conclusive evidence pointing to the production of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* on the island of Lindisfarne, it is generally accepted that the Gospel book was written there. The original manuscript travelled with the community of Saint Cuthbert, in whose honour it was penned, after they were forced to leave the island due to Viking attacks starting in 793, when Cuthbert's shrine was destroyed and many monks killed. This was the first major Viking raid in the North-East of the country, and it was perpetrated by the Danes, as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Blake 1996: 75).

After the Viking raids, the community of Saint Cuthbert in Lindisfarne had to flee the island and relocated to Chester-le-Street, in the county of Durham. Nonetheless, the community held a bond with the island even after relocating to Durham, and in the year 995 Bishop Aldhun still called himself 'Bishop of Lindisfarne' (Brown 2003: 89). By 883, the relics of Saint Cuthbert and the Gospels, among many other treasures, had found a new home. By 995, however, the community was forced once again to abandon their safe haven upon the news of new Viking attacks in their vicinity. They travelled south

and established themselves at Ripon, North Yorkshire, only to embark on a return journey a few months later where "the saint [Cuthbert] miraculously indicated that he wished a new home to be established for him at Durham" (Backhouse 1981: 87). By the 12th century, "Cuthbert's cult was securely centred upon his tomb shrine at Durham cathedral" (Whitehead 2019: 123). While the *Lindisfarne Gospels* can now be found at the British Library in London (MS Cotton Nero D IV), the relics of Saint Cuthbert have remained in the city of Durham until the present day.

The constant fleeing of the community from the Scandinavian invasions did not mean they did not have a relationship of sorts with the new settlers. This relationship can also be attested through linguistic analysis due to the large number of Scandinavian loan-words that seeped into the Old English language. Even in the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* we can find several of these loan-words, most likely prompted by business deals between the community of Saint Cuthbert and the Scandinavians (see section 2.4).

In any case, the community's departure from the island did not mean the end of Lindisfarne as a focal religious point. The vast array of 9th- and 10th-century sculpture kept in the Lindisfarne Priory Museum, as well as archaeological remains of different settlement sites in the island from the same periods, show that Holy Island "remained an important focus and religious centre with an associated population" (Brown 2003: 89).

2.2. The manuscript of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*

The Latin text on the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is what is commonly known as Saint Jerome's *Vulgata*, which is the Latin translation of the Bible (from the original Hebrew) made in the 4th century by St Jerome, and that became the officially promulgated version by the

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church after the Council of Trent in the 16th century, long after the production of the Gospels in the Holy Island of Lindisfarne.[8]

Aldred's colophon (discussed in greater detail in section 2.5) identifies Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne (698-721), as the scribe of the manuscript, while his successor Ethilvald (721-740) was in charge of the cover, and the gold and gems decorative element was by the hand of anchorite Billfrith (Macalister 1913: 299). Aldred's colophon does not give any exact details about when Billfrith may have carried out his task, but it has been argued that his work was commissioned by Bishop Ethilvald (Brown 2016: 19).

Aldred's colophon is our only source of evidence for the men mentioned above to have been involved in the writing of the manuscript. Without it, "attribution of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* to Lindisfarne is a plausible hypothesis, but no more certain than that, not a reliable fixed point" (Nees 2003: 373). While the colophon is an unreliable historical document, it must be borne in mind that Aldred is "not the fabricator of the book's story, but his inheritor" (Roberts 2016: 41). One of the reasons for doubting Aldred's word is based on the fact that it seems unlikely that only four people would have been involved in such an enormous task as the production of the Gospels, and it is possible that Aldred may have just mentioned the most illustrious ones (Cole 2016: 173). However, it remains a possibility that the names of the makers of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* could have been written in the original binding of the book (now lost), as is the case in the 10th-century Gospel book Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16 (Roberts 2016: 41).

Scholars have argued that, if Eadfrith was indeed the scribe in charge of the composition of the Gospels, it is likely that he undertook the task before becoming bishop in 698. However, it would make sense that a task as delicate and important as this one would

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[8] It is worth noting that the traditional link of the book with the cult of St Cuthbert has no foundation in evidence (Marsden 2017: 178), and therefore we cannot be sure the Gospels were written in Lindisfarne.

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have been entrusted to the highest ranked person in the community, even if his busy schedule as a bishop meant it would take longer to be completed (Brown 2003: 40). The manuscript of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* includes not only the four canonical Gospels of the New Testament – namely, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John – but it is also preceded by a letter from Saint Jerome to Pope Damasus, who had commissioned the new revision of the Bible, as well as a prologue before Matthew's Gospel. There is also a short introduction before each of the Gospels and a list of festivities on which each of the passages of the corresponding Gospel should be read. As Backhouse (1981: 17) points out, this list should not be of greater importance was it not for the fact that some of the festivities that appear reflected in the Gospels include Saint Januarius (patron Saint of Naples) and also mention the basilica of Saint Stephen, which points to Eadfrith having used an imported Gospel book from Italy, specifically Naples (Marsden 2017: 184) as the source for his own manuscript.

The text is written following the patterns of the Insular script – developed in Ireland and characterised by the Insular majuscule or decorated initials – on sheets of fine *vellum* (calf skin), and the pages of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are also beautifully decorated. Each one of the four Gospels is preceded by a full page illustration, alongside 11 other fully decorated pages. On top of that, there are also another 16 pages that include Eusebian canon tables (the system used for dividing the Gospels during the Middle Ages, as opposed to verses and chapters, used in modern texts) , which are decorated and confined between arches. The style of these drawings shows two different influences. On the one hand, the illustrations preceding each of the Gospels have a clear Mediterranean influence, which corroborates the hypothesis of Eadfrith having borrowed an Italian Gospel book as a source from which to make his own manuscript. On the other hand, the canon tables seem to display insular influences, although some of the motifs used in the

arches are also commonly used in Mediterranean art (Backhouse 1981: 44). As well as the main decorated pages, there are also illustrations surrounding initials in an insular style (Backhouse 1981: 58). Billfrith's original metalwork binding was replaced in the 19th century under the command of Dr Edward Maltby, Bishop of Durham. There are no records left of the original.

Aldred's colophon, of course, mentions St Cuthbert as his helper in his spiritual quest. The association of the Patron Saint of Northumberland to the manuscript elevates it to the category of relic, a political device, as Cox (1995) argues. This suggests that the Gospels were, from the very beginning, intended by the community to be a tool for the promotion of their patron saint to a larger constituency (Cox 1995: iv). It is important to note that this was a Gospel book meant to be seen, as it would be placed in a shrine in the altar, and not a book meant for the private study of monks and clergy. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* would, therefore, be seen in the altar during important occasions such as Christmas, Easter, and the festivities of St Cuthbert. Monks would presumably have access to private viewings, while ordinary people in the congregation would only see it during services at certain points of the liturgical year or on display at times, as pilgrims to the shrine (Brown 2016: 14).

This manuscript is a piece of art in its own right, and it is far superior in quality, beauty and sophistication to any other Gospel books of the period. And, in fact, it is likely that subsequent Gospel books such as the Gospels of Saint Chad (Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS 1) were produced by scribes who had closely examined Eadfrith's work (Backhouse 1981: 66).

To sum up, there is significant evidence pointing out to this manuscript having been inspired by imported Italian texts into the British Isles, resulting in a fusion of earlier Irish (insular) traditions and newer, innovative Italian techniques and decorations. It is

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remarkable that both the text (be it the Gospel text or the glossed interlinear translation) and decorations have survived for over a millennium and remained intact to the present day, which has made life simpler for researchers interested in the study of these Gospels; and it looks as though present-day scholars were not the only ones stunned by the nature of this manuscript, but it was also used as a model, something to aspire to, when attempting to write a new Gospel book in the past.

2.3. The gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*

Because the Christian faith was spread by the Roman Empire, its sacred texts and rituals were written and performed in Latin, a language used as *lingua franca* and understood by educated people across Europe. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* were no exception. Originally written in Latin, the Gospels were given a word-for-word interlinear translation into English in the 10th century by a priest named Aldred, according to the colophon he himself added to the Gospels. The gloss was most likely written during the third quarter of the 10th century (Backhouse 1981: 11), and probably no later than 970, due to the fact that Aldred describes himself as *presbyter* 'priest' rather than *provost* (Roberts 2006: 31), which is, presumably, the title he held when he wrote the gloss to the *Durham Ritual* (see chapter 3). This differentiation in title is not arbitrary. The usage of Latin loanword *presbyter* in Aldred's colophon, where everywhere else the vernacular form *preost* is preferred, might indicate these two terms were not equivalent in meaning. Rather, they denote a differentiation in seniority, as can be proved by Aldred's own work in the *Durham Ritual*, where he states that *presbyter* denotes a senior grade "*Præsbyter grecum est quia seniors aetate greci presbytery uocant*" (roughly translated: *præbyster* is the Greek term for senior priests; DurRitGl 194.9, as cited in Roberts 2016: 49). However, Roberts (2016) postulates that the differentiation between *presbyter* and *provost* (terms the scribe used to describe himself) found in Lindisfarne and Durham, respectively, was

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not intentional. Moreover, although Aldred seems to "be very aware of rank" (Roberts 2016: 49) everywhere else in the manuscripts, it is unclear that he lived in a world where this distinction even existed (Roberts 2016: 51). Nonetheless, his authorship of the gloss to all four of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* has been doubted and discussed at length in previous literature (see section 2.5).

It must be mentioned that, as discussed in section 2.1, by the time the gloss was written the Gospels were no longer kept in the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, but rather in Chester-le-Street, the location of the Cuthbertine community at the time. He did, however, still refer to the relics of Saint Cuthbert as being on Holy Island, showing that the community still very much treasured and longed for their former home.

The Old Northumbrian gloss is written in black-brown and red ink, in a small script above the corresponding Latin word to be translated. The change in ink colour during the glossing process has intrigued scholars in its relation to the authorship of the gloss (see section 2.5). For the most part, the gloss is written in dark ink that ranges from black to brown in colour throughout the manuscript, and it is at its lightest shade of brown, almost approximating red by this point, in the pages immediately preceding the change to red ink in JnGl 5.10 (Beeby et al. 2017: 200, Stanley 2017: 205). The eighty pages written in red ink do not only feature a red ink gloss, but also every correction and comments in the margins were done in red ink too, as they are in the rest of the brown ink pages, suggesting that Aldred might have started writing the gloss in black-brown ink, changed to red when he ran out of the former, and then proceeded to do the corrections to the whole manuscript in the same red ink. It is worth noting that Aldred's colophon (discussed in relation to authorship in section 2.5) was also written in red ink, giving more weight to the preceding theory; if Aldred was writing in red ink by the end of the book, it must mean he did indeed run out of the black-brown ink in which he started off his work.

The text of the gloss is not only a translation of the Gospels, but also of the prefatory notes to each of them, known as the anti-Marcionite or Monarchian prologues.[9] These texts are Latin with a Greek origin, dating from the 2nd century at the earliest and the 5th century at the latest (Ferguson 1998: 66), and they explain how each evangelist's story began (Gutwenger 1946: 401). They are not usually included in modern-day translations or editions of the Bible.

The gloss makes this manuscript one of incalculable value for linguistic research since it is the oldest written record of an English translation of the Gospels. Despite the undeniable importance of the gloss as a source of research for palaeographers, historians, and linguists alike, it has not been met without criticism, some arguing that only an "unworthy and wretched person" (Macalister 1913: 299) would dare to scribble over the remarkable piece of art that was the untouched manuscript. It is very clear, however, why Aldred would seize the opportunity of "ruining" this manuscript, since it was believed at the time that the scribe would become a channel between God and the humanity, just as the evangelists had been (Brown 2016: 13). Moreover, in the words of Toon, the mere presence of these glosses suggests that the addition of a translation into the vernacular was considered "a further adornment to these deluxe productions" and a testimony to the powerful position of the written English word in Anglo-Saxon Britain (Toon 1992: 424).

There has been discussion about whether Aldred relied on previous material to compose his glosses (Elliot and Ross 1972, Backhouse 1981). However, this is difficult to prove since there is no earlier surviving Northumbrian gloss, and the Lindisfarne gloss does not show any correspondence with other translations dating from the same period (Rusche

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[9] The name refers to Marcionism, an early Christian dual belief system that postulated that the God of the New Testament was different from that of the Old Testament. The main figure of this movement, Marcion, was expelled from the Church as a heretic in 144 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. Marcionite).

2016: 66). I will return to this topic in section 2.5 when discussing the authorship of the gloss.

Evidence for the Northumbrian dialect is very sparse before the 1300s, in the Middle English Period (Biddulph 1995: 21). However, by the mid-14th century, there was a "literate community in the north of England who had [...] experience reading a northern variety of written English, but who were not used to reading other varieties" (Stenroos 2019: 39).[10] This tradition, presumably, began in the Old English period, and explains why the Old Northumbrian texts are so different from those written in other dialectal varieties of the time.

The Old Northumbrian gloss to the Latin text of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, alongside the gloss to the *Durham Ritual* and part of the gloss in the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru2) (on which see chapter 3), constitute the only significant extant records of the Old English Northumbrian dialect. In fact, the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* "represents the most extensive example of the Northumbrian dialect known to us" (Morell 1965: 163). The only other records (not taking into account personal names and toponymy) of the Old Northumbrian dialect to have survived to our days are three short poems and about thirty runic inscriptions from the 8th and 9th centuries (Fernández Cuesta 2016: 257). The *Lindisfarne Gospels*, as well as part of the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru2), contain an interlinear word-for-word gloss in the Northumbrian dialect of Old English. These two are the only Old English glosses written in this manner known to us, setting a contrast with the *Hatton*, *Royal*, or *Corpus* Manuscripts of the *West Saxon Gospels*, for example, which present a free translation of the Latin text into Old English (see chapter 3).

> It must be remembered that a gloss is not quite the same thing as a free
> translation that observes the rules of grammar. A gloss translates the Latin text

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[10] This belief stems from a comment found in a MS of the *Cursor Mundi* that reads "it was composed in southern English, and I have turned it into our own language, that of the northern people who can read no other English" (translated in Stenroos 2019: 39).

word by word, in the order of that text; so that the glossator can neither observe the natural English order nor in all cases preserve the English grammar; a fact which somewhat lessens its value and must always be allowed for. It is therefore necessary, in all cases, to ascertain the Latin text. (Skeat 1912: 23-24)

As Skeat remarks in the quote above, a gloss may not represent the natural speech of the time as accurately as a free translation, since it follows the word order and syntax of the Latin original. It is clear that Aldred's work was that of "someone from Northumbria for local use" Brown (2003: 100). The use of the vernacular (Aldred's Old Northumbrian) is indeed deemed as important in Aldred's colophon, where writing is referred to as "the servant of speech" (Brown 2003: 101). As Stanley puts it, Aldred was "someone trying to make available to his readers in his and their Northumbrian language what the Vulgate Gospels mean" (2017: 217). This could relate with the aforementioned existence of a northern literate community that was used to reading northern dialect only.

In fact, the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* "exhibits a large number of variant forms and striking differences from West Saxon" (Morell 1965: 163), which suggests a significant degree of dialectal variation across English-speaking Britain, as reflected in the gloss – West Saxon being the dialect used in most surviving manuscripts of the Old English period. For example, a feature that is present in both of Aldred's glosses (Lindisfarne and Durham) and also in Ru2 is the use of the long diphthongs $\bar{e}o$ and $\bar{e}a$ interchangeably, which is a dialectal feature of Old Northumbrian present in all the glosses, but not in texts from other dialects (Watson 1946).

Moreover, double glosses are provided often throughout the gloss, meaning that the glossator gave two possible translations for a single Latin word. In the gloss, there are over 3,000 examples of double glosses and around 100 triple glosses where three alternatives are provided for one Latin word (Marsden 2017: 188). Double glosses sometimes present orthographic or grammatical alternatives, others include the use of

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synonyms to clarify Aldred's interpretation of the context (Pons-Sanz 2016: 302). Bolze's study (2016) on the multiple (double) glosses of the present tense forms (both indicative and subjunctive) of the verb *bēon* in the gloss shows Aldred's worth as a glossator. In her data, Aldred employs double glosses to provide more idiomatic Old English translations, and to reflect Latin semantics as closely as possible, resulting sometimes in a first gloss that is an accurate translation and a second one manifesting his own interpretation of the context, or a more idiomatic expression in Old English (Bolze 2016: 299-300). The use of double glosses definitely reflects Aldred's linguistic interests, but it is unclear why he chose to do this. It could be due to uncertainty regarding what the best Old English word was to render a Latin lemma, but this explanation is weak because some words are glossed with only one term in some parts of the gloss, but they receive a double gloss further along in the gloss (Pons-Sanz 2016: 303). Another explanation would be the use of multiple Latin sources and Old English glosses which would provide Aldred with various alternatives for a single word, which is a possibility that has been discussed at length in previous scholarly research (Ross 1932, Kotake 2016).

At times, double glosses are indicative of a great degree of variation in the local dialect of the time, on the basis that double glosses sometimes reflect a more traditional form next to a Northumbrian innovative variant. As an example, McColl Millar's study on grammatical gender in the gloss provides us with the double gloss *ðaem|ðaer* in MtGl 9.22, where both the historical and the innovative versions of the determiner are provided, showing that Aldred had both systems in his head (McColl Millar 2016: 156).[11] Whether his choosing to reflect a dialectal form was a conscious decision we may never know. Notably for our purposes, the gloss includes instances of double glosses representing both

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[11] *ðaem* was traditionally used with masculine or neuter nouns, but is used accompanying feminine nouns in the gloss (McColl Miller 2016: 154).

the traditional strong verbal form and the innovative weak form. These will be discussed later in the results section of my work (see section 5.2.7).

While Aldred's gloss is usually quite literal, he allows himself more breadth to expand on his interpretations in the margins of the manuscript (Stanley 2017: 209). There are 71 instances of these marginal annotations in total, according to Boyd's (1975) study (cited in Cavill 2016). One of the most detailed marginalia sections are The Beatitudes, which is a recollection of the eight blessings said by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, included in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The marginalia commentary throughout the Gospels appears to be "clearly informative" (Cavill 2016: 80). Aldred adds alternative translations and explanations to his choices in glossing the original Latin text, as he sometimes seems to feel that the Old English language cannot capture the nuances of the original Latin. For instance, in MtGl 5.4 he encounters the Latin form *saturabuntur* (third-person plural future passive indicative of *saturō* 'to fill'), which seems to be problematic for him as he double glosses it as *gefylled biðon / geriorded* 'will be filled or refreshed with food' (Stanley 2017: 213). Then, in the margins of the leaf, he inverts the order of hunger and thirst in the sentence, so as to make clear the syntax of the passage (full account for this instance can be found in Stanley 2017: 213).

There is another type of marginal comment present in the *Lindisfarne* manuscript. In these cases, Aldred's comments in the margins appear in the form of maxims, a traditional Anglo-Saxon form of wisdom sayings, which allowed him to "draw lessons from the Gospel text and apply them to his community without presenting the ideas as idiosyncratic and personal but rather as obvious truth" (Cavill 2016: 101), suggesting that there could be a sort of educational purpose or motive behind Aldred's glossing.

Despite Aldred's efforts to make a comprehensive and reliable translation of the Gospels, not all the Latin words in the gloss have a correspondent English translation written above

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them. Place names are left unglossed in Lindisfarne in approximately 18% of the instances, while personal names do not have a corresponding Old Northumbrian word in the gloss on 22% of the occasions (Pons-Sanz 2001: 175 and 180, respectively). However, the most common personal names in the Gospels such as *David* or *Abraham* are only left unglossed in 12.5% of the instances when they occur in the genitive case (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 226). Personal names, place names, and ethnonyms represent the largest number of omissions in Aldred´s gloss, but they are not the only words left unglossed in Lindisfarne. Other word categories such as animals, e.g. *camelus* 'camel', or everyday objects, i.e. *ventilabrum* 'winnowing shovel', are left unglossed in most contexts, as Lendinara (2016) reports. This does not reflect Aldred's lack of understanding of the Latin text, and it could be viewed as part of his glossing practice. Some words are left unglossed because they could be seen as redundant, or because they are not needed with the context provided, maybe in an attempt not to cram the page with non-essential text (Lendinara 2016: 359).

On the other hand, there are also several mistakes in the translation of the original Latin text throughout the gloss, which Ross (1932) classified into two different categories: changes in the declension of a word due to the scribe inaccurately identifying a case ending (Ross identifies six instances) and errors in translation due to the misunderstanding of the accurate sense of a Latin word with more than one definition (which at times is solved by means of double glosses; Ross catalogues over 40 occurrences). All of these errors are due to a misunderstanding of the Latin language. However, there are also some cases where the Old English translation is completely unrelated to the original Latin word but is consistent with other manuscripts of the time. This might demonstrate that Aldred had some other Latin source before him besides the text in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* when carrying out his work (Ross 1932: 394), most likely

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some other texts from Italian tradition like the Gospels of Saint Augustine (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lib. MS. 286) and the Athlestan Gospels (London, British Library, MS Royal 1.B.vii; Kotake 2016: 393-394).

In spite of his errors and omissions, Aldred has been described as a "careful glossator" (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 238), someone who takes the whole phrase into consideration before translating, and not just the word he is glossing. In conclusion, by the means of double and triple glosses and marginalia annotations, it can be seen that it was Aldred's will to provide his community with an accurate translation of the Gospels that would be easily understood.

2.4. The gloss in its dialectal context: Review of previous linguistic studies

The rigorous and scientific study of English dialectology commenced around two centuries ago and became an essential component of modern linguistics. Because regional patterns of speech can be maintained over centuries, dialectology has been closely linked to the historical study of the language, and early linguists started to retrieve old documents as sources for data on earlier patterns of speech (Toon 1992: 411). Nonetheless, the study of historical dialectology can be problematic, as our only sources for data are old manuscripts written by an educated few, and hence they likely do not represent the vernacular of the majority of the speech community of the time (Toon 1992: 415). Moreover, a "southern perspective" has long been used in the study of the Middle Ages' history, language, literature, and culture (Auer et al 2019: 1), due to the fact that most of the surviving sources of the time were either produced in the South, or for or by southerners. This has led to a, perhaps intentional, overlook of other dialectal varieties of medieval England, especially due to the assumption that modern day Standard English has developed from one of the southern varieties.

> While the south has undoubtedly played an important role in the uniformisation of written English, other geographical regions – and in particular the north – also need to be considered when trying to understand the processes involved in this uniformisation process, i.e. the levelling of different dialectal features. (Auer et al. 2019: 2)

As reflected in the quote above, the North should not be excluded of the study of the historical development of the English language, as an understanding of all English dialectal varieties is essential for the conception of a comprehensive picture that helps interpret the linguistic reality of medieval England.

The Old Northumbrian dialect is represented in its greatest part by the glosses of Lindisfarne, Ru2, and Durham. However, these were not at first considered as a whole, but rather as a "loose conglomerate of individual varieties" (Toon 1992: 435), meaning that scholars would understand each manuscript as having its own idiolect and not as representative of a dialectal variety, which oftentimes made them focus on the study of just one of these old testimonies to the dialect, rather than taking all three texts into account for the reconstruction of an Old Northumbrian dialectal variety.

The gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* has been used as a source for linguistic material since at least the 16th century, when Laurence Nowell used it to build part of his *Vocabularium Saxonicum* in 1567 (Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 63), the first Anglo-Saxon dictionary ever written. The language of the gloss *per se* has been studied since as early as 1705, when George Hickes dedicated a whole chapter of his *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalim Thesaurus Grammatico-criticus et Archaeologicus* to studying the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses. Since that first approach to the study of the glosses, many other prominent scholars have contributed to the field, such as Grimm (1840), Bouterwek (1857), Skeat (1871-1887), Lindelöf (1901) and, of course, Ross, whose *Studies on the Accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (1937) is still considered the reference body of work for any scholar wishing to dive into the study of this fascinating

gloss (a full, detailed account of early studies on Lindisfarne can be found in Ross 1937: 17-25). His work includes a comprehensive account of the behaviour of all parts of speech in the gloss, from the most common vowels in unstressed syllables (33-53) to processes of analogy of all kinds, such as the extension of –*es* genitive to all noun classes (99), or the beginning of the loss of distinction between strong and weak adjectival declensions (105). He also identifies cases of syncretism in the gloss (119-123), whereby the distinction between nominative and accusative is inexistent, while there is also a confusion between nominative and accusative singular forms with their dative counterparts. Ross is also, to my knowledge, the scholar who has provided us with the most comprehensive account of the analogical processes, which is the focus of the present study.

One work that is not included in Ross' recollection of studies on the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is Callaway's *Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (1918), which provides us with a very comprehensive view of the linguistic features of the gloss, much like Ross' *Accidence*, ranging from nominal and adjectival declensions to verb tenses. In his work, Callaway also tackles Lindisfarne's linguistic peculiarities that seem to be highly influenced by the syntax of the original Latin text. Such is the case of the absolute nominative, a construction modelled on the use of the ablative absolute in the Latin original that does not appear in the West Saxon variety of Old English (1918: 35-38). Similarly, Northumbrian passive participle governing an accusative object is, again, influenced by the Latin text and does not occur in the *West Saxon Gospels* (1918: 72). He also finds evidence for the Lindisfarne gloss as the origin of the uninflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon (1918: 173). This is a highly innovative feature, and, as I will explain later in this section, one of Lindisfarne's most characteristic linguistic traits.

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Interest on the gloss did not decrease overtime and it has continued to this day, with publications as recent as Fernández-Cuesta and Pons-Sanz's volume (2016), which includes papers on diverse linguistic features concerning the language of the gloss, such as null subjects (Walkden 2016), the genitive case (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016), and noun case morphology (McColl Millar: 2016), as well as numerous other pieces dealing with the figure of Aldred (Brown 2016, Roberts 2016) and the art of glossing (Jolly 2016), among other topics which will be discussed later in this section. Gameson's (2017) edited collection, which includes numerous studies on Aldred's gloss (Beeby et al. 2017 on the red gloss, Mardsen 2017 on the interaction of the Latin and Old Northumbrian texts, Stanley 2017 on Aldred and his intellectual relationship with the Vulgate) is also notable, as well as *NOWELE*'s Lindisfarne-focused issue (2019: volume 72, issue 2).

As stated in the previous section, it is important to bear in mind that we only have access to the language of certain authors, and that their work may not be representative of the whole linguistic community. Roberts (2016) analyses some aspects characteristic of Aldred's English, not only in Lindisfarne but also in the Durham. In this study she looks at Aldred's use of runic letters, which is confined to the forms *dæg* and *mann*, appearing 42 and 10 times respectively throughout the Lindisfarne and Durham glosses (Roberts 2016: 51). Those two runes are not found in other manuscripts of the time such as the *Rushworth Gospels*, and this odd usage remains unexplained. On the other hand, Aldred chose not to use runes in other instances, such as his use of *v* instead of *wynn*, which Roberts suggests might be his attempt at avoiding *wynn* as something open to interpretation as a full word. Aldred's use of runic letters will be useful as part of the authorship discussion in section 2.5.

In the same study, Roberts also looks at Aldred's confusion between the forms *forþ* and *soþ*, and his use of the possessive adjective *sin*. However, Aldred's confusion between

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forþ and *soþ* is most noteworthy in Durham and it only appears twice in Lindisfarne, both instances in the preface to John's Gospel. The same thing happens with the use of the possessive adjective *sin*: it only occurs once in Lindisfarne but consistently in Durham. However, the one instance is found in the gloss to the Gospel of Saint John, which has been found to be different from the other three Gospels not only because of the colour of the ink it is written on, but also linguistically, as evidenced by studies such as Elliot and Ross (1972), which focuses on the meanings of certain Old English words in the gloss (discussed here in section 2.5 as part of the authorship debate), or Kotake's (2008) study, where he looks at element order in the gloss and finds that the gloss to St John's Gospel consistently deviates from Latin element order at a much higher rate than the other glosses, which follow Latin syntax closely.

It is important to take the original text into account when discussing the language of the gloss. Bolze (2013) carried out a comparative study between Lindisfarne and the *West Saxon Gospels*, focusing on the use of variant forms of the Old English verb *bēon* 'to be', and concluded that the Latin original had an effect on the form the glossator or translator chose.[12] On the other hand, Walkden (2016) analysed null subjects in the gloss. Null subjects (i.e. the omission of a subject) occur only in the third person in Lindisfarne, behaving independently from the Latin text, where they occur in all persons without restrictions.

The fact that the gloss and its language have been subjected to such detailed study is a manifestation of the unique nature of the text. As Cole puts it:

> From a linguistic point of view, Lindisfarne is a remarkable text that reflects a language on the cusp of dramatic change and already far closer in many respects

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[12] For the study of the West Saxon Gospels Bolze used the Vulgate edition by Weber and Gryson (2007) to compare the Latin forms to their English counterparts (2013: 2019).

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to the Middle English stāge than any other tenth-century Old English dialect (2014: 15).

In terms of lexicon, one aspect of analysis surrounding the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is the use of Scandinavian loan-words. As explained in section 2.1, there were numerous Viking invasions in the Northumbrian region during the years preceding and following the glossing of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. This brought about a situation of language contact, and thus, sometimes, Old English terms started to be replaced with new words of a Scandinavian origin, or they adapted new spellings by analogy with the new Scandinavian terms. One of the first studies on this topic comes from Ross. In a 1940 study he focuses on four examples of Norse influence in the gloss: *ambeth*, 'disciple', *floege* 'boat', *groefa* 'reeve', and the terms 'tree' and 'straw'. In here, different outcomes of the Scandinavian contact with Aldred's Old Northumbrian dialect appear. For example, the first of these four words appears both as *ambeth* and *ambith*, the second one agreeing with the normal Old English *ombith* except for the initial *a*, which is "certainly ascribed to Norse influence" (Ross 1940: 40). On the other hand, the second word in this analysis, *floege*, is particularly interesting as it is not attested in any other Old English text, and is likely a loanword (1940: 40-44).

A much more comprehensive study on this topic is Pons-Sanz's (2000) volume. Her work explains that, even though most of the Scandinavian technical loan-words of the period belong to numismatic (related to money), nautical, social, and legal semantic fields, Aldred preferred to use Old English native terms in most of these instances, except for the numismatic field (Pons-Sanz 2000: 128). This could be explained by the fact that this was the field where himself and the community of Saint Cuthbert would have more contact with Scandinavians, as it is likely that they would have some economic dealings with their neighbours (Pons-Sanz 2000: 128). Moreover, other texts of the period only

include technical terms, while Lindisfarne includes mostly non-technical terms, evidencing different types of contact.

Traditionally, it has been said that Old English was the period of full inflections, while Middle English was the period of levelled inflections, and Modern English is the period when inflections are finally lost (Sweet 1873-1874: 620). The advanced, innovative state of the Northumbrian dialect has been discussed at length in previous literature. Lass has stated that "many major structural simplifications in English […] began in the north" (1992: 107), and that, albeit often presented as Middle English developments, they can be seen as early as the Lindisfarne gloss. This can be seen in nominal morphosyntax, such is the case of gender loss (disappearance of grammatical gender in favour of natural gender) in the history of English, a process that was mostly complete in all dialects by the end of the 1200s (Lass 1992: 107). In Lindisfarne, over a century before, words ending in *–ung*, which were traditionally feminine, already appear as masculine, denoting a shift in the gender system. Others, like *stān* 'stone' appear in both neuter and masculine forms in the gloss (Lass 1992: 107), which, again, serves to prove the advanced state of the gloss with regard to the ultimate disappearance of the grammatical gender system in the English language. Similarly, McColl Millar's (2016) study on noun case morphology demonstrates that many of the linguistic developments found in Middle English texts were already present in the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which he labels as being "at the forefront of linguistic change" (2016: 167). In this article he discusses grammatical gender and how there seem to be plenty of gender assignment confusions in nouns in the gloss, most visibly in the use of demonstratives, i.e. the use of *se* with a feminine noun, or *ðio* with a masculine noun (McColl Millar 2016: 159). These "confusions" are not simple mistakes, as they evidence the beginnings of the process by

which grammatical gender ceased to exist in the English language (2016: 156), and prove that the Old Northumbrian dialect was advanced in this respect.

Inflectional morphology is usually an innovative trait in Old Northumbrian. This is the topic of Rodríguez Ledesma's (2016) study on the genitive case in the gloss. Specifically, she looks into the behaviour of the genitive singular inflection in adnominal constructions, taking into account both common and proper nouns throughout the gloss. Her analysis shows that the use of genitive singular inflection –*es* is widespread in the gloss in both in proper nouns and in nouns that originally belonged to different declensions, which corroborates the results found previously in Ross (1937: 99). Again, the interlinear gloss seems to show a more advanced state of the language (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 217), which is closer to Middle English, when *-es* was extended to all noun classes. Rodríguez Ledesma has also noted that the omission of the genitive inflection in proper nouns, which is a characteristic feature of the Northern dialects in Middle English, is already attested in Lindisfarne (2016: 226). Another innovative characteristic of the Lindisfarne gloss related to the genitive case is its replacement by the *of*-phrase, particularly in verbs of tasting and in a partitive sense (Ogura 2008). Final –*n* in the weak declension of nouns and adjectives has also been lost in Lindisfarne (Ross 1933b), and endingless adjectives in the weak nominative singular can be found frequently throughout the gloss, which indicates the "beginnings of the loss of the distinction between the strong and weak declensions" (Ross 1937: 105).

Adamczyk's study on nominal inflection in Old English focuses partly on *u*-stems (2018: 157-174), an archaic declension that evidences the presence of etymological **u/*w* and which attests to the lack of a distinction between the masculine and feminine inflections. In Old English, masculine *u*-stems were remodelled on the pattern of *a*-stems and feminine *u*-stems became *o*-stems. In Northumbrian, "the archaic *u*-stem […] form *magu*

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is frequently attested as *mago* [in the nominative singular]" (Adamczyk 2018: 164), attesting to "a fairly advanced stāge of the restructuring [of nominal inflections]" (2018: 165). Similarly, in her study of *s*-stems, Adamczyk finds another analogical process in progress in Old Northumbrian nominal inflection, causing "a gradual restriction of the forms containing the *r*-formative to the plural [and] an accompanying elimination of the *i*-mutated forms in the singular" (2018: 209). In the Northumbrian texts, "the original s-stems display a synchronic fluctuation between the inherited and innovative inflections" (2018: 209).

The innovative style of the dialect of the gloss has always been a focal point for the linguistic study of the manuscript. Sometimes, however, results can be unexpected. In a study published in 2016, García García undertook the analysis of deverbal *jan*-verbs (causative) in their derivational bases in Lindisfarne compared to other Old English texts, hoping to find evidence of linguistic change in Old Northumbrian compared to other Old English varieties. Nonetheless, she found no signs of Lindisfarne leading the change in derivational morphology, and the language of the gloss seems to be quite conservative in this respect. Another feature that seems conservative in the gloss is spelling. Ross (1933b) found several archaisms in this aspect, such as the use of *u* instead of *o* in words such as *heono*, and *i* instead of *e* in the present tense of the verb *habban* (1933b: 521).

Syntax is also innovative in some aspects in Lindisfarne. Pagliarulo (2010) has looked at word order in the gloss focusing on the use of passive and progressive periphrases, which has led him to the realization that the gloss seems to "show the signs of a levelling out of word order distinctions between subordinate and main clauses" (Pagliarulo 2010: 634), a process that, again, anticipates a Middle English linguistic development and demonstrates the advanced and innovative state of the gloss, as discussed above.

Another example of Lindisfarne's progressive dialectal features comes from the use of the verb *beodan* in the sense of PDE *forbid*. This foreshadows the morphological merger between Old English *biddan* 'to ask' and *beodan/forbeodan* 'to command' that took place in the 15th century with an interchangeability between the two verbs (Ogura 2016: 38). Thus, in Mark 3.12 we find *bebead* in Lindisfarne, where later manuscripts such as the *West Saxon Gospels* (see chapter 3) use *forbead* (Ogura 2016: 39).

In terms of verbal inflection, during the late period of Old English verbal paradigms started to modify their shapes (Ogura 2016: 31). In the case of Old Northumbrian in particular, present tense formation was quite distinct in comparison to other dialects of the time, according to Lass (1992: 136), as it featured a highly innovative inflection where the second and third persons of the singular paradigm and the third person plural collapsed in an ending in –*s* for all three categories (Lass 1992: 136). Again, this innovative feature of the Old Northumbrian texts reached the midlands during the Middle English period, proving once more the advanced state of this dialect. Not only this, but in late Old Northumbrian the earlier Old English verbal conjugation system was starting to collapse, and this is clearly exemplified by the Lindisfarne gloss, where there is a great confusion of flexional vowels *e* and *a*. Here, there is a tendency to transfer the vowel of the second and third person singular into the first person singular, especially in class II weak verbs where this exchange happens in half of the instances recorded in the gloss (Bryan 1921: 454).

By the Middle English period, the present tense indicative in the Northern dialects was controlled by a grammatical process known as the Northern Subject Rule (henceforth, NSR), which conditioned verbal morphology depending on the type and position of the subject. Following this rule, the plural forms of the present tense are marked by adding –*s* to the root, except when directly adjacent to a personal pronoun, in which case the

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marker would be -*e* or the zero morpheme. In 2012 Cole wrote her doctoral thesis on the NSR (published in 2014), using the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* as a source of linguistic data. Her extensive work in this area has challenged the generally accepted view that the NSR was a Middle English development and served to prove that the language of the gloss already showed Middle English features. Aside from the NRS, Cole has also studied the reduced verbal inflection of the gloss in general, focusing on aspects such as the loss of formal distinction between present indicative and subjunctive in pronominal contexts, something usually associated with northern Middle English but that can already be seen in Lindisfarne (Cole 2012: 206), proving once again the advanced linguistic state of Old Northumbrian.

One of the aspects in which Old English grammar differs more greatly from Present-Day English grammar is the loss of verbal inflection. In the Germanic languages there are, or used to be, two types of verbs: strong verbs, which form their preterite and past participle by means of vocalic alternation (PDE *sing*, *sang*, *sung*), and weak verbs, which add a dental suffix (PDE *work*, *worked*, *worked*). While this distinction is still used in some Germanic languages like German (*starke* and *schwache* verbs – literally, 'strong' and 'weak'), it is not usually made in Present-Day English grammar, with verbs being referred to as *regular* or *irregular*. For an explanation of the types of weak and strong verbs see section 1.2.

Most strong verbs, however, became weak overtime – hence the *regular* nomenclature in the present, meaning 'weak' is the norm – mainly during the Middle English period (from the 11th to the 15th centuries). This could be due to the high productivity of weak verbs during the Old English period, and in fact during the entire history of the English language, as well as the introduction of French loanwords after the Norman Conquest. This high productivity entails weak verbs being the verbal class into which all newly

formed verbs fall. As the quote below reflects, with the passing of time, strong verbs started to behave like the more prominent class – weak verbs – by analogy.

> [strong verbs] shifted the two grades of vowel characteristic of the past into the present, and formed new pasts, in appearance, though not necessarily in origin, like those of weak verbs. These, no doubt, had only lasted into OE because they were extremely common verbs, and their survival-rate into ME is remarkably high (Strang 1970: 308).

This process is mentioned in several studies, both of the Old English language in general, and of the language of the Lindisfarne gloss in particular, since even though the regularisation of strong verbs happened in all Old English varieties, "it seems to be more frequent in the Lindisfarne text" (García García 2016: 206). However, traditionally it was assumed that this was not only a Middle English development but also a Southern one. Hogg claims that many of these changes originated in Early West Saxon and later extended to Kentish, and that the expected, traditional forms were "confined to northern dialects" (1992: 149), at least in regards to the present tense of Old English strong verbs.

Previous literature on the Lindisfarne gloss merely skims over the subject, simply acknowledging the change that happened and giving a few examples of it without delving deeply into the process behind it. Ross (1937) includes what is probably the most comprehensive account of this process and points out that "a number of analogical weak forms to strong verbs, similar to those found in later English, occur in the pret[erite] and [past participle]" (Ross 1937: 153). In his study, Ross differentiates two types of weak forms (see table 6 below), although he does not specify which verbs belong to which type.

Table 6. Types of weak analogical forms found in Lindisfarne (based on Ross 1937: 153)

	Preterite	Past participle
Type A	-de	-ed

Type B	-ade/-ede	-ad/-ed

These two types of weak analogical preterites and past participles contrast with the traditional classification of weak verbs in two classes, which involves the use of –*ode*/-*oden* as suffixes for weak verbs class II (see section 1.2). Ross' study accounts for – even if not always accurately – a total of 41 instances of strong to weak verbs, of which four are examples of hybrid forms, i.e. forms that present either no ablaut and no dental ending, or on the contrary, both ablaut and dental ending. This linguistic phenomenon is called double marking and is an example of non-proportional analogy (a more extensive account on analogy and its sub-types can be found in section 1.3).

Other literature focused on Lindisfarne has not gone into as much detail as Ross. Stark makes note that "in OE strong verbs sometimes have weak past tenses" (1982: 8), and puts the class VII verb *slǣpan* 'to sleep' as an example with two weak forms (*slepde*, singular, and *slepedon*, plural) in Lindisfarne, already mentioned in Ross; Kellum (1906) mentions only one instance of this happening, but it is one not recorded by Ross (1937):

> the anomalous form *harmcouedum* […] although it glosses a pres. part., appears to be intended for a pret. part., the –ed of the stem suggesting a false analogy to –ed of the weak preterite part (1906: 75).

Similarly, García García (2016: 206) also mentions one instance of the regularisation of strong verbs in Lindisfarne that Ross (1937) did not take into account in his analysis. This is the case of Old English *sweltan* 'to die'. A strong verb in all other Old English varieties, it appears as *suoelte* in John's Gospel (11.37), with no sign of ablaut and a final –*e* ending that is found in weak pasts.

Another scholar that has recorded instances of strong verbs inflected as weak in Old English is Krygier, who mentions forms of the verbs *hrīnan*, *gebindan*, *gefregnan*,

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sweltan, *swingan*, *ðringan*, *sceadan*, and *slēpan* as examples of this analogical trend in Lindisfarne (1994: 59-65). Moreover, he claims that "the northern area was a shift-conductive environment" (1994: 68). However, his study does not focus solely on Old Northumbrian verbs, and therefore in depth explanations for these forms are not given. Grammar books such as Campbell's *Old English Grammar* (1959) and Hogg and Fulk's volume two of *A Grammar of Old English* (2011), focused on Old English in general, mention Lindisfarne as well as Rushworth as examples in the change of strong verbs into weak; both these publications also acknowledge the Northumbrian dialect as the focal point for this grammatical change. On the other hand, March (1888) dedicates a separate section of his grammar to Northumbrian verbs, but makes no reference to strong verbs that behave as weak, in keeping with the fact that this has been a somewhat ignored issue in the past, which I hope to mend with the present study (see chapters 5 and 6).

As with regularisation, there is another example of analogical levelling that affects strong verbs in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*: the levelling of the effects of Verner's Law. Verner's Law is a sound change whereby Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives became voiced when they were in a voiced environment and not immediately preceded by stress. The elimination of the effects of this law would, thus, entail the return to the voiceless sounds. This is the topic of a comprehensive study carried out by Adamczyk (2004), which covers a vast amount of Old English texts, including Lindisfarne. Adamczyk finds 15 instances of this phenomenon in Lindisfarne, as well as two instances in Durham, also glossed by Aldred (see chapter 3). This process can be seen in verbs belonging to the seven strong classes in Old Northumbrian, but it is especially salient in class II, which serves once again as a testimony of Lindisfarne's innovative linguistic characteristics, since this analogical levelling of class II verbs is most common in Late West-Saxon texts of the first half of the 12th century, but can already be seen in Lindisfarne over a century

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before (Adamczyk 2004: 32). Some examples of this process can be seen in my data, for which see chapter 7.

Another innovative aspect of strong verbs in the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is the vowel transference of the two preterite vowels of strong verbs, a process that is generally rare in Old English. Lindisfarne provides us with some examples in which the plural preterite was influenced by the singular preterite (*geceāso* JnGl 15.16); and others in which the opposite happened and the singular preterite was influenced by the plural preterite, resulting in forms such as *cweð* (MtGl 2.8). More examples and a full account for this linguistic change can be found in Ross (1937: 136-137). This analogical process is studied in chapter 7.

It should be noted that verbal morphology is also conservative in some aspects in Lindisfarne, such as the lack of post-verbal adverbs and particles (related to the rise of phrasal verbs in later stāges of the history of English) in favour of verbal prefixes (Kruger 2019).

In sum, the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* presents a series of linguistic peculiarities that have piqued researchers' curiosity for years. One of the most striking characteristics of the English used in the gloss is its innovative nature in multiple features that have traditionally been linked to the Middle English period. The present study is concerned with the innovative nature of the gloss, as it deals with the regularisation of strong verbs.

2.5. The authorship of the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*

As discussed in the previous section, the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is remarkable for the amount of variant forms that it includes. This could be explained by the fact that

there might have been two or more different glossators, a topic that has been discussed at length in previous literature. The evidence for the claim that Aldred was the sole writer of the gloss comes from a colophon added to the manuscript at the end of the Gospel of Saint John (ff. 203v–259r), where authorship for both the gloss and the Gospels is explained. In this colophon, Aldred names Eadtfrith, Ethivald, Billfrith, and himself as the four men who enrolled themselves in the creation of this manuscript (the roles of the other three men are explained in section 2.2), in a move that Nees (2003) has suggested was intended as a way to emphasize his role as a creator in a series of "foursomes", i.e. the four evangelists, which also links to the symbolism of number four in Christian ideology: the four rivers of paradise, the four cardinal virtues, or the four living creatures carrying the Lord's chariot in Ezekiel's vision (Nees 2003: 345-346, Brown 2016: 17).

The fact that the colophon is an unreliable historical document could be enough to spark debate over authorship of the gloss – it is possible that more people were involved in the glossing of the Gospels, but Aldred only named himself as he was the master scribe, much in the same manner as it would be plausible that more people were involved in the composing of the original manuscript but Aldred only mentioned the most eminent figures (Gilbert 1990: 155), perhaps to keep the tradition of the foursome of makers, as discussed above. In addition to that, this text proves ambiguous in meaning, which has led to further debate. See the original Old English text and Brown's (2003: 104) translation of the passage below:

> (ic) Aldred p(re)ˋsˊb(yte)r indignus misserim(us) ⁊ mið godes fvltv(m)mę s(an)c(t)i cuðberhtes hit of(er)glóesade ón englisc. hine gihamadi:. mið ðaem ðríim daelvm. Mathevs dǽl gode s(an)c(t)e cvðberhti. Marc' dǽl. ðaem bisc(ope/um). lvcas dael ðaem hiorode aeht `v´ ora seoˋvˊlfres mið tó inláde. ⁊ sci ioh(annes) dael f(er) hine seolfne `i(d est) f(or)e his savle´ feover óra s(eo)ˋvˊlfres mið gode s(an)c(t)i cvðberhti. þ (aet)te he haebbe ondfong ðerh godes miltsae on heofnv(m).
>
> And (I) Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest? [He] glossed it in English between the lines with the help of God and St. Cuthbert. And, by means of the

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three sections, he made a home for himself – the section of Matthew was for God and St. Cuthbert, the section of Mark for the bishop[/s], the section of Luke for the members of the community [in addition, eight ores of silver for his induction] and the section of John was for himself [in addition, four ores of silver for God and St. Cuthbert] so that, through the grace of God, he may gain acceptance into heaven.

This quote has been interpreted – and translated – in different ways by different authors. The second sentence of this quote, "by means of three sections he made a home for himself", states that Aldred made a home for himself with the first three Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke), and does not mention the fourth Gospel (John's) yet. There is also a clear differentiation between the gloss to three of the Gospels, which were made for God, St. Cuthbert and members of the clergy; and the gloss to John's Gospel, which was made "for himself". Skeat took this differentiation to mean that John's gloss was the only one made by Aldred himself in his own handwriting, while the other three were made, according to Skeat, purely under Aldred's supervision, thus "made a home for himself" means he familiarised himself with the first three glosses before carrying on to glossing the fourth (1878: ix). This claim is also supported by the fact that the gloss to John's Gospel is, for the most part, written in red ink, instead of the brown ink found in the other glosses, as discussed in section 2.3. There are, however, corrections and annotations made in red ink in the other glosses, which suggests the change in ink was probably due to a change in supplies – Aldred may simply have run out of brown ink and changed to red ink, using the same red ink when he returned to the first three Gospels to revise and correct them.

On the other hand, Newton et al. (2012: 120-121) propose a different interpretation of the colophon; they argue that the meaning behind Aldred's words is that he made John, along with the other three evangelists, a home in the British Islands (or rather, made them native Anglo-Saxon speakers), and has nothing to do with the authorship of the glosses.

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Similarly, Backhouse (1981: 16) suggests that what Aldred meant with this differentiation is that he made John's gloss for the sake of his own soul, meaning that his work on the Gospels was meant to help him get established as a part of the community in Chester-le-Street. This interpretation is in line with that of Ross & Stanley (1960), who theorise that Aldred's words mean he translated the first three Gospels as a means of earning his place in the community and the fourth Gospel – John's – to earn himself a place in heaven (Ross & Stanley 1960: 8). However, Backhouse also suggests that there is "no necessity to assume that Aldred himself composed it [the text in the gloss]" (1981: 17), arguing that he most likely copied the text from some source that has not survived to the present day. Cole (2016) agrees with this hypothesis and adds that it is likely that he had access to more than one different source, which could be a reason for the linguistic variation found throughout the gloss.

Moreover, palaeographical evidence also serves as a witness to the different nature of the gloss to John's Gospel, which is written in a neater and more compact handwriting. Skeat (1878) classifies it as "a different hand" (viii) altogether in his preface to his edition of John's Gospel. On the contrary, Brunner (1947-1948: 32-33) claims that, while linguists seem to generally argue that the gloss may have been written by two or more scribes, palaeographers agree that the gloss was the work of one person only, and that the variations can be explained by an intermittent work schedule that made the scribe write with different pens and inks. This theory of working in different stāges could also help explain some of the linguistic variation found in the gloss, as linguistic change does not happen overnight, but is a gradual process. A different line of research comes from Inmaculada Senra Silva's study on the runes present on the gloss to the *Lindisfarne*

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Gospels (forthcoming).[13] The use of runes in some of the Gospels – and their absence from others – would suggest that more than one scribe was involved in the translation; although it could also be explained by the fact that one scribe could have used different sources for his glossing.

Brunner's study on variant forms in the gloss (1947-1948) presents similar results. She focuses on the distribution of variant forms of four different constructions: the use of *heonu* (against *heono*), the forms of the nominative accusative singular feminine of the definite article, the present of the verb *cweþan*, and the third stem of the verb *to be*. For all of these, there seems to be a clear demarcation dividing the gloss in two sections: one up to MkGl 5.40, and a second one after this. This leads her to conclude that there either were two different scribes glossing the Gospels, or that one scribe made the gloss from an earlier version made by two or more scribes. While Brunner (1947-1948) finds two demarcations in the gloss, most literature has found John's Gospel, in particular, to be different from the other three. Kotake's (2008) investigation of element order in the gloss shows that the gloss to John's Gospel is syntactically different from the other three Gospels. Both earlier and later studies have stated that the Lindisfarne gloss follows Latin syntax quite closely, and that its syntactic features are sometimes provoked by the Latin original (Skeat 1912, Callaway 1918, Bolze 2013). Kotake's work, on the other hand, shows that, while this is true, there are differences among the Gospels, and John's Gospel does not follow Latin syntax as closely as the other three Gospels do, making quite a significant argument for the discussion of a possible different authorship for that particular text.

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[13] I attended the Workshop on Medieval Northern English held at the University of Seville in November 2017, where Senra Silva presented this paper.

In 1972 Elliot and Ross published their article on the linguistic peculiarities of John's gloss in *Lindisfarne*, focusing on the meanings of several Anglo-Saxon words that appear in John but not elsewhere in the gloss; they entertained the hypothesis that Bede might have been the glossator of John's Gospel (Elliot & Ross 1972: 72). Similarly, van Gelderen's (2019) study on the use of reflexive pronouns in the gloss sets John apart in its use of the pronoun *self*, which brings the language in this section of the gloss closer to more southern dialects as it has similar results to those of the *West Saxon Gospels* (2019: 229, 241). Skeat (1878) takes notice of the fact that verbal prefix *ge-* changes to *gi-* in this Gospel, as well as some corrections from *ge-* to *gi-* in the rest of the gloss. However, this change is not a piece of conclusive evidence of a change in scribal hand, since *gi-* forms are common in both Durham and the Rushworth glosses (Ru1 and Ru2), dating from a later period, which could suggest this was a later form that perhaps was developing during the time Aldred wrote the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. This would explain why he did not use *gi-* as a prefix at the beginning of his work, but later went to correct some of his earlier glossing, suggesting that by this point he might have thought that was the correct form to use (Skeat 1878: x). Similarly, the use of *v* instead of *u* or *wynn* is common in both John's Gospel in Lindisfarne and Durham, but not the other three Gospels, which adds to the hypothesis that Aldred was only the glossator of John (and Durham). Another linguistic aspect that is different in the gloss to John's Gospel is the use of negative contractions, with uncontracted forms being used frequently in the other three Gospels and rates dropping in all of John (van Bergen 2008). Cole's (2016) study on the usage of *–s* and *–ð* endings in verbal forms shows the glosses to both Matthew's and John's Gospels as distinctive units, and this leads her to conclude that it is "highly unlikely" (2016: 187) that the gloss would represent the speech of just one speaker. Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma's study on accusative/dative syncretism in the gloss

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(forthcoming) correlates with previous research in finding the gloss to John's Gospel more conservative in this aspect, as it presents significantly lower rates of syncretism than the other three Gospels.

As Cole puts it, conclusive evidence of gloss authorship "seems elusive" (2016: 187), but that does not mean one cannot infer reasoned deductions from the available data. This thesis hopes to shed some light onto the issue by adding to the discussion my own conclusions, drawn from the analysis of my data.

3. Other glosses and Gospels of the time: the *Durham Ritual*, the *Rushworth Gospels*, and the *Hatton* or *West Saxon Gospels*

The so-called *Durham Ritual* or *Durham Collectar* (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19) is a manuscript of liturgical material written in the early 9th century, to which Aldred, the glossator to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and by then provost of Chester-le-street, added four collects in honour of Saint Cuthbert in the second half of the 10th century, likely no earlier than 970 (see section 2.5). For the greater part, the *Durham Ritual* contains an interlinear gloss in Old Northumbrian. The general consensus is that it was made by the hand of Aldred as well, although there has been debate over his authorship, since some scholars believe that the figures of Aldred the Scribe and Aldred the Provost are, indeed, different people. Thompson argued that while "the body of this manuscript [*Durham Ritual*] contains glosses which, from a certain resemblance, have been erroneously thought to be in the same handwriting as those of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*" (1885: 249), in his view they ultimately belong to two different authors. Other scholars have disagreed, arguing that there is "little room for doubt" (Wright 1842: 426) in terms of authorship of both Lindisfarne and Durham glosses. Neil Ker explained that the difference in handwriting may be due to circumstances (Roberts 2006: 29-30), like the fact that Aldred was significantly younger when writing the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, as he refers to himself as a *presbyter*, a title reserved to those around the age of thirty (Brown 2003: 92). However, recent research has questioned this claim regarding the glossator's age, as the term *presbyter*, which Aldred uses to describe himself in Lindisfarne, was used in other contexts by Aldred to denote seniority (see Roberts 2016: 49 for full context), and therefore we cannot be sure of his age during either of his scribal activities.

If Lindisfarne and Durham were indeed glossed by the same scribe, as the general consensus seems to be nowadays, this would add to the discussion of Aldred's authorship of all four Gospels in Lindisfarne dealt with in section 2.5. Since the language in Durham is closer to that of John's Gospels in Lindisfarne, and different from that of the other three Gospels in his use of *v* instead of *u* and prefixal *gi-* instead of *ge-* (discussed in section 2.5 as non-conclusive evidence), this could suggest that Aldred would have only glossed the fourth Gospel himself (Cole 2016: 172). One key difference between the language of the two glosses is verbal morphology, and specifically the (non) application of the NSR. As explained in section 2.4, the NSR roughly refers to the use of *–s* as a verbal ending to mark the present singular plural, except when directly adjacent to a personal pronoun and is operative in the dialect of Lindisfarne. In Durham, on the other hand, these tendencies are not seen. Fernández-Cuesta & Langmuir (2019) have found that first person plural pronoun *we* does not promote *–s* in Durham, contrary to Cole's findings about Lindisfarne (2012, 2014); and that all subject types (null, personal pronoun, noun phrase, etc.) favour *–ð* in the third person plural present indicative in Durham (Fernández-Cuesta & Langmuir 2019: 143), which contrasts with Lindisfarne. Moreover, Fernández-Cuesta & Langmuir theorise about possible West Saxon influence in Durham due to its use of *–st* at a higher rate than Lindisfarne (2019: 144).

The language of Durham has traditionally been referred to as more conservative than that of Lindisfarne*,* as exemplified by the non-application of the NSR. Several features in which this gloss is more traditional in its language have been discussed by Ross (1960, 1970). For example, the retention of singular dative *–e* (1960: 39), the use of final *–ð* instead of *–s* in the third person singular and plural present indicative, and the overall absence of *–e-* in the preterite of weak class II verbs, with *–a-* being the regular form (1970: 363-364). However, more recent literature has challenged this traditional notion.

In her study of the genitive singular inflection in Durham, Rodríguez Ledesma (2018) has found that the use of *–es* is more common than the etymological inflection in nouns ending in *–ung*, nouns ending in *–ness*, feminine *i*-stems, *ō*-stems and weak nouns. This innovative feature is also found in *Lindisfarne*, but the extension of *–es* as genitive singular marker has advanced further in *Durham*, as illustrated by nouns ending in *-ness* (2018: 639-641).

The *Rushworth Gospels* (Oxford: Bodleian Library MS Auctarium D.2.19), also known as the *MacRegol Gospels*, are a manuscript copy of the four Gospels made around the year 800. Like the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the original manuscript was written in Latin mainly by a scribe named MacRegol (hence the second denomination of the manuscript) as indicated in a colophon added to the text that points at MacRegol being not only the scribe but also the illustrator of the whole Codex (Tamoto 2013: xii). It was given a gloss in the Old Mercian and Old Northumbrian dialects in the latter half of the 10th century by a couple of priests named Farman and Owun, respectively, as stated in two colophons added to the manuscript by the priests themselves, making this the second oldest translation of the Gospels into the (Old) English language, and the only one to have been done in the same manner as the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (Mardsen 2017: 187-188), that is, as an interlinear gloss. Unfortunately, unlike the *Lindisfarne* manuscript, the *Rushworth* manuscript did not survive to our day in its entirety, which means there are several leaves missing from the original.

The existence of two dialects in the glossing of the same text is due to the fact that there were two different people glossing these Gospels. Owun glossed Luke's Gospel, Mark 2.15 to end, and John except 18.1 to 18.3, while Farman glossed the rest (the entirety of Matthew, three verses in John, and the beginning of Mark; Kotake 2016: 377-378, Marsden 2017: 195). Owun's dialect was Old Northumbrian, while Farman's variety

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appears to have been Old Mercian. The Old Mercian part of the gloss is commonly referred to as Ru1, while the Old Northumbrian gloss is known as Ru2. Language, however, is not the only way of distinguishing which gloss was written by which of the priests. Skeat postulates that their handwriting is easy to separate, Farman's being more angular. Farman also seems to favour the use of the letter thorn (Þ) over *th* (Skeat 1817: xii).

Generally speaking, the Old Northumbrian and Old Mercian dialects share some linguistic features, so they are classified together under the *Anglian* denomination, as opposed to the southern dialects (Kentish and West Saxon). However, there are distinctive traits that set the two dialects apart, such as Northumbrian's preference for *æ* where Mercian uses *e*, or Mercian's lack of palatal diphthongisation opposed to Northumbrian's limited use of it (Toon 1992: 416). Dialectal differences can be seen between the glosses in aspects like Lindisfarne's use of the regular pronoun *him*, while in the Mercian section of Rushworth (Ru1) there is a preference for the use of the pronoun plus the adjective *self* (examples and a full account for this can be found in van Gelderen 2000: 59).

Comparing the languages of the Ru2 and Lindisfarne is particularly interesting, since it has long been believed that Owun copied the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. This belief stems from correspondence between Walter William Skeat, the editor of the Cambridge editions of the Gospels, and Sir James Murray (Kotake 2016: 378). Skeat states that it is "clear that when he [Farman, the glossator] had completed this first Gospel [Matthew's], he borrowed the *Lindisfarne* MS as a guide to help him, and kept it before him when he began to gloss St Mark" (Skeat 1912: 23), before getting tired and passing the chore along to Owun, who continued the copying until the end of the Gospel (Farman only glossed up to MkGl 2.15). As an outcome, the gloss to Matthew's Gospel is in Old Mercian in the *Rushworth* book. Farman's section of Mark's Gospel seems to be "a verbal copy of

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Lindisfarne with its grammatical inflections southernized" (Skeat 1878: xiv), while Owun's copy is even "more decidedly and consistently northern than the original", according to Skeat (1878: xiv). These facts made Skeat conclude that Ru2 is of little or no value for the understanding of the Old Northumbrian dialect, and that the focus of linguists should be the Lindisfarne and Durham glosses (1912: 21-23). Some studies, such as Hill's (1957) corroborate the theory of Owun's copying with their data. In this study, Hill looks at four compound words (*all-efne*, *fifteig-dæg*, *hwit-corn*, and *larcnæht*) present in gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Three of these appear in the prefatory sections of the Gospels, which are not included in *Rushworth*, but the fourth one is repeated in the corresponding passage of Owun's gloss in Ru2.

However, previous research has found the language of the Rushworth glosses to be more conservative than that of Lindisfarne (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 217). This could also be evidential of two distinct varieties: North Northumbrian, exemplified by Lindisfarne and Durham, and South Northumbrian, exemplified by Ru2 (Hogg 2004: 241). There are three salient features that allow us to differentiate North and South Northumbrian texts: the development of diphthongs or Diphthong Height Harmony (Ru2 uses <ēo, eo> with a <ēo> to <ēa> ratio of 3:1, while in Lindisfarne there is a preference for <ēa> and <ea> with a ratio of 30:1 for the long diphthong); palatal diphthongisation (in Lindisfarne *æ* appears more commonly as diphthonguised *ae*, whereas in Ru2 the normal spelling is the undiphthonguised form); and *w*-rounding (*e* and *ē* change to *œ* or its long counterpart after *w* in Lindisfarne and, especially, Durham, but the change is not present in Ru2 except for one instance). A full account of these three features can be found in Hogg (2004: 245-248). However, all of these instances could be orthographic and not reflect the existence of two different geographical dialects, as it is possible that both the Lindisfarne and

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Rushworth glosses were, in fact, produced in the same place and not in different parts of the country (Hogg 2004: 253).

Going back to the topic of the authorship of the glosses, one must pay attention to the original Latin text. It seems that Ru2 tends to follow Latin syntax more closely, while Aldred's work usually deviates more from the original Latin text in terms of word order (Kotake 2008); this would suggest that, if Owun did in fact use Aldred's work as a basis for his own gloss, he did not just copy it, but he adjusted it (Kotake 2008: 77). The most recent research argues that Owun did not at all copy Lindisfarne when glossing the *Rushworth Gospels*, since Owun's glosses and corrections include Latin readings that are not found in either the *Lindisfarne* or *Rushworth* MS. This could be explained by the two glosses stemming from the same source (Kotake 2016: 380-381).[14] The question of copying regarding the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses remains open, and answers are tentative. I will try to contribute to this debate with the results drawn from the analysis of my data.

Ru1 and Lindisfarne have also been shown to have similarities in their glosses, which some authors such as Ross believe were due to Farman being influenced by Aldred and using his gloss as a guide, evidenced by the choice of the same word combinations in double glosses (Ross 1979). More recent research, however, postulates that these similarities might be due to both glossators consulting the same source texts in order to complete their works (Kotake 2012).

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[14] The Latin text of the *Rushworth Gospels* belongs to the mixed Irish family of the Vulgate, while *Lindisfarne* represents a purer Vulgate. Owun seems to often follow a pure Vulgate rather than the Latin of the *Rushworth* MS, which has led scholars to believe he was copying Lindisfarne. Kotake postulates that he was not copying the gloss, but rather that both Aldred and Owun used the same Latin sources – and sometimes Owun follows Latin readings that are not found in *Lindisfarne* either (see Kotake 2016).

Travelling South and West in England, the *West Saxon Gospels* constitute the first full translation of all four Gospels of the Bible into English without a supporting Latin text, i.e. not an interlinear word-for-word translation as the other texts discussed here, which makes it a more reliable source of linguistic material for scholars of historical English since it is a free translation and thus more likely to accurately represent the vernacular. This translation into the West Saxon dialect - the most "distinct" dialect in Old English (Toon 1992: 417) – is actually extant in six manuscripts (*Cambridge*, *Corpus*, *Cotton*, *Royal*, *Bodley*, and *Hatton* – see Fischer 2012: 33-34), which are all contemporary except for *Royal* and *Hatton*.[15] The four earlier manuscripts probably date from around the first quarter of the 11th century (Liuzza 1995), since the added material that suggests that the original manuscript was in Malmesbury (in the present-day county of Wiltshire) in the mid-11th century, a place where it may have also been produced (Liuzza 1995: 12).

The *Royal* and *Hatton* manuscripts, on the other hand, date from the 12th or early 13th century (Marsden 2012: 228) "about the time of Henry II [king of England 1154-1189]", says Skeat (1878: x). The text of the *Hatton* MS (Ms Hatton 38) is very similar to that of *Royal* MS 1 A XIV, dating from the same period (between 1150-1200, according to the digitalised Manuscript Display of the British Library). The *Royal* MS presents a very distinctive handwriting that is "hasty and rough", while the scribe of the *Hatton* MS had a neat handwriting (Skeat 1871: x). This has been an argument used to claim that the former is a copy of the latter due to the fact that the scribe of the *Royal* MS omitted seven verses at the end of Mark's Gospel, and these were supplied by the scribe of the *Hatton* MS in his neat handwriting (Skeat 1871: x). In my opinion, this is anecdotal and only

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[15] These manuscripts are CUL Ii.2, CCCC 140, Cotton Otho C I/1, Royal Ms 1A XIV, Bodley 441, and Hatton 38, respectively.

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serves to prove that the scribe of the *Hatton Gospels* had access to the *Royal* MS, not that he copied it. After all, if copying a text, why bother adding the missing pieces to it?

The *Hatton Gospels* have been said to portray a "modernised" version of the *Royal* MS in terms of language, as the latter presents more archaic forms (Skeat 1874: x, 1871: x). However, both the *Hatton* and the *Royal* texts are, in turn, "modernised" versions of the *Corpus* text (Fischer 2012: 36-37). In Skeat's edition of the Gospels, *Hatton* and *Royal* appear as the same text, and margin annotations are added when they present differences in translation. This is the version I have consulted in my research.

These Gospels have been found to follow the Latin syntax of the original source much more freely than Lindisfarne (Callaway 1913), not only because of this *modern* approach to language, but also due to the fact that they are a translation and not a gloss that is meant to "give a sense of each word individually" (Esteban-Segura 2014: 49). However, that does not mean the translation in the glosses is always more literal. In section 2.3 I mentioned some studies that had found some unglossed words in Lindisfarne, especially proper nouns, and also instances where Aldred, the glossator, saw himself in a situation where he needed to explain a Latin term in more depth, thus adding marginal notes and comments to his gloss. This cannot be done in a translation, and therefore the translator of the *West Saxon Gospels* had to find alternatives. For example, where both Lindisfarne and Rushworth glossed the botanical term 'aloe' as *wirt-cynn* 'type of plant', West Saxon provides the reader with an actual translation for the word, *alewan* (Esteban-Segura 2014: 48).

One significant linguistic difference between the *West Saxon Gospels* and the Northumbrian glosses of Lindisfarne and Ru2 is that in the Northern glosses we can find words of Celtic origin, such as *luh* 'lake' (cf. present-day Scottish *loch*), where West Saxon uses *tiberiadis* (Esteban-Segura 2014: 50). Another difference is the use of runic

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graph <p> 'wynn' to represent /w/ in West Saxon scribal practice, while the Old Northumbrian glosses favour the use of <u> (Cole 2019: 132).

Although the *West Saxon Gospels* is a much later manuscript than that of *Lindisfarne*, *Durham*, or *Rushworth*, it is included in Skeat's edition of the Gospels (1871-1878), where he points out that it is "interesting as showing how the language began to lose strength in its inflectional forms" (1878: x). In terms of verbal inflection, the *Hatton* manuscript shows preterite plurals that may end in either *–en* or *–e*, showing simplification (Fischer 2012: 44). Since this study is concerned with the regularisation of strong verbs, it is only fitting to include this manuscript into my study for the sake of comparison of Old Northumbrian with a southern dialect. Moreover, it has been suggested that Aldred's speech became westernised throughout his life (see Fernández Cuesta & Langmuir 2019), which is why the comparison of the *West Saxon Gospels* and Durham is particularly interesting.

4. Methodology

For the analysis of the verbal shift from strong to weak in Lindisfarne, I have used a self-compiled corpus. It includes forms mentioned in previous literature as strong verbs appearing on the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* with weak verbal inflection in their preterite or past participle forms; namely, Cook (1894), Kellum (1906), Ross (1937), Campbell (1959), Krygier (1994) and García García (2016). It also includes a number of forms not recorded in previous literature that I have found myself.

Once these forms were selected, I double-checked that they did indeed appear in the gloss by looking them up online on the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*), and in Skeat's editions of the Gospels (1871-1887). However, Skeat's edition has been found unreliable (Fernández Cuesta 2016), which is why other sources such as Cook's glossary (1894), Kendrick et al.'s facsimile edition (1956), and the digitised manuscript by the British Library were also consulted. For the purpose of this analysis only the interlinear Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* was considered.

The first data I collected was from Ross (1937). He identifies 41 different instances of strong verbs that present weak forms in their preterite or past participle in Lindisfarne. However, when double-checking these forms in the facsimile edition of the Gospels (Kendrick et al. 1956), the *DOEC*, and Skeat's editions (1871-1887), I was only able to confirm that 38 of these actually appear in Lindisfarne. Thus, only 38 of the total 41 forms identified by Ross were included in my analysis.

Later, as I checked Cook (1894) for the forms previously found in Ross (1937), I found some verbs were marked "swv". In his glossary, Cook classifies verbs as either "sv" (strong verb) or "wv" (weak verb). However, 12 verbs are classed "swv"; and even though he does not give an explanation for his abbreviations, it is safe to assume that this means *strong weak verb*, which implies the alternation of those particular verbs between the

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weak and strong paradigms. Of these 12 verbs, 5 are already collected in the data I gathered from previous literature, and 2 of them only appear in the infinitive form, which does not allow me to determine whether they are weak or strong. Two of the verbs marked by Cook as "swv", *gegrippan* and *gebyrigan*, are weak verbs according to both the *Bosworth-Toller Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Old English* (hereafter *DOE*). The objective of my thesis is to analyse the regularisation of strong verbs, and not the other way around; therefore, and even though they present strong forms in the gloss, these verbs are not included in my study. However, they serve to prove the general collapse of the verbal system in Old Northumbrian. A different verb that is marked by Cook as "swv", *gescrincan* 'to shrink', is in fact a strong verb that does not appear as weak in the gloss, and hence I have not taken it into account for my analysis. The remaining 2 verbs (*gesūpan* and *gefregnan*) add up to 10 analogical weak forms (and 46 strong forms) and these are included in my dataset and subject to analysis.

Two of the weak forms included in my study (*harmcuoedum* and *suoelte*) are those found in literature not specific to the study of strong verbs in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Consequently, these studies provide us with one anecdotal form mentioned in passing while they develop other topics. This is the case of the forms found in Kellum (1906) and García García (2016).

Another weak form included in my study, *gehehtes*, comes from *A Grammar of Old English* (Campbell 1959). This grammar does include some of the forms already mentioned in the literature I had previously consulted, so even though Campbell exemplifies this process of analogy in the Northumbrian dialect in detail, only one of the strong verbs he identifies as having weak preterite forms was useful to my study as a new piece of information.

Finally, one of the forms in my study comes from Krygier (1994). This comprehensive account of the regularisation of Old English strong verbs includes 51 forms from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. 28 of these forms had already been included in my dataset. Of the remaining 23, I found 22 to be non-applicable cases, as they were either not preterite forms, or forms from weak verbs (non-innovative) that he had misclassified, or I simply could not find them in the gloss. The remaining form, *gefælled*, and the 23 strong instances of this verb were included in my study.

On top of all the data from previous literature, I found five examples that, to the extent of my knowledge, had not been accounted for in this type of study before. These forms are, for the most part, reduplications of forms collected by previous literature that these authors failed to mention, i.e. Ross (1937) accounted for one instance of a particular form when it can also be found in other verses in the gloss. Moreover, I encountered two forms that I classified as problematic, as I cannot be sure whether they are weak innovative preterite forms or present forms. They have not been included in my dataset and can be found in Appendix I.

As for the strong forms, I looked up all the expected forms according to the ablaut pattern of each verb in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (hereafter *DOEC*) to gather my data. For this compilation, I made use of the Old English dictionaries, grammars, and online tools mentioned above to establish the usual strong conjugation of the verbs in my analysis. Consequently, I looked up those strong forms in the *DOEC* to see if they appeared in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. This data was then double-checked with Skeat's edition of the Gospels (1871-1887) as well as Cook's glossary (1894). The final result was a total of 344 strong forms. As these strong forms are not the focus of my analysis, I have not included them in the body of my discussion and Appendix III provides references for all of them.

In sum, the analysis in this study is based on a corpus of 23 verbs and 403 forms in Lindisfarne, and 770 forms across all the manuscripts analysed (see total numbers from Durham, Rushworth, and *West Saxon* below). Of these, 59 weak forms come from Lindisfarne – 38 from Ross (1937), 11 from Cook (1894), two from Campbell (1959), one from Kellum (1906), one from Krygier (1994), one from García García (2016), and six of my own finding, in addition to 344 strong forms. Of the 59 weak forms, seven (11%) could actually be considered hybrid forms. I will explain the difference between the two in section 5.1 when discussing my dataset. Only forms in the preterite tense and past participles were collected, as these are the tenses where strong and weak inflections differ. The full list with details on every verb and weak form included in my analysis can be found in section 5.1. The strong forms can be found in Appendix III.

In the second part of the thesis I analyse vowel transference and other processes that strong verbs undergo in Old Northumbrian. For this, the data collection method was similar. I looked at all the strong verbs recorded by Cook (1894) in his glossary and manually took note of all the forms that seemed to follow a vowel transference pattern. After that I looked up all those forms in the *DOEC* and compared them with the data from Skeat's edition (1871-1887) and the facsimile edition of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (1959). I then divided my data into different categories according to the type of vowel transference or lack thereof (see chapters 7 and 8) – and used simple statistical methods for a descriptive analysis. In total, 496 forms were considered for the analysis of vowel transference and other processes in Lindisfarne.

For the comparative part of my analysis both with regard to regularisation and to vowel transference, I selected other glosses and Gospel translations of the time. I used Skeat's edition (1871-1887) of the Gospels to compile the Rushworth and *West Saxon* data, as they are included in the footnotes and right hand pages of the edition, respectively. The

Rushworth data was also contrasted with Tamoto's (2013) edition of the *Rushworth Gospels*. As for the *Durham Ritual* gloss, I used Lindelöf's glossary (1901) and edition (1927), as well as Stevenson's edition (1840). All of these texts were also consulted in the *DOEC* for confirmation (only the *Corpus* MS of the *West Saxon Gospels* is included in the *DOEC*; see section 3). As the analysis of these other texts serves a comparative function, I did not look for examples of other verbs appearing on either Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels* that might exhibit regularisation. The gloss to the *Durham Ritual* was taken into account in its entirety, however, as its study can help shed light on different issues, such as Aldred's authorship and the (allegedly) more conservative nature of its language

The methodology for the comparative analysis with Durham was different from that of Rushworth and the *West Saxon Gospels*, as this is a collection of liturgical materials and not a translation of the Gospels, and thus this text does not provide yet another version of the same text. Instead of searching for the verb used in a particular passage, I examined Lindelöf's glossary (1901) and two versions of the *Collectar* (1840 and 1927), as mentioned above, looking for the verbs found in Lindisfarne. By doing this, I found 12 of the total 23 verbs included in my analysis in Durham, of which only four present regularisation. Additionally, in order to be able to shed light onto current debates regarding the linguistic relationship between the two texts, I searched for strong verbs that behave as weak in Durham that are different from those recorded in Lindisfarne. This search rendered four new verbs that present regularisation in the Durham gloss. In total, the verbs in Durham rendered 33 forms, nine of which are weak. For the analysis of vowel transference and other processes, 21 forms from Durham were taken into account, both from direct comparative analysis with Lindisfarne and new forms from verbs not affected by these processes in Lindisfarne.

In the case of the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*, I looked up what verbs were used in those texts in the same place where the Lindisfarne glossator used an innovative, analogical weak form in order to determine whether the same verbs were also used in a weak manner in other manuscripts of the time. Then, I checked if those verbs appeared in other contexts for a more complete vision. The Rushworth data in my analysis for regularisation adds up to 270 forms, of which 49 appear in Ru1 and 221 in Ru2. A total of 12 weak instances can be found in both these glosses. These numbers include both the direct comparison with Lindisfarne and all additional forms of the same verbs I was able to find. Of the 59 forms found in Lindisfarne, 44 can be accounted for in Rushworth, with the remaining 15 being located (i) in the prologues to the Gospels, which are not included in this version of the Gospels; (ii) in one of the lost leaves of the manuscript; or (iii) in instances where a different verb appears and therefore these forms cannot be used as grounds for a comparative analysis. From the direct comparison data, 12 weak innovative forms and 39 strong forms were retrieved. I then searched how the verbs in my analysis behaved in other contexts in Rushworth, not only in the instances where weak forms appear in Lindisfarne. From this investigation I was able to locate 204 additional strong, etymological forms in the Rushworth glosses. For the examination of vowel transference and other processes included in the analysis, 316 forms from Rushworth were taken into account.

As for the *West Saxon Gospels*, since this is a later text and a direct translation from Latin instead of a gloss, it was expected to contain fairly different vocabulary from Lindisfarne. I identified 12 of the 23 verbs retrieved from the Old Northumbrian gloss in this West Saxon manuscript. These 12 verbs appear a total of 60 times in the preterite and past participle in the *West Saxon Gospels*, of which four are instances of weak innovative forms. Moreover, for the study of vowel transference and other processes, 469 forms from

the *West Saxon Gospels* were taken into account. Section 5.1 below sets out all the forms included in the regularisation analysis, from Lindisfarne, as well as Rushworth, the *West Saxon Gospels*, and Durham. Chapters 7 and 8 describe the forms featuring vowel transference or other processes in all these texts.

As for the other parameters of study, The *Oxford English Dictionary* in its online edition (henceforth *OED*) was used to determine the Present-Day English status of the verbs in my study. It must be noted, however, that the regular vs. irregular dichotomy of Present-Day English grammars is not without faults for this particular analysis (see section 5.2.4 for a detailed explanation). The online editions of the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* the *Cambridge English Dictionary,* and the *English Dialect Dictionary* (hereafter *EDD*) were also consulted, as well as the *DOE* and the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, which were used to examine the meanings of the Old English verbs. For the etymology part of my analysis, Kronen 2013, the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (2013; hereafter *LAEME*), Zoëga 1910, Rask 1843, and Cleasby-Vifugson 1874 (digitalised in 2003-2004) were consulted, as well as the *OED* online.

The Present-Day English translations of the Gospel verses in section 5.1 are from the *Douay-Rheims Bible* Online. There are, however, some examples for which I was not able to find a PDE translation, as they are part of the prologues to the Gospels, which are not included in present-day editions of the Bible. For these instances, I asked a fellow PhD candidate, Victoria González Berdús, from the Latin and Ancient Greek department at the University of Seville, for help. She kindly translated these into Spanish and then I made a second translation of these sections into English. It must be noted that the Latin used in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is not classical but vulgar, so the translation of the prologues proved challenging and might not be as fluid as the translations for the other sections of the Bible. As for my study of Latin forms from the original sources, I have

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made use of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968) and Tufts University's *Perseus* online study tool, which allows for a search in multiple Latin texts as well as lexicon entries in dictionaries, such as Lewis and Short's 1879 *Latin Dictionary*.

 I have analysed the verbs in my data taking into account the following variables: word origin, verbal class, alternation of strong and weak forms (whether there are instances of both weak and strong forms for the same verb in the gloss), frequency in the text, survival in Present-Day English, whether they have remained strong or weak to the present day, and distribution in the gloss (in which Gospel the form was found). Multiple grammar books and dictionaries were used to determine these factors, namely Campbell (1959), Hogg and Fulk (2011), the *OED*, Kroonen (2013), the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (online), and the *DOE*. The frequency of these verbs was calculated by counting the number of times they appear in the preterite or past participle only. However, frequency data was supported with *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (henceforth *MCOE*) references about the overall status of these verbs when possible (via Hogg & Fulk (2011), as I do not have access to the *MCOE*), as well as the *DOE*. The *OED* was used to determine frequencies in Present-Day English.

All variables (etymology, phonological structure, class, frequency, and PDE status) have been analysed on their own, as separate factors, and also in relation to one another when suitable. Regarding the methodological procedure, all the data was stored in an Excel database and submitted to statistical analysis in the same programme by means of in-built formulas such as *countifs*. The data was also analysed using specialised software such as R and Strata, with the help and supervision of expert and member of my research group Alejandro Marín. The trends observed in the data will be presented in graphs and tables as appropriate (see chapters 5 and 6).

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5. Analogical processes affecting strong verbs in Lindisfarne: the development of weak forms

5.1. Description of the dataset

As mentioned in the methodology section, this study relies on a self-compiled database containing 23 different Old Northumbrian strong verbs, which appear a total of 403 times in either their expected strong forms or the innovative weak forms in Lindisfarne, and 770 times across all texts examined. In this section, I provide a comprehensive account of my dataset by explaining each verb and its occurrences. For reasons of space, I only provide the full quotations of the weak and hybrid forms (59 in total), and of the strong forms only if they appear in double glosses together with an innovative weak form. A list of hybrid forms can be found in Appendix II. The remainder of the strong forms from Lindisfarne, Durham, Rushworth, and the *West Saxon Gospels* can be found in Appendix IV, with references to the verse numbers they appear in.

The 23 (originally strong) verbs included in my analysis, ordered according to class and alphabetically, can be seen in Table 7 below. The verb marked with an asterisk contains problematic forms (i.e. forms that are hard to classify as either weak innovative forms or strong etymological ones), which can be found in Appendix I (alongside an additional verb that is also problematic).

Table 7. Dataset: List of verbs included in my analysis of strong to weak forms

class	verbs
class I	*dwīnan, hrīnan, stīgan*
class II	*bebeōdan*, gesūpan*
class III	*onginnan, swingan, ðringan, gebindan, gefregnan, sweltan*

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class IV	n/a
class V	*fretan, harmcwoeðan*
class VI	*gestandan*
class VII	*feallan, gehātan, gewæxan, slēpan, rǣdan, tosceādan, sāwan, ondrǣdan, wēpan*

I will deal with the forms of these verbs found in Lindisfarne first, adding the corresponding forms of the same verbs in Rushworth and the *West Saxon Gospels* below (the analysis of these forms can be found in chapter 6). The *Durham Ritual*, however, is made up of liturgical material that does not include the text of the Gospels, and thus the forms cannot be compared in the same way. For the comparative analysis with Durham I will find which forms of these 23 verbs appear in the *Ritual* gloss and add them to the end of the section for each of the verbs, looking for new forms of the aforementioned verbs, and seeing if they translate the same Latin verbs. Since I cannot make references to Bible verses for these examples, I will include the page numbers where these forms can be found in Lindelöf's edition (1927), with additional references to his glossary (1901) when needed.

After the analysis of the forms found in Lindisfarne, I will list any other instances where these verbs appear in either weak or strong forms in Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels*. An analysis of verbs that do not present weak innovative forms in Lindisfarne but do in Durham can be found in section 6.1.

Dwīnan. This is a class I strong verb equivalent to PDE *dwine* 'to waste or pine away', which the Merriam-Webster online dictionary classes as "chiefly dialectal" (s.v. *dwine*, v). The *English Dialect Dictionary* confirms that this is a term used mostly in the

North and North-East part of Britain (s.v. *dwine*, v.1). Nowadays, this is a regular verb. The *OED* does not record occurrences of this verb following the strong paradigm after the Old English period (s.v. *dwine, v.*). It appears once in a weak preterite form in Lindisfarne and never as strong.

⌐Weak form *forduinde*.

> LkGl (Li) 14.34. *Bonum est sal si autem sal quoque euanuerit in quo condietur*
> god is se salt gif ðonne se salt æc ðon **forduinde ⱦ forduineð** in ðon ⱦ in ðæm bið besmitten ⱦ gehyded.
> PDE translation: Salt is good. But if the salt shall lose its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?[16]

The innovative weak form *forduinde* appears beside the present tense form *forduineð* in a double gloss Latin verb *euaneuerit*, which is a future perfect tense form. This helps explain the use of a double gloss where one of the forms is in the present tense and the other a preterite form, in an attempt to convey the meaning of the Latin original.

The second form, *forduineð,* is the one chosen for this same verse in Ru2. In the West Saxon translation of the Gospels, the strong form *awurð* (cp. *aweorpan*) is chosen in this verse. This verb is not attested in Durham. There are no additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Hrīnan. This is class I strong verb that is non-existent in Present-Day English, but used to mean 'to touch'. The *OED* (s.v. *rine*, v1) notes that occasional weak forms of this verb are attested in Old English, especially Old Northumbrian, but strong inflections survive until the Middle English period. It occurs 27 times in the preterite tense in Lindisfarne. In 32% (8 out of 27) of these occurrences the verb is inflected as weak, and

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[16] It is worth mentioning that the PDE translations given throught this and upcoming sections translate the Latin original, not the Old English versions.

in the remaining 68% of its attestations (19 out of 27) it occurs as a strong verb. Half of these eight weak forms appear in double glosses.

↳Weak form: *gehrinde*.

> MkGl (Li) 8.22. *Et ueniunt bethsaida et adducunt ei caecum et rogabant eum ut illum tangeret*
> & cuomon to bethsaiða ðær byrig & tolæddon him blindne monno & gebedon hine þætte hine ðone **gehrinde.**
>
> PDE translation: And they came to Bethsaida; and they bring him to a blind man, and they besought him that would touch him.

This form glosses the Latin verb *tangeret*, an imperfect subjunctive form and it appears in Ru2 as *gehrine*, a strong preterite subjunctive form. The *West Saxon Gospels* also feature a strong form: *æt-rine.*

↳Weak form: *gehrindon*. This form appears twice. The first one explained below is recorded in Ross (1937), and the second one is of my own finding.

> MtGl (Li) 25.7. *tunc surrexerunt omnes uirgines illae et ornauerunt lampades suas*
>
> ða arioson alle hehstalde ða ilco & **gehrindon** lehtfato hiora.
>
> PDE translation: Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps.

This form glosses the Latin verb *ornauerunt* in the perfect tense, which makes it a good translation in terms of tense, but the meaning is not recorded in the Old English dictionaries I have consulted: the *DOE* and *Bosworth-Toller* (s.v. *hrīnan*). The Latin word *ornare* translates as 'decorate' and not 'touch' or 'hold', which is the meaning *hrīnan* has, according to the dictionaries mentioned above. In fact, this verb is translated as *fretwan* 'to adorn' in this instance in Ru1.

> MkGl (Li) 3.10. *multos enim sanabat ita ut inruerent in eum ut illum tangerent quotquot autem habebant plagas*

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monigo forðon he gehælde ðus þætte hia raesdon on him þætte hine hie **gehrindon ╂** hrina mæhtæs sua feolo ╂ sua oft ðonne hia hæfdon uncuð aðlo.

PDE translation: For he healed many, so that they pressed upon him to touch him as many as had evils.

In this instance, the form *gehrindon* appears in a double gloss with the periphrasis *hrina mæhtæs*. They are both glossing the Latin verb *tangere* 'to touch' in the imperfect tense. It appears as the strong form *gihrionun* in Ru2. The prefix *ge-* recorded in Lindisfarne changes to *gi-* in Rushworth, as in the Old Mercian dialect *g* had become "so palatal as to be represented by "*i*", and thus *ge-* and *gi-* should be regarded as equivalent (Child 1903: 61). In the *West Saxon Gospels*, it appears in the strong subjunctive form *æt-rine.*

↳ Weak form *gehrinade*. Although Ross (1937) lists this form as appearing twice in Lindisfarne, I was able to find only one instance in my search.

LkGl (Li) 18.15. *Afferebant autem ad illum et infantes ut eos tangeret quod cum uiderent discipuli increpabant illos*

gebrohton ða to him æc ða cildo þætte hia **gehrinade** þæt miððy gesegon ða ðegnas geðreadon ╂ hia.

PDE translation: And they brought unto him also infants that he might touch them. Which when the disciples saw, they rebuked them.

This form glosses Latin *tangeret* 'touched' in the imperfect subjunctive. The glossator in Ru2 chose the form *gihrine* in this instance, a strong preterite subjunctive form. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, the strong form *ætrine* appears.

↳ Weak forms *gehrinadon* and *gehrinad*. They appear together in a double gloss.

MtGl (Li) 14.36. *et rogabant eum ut ╂ fimbriam uestimenti eius tangerent et quicumque tetigerunt salui facti sunt*

& gebedon hine þæt ╂ fas ╂ wloh wedes his gehrine moston & sua huælc ╂ hiora hia **gehrinadon ╂ gehrinad** hæfde.

PDE translation: And they besought him that they might touch but the hem of his garment. And as many touched, were made whole.

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These two forms gloss Latin verb *tetigerunt* (cp. *tangere* 'to touch') in the perfect tense. Both of them are weak forms of the same verb. However, the first one is a preterite form while the second one is a past participle, as part of a past perfect form. Rushworth uses only one form for this translation, *æthrīnan*. The full sentence in the last part of this verse is glossed in Ru1 as *swa hwælc swa æthrīnan hale wyrdon*. This form could be interpreted as either being an infinitive form or a past plural form where the scribe used *–an* instead of *–on* as a desinence. However, in this context, a past plural form makes more sense. The *West Saxon Gospels* use *æt-rinen*, a strong plural subjunctive form.

↳Weak form *gehrined*.

> LkGl (Li) 21.5. *Et quibusdam dicentibus de templo quod lapidibus bonis et donis ornatum esset dixit*
>
> & ðara sum cuoeðendum of temple þætte mið godum stanum & geafum **gehrined** were cuoeð
>
> PDE translation: And some saying of the temple, that it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts, he said.

This form appears glossing Latin original *ornatum*, which is a past participle. Once again, however, it appears with the unexpected meaning 'to decorate'. In Rushworth (Ru2) this instance is translated as *girinad*, an innovative weak form of the same verb. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, the weak verb *geglengan* 'to decorate' appears in the past participle form *ge-glenged*.

↳Weak form *gehrinæd*.

> MtGl (Li) 12.44. *tunc dicit reuertar in domum meam unde exiui et ueniens inuenit uacantem scopis mundatam et ornatam*
>
> ða cueoeð ic cearro Ⱶ ic willo cerre in hus min ðona ic cuom & cuom infand Ⱶ begæt restende Ⱶ licende mið besmum geclænsad & **gehrinæd**.
>
> PDE translation: Then he saith: I will return into my house from hence I came out. And coming he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.

The weak verb form used by the scribe in this verse is glossing a participle in the accusative case. This is another instance where *hrīnan* is the verb chosen by the Lindisfarne scribe to translate *ornare* 'to decorate', which is again translated in Ru1 as *gefretwad*, a weak verb. I will return to this question when analysing my Rushworth data in section 6.2.

In this instance in the *West Saxon Gospels frættewian* 'to adorn' is used in the past participle form *gefratewed*. As for Durham, the only preterite form of this verb recorded in Lindelöf's glossary is *gihrān* (DurRitGl 55.8)*,* a strong form, glossing Latin perfect form *tetigit*. Past participle *gihrined* also appears, glossing Latin past participle *tactum* (Lindelöf 1927: 121). This is a weak innovative form. Additionally, there are 10 more strong forms of this verb in Ru2, and 19 strong forms in the *West Saxon Gospels*, which can all be found in Appendix III.

Stīgan. Class I strong verb. It is obsolete in Present-Day English, but it used to mean 'to ascend','to go' or 'reach' in Old English. The *OED* (s.v. *sty*, v1) mentions that it is not attested as a weak verb before the 13th century, except for sporadic cases in Old Northumbrian. It appears three times (6%) as weak and 55 (94%) as a strong verb in Lindisfarne. This is the most frequently attested verb in my dataset. One of the weak forms occurs in a double gloss, as do four of the strong forms, but not next to innovative weak forms, so they will not be included here (see Appendix III for references).

↳Weak form *astigedon*.

> MkGl (Li) 6.32. *Et ascendentes in naui abierunt in desertum locum seorsum*
>
> & **astigedon** in scip foerdon in woestig styd sundur.
>
> PDE translation: And going up into a ship, they went into a desert place apart.

This weak form glosses the Latin present participle *ascendentes.* In Ru2, a past form of the same verb is also used for this translation, *astaegdunn*, which appears to be a hybrid form since it presents both ablaut and a dental suffix. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, it appears as *stigende*, which is a present participle, like the Latin original, and thus does not provide any information regarding the status of the verb's inflection as weak or strong.

↳Weak form *gestigdes*.

> MtGl (Li) 11.23. *et tu capharnaum numquid usque in caelum exaltaberis usque in infernum descendes quia in sodomis factæ fuissent uirtutes quae factae sunt in te forte mansissent usque in hunc diem*
>
> & ðu huu wið inn heofnum ðu ðec ahefes wið helle ofdune **gestigdes** ðu forðon in gewordne woere mæht ða geworden aron in ðeh eaða mæhte ł eaðæ mæge were wungiende łðætte hia gewunadon wið ðonne ondueard dæg ł ðiosne ondueard dæge.
>
> PDE translation: And thou Capharnaum, shalt thou be exalted up to heaven? Thou shalt go down even unto hell. For if in Sodom had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in thee perhaps it had remained unto this day.

This form not only adds a dental suffix to indicate tense, it also adds a final –s by analogy with the weak inflection, as –s(t) is characteristic of the second person singular (this also happens in the verb *gehātan*, see below). Here, *gestigdes* glosses Latin *descendes* (cp. *descendere* 'to go down'), which is a future form. We are once again looking at a case where the scribe chose the right verb in terms of meaning but did not accurately reflect the verbal tense of the Latin original. In Ru1 the scribe chose to use the present tense form *astigest*. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, the verb is omitted in favour of adverb *niðer* 'down'.

↳Weak form *astigade*.

> LkGl (Li) 10.30. *suscipiens autem iesus dixit homo quidam descendebat ab hierusalem in hiericho et incidit in latrones qui etiam despoliauerunt eum et plagis impositis abierunt semiuiuo relicto*

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ondfeng ða se hælend cuoeð monn sum adune **astigade ⸗ cuom** from hierusalem in ðær byrig & befoerde ⸗ becuom on ða ðeafas ðaðe uutedlice bereofadon him & mið wundum onsettenum fromfoerdon halfcwic ⸗ half <lifigiende> forleten.

PDE translation: And Jesus answering, said: A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers, who also stripped him, and having wounded him went away, leaving him half dead.

In this instance, the weak form *astigade* appears in a double gloss with a completely different verb, *cuom*, a preterite form of class IV strong verb *cuman*. They both gloss Latin imperfect form *descendebat* 'went down'. Unfortunately, this verse is located in one of the lost leaves of the *Rushworth Gospels*. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, weak preterite form *ferde* 'went' appears. In Durham, this verb is found twice in preterite forms, always following the strong inflection: *astige* (DurRitGl 123.18), glossing Latin perfect form *ascendisti*, and *stige* (DurRitGl 101.6, 101.8), glossing Latin perfect form *descendisti*. There are 46 additional strong forms in Rushworth: seven in Ru1 and 39 in Ru2. As for the *West Saxon Gospels*, there are four additional instances of preterite forms and one past participle. All of these forms are inflected in the expected strong manner.

Bebeōdan. Class II strong verb with the meaning 'to offer, command'. It is an irregular verb in Present-Day English (*to bid*). This is one out of four verbs classified by Ross (1937) as hybrids. These are verbs whose stems end in *–d*, and present a vowel change in the root but add *–e* to form the third person singular preterite tense, as weak verbs would (1937: 154). This particular verb appears five times in my data, one of which is an innovative weak form. All three of the strong forms appear in double glosses. The remaining form is problematic (see Appendix I).

ↄHybrid form *bebeade*.

LkGl (Li) 8.29. *praecipiebat enim spiritui inmundo ut exiret ab homine multis enim temporibus arripiebat illum et uinciebatur catenis et compedibus custoditus et ruptis uinculis agebatur a demonio in deserta*

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bebeade forðon ðæm unclæne gaste þætte foerde of ðæm menn monigum forðon tidum fornom hine & gebunden wæs mið raccentegum & mið fatrum gehalden wæs & miððy geslitten weron ða bendo gedrifen wæs from diowlæ on woesternum.

PDE translation: For he commanded the unclean spirit to go out of the man. For many times it seized him, and he was bound with chains, and kept in fetters; and breaking the bonds, he was driven by the devil into the deserts.

This hybrid form glosses Latin imperfect indicative *praecipiebat* 'he commanded'. Unfortunately, this example occurs in one of the lost leaves of the *Rushworth* MS, and thus we do not have access to this translation in its gloss. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, this verb appears in the strong form *bed*. As for Durham, this verb is found in the strong past participle form *beboden* (DurRitGl 188.23) glossing Latin supine form *commissum*.

There are 11 additional instances of this verb in the Old Mercian gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru1), but none of these forms presents the effects of regularisation. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, there are six additional forms in the preterite tense. All of these are strong forms.

Gesūpan. Class II strong verb from which PDE *sup*, a regular verb, derives. The *OED* states it was widespread as weak during the Middle English period, and its first attestation as weak occurred in Northumbrian (s.v. *sup*, v). It appears once as a weak verb and once as a strong one in Lindisfarne.

↳Weak form *gesupedon*.

MkPrlg (Li). *Qui perdit inquit animam suam propter me inuenit eam nec gustaturos quosdam mortem donec uideant eum in regno eius statimque transfiguratus inducitur et iohannem heliae passuri ipse similia passum dicit*

seðe losas cuoeð sawel his fore mec begæt hia ne hia þæt gebirigdon ⳨ **gesupedon** weron sume oðer ðone deað wið ⳨ oðð hia gesea hine In ric his & sona oferhiwade wæs inlaeded & iohannis weron ðrowende he gelicra ðrowende cuoeð.

PDE translation: He says, he who loses his own soul for me will find it and some will not taste death until they see it in his kingdom, and next he transformed and said John suffered the same way Elias had.

The weak third person plural preterite form *gesupedon* is located in a double gloss with *gebirigdon*, a weak verb of the same meaning. It is followed by *weron*, a third person plural preterite form of the anomalous verb *beon* 'to be', which functions as an auxiliary to translate Latin original *gustaturos* 'will taste'. This is unusual, as Latin future tense is most often rendered in Lindisfarne with the use of modal auxiliary verbs *willan*, **sculan*, and *magan* (Kotake 2006: 43). Moreover, *weron* is a preterite form, making this a preterite + preterite periphrasis, which was not common in Old English. This form is, in short, puzzling, and was perhaps a scribal error of some sort, as other future participles in the text are glossed with different constructions (e.g. MtGl 11.3 *cymende wæs* (venturus), MkGl 14.11 *hie sealla walldon* (daturus), LkGl 7.2 *wæs deadlic* (moriturus).

As this example occurs in the prologue to Mark's Gospel, it does not appear in either Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels*. This verb is not attested in Durham. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Onginnan. Class III strong verb with the meaning 'to begin'. It is inexistent in Present-Day English as such, but a verb derived from the same root is still present in English nowadays: *begin* (a strong verb). This is the most frequent verb in my dataset, as it is attested a total of 69 times in preterite forms in Lindisfarne. Of these, only one instance is a weak form, which represents 1.4% of the total. Two of the strong forms appear in a double gloss together.

ↆWeak form *ongindo*.

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LkPrlg (Li). *dehinc ut in principio euangelii iohannis natiuitate praesumta cui euangelium scriberet et in quo electus scriberet et indicaret contestans et in se completa esse quae essent ab aliis incoata*

æfter ðon þætte on fruma godspelles iohannes mið accennise f'eondfengca ⸸ to ðæm <⸸><hwæm> godspell awrite & on ðæm se gecorene awrite & þætte tahte gecyðde ⸸ getrymmede & in him gefylledo were <⸸><weron> ðaðe weron from oðrum **ongindo**.

PDE translation: Next, after omitting Nativity, like in John's Gospel, he indicates who he is writing to and where he was chosen to write, also declaring that he has just completed what others had started.

This weak form glosses Latin past participle *incoata*. The prologues are not included in either the *Rushworth* or *West Saxon Gospels*, and thus neither is this particular translation. In Durham, this verb occurs once in the strong preterite form *ongann* (DurRitGl 45.8), glossing Latin perfect tense form *inituit* in a double gloss with *giscean*. There are 50 additional instances of this verb in the Rushworth glosses, four in Ru1 and 46 in Ru2 (see section 6.2 and Appendix III). None of these forms present regularisation. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, 20 additional forms can be found, all of which are strong forms.

Swingan. Class III strong verb equivalent to PDE *swing*, nowadays irregular. It appears four times as a weak (80%) and one as a strong verb in Lindisfarne (20%). Of these four weak forms, three are part of double glosses, and one of them is in a double gloss with the only strong form found for this verb in the gloss.

ↆWeak form *gesuuincgde*.

LkGl (Li) 12.47. *Ille autem seruus qui cognouit uoluntatem domini sui et non praeparauit et non fecit secundum uoluntatem eius uapulabit multas*

ðe ðonne esne seðe ongætt willo drihtnes his & þætte ne <foregearuade> & þætte ne dyde æfter willa his **gesuuincgde** ⸸ gemænde menigo.

PDE translation: And that servant who knew the will of his lord, and prepared not himself, and did not according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.

This form appears in a double gloss next to another weak, but not innovative, form, *gemænde* (cp. *gemædan* 'to madden, make foolish'). Ru2 shows the form *giswicte*, which could be interpreted as an innovative weak form of the verb *swingan* as well, or an anomalous form of the verb *swencan* 'to cause trouble to a person' (*Bosworth-Toller*, s.v. *ge-swingan*). The translation in this example is of Latin verb *vapulabit*, a future tense form. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, it is translated much more accurately as *beoð witned* 'shall be punished'.

↳Weak form *gesuingdon*.

> MtGl (Li) 21.8. *plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia alii autem caedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in uia*
>
> ða monigo uutedlice ðreatas gebrædon wedo hiora oðero uutedlice hia geðurscon ⊦ hia **gesuingdon** tuiggo of treum & <gebredon> ⊦ legdon on weg.
>
> PDE translation: And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way: and others cut boughs from the trees, and strew them in the way.

This innovative weak form appears in a double gloss next to strong verb *geðerscan* 'to strike', translating Latin imperfect form *caedebant* 'to cut'. The form chosen in Ru1 for this translation is *sneddun* (cp. *sniðan* 'to cut'). The *West Saxon Gospels* show the strong verb *heawan* 'to strike' in the form *heowan* in this instance.

↳Weak form *gesuincged* and strong form *gesuungun*.

> LkGl (Li) 18.32. *tradetur enim gentibus et inludetur et flagillabitur et conspuetur*
>
> gesald bið forðon hæðnum & gebismered bið ⊦ geteled & **gesuungun** ⊦ **gesuincged** bið & gespeoftad bið ⊦ gehoræd bið.
>
> PDE translation: For he shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and scourged, and spit upon.

The innovative weak form appears in a double gloss after the etymological strong form. Ru2 also features a strong form of the same verb in this case: *swungen*. All of these forms

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gloss Latin verb *flagillabitur*, a future passive form. In this instance, the *West Saxon Gospels* show the strong form *ge-swungen*.

↳ Weak form *gesuuinged*.

> MkGl (Li) 13.9. *Uidete autem uosmetipsos tradent enim uos conciliis et in sinagogis uapulabitis et ante praesides et reges stabitis propter me in testimonium illis*
>
> geseas ╫ behaldas ðonne iuih seolfa geseallas forðon iuih to gemoetingum & on somnungum gie biðon **gesuuinged** & befora undercyningum ╫ hehgeroefum & cyningum gie biðon stondende ╫ gie stondes fore mec on cyðnise him.
>
> PDE: But look to yourselves. For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

This is the only instance where a past participle of this verb does not appear in a double gloss. It is translating Latin future tense form *vapulabitis* 'shall be beaten'. A weak past participle is also chosen in Ru2 for its translation; in this case, *giswenced*, with the meaning 'to leave'. These past participle forms are, in both Lindisfarne and Ru2, accompanied by the verb *to be* in the present tense (*biðon* and *bioðun*, respectively), accounting for both the passive voice and the future tense of the Latin verb, as the present tense was often used with a future meaning in Old English. In the *Hatton* and *Royal* manuscripts of the *West Saxon Gospels*, *swinged* appears, which is a weak innovative form. It must be noted, however, that a present indicative plural form (*swingað*) is used in other manuscripts of the *Gospels*, such as Corpus, which could indicate a scribal error in the *Hatton* and *Royal* manuscripts (-*d* instead of -*ð*). In Durham, this verb appears in the infinitive as *asvinga* (Lindelöf 1901: 195), and there is one instance of a strong past participle inflected as an adjective: *asvngeno* (DurRitGl 42.6), glossing Latin *flagellamur*, a present passive form. It is accompanied by *se* in the gloss "*ve se asvegno*", which could

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be a form of *sien* – present subjunctive of the verb 'to be' – in order to make this a passive meaning. However, this form, *se,* is not recorded in the *Bosworth-Toller* dictionary.

Additionally, there is another instance of this verb behaving in the expected strong pattern in Ru2, and no other examples of regularisation. There are no additional preterite or past participle forms of this verb in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Ðringan. Class III strong verb from which PDE *thring* 'to press, squeeze' derives (obsolete, except dialect - *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* s.v. *thring*), which is an irregular verb. It appears twice in innovative weak forms in Lindisfarne (66%) and once in a strong past tense form (33%) located in a double gloss with one of the weak forms.

↳Weak form *geðringdon*.

> MkGl (Li) 5.24. *et abiit cum illo et sequebatur eum turba multa et comprimebant illum*
>
> & eode mið him & fylgede hine ðreato menigo & **geðringdon** hine ł ðene.
>
> PDE translation: And he went with him, and a great multitude followed him, and they thronged him.

This innovative weak form glosses Latin imperfect form *comprimebant*. In this same instance, Ru2 shows strong form *onðrungun*, belonging to the same verb. A strong form of this verb is also found in the West Saxon translation of the Gospels: *ðrungen*.

↳Weak form *geðringed* and strong form *geðrungen*.

> LkGl (Li) 8.42. *quia filia unica erat illi fere annorum duodecim et haec moriebatur et contigit dum iret a turba comprimebatur*
>
> forðon dohter ancende wæs him woeno ic wintro tuoelfo & ðios deadade & gelamp midðy eode from ðæm here wæs **geðringed ł geðrungen**.
>
> PDE translation: for he had an only daughter, almost twelve years old, and she was dying. And it happened as he went, that he was thronged by the multitudes.

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This is another case where the innovative weak form appears next to the etymological strong inflection of the same verb in a double gloss. Together with the preterite of the verb *to be*, they gloss Latin imperfect passive indicative form *comprimebatur*. In Ru2, a double gloss is also chosen in this instance: *giðring*, which seems to be a hybrid form since it does not present ablaut or a dental ending, appears next to the strong form *giðrungun*. The *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, show a strong form of this verb in their translation of this verse: *of-ðrungen*. This verb is not recorded in Durham, and I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite or past participle forms in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Gebindan. Class III strong verb equivalent to PDE *bind*, which is nowadays an irregular verb. This is another of the verbs classed as hybrids by Ross (1937: 154). It appears a total of 16 times in my data, one of these as a hybrid form in a double gloss in Luke's Gospel.

⌐Hybrid form *gebinde*.

> LkGl (Li) 24.28. *et appropinquauerunt castello quo ibant et ipse finxit se longius ire*
>
> & geneolecdon ðæm woerce ðidder eaðon & he gedyde ⱡ**gebinde** hine lengre ⱡ firr gaa.
>
> PDE translation: And they drew night to the town, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go farther.

This form appears in a double gloss, glossing Latin perfect form *finxit* 'he pretended' together with *gedyde*, a preterite form derived from the anomalous verb *don* 'to do, make, cause'. Ru2 presents the exact same double gloss, except *gebinde* is adapted to the dialect and becomes *gibinde*. The *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, present a less direct

translation of the Latin original and 'he pretended' becomes *he dyde swilce* 'he did like/in the manner', which corresponds with the first translation in the Lindisfarne double gloss.

In Durham, this verb appears once in the strong past participle form *gibundeno* (DurRitGl 21.2), which glosses Latin perfect participle *vincti*. Additionally, there are three instances of strong forms of this verb in Ru2. No other instances of regularisation are found in either Ru1 or Ru2. There are two additional preterite forms of this verb in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Gefregnan. Class III strong verb from which PDE *frayn/frayne/freyne* 'to inquire, ask' derives. The *OED* states it was inflected as weak in the Middle English period, and it does record that it appeared both as weak and strong in the Old Northumbrian dialect (s.v. *frayne|freyne*, v). It is a regular verb nowadays, albeit mostly obsolete and exclusively dialectal (*OED* s.v. *frayne|freyne*, v). This is the third most frequent verb in my data, as it appears a total of 53 times in its preterite or past participle forms in Lindisfarne. Of these, nine are weak innovative forms, three of which occur in double or triple glosses.

↳Weak form *gefrægnade*.

> LkGl (Li) 18.36. *et cum audiret turbam praetereuntem interrogabat quid hoc esset*
>
> & miðð geherde þæt here bifærende **gefrægnade** huæd ðis þæt were.
>
> PDE translation: And when he heard the multitude passing by, he asked what this meant.

This example glosses Latin imperfect form *interrogabat*. The gloss in the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru2) presents a strong form of the same verb in this instance, *gifrægn*, while the *West Saxon Gospels* have a different verb altogether: *axode*, a preterite form of the verb *axian* (cp. PDE *ask*).

MkGl (Li) 15.2. *Et interrogauit eum pilatus tu es rex iudeaorum at ille respondens ait illi tu dicis*

& **gefrægnade** ɫ geascade hine pylatus ðu arð cynig iudeana soð he onduearde cuoeð to him ðu cuoeðes þæt.

PDE translation: And Pilate asked him: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering, saith to him: Thou sayest it.

This form glosses Latin perfect tense *interrogavit* 'asked'. This example appears in a double gloss next to the form *geascade* from the weak verb *geascian* 'to ask'. As in the previous instance, Ru2 shows a strong form of this same verb, *gifrægen*, and the *West Saxon Gospels* opted once more for the verb *axian* (*axode*).

↳Weak form *gefraignade*.

MtGl (Li) 2.4. *et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis ubi christus nasceretur*

& gesomnade alle ða aldormenn biscopa ɫ mesapreasta & uðuutta ðæs folces georne **gefraignade** ɫ geascade ɫ gefrasade from him huer crist accenned were.

PDE translation: And assembling together all the chief priests and the scribes of the people, he inquired of them where Christ should be born.

As above, this form also appears in a multiple gloss, a triple gloss in this instance, next to two weak verbs of the same meaning *geascian* and *gefrasian*. All three verbs gloss Latin imperfect form *sciscitabatur* 'he inquired'. In Ru1 we can find the form *ahsode,* from weak verb *ahsian* 'to ask' (a variant of *acsian/ascian*, see *Bosworth-Toller*, s.v. *ahsian*) glossing this instance, while the translator in the *West Saxon Gospels* opted for *axode*.

↳Weak form *gefraignde*.

LkGl (Li) 15.26. *et uocauit unum de seruis et interrogauit quae haec essent*

& geceigde enne of ðæm ðrælum & **gefraignde** huætd ða woeron.

PDE translation: And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

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In this instance, the weak form glosses Latin *interrogavit*, a perfect tense form with the meaning 'to ask'. The interlinear gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels*, unfortunately, does not provide us with a translation for this instance, as it is located in one of the lost leaves of the manuscript. The *West Saxon Gospels* record *axode* here as well.

> LkGl (Li) 23.9. *interrogabat autem illum multis sermonibus at ipse nihil illi respondebat*
>
> **gefraignde** ðonne hine monigum wordum soð he noht him geondsuarede.
>
> PDE translation: And he questioned him in many words. But he answered him nothing.

In this instance, the weak form *gefraignde* glosses Latin *interrogabat*, an imperfect form. For this same example, Ru2 shows strong form *gefrægn*, and the *West Saxon Gospels*, *axode*.

↳ Weak form *gefragade*. In this case, I have supplied two different Present-Day English translations, as the one provided by the Douay-Rheims website seemed unclear.

> MtGl (Li) 2.16. *tunc herodes uidens quoniam inlusus esset a magis iratus est ualde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in bethleem et in omnibus finibus eius a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis*
>
> ða herodes gesægh forðon bisuicen ╪ bilyrtet wæs from dryum ╪ tungulcræftgum urað wæs suiðe & sende ofslog alle cnaeht ða ðe weron in ðær byrig & in allum gemæro hire of nioðmesta & bituih æfter tid þæt gesohte ╪ **gefragade** from dryum.
>
> PDE translations:
>
> Douay-Rheims: Then Herod perceiving that he was deluded by the wise men, was exceeding angry; and sending killed all the men children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the borders thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men.
>
> World English Bible: Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked by the wise men, was exceedingly angry, and sent out, and killed all the male children who were in Bethlehem and in all the surrounding countryside, from two years old and under, according to the exact time which he had learned from the wise men.

In this instance the weak form *gefragade* appears in a double gloss with *gesohte*, a preterite tense form of the weak verb *gesecan* 'to seek', to accurately translate Latin pluperfect form *exquiserat* 'to seek out, inquire'. Both Ru1 and the *West Saxon Gospels* use weak, non-innovative forms of the verb *axian* (*ahsote* and *ge-axode*, respectively).

↳Weak form *gefraignades.*

> MtGl (Li) 12.10. *et ecce homo manum habens aridam et interrogabant eum dicentes si licet sabbatis curare ut accussarent eum*
>
> & heonu monn hond hæfde dryi ╫ forscriuncen & **gefraignades** hine cuoede gif is gelefed on sabbatum geme ╫gelecnia þætte he gefræpgedon ╫ geteldon hin.
>
> PDE translation: And behold there was a man who had a withered hand, and they asked him, saying: Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath days? That they might accuse him.

Here, the weak form *gefraignades* glosses Latin *interrogabant*, a third person plural imperfect form. This form is weak as it presents a dental suffix. However, the *–s* ending is surprising considering it is glossing a third person plural form, which would normally be marked by a *–n* ending. According to Cole (2014: 187, 250), this is a case of *–s* for *-ð* (the present tense ending) due to a third person plural null subject. For this instance, both Ru1 and the *West Saxon Gospels* show forms of the verb *axian* in the expected weak inflection.

↳Weak form *gefrægndon.*

> MkGl (Li) 4.10. *et cum esset singularis interrogauerunt eum hi qui cum eo erant cum duodecim parabolas*
>
> & miððy wæs syndrigon **gefrægndon** hine ða ðaðe mið him weoron mið tuelf bispell.
>
> PDE translation: And when he was alone, the twelve that were with him asked him the parable

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This form glosses Latin *interrogaverunt,* a perfect tense form of the same meaning. As opposed to the example above, it does present a *–n* ending typical of the third person plural preterite indicative. The interlinear gloss in Ru2 presents a strong form of this verb in this instance, *gifrugnun*, and in the *West Saxon Gospels* we find *axoden*.

↳Weak form *gefregndon*.

> MkGl (Li) 1.27. *et mirati sunt omnes ita ut conquirerent inter se dicentes quidnam est hoc quae doctrina hęc noua quia in potestate et spiritibus inmundis imperat et oboediunt ei*
>
> & wundrande weron alle ðus þætte hia **gefregndon** bituih him cuoeðende huæt ðæt is ðis huælc lar ðius ╪ ðas niua forðon ╪ þætte in mæht & gastum unclænum hatas & eðmodigað him.
>
> PDE translation: And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying: What thing is this? What is this new doctrine? For with power he commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey him.

In this instance, the weak verb is glossing an imperfect subjunctive form in the Latin original, *conquirent* 'to seek out'. The interlinear gloss in Ru1 shows a strong form of this verb, *frugno*, in a double gloss with *ascadun*, from the verb *ascian* 'to ask'. The *West Saxon Gospels* have *wundreden*, a preterite form of the weak verb *wundrian* 'to wonder'.

In Durham, this verb appears once in the imperative form *gifraignað* (DurRitGl 36.6), which is not indicative as a weak inflection. The verb is, however, classified as strong by Lindelöf in his glossary (1901: 139). There are 35 additional forms of this verb in Ru2, and one in Ru1, all of which are strong preterite forms. I was not able to find any additional forms of this verb in the preterite tense or participle in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Sweltan. Class III strong verb, equivalent to PDE *swelt*, a weak regular verb, now dialectal (*OED* s.v. *swelt*, v). The *OED* points out that this verb was usually weak in Old Northumbrian (s.v. *swelt*, v). In fact, Cook classifies it as weak in his glossary (1854:

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181), maybe due to the fact that no strong forms appear in the gloss. In total, there are two instances of preterite forms of *sweltan* in Lindisfarne, both of which are weak.

↳ Weak form *suoelte*.

> JnGl (Li) 11.37. *quidam autem dixerunt ex ipsis non poterat hic qui aperuit oculos caeci facere ut et hic non moreretur*
>
> summo uutedlice cuoedon of ðæm ahne mæhte ðes seðe untynde ego ðæs blindes wyrca þætte eæc ðes ne **suoelte**.
>
> PDE translation: But some of them said: Could not he that opened the eyes of the man born blind, have caused that this man should not die?

 This form does not present a dental ending *per se*; however, since the verb has a dental consonant in the root, a doubling of the <t> would not be expected (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 267-268). Moreover, it ends in –*e*, a characteristic of weak forms. García García explains her classification of this form as weak as follows: "attested in the past singular as 'suoelte' [...] non-ablauting and with final –e by analogy with weak pasts (compare, with the same root-vowel combination, the present participle form 'suoeltende' [...] in John 11.51)" (2016: 206). Campbell classifies this form as weak, too (1959: §741). This form glosses Latin imperfect subjunctive form *moreretur* 'would die'. The glossator in Ru2 chose an adjective instead (*deade*), as did the scribe in the *West Saxon Gospels* (*dead*).

↳ Weak form *asuelte*.

> MkGl (Li) 15.37. *Iesus autem emissa uoce magna expirauit* se hælend ðonne miððy gesende stefne micla of gast agæf ⱡ **asuelte**.
>
> PDE translation: And Jesus having cried out with a loud voice, gave up the ghost.

It glosses Latin perfect active indicative form *expiravit* 'breathed out' in a double gloss with *of gast agæf*, a construction formed with the noun *gast* 'breath' and a preterite form of *agifan* 'to restore'. This construction is also used in Ru2 (*of gaste agæf*), while the

West Saxon Gospels show *forðferde*, a form of the weak verb *forðferan* 'to depart, die' in this instance. This verb does not occur in Durham. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Gefretan. Class V strong verb, predecessor of PDE *fret* 'eat', a regular verb which is now mostly obsolete according to the *OED* (s.v. *fret,* v1*)*. This verb appears three times in its preterite and past participle forms in Lindisfarne. Of these, one (33%) is weak. It must be noted that in Old English both *fretan* (strong verb) and *frettan* (weak verb) existed (*OED* s.v *fret,* v1). This may explain the rendering of the former as a weak verb, due to confusion with the latter. The use of weak verb *frettan* seems to have been restricted to animals, while *fretan* could refer to both people and animals (*DOE* s.v. *fretan*, s.v. *frettan*). This is quite a weak distinction, which probably made both the phonological and semantic connections between these two words very strong in speaker's minds, contributing to the confusion.

↳ Weak form *gefrett*.

> LkGl (Li) 15.30. *sed postquam filius tuus hic qui deuorauit substantiam suam cum meretricibus uenit occidisti illi uitulum saginatum*
>
> ah æfter ðon sunu ðin ðes se ðe **gefrett** feh his mið portcuoenum cuom ðu ofsloge him ging oxo fætt.
>
> PDE translation: But as soon as this thy son is come, who hath devoured his substance with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

The third person singular form *gefrett* appears as a gloss to Latin third person singular perfect active indicative form *devoravit* 'he ate'. This form does not display the expected ablaut (*æ* in this case) for a preterite form of a class V verb. This could just be due to a scribal error as Old English scribes had a tendency to use *e* and *æ* interchangeably. Nonetheless, the root vowel is not the only indicator of regularisation in this particular

instance. This form also features a double *t* as an ending – the first *t* being a part of the root and the second *t* representing a dental suffix as those added to weak verbs. This doubling of final consonant could be considered as just that, and not a case of weak dental ending. However, there are some instances of this happening in other strong verbs with a –*t*- in their coda in Lindisfarne (*agaett* Matthew 14.3, *eftsætt* Mark 9.35, *geett* Luke 6.4, *ongætt* John 17.25, *sætt* Matthew 26.55), and all of these present ablaut. Moreover, the use of final single –*t*, or double –*tt*- plus ending, instead of final double -*tt* is a lot more common in the strong verbs appearing in Lindisfarne, with 43 instances of –*t*- or –*tt*- plus ending, and only six examples of final –*tt*- (five with ablaut, see above, and one without ablaut, *gefrett*). This leads me to believe that the use of double *t* without an ending is significant in this case. It must also be noted that Northumbrian typically shows degemination (use of one single consonant in places where there should be two; see Crystal 2008: 206) in weak verbs that add a dental ending (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 268), which could imply a certain degree of intentionality behind the doubling of the *t* in this particular case, as it does not display a vowel ending and therefore the gemination is needed to convey a weak inflection. The doubling of the –*t*- also supports the hypothesis that this verb became weak due to confusion with *frettan* (OED s.v. *fret*, v1).

Unfortunately, this form is found in one of the lost leaves of the *Rushworth* MS, and therefore I do not have data for comparison with Ru2. As for the *West Saxon Gospels*, the verb *gefretan* is not used in this instance, and the translation "*Ac seoððan þes þin sune com þe his spede mid miltystren amerde; þu of-sloge him an fet chalf*" appears instead. This verb is not recorded in Durham, and I was unable to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Harmcwæðan. Class V strong verb, non-existent in Present-Day English. This verb seems to be a compound form of *cweðan* 'to speak' and it has the meaning of 'to calumniate' in Lindisfarne. It appears with the infinitive form *hearm-cweðan* in the *Bosworth-Toller* dictionary and the *DOE*, and as *harmcwæða* in Cook's glossary (1854: 111). It appears twice in my data, once in a weak form and once with a strong inflection.

↳Weak form *harmcuoedum.*

> LkGl (Li) 6.28. *benedicite maledicentibus uobis orate pro calumniantibus uos*
>
> Wel   cueðas   bloedsas   ðæm   woergendum   iuh   gebiddað   fore ðæm **harmcuoedum** iuih.
>
> PDE translation: Bless them that curse you, and pray for them that calumniate you.

This form glosses Latin present participle *calumniantibus*. This might imply a scribal error in translation which Kellum explains as follows: "although it glosses a pres. part., appears to be intended for a pret. part., the –ed of the stem suggesting a false analogy to –ed of the weak preterite part" (1906: 75). Unfortunately, this verse is found in one of the lost leaves of the *Rushworth* MS. The *West Saxon Gospels* show the noun *on-huscieð* 'mockery' in this instance. This verb is not recorded in Durham. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in either the Old Mercian or Old Northumbrian glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*, nor in the *West Saxon Gospels.*

(Ge)standan. Class VI strong verb, nowadays *stand*, which is an irregular verb. Some of its forms are classified by Ross as hybrid (1937: 154). There are two instances of this verb being inflected as a hybrid verb in my data, and 14 of the expected strong preterite forms.

↳Hybrid form *stode*.

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LkGl (Li) 1.11. *apparuit autem illi angelus domini stans a dextris altaris incensi*

ædeauade uutedlice ðæm engel drihtnes **stode** to suiðrum wigbeddes beorning

PDE translation: And there appeared to him an angle of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense.

This instance glosses a Latin present participle *stans* 'standing', and hence the expected form would be *standende*. However, Aldred chose to gloss it with a preterite form. This is, again, an example of non-proportional analogy as this hybrid form presents double marking (ablaut and –*e* ending). In Ru2, the scribe opted for the strong preterite tense form *stod*. The *West Saxon Gospels* use the present participle form *standende*.

↳Hybrid form gestode.

JnGl (Li) 1.35. *Altera die iterum stabat iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo*

oðer doeg eftersona **gestode** iohannes & of ðegnum his tuoege.

PDE translation: The next day again John stood and two of his disciples.

This form glosses Latin imperfect *stabat* 'he stood'. In Ru2, *gistod*, a strong form, is used. The *West Saxon Gospels* have the strong form *stod*.

In Durham, this verb appears 4 times in the strong preterite form *gistod* (DurRitGl 57.12 61.9, 69.7, 79.17), glossing Latin perfect forms *stetit* in two instances, *exstitit* in one instance (Lindelöf reports *exstitit*, while Stevenson's 1840 edition shows *extitit*), and *extitit* in the remaining instance. There are three additional instances of this verb in Ru1, and 28 in Ru2, none of which are weak. There are four additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense in the *West Saxon Gospels*, all of which are strong forms.

Gefeallan. Class VII strong verb (cp. PDE *fall*). This is one of the 100 commonest verbs in the *MCOE* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 256). It appears 23 times as strong and once in a weak innovative form in Lindisfarne (5%).

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↳Weak form *gefælled*

> LkGl (Li) 20.18. *omnis qui ceciderit supra illum lapidem conquassabitur supra quem autem ceciderit comminuet illum*
>
> eghuoelc seðe gefalleð onufa ðæm stane efnegequoeccad bið onufa ðone ðonne ł uutedlice bið **gefælled** gegrindæs łhine.
>
> PDE translation: Whosoever shall fall upon that stone, shall be bruised: and upon whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.

The weak innovative form *gefælled* glosses Latin future perfect active indicative form *ceciderit* 'shall fall'. This translation is accurate in terms of meaning and tense, as this participle is accompanied by *bið* to express future meaning. Almost the exact same form, *gifælled* can be found in Ru2, and an innovative weak form of this verb (*fyld*) is used in the *West Saxon Gospels*. In Durham, this verb appears four times in the preterite or past participle, all of which present traditional strong forms (*gifeall* DurRitGl 70.19 165.2; *gefæll* DurRitGl 191.10; *gifeallon* DurRitGl 58.5). There are no additional instances of this verb in Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Gehātan. Class VII strong verb equivalent to PDE *hight* 'to call' (*OED* s.v. *hight*, v1; *DOE* s.v. *hatan*). It appears 61 times in the preterite or past participle in Lindisfarne, making it the second most frequent verb in my dataset. Of these, one is a hybrid.

↳Hybrid form *gehehtes*

> LkGl (Li) 14.22 *et ait seruus domine factum est ut imperasti et athuc locutus est*
>
> & cuoeð se esne drihten aworden wæs|is suæ ðu **gehehtes** & forðor ða get sprecend wæs.
>
> PDE translation: And the servant said: Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.

The hybrid form *gehehtes* glosses Latin past historic *imperasti*. This is a hybrid form as it ends in –*s* by analogy with the weak inflection, which adds –*s(t)* to the second person

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singular preterite (Campbell 1959: 302; *OED* s.v. *hight*, v1). In Ru2, the same hybrid form appears (*gihetes*). In the *West Saxon Gospels*, a different verb is used in this instance. In Durham, this verb appears 5 times, one of which is a hybrid form in the manner of Lindisfarne and Ru2 above (*gihehtest* DurRitGl 103.2). Additionally, this verb is found 18 times in Rushworth, 10 in Ru1 and 8 in Ru2. All of these forms are in the expected strong inflection. This verb does not occur in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Geweaxan. Class VII strong verb in Old English, which is nowadays rendered as the weak verb *wax* 'to grow'. The *OED* states that this verb became weak in Late Middle English, with the strong past tense being rarely found after the 14th century, and completely obsolete nowadays (s.v. *wax*, v1). In the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* it appears six times in preterite or past participle forms, one of which is a hybrid form.

↳Hybrid form *gewoxe*.

> MkGl (Li) 12.44. *omnes enim ex eo quod abundabat illis miserunt haec uero de paenuria sua omnia quae habuit misit totum uictum suum*
>
> alle forðon of ðon þætte gemonigfaldade ꝉ **gewoxe** him sendon ðios uutedlice of henðu ꝉ unspoed hire alle ðaðe hæfde sende all gebrengnise hire.
>
> PDE translation: For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all she had, even her whole living.

The form *gewoxe* in the example above can be considered a hybrid form, as it is a third person singular preterite form of a strong verb, and yet it presents an –*e* ending typical of weak verbs. As such, this is a case of double marking (non-proportional analogy) as the form above presents ablaut as well, albeit not the expected one (*geweox* would be the 'correct' form, according to the *Bosworth-Toller*, s.v. *ge-weáxan*). This form occurs in a double gloss with *gemonigfaldade* 'increased', and they both gloss Latin imperfect indicative form *abundabat* 'abounded'. It is the other form in this double gloss that

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appears in the gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels*, adapted to the dialect in the spelling *gimonigfaldade* (Ru2). The translator in the *West Saxon Gospels* opted for the adjective *ge-noh* 'sufficient'. In Durham, this verb appears once in a preterite indicative plural form, in the strong inflection *givexon* (DurRitGl 81.12). There are two extra instances of this verb in Ru2, both of which are strong preterite forms. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Slēpan. Class VII strong verb equivalent to PDE *sleep*, nowadays an irregular verb. According to the *OED* online, strong forms disappear from the literary language after the 14th century (s.v. *sleep*, v). In fact, the *Bosworth-Toller Dictionary* classifies this verb as both weak and strong, with weak forms appearing in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as well as Lindisfarne (*Bosworth-Toller*, s.v. *slǣpan*). It appears six times as a weak verb and none as a strong one in Lindisfarne. Two of the weak forms appear in double glosses, but not next to strong forms.

↳ Weak form *slepde*.

> LkGl (Li) 8.23. *nauigantibus autem illis obdormiuit et descendit procella uenti in stāgnum et complebantur et periclitabantur*
>
> hrowundum ⱶ miððy gehrowun ðonne ðæm **slepde** & ofduna astāg hræs ⱶwindes on luh & gefylled woeron ⱶ & woeron afryhtad
>
> PDE translation: And when they were sailing, he slept; and there came down a storm of wind upon the lake, and they were filled, and were in danger.

This weak form glosses perfect indicative Latin form *obdormivit*. Unfortunately, this example belongs to one of the lost leaves from the *Rushworth* manuscript, and thus there are no data available as to what the translation in the gloss would have been. We do have data from the *West Saxon Gospels*, which have the strong form *slep*.

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↳Weak form *slepdon*.

> MtGl (Li) 27.52. *et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt*
>
> & byrgenna untuende ╫ untyned weron & moniga lichoma halga wæra ða ðe **slepdon** arison.
>
> PDE translation: And the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose.

This form glosses Latin pluperfect form *durmierant*. It is translated in Ru1 as *sleptun*, which is also an innovative weak form. The *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, use a strong form: *slepen*.

↳Weak form *geslepde*.

> MtGl (Li) 8.24. *et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari ita ut nauicula operiretur fluctibus ipse uero dormiebat*
>
> & heonu styrnise ╫ hroernis michelo geworden wæs in sae suæ þæt scipp oferwrigen wæs mið yðum he soðlice **geslepde** ╫ slepende wæs.
>
> PDE translation: And behold a great tempest arose in the sea, so that the boat was covered with waves, but he was asleep.

In this case, the double gloss provides two different interpretations for the Latin original imperfect form *dormiebat*. On the one hand, the weak form *geslepde* would translate as 'he slept', while the present participle *slepende*, together with the preterite of the verb *to be*, would mean 'he was sleeping'. The glossator in Rushworth chose the first option 'he slept' and glossed *dormiebat* as *slepte* in Ru1, also an innovative weak form of the preterite tense. As for the West Saxon translation of the Gospels, the translation chosen in this instance is the strong form *slep*.

↳Weak form *geslepdon*.

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MtGl (Li) 13.25. *cum autem dormirent homines uenit inimicus eius et superseminauit zizania in medio tritici et abiit*

mið ðy uutedlice **geslepdon** ⱡgeslepæ waldon ða menn cuom fiond his & ofergeseawu ⱡgeseawde wynnung ⱡsifðe in middum hwæte & geeade.

PDE translation: But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way.

Here we find the same type of example as the one above: a double gloss with two different tense translations: a preterite (*geslepdon* 'slept'), and a form that Cook (1894: 96) classes as an infinitive (*geslepæ* 'to sleep'), in a periphrastic construction with the preterite of the verb *willan* 'to will, wish'. The equivalent for this gloss in Ru1 is *sleptun*, an innovative weak form. They all gloss *dormirent*, an imperfect subjunctive form of *dormio* 'to sleep' in Latin. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, this is translated with the strong form *slepen*.

MtGl (Li) 25.5. *moram autem faciente sponso dormitauerunt omnes et dormierunt*

suigo uutedlice dyde ðe brydgum geslepedon alle & **geslepdon**.

PDE translation: And the bridegroom tarrying, they all slumbered and slept.

This translation of the Latin original *dormierunt* is accurate both in terms of tense and meaning. In Ru1 we find strong preterite form *slep*. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, strong form *slepen* is used again.

↳Weak form *geslepedon*.

MtGl (Li) 25.5. *moram autem faciente sponso dormitauerunt omnes et dormierunt*

suigo uutedlice dyde ðe brydgum **geslepedon** alle & geslepdon.

PDE translation: And the bridegroom tarrying, they all slumbered and slept.

The innovative weak form here glosses Latin perfect indicative form *dormitauerunt*. Ru1 uses *slepade* in this instance, which is also a weak innovative form. The *West Saxon Gospels* omit this second instance of the verb *slēpan*.

As for Durham gloss, this verb appears once in the preterite tense: weak innovative form *slepde* (DurRitGl 44.9), which glosses Latin perfect form *obdormivit*. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Rǣdan. Class VII strong verb corresponding to PDE *read*, although in Old English it also had the meaning 'to give advice'. In Present-Day English this is an irregular verb. This verb had r-type syncopated reduplication in the Anglian dialects of Old English, appearing in forms such as *reord* (Adamczyk 2002: 29), but none of the reduplicated forms appears as weak in Lindisfarne. This verb appears three times in Lindisfarne: twice as weak and once as a strong form.

↳Weak form *gereded*.

> LkPrlg (Li). *Haec lectio in ebdomada paschae dum legitur finitur in loco ubi ait quoad usque induamini uirtutem ex alto cum autem in ascensione legitur alio loco incoanda est quo dicit discipulis haec sunt uerba quae locutus sum uobis cum athuc essem uobiscum usque in finem euangeli*
>
> ðios redo on ðære uica eostres miððy bið **gereded** geendad bið on stoue ðer cuuoeð ða huile we biðon gegearuud mið ðæm heigra mæht miððy uutedlice in astignise **gereded** bið oðero stoue onginneð ðer cuoeð ðegnum ðas sint wordo ðaðe spreccend wæs iuh miððy get ic wæs mið iuh wið ende godspelles.
>
> PDE translation: When this reading is read during the week of Passover, it is finished in the passage that says "until you wear high virtue". However, when it is read during the Feast of the Ascension, the reading shall be started in the passage where he says to his disciples "these are the words I have directed to you when I was still among you" until the end of the Gospel.

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The innovative weak form *gereded* appears twice in this passage, both times glossing Latin passive present tense form *legitur*. As the prologues were not included in the *Rushworth Gospels* or the *West Saxon Gospels*, we do not have any data for this particular example. As for the *Durham Ritual*, this verb does appear in its gloss, but not in a preterite tense or in past participle forms. However, Lindelöf classifies it as weak in his glossary (1901: 178). I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Sāwan. Class VII strong verb of which PDE *sow* derives. It could be classified as a hybrid verb in Present-Day English, as it has the typical weak (regular) past form *sowed*, but a typical strong (irregular) past participle *sown*. It appears five times in its preterite forms in the gloss: twice as a weak and three times as a strong verb. There are no instances of double glosses for this verb.

↳Weak form *gesaudesd*.

> LkGl (Li) 19.21. *timui enim quia homo austerus es tollis quod non posuisti et metis quod non seminasti*
>
> ic ondreard forðon þætte þætte scripen ꝉ gearuutol ꝉarð ðu nimes þætte ne settes & hrippes þæt ðu ne **gesaudesd**
>
> PDE translation: For I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up what thou didst not lay down, and thou reapest what which thou dist not sow.

The innovative weak form in this instance, *gesaudesd*, glosses Latin perfect form *seminasti* 'you sowed'. Ru2, on the other hand, uses a strong form of the same verb (*sæwe*), as does the West Saxon translation of the Gospels (*seowe*).

↳Weak form *gesaudes*.

> LkGl (Li) 19.22. *dicit ei de ore tuo te iudico serue nequam sciebas quod ego austeris homo sum tollens quod non possui et metens quod non seminaui*

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cuoeð him of muðe ðinum ðec ic doeomo la esne wohfull ðu wistes þæt ic gearnfull ɫgearuutol monn am nimmes þæt ic ne gesett & hrippes þætte ðu ne **gesaudes**

PDE translation: He saith to him: Out of my own mouth I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest I was an austere man taking up what I laid not down, and reaping which I did not sow:

This instance is glossing Latin perfect form *seminavi* 'sowed'. Again, both Ru1 and West Saxon show strong forms of *sāwan* for this translation: *sǽwe* and *seow*, respectively. This verb is not recorded in Durham, and I was not able to find any additional instances in the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*. As for the *West Saxon Gospels*, there are three additional instances in these Gospels, all of which are strong forms.

Tosceādan. Class VII strong verb with a reflex in PDE *shed*, which is nowadays irregular. The *OED* online notes that this verb maintained the strong accidence in West Saxon, but it appears only as weak in Old Northumbrian (s.v. *shed*, v1). Indeed, this verb is found seven times as weak in Lindisfarne, but none as a strong preterite or past participle form. There is one instance of a triple gloss involving a weak form of this verb. One of these weak forms is controversial; Ross (1937) reports a form found in Luke's prologue as *toscead^{d}e/^{a}*. In the manuscript, this form was glossed as *tosceade* and then the scribe wrote *da* over it. It is hard to tell what this correction means, but it seems as though Aldred meant to convert *tosceade* into *tosceadade*, turning a strong form into a weak one. This interpretation is what the glossary in the facsimile edition (1956) of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* advocates for, and thus so will I. Skeat's edition, on the other hand, reflects this form as *tosceada*.

ↄWeak form *tosceadde*.

LkGl (Li) 22.29. *et ego dispono uobis sicut disposuit mihi pater meus regnum*
& ic tosceado iuh suæ **tosceadde** me fæder min þæt ric.

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PDE translation: And I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom.

This weak form glosses Latin perfect form *disposuit* 'distributed'. In Ru2, strong form *tosceodo* was chosen instead. The translation in the *West Saxon Gospels* opts for a different verb, *dihtian* 'to dictate', and the weak, expected form *dihte* appears.

↳Weak form *tosceadade*.

> MkGl (Li) 4.34. *sine parabola autem non loquebatur eis seorsum autem discipulis suis disserebat omnia*
>
> buta biseno ᚻ bispello uutedlice ne wæs spræccend ᚻ ne spræcc to him syndrige uutedlice ðegnum his **tosceadade** ᚻtrahtade ᚻ he sægde alle.
>
> PDE translation: And without parable he did not speak unto them; but apart, he explained all things to his disciples.

This is the first example of a triple gloss I came across in my data. Here, innovative weak form *tosceadade* glosses imperfect indicative Latin form *disserabat*, alongside weak (but not innovative) forms *trahtade,* from weak verb *trahtian* 'to explain', and *sægde,* from weak verb *sægcan* 'to say'. This gloss probably presented a difficulty for Aldred, since Latin *disserto* is a polysemic verb that can mean both 'to scatter' (*sceadan*) and 'to discuss' (more in line with the other two glosses). The scribe's choice in Ru2 is the third option in Lindisfarne, *sægde*. Weak verb *asundrian* 'separate' is used in the *West Saxon Gospels* in the form *asundren*.

> LkGl (Li) 24.27. *et incipiens a mose et omnibus prophetis interpraetabatur illis in omnibus scribturis quae de ipso lumt*
>
> & ingann from moise & allum witgom **tosceadade** ᚻ him in allum gewuriotum ðaðe of him woeron.
>
> PDE translation: And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the scriptures, the things that were concerning him.

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Here, the innovative weak form glosses Latin imperfect indicative *interpraetabatur* 'to explain'. Ru2 shows a strong form: *togisceode*. The *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, show the past participle form of the strong verb *gewritan* 'to write' in this particular instance (*ge-writen*).

> LkPrlg (Li). *cui ideo post babtismum filii dei a perfeccione generationis in christo impletę repetendae a principio natiuitatis humanae potestas permissa est ut requirentibus demonstraret in quo apręhendens erat natham filium introire currentis in deum generationis admisso indisparabilis dei predicans in hominis redire in se per filium faceret qui per dauid patrem uenientibus interpretabat in christo*
>
> ðæm forðon æfter fulwiht sunu godes from endung cneureses on crist gefylled gesoht wero from fruma accennise ðæs mennisces ðio mæht ðerhgelefed wæs þætte ðæm soecendum geeaude in ðæm ofgenom wæs sunu inngæ ðæs iornende in god cneoreso tosende Ⱶ to in godes bodade in monnes gecerrę in him ðerh sunu dyde seðe ðerh dauið ðone fæder cymendum getrahtade Ⱶ <**tosceadade**> in crist.
>
> PDE translation: To whom, after the baptism of God's son, from the perfect lineage culminating in Christ from the beginning of the creation of men, the power of showing those who asked where he learned that Nathan's son was admitted into the lineage of God was conceded, preaching to men by God's orders to turn to him for his son, making into Christ those who approached because of David.

In this instance, the weak innovative form *tosceadade* glosses imperfect indicative form *interpretabat* 'explained'. There is no corresponding gloss in Rushworth or translation from the *West Saxon Gospels*.

↳Weak form *tosceadadon*.

> LkPrlg (Li). *Nuntiatis quibusdam a pilato occisis ait omnes nisi pœnitentiam agant similiter perituros uel sicut illi decem et octo ruina turris oppressi parabolam quoque de sterili arbori fici ponens indicat paenitentiam differentes et mulierem ab annis decem et octo curuatam erigens de cura sabbati murmurantes exemplo bouis adaquandi refellit gaudente populo de eius miraculis gloriosis*
>
> weron gesægd sum oðero from pylate ofslægeno cuoeð alle buta hreonise doað gelic þætte hia woero deado Ⱶ sua ða tene & æhto feallo torres foretreden geddung æc ðon of unberendum trees fic settende sægeð Ⱶ tæcnað hreonis **tosceadadon** & þæt wif from wintrum tenum & æhto gescryncan ahof of gemnise mið bisseno oxes to wætranne æfsægeð gefeande folc of his wundrum wuldorlicum.

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PDE translation: After announcing that Pilate had killed some, he says everyone shall die in the same way as those eighteen dead by falling out of the tower unless they make acts of penance, explaining also the barren fig tree parable that indicates those who differ penitence and rejects those who murmur about Saturday's observation in front of women, that straightened after eighteen years with the example of giving water to the ox while the people rejoice in his glorious miracles.

In this case, the weak innovative plural preterite form *tosceadadon* glosses Latin present participle *differentes* 'separating'. There is no corresponding gloss in Rushworth or translation from the *West Saxon Gospels*.

↳Weak form *gesceadad*.

MtGl (Li) 14.21. *manducantium autem fuit numerus quinque milia uirorum exceptis mulieribus et paruulis*

etendra uutedlice wæs tal fif ðusend ðæra weara weron **gesceadad** from ⱦ buta wifum & lytlum ⱦcildum.

PDE translation: And the number of them that did eat, was five thousand men, besides women and children.

Here, the innovative weak past participle form *gesceadad* glosses Latin perfect passive participle in the ablative case *exceptis* 'removed'. In Ru1, the glossator opted for the preposition *butan* 'except', as did the translator in the *West Saxon Gospels* (*buton*).

↳Weak form *tosceaded*.

LkPrlg (Li). *Herodes carceri dat iohannem et triginta annorum baptizato domino trinitatis in baptismo mysterium declaratur generationum septuaginta septem a christo sursum uersus usque ad deum ordo contexitur*

herodes to caercherne seles iohannem & ðrittig wintra mið ðio gefuulwad drihtne ðrinise on fulwiht asægdnise **tosceaded** is cynno & hundseofontig seofon of criste upp woende wið to god endebrednis gegeadred bið ⱦ gewoefen.

PDE translation: Herodes put John in jail and, baptized at 30 years of age, the mystery of the Holy Trinity in baptism is declared following the line of seventy seven generations from Christ to God.

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In this instance, the weak innovative form *tosceaded,* together with the verb *to be* (*is*), glosses Latin present indicative passive form *declaratur.* There is no corresponding translation in Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

As for Durham, the verb can be found under two different entries in Lindelöf's glossary: *asceada* and *tosceada* (Lindelöf 1901: 182-183), and it appears four times in past or past participle forms in the gloss. Strong past participle *asceaden* glosses Latin *destituatur* (DurRitGl 18.12), which is a present passive. Preterite form *gisceadest* (DurRitGl 90.17) glosses Latin form *destitui* 'to be deprived'*,* which is a passive infinitive. An almost identical preterite form, *geceadest,* glosses Latin perfect form *separāsti* (DurRitGl 182.15). Both *gisceadest* and *gesceadest* could be considered weak forms, as the *–est* inflection for second person singular is common in weak verbs, whereas *–e* is normally found in strong verbs. The final instance of the verb *sceadan* in Durham is strong preterite form *tosceadon*, which translates Latin present indicative form *deferimus* (DurRitGl 89.1). I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either Rushworth or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Ondrēdan*.* Class VII strong verb with the meaning 'to dread, fear'. This is another instance of a "hybrid" verb, as explained above. The *OED* notes that strong forms of this verb survived into the early Middle English period (s.v. *adread*, v1). It was one of the 100 commonest verbs in Old English according to the *MCOE* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 256), and appears a total of 30 times in its preterite tense forms in the gloss, making this the fourth most frequently used verb in my dataset. Out of these 30 instances, only one is a hybrid form (3%).

ↄHybrid form *ondrearde*.

LkGl (Li) 18.2. *dicens iudex quidam erat in quadam ciuitatem qui deum non timebat et hominem non reuerebatur*

cuoeð doema sum wæs in summe ceastra seðe god ne **ondrearde** & ðone monno ne sceomade

PDE translation: Saying: There was a judge in a certain city, who feared no God, nor regarded man.

This form translates Latin imperfect form *timebat* 'he feared'. It is a hybrid form as it presents both ablaut and the –*e* ending characteristic of weak forms. In Ru2, strong form *ondreord* appears. This form presents reduplication (see also *rēdan* above) in both Lindisfarne and Ru2, as expected due to this being a characteristic of the Anglian dialects (Adamczyk 2002: 28-30), which explains the –*r*- before the final –*d* in the stem, a relic of an older verbal system (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 253). The *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, do use an innovative weak form of this verb: *on-dredde*.

The verb *ondreda* appears multiple times in Durham (Lindelöf 1901: 176), but none in a past tense form. There are 24 additional instances of this verb in its preterite forms in the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels* and all of them are strong. Four of these instances appear in the Old Mercian gloss (Ru1), while the remaining 20 can be found in the Old Northumbrian part of the gloss (Ru2). There are no recorded instances of this verb as weak in Rushworth. There is one additional instance of this verb in the preterite tense in the *West Saxon Gospels*, which is a weak innovative form (see below).

↳Weak form *ondrædden*.

MtGl (WS) 21.46. Hyo sohten **ondrædden** þæt folc, forþam þe hyo hæfden hyne for ænne witegan.

PDE translation: And seeking to lay hands on him, they feared the multitudes: because they held him as a prophet.

This third person plural preterite form is a weak innovative form as it presents a dental ending. In this same instance, both Lindisfarne and Ru1 use a strong form (*ondreardon* and *dreordun* respectively).

Wēpan. Class VII strong verb that has evolved into PDE *weep*. The *OED* states that its first occurrence as a weak verb dates back to the 13th century (s.v. *weep*, v). However, it is already recorded with a weak inflection in Lindisfarne, from the 10th century. In my data, it appears three times in total in the preterite tense, one of which (33%) is a weak form.

↳Weak form *wæpde*.

> LkGl (Li) 7.32. *similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro et loquentibus adinuicem et dicentibus cantauimus uobis tibiis et non saltastis lamentauimus et non plorastis*
>
> ongelic sint cnaehtum sittendum on sprec & sprecendum bituih & cuoeðendum we gesungun iuh mið hwistlum & ne plægade gie we hondbeafton & ne **wæpde** gie.
> PDE translation: They are like to children sitting in the marketplace, and speaking one to another, and saying: We have piped to you, and you have not danced: we have mourned, and you have not wept.

In this instance, the weak form glosses Latin *plorastis*, the second person plural perfect active indicative form of the infinitive *plorare* 'to weep'. Unfortunately, this instance is found in one of the lost leaves of the *Rushworth* manuscript. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, this verb appears in its expected strong form as *weopen* in this instance.

As for the *Durham Ritual*, this verb does occur once in its gloss, but it is in the infinitive form *woepa* (DurRitGl 18.17), which does not give us any insight into the weak or strong inflection of the verb. It is classified as a strong verb in Lindelöf's glossary (1901: 211). There are eight additional instances of preterite forms of this verb in the Rushworth glosses, but none of them is weak. These forms can be found in Ru1 (two) and Ru2 (six).

I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in the *West Saxon Gospels*.

5.2. Analysis of the dataset

As explained in detail in the previous section, there are 23 verbs that present regularisation in Lindisfarne. There are a total of 399 strong verbs that appear in the Old Northumbrian gloss, which means only 5.7% of the strong verbs recorded in Lindisfarne were affected by this process of analogical change.[17]

All of the verbs analysed in this study are Anglo-Saxon in origin, which means there are no instances of Scandinavian loanwords in the data. This is not unexpected: although the borrowing of Scandinavian verbs in OE is "surprising[ly] common" (Baugh 1957: 117), the number of Scandinavian verbs appearing in Lindisfarne is not high (Pons-Sanz 2000). 16 out of the total 23 verbs analysed in my study (69%) do, however, have Old Norse cognates – meaning they all came originally from the same Proto-Germanic word. The correspondence between Old English and Old Norse verbs in my data can be found in the table below.

Table 8. Old English and Old Norse cognates

Old English		Old Norse	
verb	**category**	**verb**	**category**
dwīnan	strong	*dvína*	weak
stīgan	strong	*stíga*	strong
ðringan	strong	*þryingva*	strong

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[17] The total number of strong verbs in the gloss is according to Cook (1894).

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rǣdan	strong	*ráða*	strong
sāwan	strong	*sá*	strong
bebeōdan	strong	*bjóða*	strong
gebindan	strong	*binda*	strong
standan	strong	*standa*	strong
sweltan	strong	*svelta*	strong
wēpan	strong	*œpa*	weak
gefregnan	strong	*fregna*	strong
gesūpan	strong	*súpa*	strong
gewæxan	strong	*vaxa*	strong
harmcwoeðan	strong	*kveða*	strong
feallan	strong	*falla*	strong
hatan	strong	*heita*	strong

The only verbs that appear in Old English that do not have cognates in Old Norse are *hrīnan* 'to touch', *onginnan*, 'to begin', *swingan* 'to swing', *slēpan* 'to sleep', *sceadan* 'to shed', *ondrearde* 'to dread', and *gefretan* 'to eat'. It has been suggested in previous literature (Welna 1991, Krygier 1994) that the existence of Old Norse weak equivalents for Old English strong verbs was a cause for regularisation, especially in Old Northumbrian, as the existence of two similar verbs with different paradigms became confusing for speakers. This does not, however, seem to be the case in my data. Out of

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the 16 Old English verbs that have cognates in Old Norse, only two are weak in Old Norse (12.5%), while the remaining 14 verbs are strong in both Old English and Old Norse. It is possible that those two instances of regularisation were indeed motivated by the presence of an Old Norse weak counterpart, although they do not present higher frequencies of weak forms that make them more salient than the other verbs in the dataset. However, this was not the main motivator behind the change in Old Northumbrian, as the majority of the verbs that underwent regularisation had strong counterparts in Old Norse. It should be noted, nonetheless, that Old Norse is not the only influence in Old English. The *OED* explains that the development of weak forms in the verb *gesūpan*, which presents the effects of regularisation in Lindisfarne, could be due to the existence of Old High German cognate *supfen*, which was weak (s.v. *sup*, v1).

As for the phonological structure of the verbs, it has been suggested by previous literature that "the presence of a dental consonant in the coda of the verbal stem causes strong verbs to be more susceptible to [undergo regularisation]" (Krygier 1994: 72). However, Krygier did not achieve statiscally significant results to corroborate his hypothesis (1994: 72). In my data, 10 out of 23 (43%) verbs have a dental consonant in their root (*rǣdan*, *sceadan*, *bebeōdan*, *gebindan*, *ondrǣdan*, *gestandan*, *harmcwoeðan*, *sweltan*, *hatan,* and *gefretan*). Although these verbs are not the majority in my dataset, my results seem to correlate with Krygier's hypothesis (1994) to some extent. Moreover, the strong verbs that do not undergo regularisation in Lindisfarne feature dental consonants in their roots at a much lower rate: 120 out of 376 purely strong verbs have a dental consonant in their root (31%), while the remaining 256 (68%) do not. A chi-square test (see results in Table 9 below) does not strongly support the hypothesis that the presence of a dental consonant in the verbal root is a significant factor in the process of regularisation of strong verbs in

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Lindisfarne with a p-value of 0.250708. This corroborates Krygier's (1994) findings of this variable not being statistically significant.

Table 9. Chi-square results for the regularisation of strong verbs with root dental consonants

	presence of a dental root consonant	absence of a dental root consonant	marginal row totals
development of weak forms	10 (7.49) [0.84]	13 (15.51) [0.41]	23
no development of weak forms	120 (122.51) [0.05]	256 (253.49) [0.02]	376
marginal column totals	130	269	399 (Grand Total)
p-value= 0.250708			

In terms of the analogical process of regularisation in itself, one must take into account the verbal weak class these strong verbs changed into. Class II was the productive class in Old English (Katovsky 1992), and therefore one would expect the verbs in my analysis to fall under this category. However, it is impossible to know which of the weak classes the verbs in my dataset belong to by looking at their preterite or past participle forms since the forms in Lindisfarne do not conform to the traditional preterite and past participle formation. As explained in section 1.2, weak verbs class I use –(*e*)*de/-ed* to form the preterite and past participle, while weak verbs class II use –*ode/-od*. Nonetheless,

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weak verbs in Lindisfarne form their preterite and past participle using either *–de/-ed* or *-ade,-ede/-ad,-ed* (Ross 1937: 153; see Table 6 in section 2.4). This could indicate that there are either no strong verbs that shifted to weak class II in Lindisfarne, that *<o>* and *<a>* were variant spellings in the dialect, or that the distinction between the two classes was in the process of being lost in Old Northumbrian. Ross notes that the formation of an analogical preterite in *–ede* "would be quite indistinguishable from an analogical preterite according to the second class of weak verbs, for in this class there is variation *–ade/-ede*" (1937: 153). This implies that *–a-* was, indeed, the vowel used for class II weak verbs in Lindisfarne, instead of *–o-*. Moreover, *<o>* appears as a variant of *<a>* in the declension of weak nouns in Lindisfarne (Ross 1937: 82), which indicates that the confusion between these two vowels was not restricted to weak verbs in the gloss.[18] In my data, there are four strong verbs that use *–ad/–ade* to form innovative weak preterite forms: *hrīnan*, *stīgan*, *sceadan*, and *gefregnan* (see section 5.1), which would allow me to classify these as weak class II verbs. One of these, however, is classified as weak class I in the *OED* (s.v. *shed*).

Another way to determine the weak class adherence of these strong verbs is the present infinitive. Correspondences can be found in Table 10 below. Notably, some of them are recorded as weak and classified as class I or II in different grammars and dictionaries – those instances will be specified. There are some forms in Table 10 marked with an asterisk, as the results do not prove the adherence of these verbs to class I in absolute terms. This is due to the fact that their expected inflection as strong verbs would render the same results (-*eð* for third person singular and *–að* for third person plural), and therefore the lines between strong and weak are blurred in this respect. Most of the verbs

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[18] Fellow PhD candidate María del Mar Sierra Rodríguez is currently working on the distribution of e/a variation in the second and third person singular and plural and the pholonogical merger of unstressed vowels into a schwa-like phoneme in the gloss.

in my data could either follow weak class I inflection or the expected strong inflection. For example, *forduineð* and *gehrineð* are third person singular forms, and in this case, both a weak class I and a strong verb would present the same form. In the case of *stīgan*, on the other hand, the form *astigað* appears. This is a third person plural present form with the ending -*að*, which is the expected form for both weak class I verbs and strong verbs. It should also be noted that there was vocalic variation in the present of weak verbs in Lindisfarne, as well, and –a- was sometimes used in class I (see Ross 1937: 142-143).

Table 10. Old Northumbrian strong verbs correspondence to weak class

verb	weak class	examples
dwīnan	class I*	*forduineð* LkGl 14.34
hrīnan	class I*	*gehrineð* LkGl 7.39
onginnan	class I*	*onginneð* MtGl 1.17
swingan	n/a	unattested
stīgan	class I*	*astigað* LkGl 24.38 (3rd pl)
ðringan	class I*	*geðringað* LkGl 8.45
slēpan	class II	*slepiað* MkGl 4.27
rǣdan	class I	unattested; *OED read, v*; Hogg & Fulk (2011 § 6.75)
sceadan	class I	*tosceadeð* MkPrlg;

		OED shed, v1
sāwan	n/a	unattested
bebeōdan	n/a	unattested
gebindan	n/a	unattested
ondrǣdan	n/a	unattested
standan	n/a	unattested
sweltan	n/a	unattested
wēpan	class I*	*woepeð* LkGl 6.21
gefregnan	n/a	unattested
gesūpan	n/a	unattested
gewæxan	n/a	unattested
gefrettan	n/a	unattested
harmcwoeðan	n/a	unattested
feallan	class I*	*gefalleð* LkGl 20.18
hatan	class I*	*hatteð* LkGl 8.25

As can be seen in the table above, my corpus does not record present tense or infinitive examples for a lot of the verbs in my data (13 out of 23, 62%). Almost all of the verbs represented in my data seem to follow weak class I inflection (10 out of 11, 90%), although it is impossible to know for certain.

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The case of *slēpan* is particularly interesting, as this is the only example of a class II weak verb in my data for the present tense. The form appears in a double gloss next to the expected strong form.

> MkGl (Li) 4.27 *et dormiat et exsurgat nocte ac die et semen germinet et increscat dum nescit ille*
>
> & **slepiað** ⸓ slepeð & arisað on næht & on daeg & sed wæxað ⸓ wyrtrumiað & inwæxað ða huile ne wat ðe.
>
> PDE translation: And should sleep, and rise, night and day, and the seed should spring, and grow up whilst he knoweth not.

This form is glossing a Latin subjunctive *dormiat* (third person present active subjunctive). However, both forms in the double gloss are inflected as present indicative forms (the present subjunctive form expected in this case would be *slepe*). As I said above, this case is notably striking as Aldred seems to be aware of the innovative weak nature of this verb while glossing, and thus he decided to use a weak class II form *slepiað* next to a (presumably) strong, traditional form *slepeð*. This indicates a change in progress. It is also important to note that this verb forms its preterite tense in Lindisfarne by adding –*de*. The fact that this is clearly a weak class II verb in the present but does not add a vowel before the dental suffix to form its preterite tense indicates that the strong verbs that shifted to the weak paradigm in Old Northumbrian did not conform to the norms traditionally explained in grammars. Notably, *slēpan* is one of the verbs in my data to appear as weak in the preterite tense 100% of the time (see section 5.1). In sum, it is hard to establish whether these verbs are class I or class II weak verbs in most cases. It seems likely that the distinction between the two classes had been lost in the dialect of the gloss.

It is also important to look at the influence – if any – that the Latin original might have had on Aldred's choice of weak or strong forms. Previous studies (Kotake 2006) have found Latin verbal tense significant in glossing practice. For my analysis, I took into

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account the tense, mood, and voice of the Latin original and whether Aldred's translation was accurate or not. The results of the logistic regression accounting for these factors can be found in Table 11 below.

Table 11. Effects of the Latin original in Lindisfarne

Prob > Chi2	0	
Pseudo R2	0.3286	
Strong form	Coefficient	Error Std.
Tense. Reference: Others		
Imperfect	3.286**	1.469
Perfect	5.281***	1.748
Pluperfect	5.091***	1.897
Mood. Reference: Conjunctive		
Indicative	0.029	0.659
Voice. Reference: Active		
Passive	-0.234	1.124
Translation. Reference: Inaccurate		
Accurate	-0.871	1.671
*p<0.5, **p<0.1 ***p<0.05		

The voice aspect in the Latin original seems to be a significant factor, as passive Latin forms disfavour the use of strong forms, meaning that weak, innovative forms are more likely to be used when a verb in the passive voice appears in the Latin original. This could be due to the presence of a dental consonant (t) in Latin past participles, used to form the passive voice.

5.2.1. Class

As noted above in section 1.2, Old English strong verbs are divided into seven different classes according to the type of *ablaut* present in the stem. The 23 verbs considered in my analysis belong to six out of seven possible classes, class IV being the only class with no representation in my dataset. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, strong verbs belonging to class VII are the most likely to undergo shift, representing 39% of the total data (nine out of 23). Class III follows closely, as six verbs in my data belong to this class (26%) After these two more common classes, we find class I, which makes up for 13% of the data with three verbs. Classes II and V make up for 9% of the dataset each (four verbs in total, two in each class). Lastly, class VI is the least represented class in my dataset, accounting for 4% of the data (one verb).

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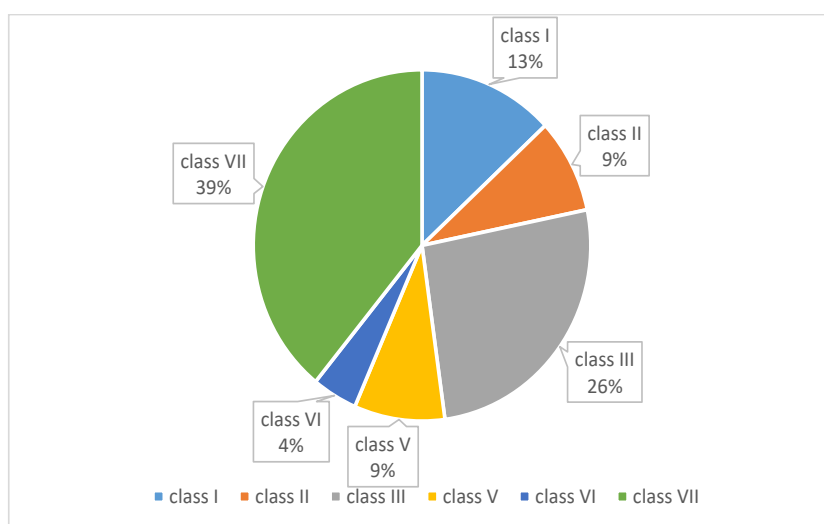
Figure 1. Corpus distribution by strong verb class

My results correlate with findings in the previous literature dealing with Old English strong verbs in general, rather than Old Northumbrian in particular, as it has been shown that "classes II and IV displayed a peculiar resistance to the shift [from strong to weak]" (Krygier 1994: 68). Class IV is unrepresented in my data; however, taking Krygier's conclusions (based in all dialects, not just Old Northumbrian) into account, it does not seem that the low number of class II verbs in my data is random, but rather a reflection of this resistance to change. Moreover, class I has been said to be not only "very well preserved" in Old English, but it is also the basis for many Present-Day English irregular verbs (Hogg 1992a: 152), which correlates with this class is not being as affected by the change in Old Northumbrian.

The most interesting point for analysis regarding class is that classes III and VII are the most likely to undergo regularisation in Old Northumbrian. As these are the only classes in the strong verbal paradigm to present subclasses (class III a-c and class VII a-e, as explained in section 1.2), they would perhaps also be the ones that would prove more challenging for speakers at the time, making them the perfect candidates for the upcoming regularisation trend.

Moreover, class III and, especially, class VII do not present clearly distinct vowel patterns. Class IIIa (*i-a-u-u*) is the only ablaut series that is "robust" enough to be clearly distinguishable by speakers (Branchaw 2010a: 91). On the other hand, class III b-c and class VII a-e all involve *e, ē*, *eo*, *ēo*, *ea* or *ēo* in their ablaut patterns (see Table 4 in section 1.2). Long and short vowels are so similar that they "do a poor job" of distinguishing tense (Branchaw 2010a: 91). Moreover, *eo* and *ea* were used interchangeably in Northumbrian (Hogg 1992a: 103 §5.44), which makes these ablaut patterns even more confusing in Aldred's dialect. With all of these factors taken into account, it is likely that

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it became increasingly difficult for speakers to accurately recognise which class and subclass each verb belonged to, which made class II b-c and class VII a-e verbs more susceptible to undergo analogical regularisation. In fact, as mentioned in section 1.2, some scholars disagree with the traditional classification of strong verbs because it cannot be clearly seen in Old English.

Of all six class III verbs in my data, four (66%) follow the distinct ablaut pattern *i-a-u-u* (*onginnan, swingan, ðringan,* and *gebindan*). This would seem to contradict the hypothesis above, as all four of those verbs underwent regularisation in Lindisfarne. However, all of these verbs have survived to Present-Day English and are irregular. It must be noted that two of these verbs (*swingan* and *ðringan*) present high rates of regularisation but low frequencies, while the two other verbs (*onginnan* and *gebindan*) present low rates of regularisation but higher frequencies in Lindisfarne (see section 5.2.3). On the other hand, the class III b-c verbs in my data (*sweltan* and *gefregnan*) are regular in Present-Day English. Therefore, even though the maximally distinct ablaut hypotheses does not seem to be in place in Old Northumbrian, it is definitely a pattern that has played a role in the history of regularisation of English strong verbs. Moreover, following the Natural Morphology theory, a distinct ablaut pattern like *i-a-u-u* would be marked, which explains why these verbs would change into the unmarked pattern (see section 1.3).

Another explanation as to why class VII verbs were more likely to undergo regularisation is given by Krygier (1994), and it comes from the loss of the final –*n* in inflectional endings. This process began in the Northern Old English dialects and expanded to the South by the 14th century. Confusion followed this change, as the distinction between preterite singular and preterite plural of class VII was reliant on the presence of a final –*e* in the plural, "which seems one of the weakest possible" (Krygier 1994: 68). This

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argument, however, is not strong, as the loss of distinction between the preterite singular and plural would not deter speakers from distinguishing the present and the past. Even if the root vowel for singular and plural was the same, ablaut was still used to distinguish tense.

Additionally, the higher frequency of verbs from classes III and VII to experience regularisation can be framed in Bybee's model (1985, 1995), as lexical strength plays a part. That is, the more verbs from these classes that undergo the change, the more verbs from the same class that would be attracted into the weak conjugation.

In sum, class III and class VII verbs are more likely to undergo regularisation in Lindisfarne. The reasons for this may be phonological (in the cases of class III b-c and VII a-e), or due to the abundance of subclassifications and ablaut patterns for verbs of these two classes, and can be explained through a combination of the Natural Morphology theory and the Network Model (see section 1.3). These results, however, do not correspond with those obtained in either Ru1 or Ru2 (see section 6.2).

5.2.2. Alternation of weak and strong forms and the interaction of class

This study focuses on strong verbs that behave like weak verbs. However, as in any linguistic change, two variants – the old, etymological one, in this case, the strong inflection; and the new, analogical one, the weak inflection – coexist for a period of time. Most of the verbs in my dataset do not behave like weak verbs in every single instance. In fact 82% (19 out of 23) of the analysed verbs also occur in the expected strong forms in the gloss, while only 18% of the data (four out of 23 verbs) is exclusively present in the weak version. When taking such alternation into account, it is important to point out that, adding up all the weak and strong forms of these 23 verbs, we get a total of 390 occurrences of these verbs in the gloss, of which only 59 are weak or hybrid, meaning

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strong forms are a lot more common in the gloss than their weak counterparts at a rate of 15% to 85%.

At this point in time in the Northumbrian dialect, the inflection of strong verbs as weak was a change in progress, with a majority of the verbs occurring in both their weak and strong forms; only a handful of verbs had gone through the complete transformation and are only found following the weak inflection in the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels.*[19]

As figure 2 below shows, strong-weak alternation is abundant – and sometimes the only option – in all the classes. The largest difference is seen in class III, in which five verbs present strong-weak alternation and only one does not. Class VII follows, with six verbs that present strong-weak alternation and three that do not. Classes II, V, and VI are the only ones that prefer alternation and do not present any instances of no alternation. These three classes are, however, the least common in my dataset, making up for a total of five out of 23 verbs combined. The low number of verbs belonging to these classes in my analysis makes it impossible to draw any solid conclusions regarding their status. However, as explained in section 5.2.1, the low number of verbs belonging to these classes, particularly class II, is significant in itself.

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[19] This correlates with the situation in Ru1, Ru2, Durham, and the *West Saxon Gospels* – see chapter 6.
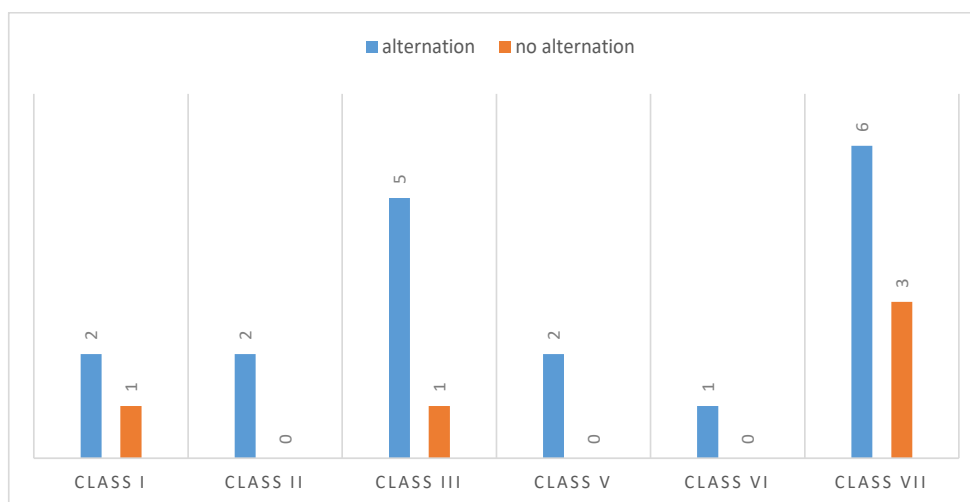
Figure 2. Interaction of class and strong-weak alternation, in raw numbers

These results seem to indicate that class does not play a part in the alternation of weak and strong forms as all classes present alternation at much higher rates than the opposite phenomenon.

5.2.3. The effects of frequency

Frequency plays a key role in linguistic changes, especially in explaining what lexical items experience change first. Frequency has been shown to play a critical part in sound changes such as the raising of Old English /a/ to /o/ before nasal consonants (Philips 1980). Over a century ago, German linguist Hugo Schuchardt explained the frequency phenomenon in simple terms by saying "rarely used words drag behind; frequently used ones hurry ahead" (Schuchardt 1885: 58, translated in Vennemann and Wilbur 1972: 58). However, frequency does not only work in this way. It is true that higher frequency and innovation can be related, but frequency can also play the opposite role. Highly used words and grammatical structures may be resistant to change due to their frequent nature. That is, because they are used so frequently, speakers have the structures ingrained in their brains and are disinclined to apply new patterns to them. In sum, high-frequency

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structures are inclined to be "autonomous, i.e. both resistant to the influence of other items and unlikely to exert an analogical influence themselves" (Fertig 2013: 118). Frequency is also the key factor in Bybee's Network Model (see section 1.3).

It is obvious that analogical changes, such as the regularisation of strong verbs, happen by means of a non-productive morphological feature being replaced by a productive formation. In this sense, frequency can help us make sense of the changes that happen, but also of those that do not. For example, irregular morphological formations that are present in the language at a high-frequency rate are less likely to become regular than their less common counterparts, despite their irregular nature (Bybee and Hopper 2001: 1). This notion is useful for my analysis when trying to understand why some of the verbs in my dataset present a higher or lower percentage of weak forms.[20]

Before discussing the figures and drawing conclusions, I display the data in raw numbers: frequency of each verb in preterite forms or past participles in the gloss, and number of occurrences in either strong or weak forms. Table 12 below shows the frequency and alternation rates of each verb.

Table 12. Frequency rates for the verbs in my dataset

class I (3/23 verbs)			
	dwīnan	*hrīnan*	*stīgan*
frequency	1	27	58
alternation	1 weak (100%)	8 weak (30%)	3 weak (5%)

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[20] It should be noted that the afore-mentioned linguists use the terms high- or low-frequency as a measure on language as a whole, including the spoken language, not just to refer to the token frequency of a certain word or phrase in a specific corpus.

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	0 strong	19 strong (70%)	55 strong (95%)

class II (2/23 verbs)		
	bebeōdan	*gesūpan*
frequency	5	2
alternation	2 hybrid (40%) 3 strong (60%)	1 weak (50%) 1 strong (50%)

class III (6/23 verbs)		
	onginnan	*swingan*	*ðringan*
frequency	56	5	3
alternation	1 weak (1.8%) 55 strong (98.2%)	4 weak (80%) 1 strong (20%)	2 weak (67%) 1 strong (33%)
	gebindan	*gefregnan*	*sweltan*
frequency	16	53	2
alternation	1 hybrid (6.25%) 15 strong (93.75%)	9 weak (20.5%) 44 strong (79.5%)	2 hybrids (100%) 0 strong

class V (2/23 verbs)		
	gefretan	*harmcwoeðan*
frequency	3	2
alternation	1 weak (33%)	1 weak (50%)

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	2 strong (67%)	1 strong (50%)	
class VI (1/23 verbs)			
	gestandan		
frequency	16		
alternation	2 hybrid (13%) 14 strong (87%)		
class VII (9/23 verbs)			
	feallan	*(ge)hatan*	*gewæxan*
frequency	20	61	6
alternation	1 weak (5%) 19 strong (95%)	1 hybrid (1.6%) 60 strong (98.4%)	1 hybrid (17%) 5 strong (83%)
	slēpan	*rǣdan*	*sceadan*
frequency	6	3	7
alternation	6 weak (100%) 0 strong	2 weak (67%) 1 strong (33%)	7 weak (100%) 0 strong
	sāwan	*ondrǣdan*	*wēpan*
frequency	5	30	3
alternation	2 weak (40%) 3 strong (60%)	1 weak (3.3%) 29 strong (96.7%)	1 weak (33%) 2 strong (63%)

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Previous literature has suggested that frequency was not the key factor in the regularisation of Old English strong verbs. Instead, the "perceptual ease of distinguishing the vowels of the principal parts [of the verb]" was singled out as the main preservator of a strong inflection (Branchaw 2010a: 101).[21] However, my data does not correlate completely, as frequency plays a key role in the regularisation of strong Old Northumbrian verbs.[22]

In general terms, there is an overall tendency for the verbs included in my dataset to present lower rates of weak forms the higher the frequency of occurrence in the gloss is. The verbs with the highest token frequency, such as *gehātan*, *stīgan*, *onginnan*, *gefregnan, ondrǣdan* and *hrīnan,* present low rates of innovative weak forms, while less common verbs such as *wēpan* and *sweltan* tend to be inflected in a weak manner almost every time they appear in their preterite forms in the gloss. In fact, the only verbs to present rates of 100% weak instances do not appear more than 7 times in past tense forms in Lindisfarne. This tendency correlates with Bybee's Model (1985) and Anderwald's results (2009) (see section 1.3).

The effects of frequency in the regularisation of strong verbs in Old Northumbrian can also be seen in a different light. Fertig claims that "the analogical force of a pattern is [...] based primarily on type frequency (the number of items that follow that pattern) rather than token frequency" (2013: 118). That is to say, strong verbs were likely to undergo regularisation due to the higher frequency of weak verbs (type). However, Fertig's

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[21] It must be noted that Branchaw (2010a) refers to the survival of strong inflection to the present day, while I comment on strong verbs in Lindisfarne only. The two are not necessarily directly related.

[22] Frequency in my study is determined by looking only at the number of times the verbs appear in the preterite tense or past participle – see section 2.4. Had other measures been taken into account (e.g. the total number of attestation of the verb in Old Northumbrian), the results might be different.

explanation (2013) could also refer to lexical diffusion, as touched upon in section 5.2.2. That is, the more strong verbs from one class that change into the weak paradigm, the more strong verbs from the same class that will be attracted to undergo the same process. This could explain why class III and class VII are more numerous in my data: some verbs of these classes may have started the change due to their ablaut type, and then attracted more verbs of the same class to undergo the same change, resulting in much higher numbers than the other classes.

In sum, frequency seems to play a key role in the regularisation of strong verbs in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The higher the token frequency of the strong verb, the less likely it will be for that particular verb to undergo regularisation. This seems to be the overall tendency in the other texts I consulted as well (see chapter 6).

5.2.4. Present-Day English status

For the purposes of this analysis, I have decided to use the regular and irregular nomenclature in order to classify verbs in Present-Day English, instead of continuing with *strong* and *weak* as categories. This classification is not without flaws, as the irregular vs. regular dichotomy does not take into account the presence of ablaut, which was the defining trait of Old English verbs, and therefore is less nuanced. For example, a verb such as OE *sceadan* (PDE *shed – shed - shed*) is considered irregular in Present-Day English, as it does not add *–ed* to form the past. However, the root vowel remains the same throughout the entire inflectional pattern, and therefore it would be considered weak following Old English morphology. There are some verbs in my database such as *sleep* (OE *slēpan*) and *weep* (OE *wēpan*) that add a dental suffix to form the past tense but also present a vowel change from a long vowel to a short one (*sleep-slept*, *weep-wept*). However, this vowel change is not due to ablaut and the dental suffix is the defining part in the classification of weak and strong verbs. Branchaw (2010a) encountered this type

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of verbs in her analysis of strong verbs, which she defined as "historically weak but synchronically partially strong" (2010a: 102). Verbs like *sleep* and *weep* are considered irregular in Present-Day English. As it is difficult to classify these verbs following the Old English system, I decided to stick to the usual dichotomy used in Present-Day English grammars, albeit making note of the instances where this classification may fall short. By definition, regular verbs are those that add *–ed* to form the past tense and past participle, and irregular verbs are those that do not.

Out of the 23 verbs analysed, 20 still exist in the present (86%), while three of them (14%) have been lost. These numbers are quite surprising, considering that about 85% of all Old English words have disappeared (Baugh & Cable 1978: 55). It must be noted that those Old English words that did not survive into Present-Day English are usually poetic compounds and nouns, while words of a high frequency in use that express fundamental concepts survived (Baugh & Cable 1978: 55), and thus the more frequent verbs in my dataset are the ones expected to survive. However, the three verbs that have not survived to Present-Day English are *hrīnan* (frequency of 27), *stīgan* (frequency of 58), and *harmcwoeðan* (frequency of two).[23] With the exception of the last one, the other two verbs are some of the most frequent ones in my dataset. An explanation for this would be that their use was high in Old Northumbrian but not necessarily in the other English dialects of the time, which could be why they did not become a part of the standard. However, a *DOEC* search reveals that *hrīnan*, for example, appears 19 times just in the singular preterite form *hrān* in the *West Saxon Gospels*, and *stāg* (cp. *stīgan*) appears 18 times in the *Exeter Book*. In sum, it is apparent that these verbs were as frequent in other dialects of the time as in Northumbrian. Therefore, I can only assume that their frequency in use

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[23] It must be noted that the second part of the compound, *cwoeðan,* appears over 1000 times in the preterite in Lindisfarne (Cook 1894: 33-35).

decreased over time despite being so highly used in Old English, maybe due to the fact that a lot of Old English verbs were replaced by Scandinavian or French loanwords during the Middle English period. Out of this 86% of verbs that have survived into Present-Day English, 65% (13 out of 20) are now irregular, while 35% (seven out of 20) are regular in the present. The verbs that are irregular in Present-Day English are *swingan* 'to swing', *ðringan* 'thring', *rǣdan* 'to read', *sāwan* 'to sow', *bebeōdan* 'to bid', *gebindan* 'to bind', *gestandan* 'to stand', *onginnan* 'to begin', *sceadan* 'to shed', *slēpan* 'to sleep', *wēpan* 'to weep', *gehātan* 'hight', and *feallan* 'to fall'.

This result is surprising in more ways than one. Taking into consideration that all of the verbs in my dataset were chosen because they had started to adhere to the weak inflection in the Old English period, it could be expected that many of the surviving verbs would be regular in the present. The verbs that were weak 100% of the instances in Lindisfarne are, indeed, mostly regular in Present-Day English (*dwīnan* and *sweltan* are regular, while *sceadan* and *slēpan* are considered irregular even if the former does not present ablaut and the latter adds a dental suffix); but the other verbs do not follow the same pattern. For instance, a verb that was weak only 17% of the time in Lindisfarne is now regular (*gewæxan*), while a verb like *swingan*, which was weak 80% of the time in Lindisfarne is irregular in Present-Day English (see section 5.2.3). However, it is important to remember that Present-Day English is, for the most part, a descendant of the Mercian dialect (Algeo 2010: 86, Lass 1992: 128), which is also another explanation as to why so many of the examined verbs, despite developing weak forms in Old Northumbrian, did, in fact, remain irregular in the current standard English grammar.[24]

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[24] This is just a hypothesis and it would be interesting to look at how these verbs behaved in Old Mercian in order to determine it.

Taking into account the general disappearance of strong verbs in Present-Day English, it is unexpected that 65% of my data is irregular. In sum, one would have predicted a different result, with most of these verbs being regular in the present at a much higher rate. The situation in Present-Day English could be due to the high frequency of these verbs, which would have prevented them from undergoing regularisation, as the verbs that are regular nowadays all appear at rates lower than 6 in Lindisfarne (with the exception of *gefregnan*), while verbs that are irregular in Present-Day English presented much higher frequency in the gloss. Other explanations for this could be that the change that happened in Northumbrian around the 10th century did not spread to the rest of the country and thus did not become a part of Standard English; or, simply, that the change was not successful in this particular set of verbs. In fact, verbs that appear as weak in all or several of the dialects considered in my study such as *gebindan* and *swingan* are still irregular in the present (see chapter 6).

It has been suggested by previous scholars that the preservation of strong verbs might be directly related to the presence of a single root-final sonorant (Krygier 1994: 248-249). This does not seem to be the case for my data as only *sāwan*, *feallan*, and *onginnan* fulfil this condition. Moreover, a number of these verbs contain *d* in their root (*rǣdan*, *bebeōdan*, *gebindan*, *sceadan*, *gehātan*, and *gestandan* – 46%, six out of 13), which has been proposed as a key factor in the regularisation of strong verbs during the 12th century, as Norman French speakers are said to have reinterpreted this dental consonant in the root as a dental suffix indicating preterite tense (Krygier 1994: 148). Even though Branchaw is not fully convinced by this explanation, she still presents it as plausible (2010a: 99-101). On the basis of my data, I would have to side with Branchaw. Norman French was yet to enter the British Isles when the *Lindisfarne Gospels* were glossed, and already these verbs with a dental root were being rendered as weak. On top of that, those same verbs

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are irregular in Present-Day English, which does not seem to indicate any French influence behind this process.

As for class distribution, I am going to focus on classes III and VII, as they are the most commonly represented ones in the data. All six class III verbs in my data still exist in Present-Day English, and of these, two are regular nowadays (33%). These two verbs are *sweltan* 'swelt' (frequency of 2) and *gefregnan* 'frayne' (frequency of 53), which seems to indicate frequency was not the defining factor in maintaining a strong inflection. The other four class III verbs (*swingan*, *ðringan*, *gebindan*, and *onginnan*) are now irregular. This is most likely due to their ablaut type, since verbs with the ablaut series *i-a-u* such as *sing* have remained strong due to the ease in distinguishing these vowels (see section 5.2.1; Branchaw 2010a).

Class VII, on the other hand, presents a rate of 100% survival into Present-Day English (nine out of nine verbs), and a regularisation rate of 22% (two out of nine – *gewæxan* and *ondrǣdan*). It must be noted, however, that four of the nine verbs belonging to class VII are those that are hard to classify, namely, *wēpan*, *slēpan*, *rǣdan* and *sceadan*. Although these are irregular verbs nowadays, the regularisation into the weak system that these four verbs underwent in Old Northumbrian definitely lasted until the present day. *Gehātan* is hard to classify as it is an archaic form only recorded in the past participle in Present-Day English (*OED* s.v. *hight*, v1). In sum, only two out of nine verbs belonging to class VII (*feallan* and *standan*) can be said to have definitely not successfully undergone the regularisation process.

In terms of frequency, I have shown in previous sections that the more frequent a verb was, the less likely it was to undergo regularisation in Lindisfarne. However, has this tendency continued to Present-Day English? Previous research has suggested that frequency is one of the key factors in "selecting which [verbs] survived as weak and

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which [remained] as strong" (Branchaw 2010a: 101; for the effects of frequency, see also chapter 1 and section 5.2.3). In order to determine that, I have looked at the frequency of these verbs in Present-Day English using the *OED* online, which ranks its entries from less (one) to more frequent (eight) in the present. This is the scale I shall be using in the table below.

Table 13. Present-Day English frequencies

Verbs that are irregular in Present-Day English			
OE verb	PDE frequency	OE verb	PDE frequency
swingan	6/8	*gestandan*	7/8
ðringan	2/8	*sceadan* *	5/8
rǣdan *	7/8	*onginnan*	7/8
sāwan	5/8	*slēpan*	6/8
bebeōdan	5/8	*wēpan*	5/8
gebindan	6/8	*feallan*	7/8
(ge)hatan	3/8		
Verbs that are regular in Present-Day English			
OE verb	PDE frequency	OE verb	PDE frequency
dwīnan	2/8	*sweltan*	2/8
gefregnan	2/8	*gesūpan*	4/8
gewæxan	5/8	*gefretan*	5/8
ondrǣdan	5/8		

The table above displays the Present-Day English frequencies of all the verbs from my Lindisfarne database that have survived into the present – whether it be as regular or

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irregular verbs. It must be noted that there are three verbs in the irregular column marked with an asterisk. As explained before, these three verbs do not present ablaut in Present-Day English and end in a dental consonant, which means that, despite their irregular classification in Present-Day English, they would most likely be classified as weak following Old English classification. This table seems to suggest that Branchaw's hypothesis is correct, as the verbs that are irregular in Present-Day English, in general, have higher frequency rates than those that are regular in the present. There are only two irregular verbs that present less than 5/8 (*ðringan* and *gehātan*) in frequency while four out of the seven regular verbs present lower frequencies (three of them 2/8, and one 4/8). It must also be remembered that *ðringan* belongs to strong class IIIa, with a distinct ablaut series, which explains its survival as an irregular verb despite its low frequency. Moreover, there are no regular verbs that present a frequency equal or higher than 6/8, while seven of the irregular verbs do. It can be concluded that a high frequency in usage directly correlates with the continuation of the strong inflection in Present-Day English, as it did in the regularisation of strong verbs in Old Northumbrian. In fact, a t-test reveals the difference between these two sets of verbs to be statistically significant with a p value of p=0.01177. In sum, frequency plays a key role in the maintenance of irregular conjugation in Present-Day English. The t-test results can be seen in Table 14 below. It has been suggested that "OE frequencies [...] do a poor job of predicting PDE results" (Branchaw 2010b: 79); however, in my data this does not seem to be the case. It must be noted, nonetheless, that I have not taken into account the frequencies of these verbs in Middle and Modern English, and therefore my results do not tell the complete story. Another caveat to notice is the fact that frequency in my study was determined by the number of tokens in the preterite or past participle, and not the total number of tokens of the verbs in Lindisfarne.

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Table 14. *t*-test results for Present-Day English frequencies

	irregular verbs	regular verbs
mean	5.46	3.57
SD	1.56	1.51
SEM	0.43	0.57
N	13	7
t = 2.6102		
df = 18		
standard error difference = 0.724		
p = 0.06.06		

It is interesting to point out the verb *gesūpan*, regular in Present-Day English (*sup*). In Old English, the root vowel was long *ū*, but the Present-Day English verb stems from Middle English short *u*. However, this short *u* is already seen in Old Northumbrian according to the *OED* (s.v. *sup*, v1), attesting once again to the innovative nature of the Lindisfarne gloss. In sum, it is unexpected how many of the verbs included in my analysis have survived into Present-Day English, especially considering that the ones that have disappeared were the most frequent ones in the preterite in Lindisfarne. The rates of regularisation are also surprising, as I would have expected an overwhelming majority of these verbs to be regular in the present. However, these results can be explained through multiple factors, such as the perceptual ease of distinguishing the vowels (class IIIa is still irregular in the present, while most class VII verbs present dental endings despite being

considered irregular in the present), and the effects of frequency, as one factor remains consistent throughout the history of English verbs: high-frequency verbs are inclined to be "autonomous" and more resistant to change (Fertig 2013: 118).

5.2.5. Distribution by Gospel

As discussed in section 2.5, whether or not Aldred was the sole glossator of all four Gospels has been a topic of ongoing scholarly debate for years. One of the theories is that John's Gospel may have been glossed by a different glossator than the other three Gospels, as the language in this gloss seems more conservative and the orthography is different. This has been discussed at length by numerous scholars (see the discussion in section 2.5).

My data signals a very clear trend in setting John's gloss apart. Of all 59 instances of strong verbs behaving like weak verbs, only 2 are found in the gloss to John's Gospel. As can be seen in Table 15 below, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark have relatively equal numbers of weak forms, with Matthew featuring 16 weak forms and Mark featuring 12 weak forms. Luke's Gospel, on the other hand, stands out as the most innovative of all the Gospels, featuring the largest number of weak forms.

Moreover, a chi-square test of the data reveals a p-value of 0.005393, meaning the percentual differences in these results are highly statistically significant and reliable. On top of that, a logistic regression shows John's Gospel as the most favourable for strong forms, followed by Mark's Gospel, while Luke and Matthew favour weak, innovative forms (see Table 15 below).

Table 15. Distribution of weak analogical forms in the four Gospels

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John

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ÁMBITO- PREFIJO	CSV	FECHA Y HORA DEL DOCUMENTO
GEISER	**GEISER-d8e1-68a7-6d4c-4817-b552-86c8-589a-7297**	**19/10/2020 14:05:21 Horario peninsular**
Nº registro	DIRECCIÓN DE VALIDACIÓN	
O00008744e2000051318	**https://sede.administracionespublicas.gob.es/valida**	

GEISER-d8e1-68a7-6d4c-4817-b552-86c8-589a-7297

Weak forms	16	12	29	2
Strong forms	102	88	98	43
% weak forms per Gospel	15%	12%	23%	4%
% weak forms overall	27%	20%	49%	3%
totals	118	100	127	45

$p = 0.005393$

Table 16. Logistical regression of Gospel distribution

strong form	coefficient	error std.
Gospel. reference: Matthew		
John	4.121***	1,469
Luke	0,429	0,541
Mark	1,116 *	0,591
* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.1$, ***$p < 0.05$		

This data widely supports the theory that the gloss to John's Gospel might have been composed by a different glossator, or be in fact the only one glossed by Aldred. This last hypothesis does not, however, seem to be the case as Durham presents similar results as Lindisfarne (as a whole) in my study, which indicates this gloss is not more conservative (see section 5.1). Certainly, the gloss to John's Gospels seems to have been written by someone who was perhaps more conservative in their speech than the glossator or glossators of the other Gospels, and one who did not implement innovative features in their speech, such as the regularisation of strong verbs. Another hypothesis is that the

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same scribe glossed all four Gospels, but that he used a different exemplar for the glossing of John.

5.2.6. Double glosses

As explained in section 2.3, double and sometimes triple glosses were often used in Lindisfarne in order to provide clarity in the translation. In my data, there are 15 instances of double and triple glosses in which weak innovative forms are involved, which accounts for 25% of the total weak forms in Lindisfarne. I have classified these into five different categories:

1) Double glosses in which a weak innovative form appears next to a etymological strong form of the same verb

There are two examples belonging to this category: the double gloss concerning *gesuungun/gesunincged bið* (LkGl 18.32) and the double gloss concerning *wæs geðringed/geðrungen* (LkGl 8.42). The full context for these forms can be found in section 5.1. Previous research (Kotake 2006: 39) has shown that periphrastic constructions usually go in second place in double glosses, and therefore the tense of the Latin verb in the MS has an effect on the arrangement of these glosses. The order appears to be irrelevant in these examples, however, as the weak innovative form is not in the same position in both examples, which implies that the Latin word these glosses translate does not seem to have an effect of Aldred's choice in these particular examples. These examples could, however, imply a certain degree of awareness on Aldred's part of the innovative nature of weak forms, who could be adding the etymological strong forms to avoid confusion to the reader. It also indicates a change in progress as both linguistic variants are in use. The use of two variants in use is also seen in other instances throughout the gloss not related to regularisation (see *dormiat* in section 5.2)

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2) Double glosses in which a weak innovative forms appears next to a form of the same verb in a different tense

Four double glosses fall into this category: *forduinde/forduineð* (LkGl 14.34), *gehrindon/hrina mæhtæs* (MkGl 3.10), *geslepde/slepende wæs* (MtGl 8.24), and *geslepdon/geslepæ waldon* (MtGl 13.25). Except for the first example, which glosses a Latin future perfect, the other three instances gloss Latin imperfect forms. In these examples, the weak forms always occur first. This correlates to a certain degree with Kotake's (2006) study on gloss order in translating the Latin imperfect; he found that the literal translation of the Latin form usually goes first. In this case, the weak forms appear first to accurately indicate the past tense of the Latin original. However, in Kotake's study (2006) the second part of the double gloss is usually a periphrastic construction, which is not always the case in my data. While both forms of the verb *slēpan* follow the pattern of Kotake's study (2006), the forms *forduinde* and *gehrindon* do not. Instead, they appear next to present tense and infinitive forms, respectively. Since both examples use the same strategy despite glossing different Latin tenses (future perfect and imperfect, respectively), it may be the case that Aldred uses the weak innovative form as a means to convey grammatical meaning (tense), and the forms next to them as a way to reinforce the lexical meaning of the translation.

3) Double glosses in which a weak innovative form appears next to another weak innovative form

There is only one instance belonging to this category, which involves the forms *gehrinadon/gehrinad* (MtGl 14.36). It can therefore be concluded that it was not common practice for Aldred to use two innovative forms together. However, these forms are in different tenses (the first one being a preterite form and the second one a past participle), which could indicate uncertainty on Aldred's part regarding Latin inflection (the form

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appearing in the text is in the perfect tense). In sum, this example seems anecdotal and not adequate for drawing any solid conclusions. However, it must be noted that this verb presents strong-weak alternation in the gloss, and Aldred chose to use two weak innovative forms in this instance.

4) Double glosses in which a weak innovative form appears next to a form of a different verb

This is the most common category of double glosses in my data. In fact, even the triple glosses could fall under this category. There are six examples of double glosses in which a weak innovative form appears next to a form of a different verb, namely *adune astigade/cuom* (LkGl 10.30), *gebirigdon/gesupedon weron* (MkPrlg), *gesuuincgde/ gemænde* (LkGl 12.47), *gedyde/gebinde* (LkGl 24.28), *gesohte/gefragade* (MtGl 2.16), and *gemonigfaldade/gewoxe* (MkGl 12.44). The position of the weak form in these cases is variable and seems to be irrelevant. These appear to be lexical glosses and not grammatical glosses: that is, Aldred is using a double gloss to clarify the meaning of the Latin word by means of using Old English synonyms.

5) Triple glosses

There are two instances of triple glosses in my data: *gefraignade/geascade/gefragade* (MtGl 2.4) and *tosceadade/trahtade/sægde* (MkGl 4.34). In both examples the innovative weak form occurs first. However, these are, again, examples of lexical glosses in which "different words with the same (or very similar) meanings" (Ross 1933a: 103) are used.

In sum, double and triple glosses in which weak innovative forms are used are more often lexical than grammatical. The cases in which grammatical glosses are used, however, could indicate Aldred's awareness of the linguistic innovation in use or just be examples of the linguistic variation present in his dialect.

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5.3. Summary

Multiple variables have been studied with regard to the regularisation of strong verbs in Lindisfarne. This trend, although not yet dominant, as it affects 23 out of 399 strong verbs appearing in the gloss, attests to the innovative nature of this text. Moreover, it can be seen that this is a change in progress at the time, as all the verbs in my study present alternation between weak and strong forms.

In terms of etymology, the existence of weak Norse counterparts does not seem to be a significant factor in determining which verbs undergo the change to weak. Phonologically, the presence of a dental root consonant is not a significant factor in this process of analogy, either. However, phonology does play a part in this process, as class III and class VII verbs are the most affected by the change, which may be due to the difficulty of distinguishing the ablaut in these classes (all but IIIa, see section 5.2.1). The common regularisation of classes III and VII can also be explained in terms of lexical diffusion, related to frequency: the more verbs from one class that undergo the change, the more verbs of that class that will undergo the change (see section 5.2.3). Moreover frequency could be said to be the key factor that determines which verbs start to adhere to the weak inflection, more so than any other factor, and it does so in a inversely proportional manner: the higher the frequency of a verb (in number of tokens), the less probability that it will change. My results correlate with Bybee's model (1985), which postulates that high-frequency structures have their own representations in our brains, and are therefore less likely to undergo any changes.

The language of the gloss is highly dialectal and therefore does not always conform to Old English expectations, based in the main on West Saxon patterns. This can be seen in the fact that the preterite and past participle of strong verbs that behave as weak do not

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conform to the traditional classification, therefore it is hard to assign them to a weak class (see section 5.2).

In terms of the demarcations in the gloss (Brunner 1947-1948), my data clearly signals John's Gospel as the most conservative (4% of the weak forms) and Luke's as the most innovative (49% of the weak forms), which could indicate they were glossed at different points in time consulting different sources, or that they were glossed by different scribes. The latter hypothesis correlates with previous literature, such as Cole's findings about –*s* endings and subject effects, which suggest at least two changes in scribe in the exemplar (2012: 126), van Bergen's study on the use of negative contractions (2008), or Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma's results on the low rates of accusative/dative syncretism in John (forthcoming), as well as paleographical evidence that has set John's Gospel's apart (Ross & Stanley 1960; see discussion in section 2.5).

As for the Present-Day English status of these verbs, most of them adhere to the irregular category. However, this classification is problematic, as there are verbs that added a dental suffix and have kept it to the present day (i.e. *sleep*) that are considered irregular nowadays. Nonetheless, the frequency trend from Old English is continued to the present, as the higher-frequency verbs in my data are irregular, while the lower-frequency ones are regular.

In sum, frequency is the most significant factor that determines not only which verbs underwent this process of simplification in the Old English period, but also which ones remained weak until the present.

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6. Comparison with other texts

6.1. The gloss to the *Durham Ritual*

As explained earlier, the gloss to the *Durham Ritual* is generally assumed to have also been written by Aldred, the glossator of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, probably at a later point in his life (see the discussion in section 2.5 and chapter 3). This immediately makes the Durham gloss not only linguistically interesting for the study of Old Northumbrian, but also sets this gloss apart as the most likely to share linguistic features with the innovative Lindisfarne gloss. There is one downside to the comparative study of the Durham and Lindisfarne glosses, though, as they are not glosses of the same original Latin material: while Lindisfarne glosses the four Gospels, the *Durham Ritual* is a collection of a diverse set of materials, liturgical or otherwise. Hence, there is no direct comparative study to make in the manner of Ru1 and Ru2 in the next section.

Instead, as mentioned in section 5.1, I have looked up all 23 verbs included in my Lindisfarne data in the Durham gloss to see if they are used in the same manner as in Lindisfarne so as to (i) determine whether they appear, (ii) if they present weak forms in Durham as well, and (iii) what Latin verbs they gloss.

Of these 23 verbs, 17 appear in Durham, constituting a 73% of the instances. The remaining six verbs (27%) are not recorded in Durham. I have previously stated which of these verbs appear in Durham when explaining my dataset in section 5.1, but for the sake of clarity I will repeat them here. The 17 strong to weak verbs that appear in both Lindisfarne and Durham are: *hrīnan*, *stīgan*, *onginnan*, *ondrǣdan, swingan*, *slēpan*, *rǣdan*, *tosceādan*, *bebeōdan*, *gebindan*, *gefregnan*, *gefretan*, *wēpan*, *gewæxan*, *gestandan*, *gehātan,* and *feallan*. However, five of these verbs (*ondrǣdan*, *rǣdan*, *gefregnan, gefretan* and *wēpan*), although recorded, do not appear in the preterite tense

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or past participle forms, and therefore I cannot determine their status as weak or strong in the Durham gloss. Thus, in total, 12 verbs can be taken into account for my analysis (12 out of 23, i.e. 52%). It should be noted, nonetheless, that these verbs, despite not appearing in the preterite or past participle in the Durham gloss, are classified as either weak (*rǣdan*) or strong (*wēpan, gefretan, gefregnan*) by Lindelöf in his glossary (1901).

The six verbs that do not appear in the Durham gloss are *dwīnan*, *ðringan*, *sāwan*, *harmcweðan*, *gesūpan*, and *sweltan*. In terms of frequency, the six verbs not recorded in the Durham gloss are the ones with some of the lowest rates of appearance in their preterite and past participle forms in Lindisfarne, appearing at rates of seven or lower. These results could just mean that there was no need for these particular verbs in the context of the *Durham Ritual*. However, it could be the case that these verbs in general were on their way to disappearing and Aldred had stopped using them by the time he undertook the glossing of the *Durham Ritual*. To determine this, I checked Lindelöf's glossary of the *Durham Ritual* (1901) in order to see whether other verbs are used to translate the same Latin lexemes as in Lindisfarne, or whether there is simply no context for them in Durham. These verbs account for the translation of 15 different Latin verbs in Lindisfarne. Of these 15, only two, *gustare* 'to taste' and *calumniare* 'to speak ill of someone' are recorded in Durham. These are glossed by *(gi)birgan* 'to taste' (see Lindelöf 1901: 112 for examples) instead of *gesūpan* (as in Lindisfarne), and *teancuidian* (compound of *teon* 'to insult' and *cwide* 'saying') instead of *harmcweðan* (see Lindelöf 1901: 198). In sum, these results indicate that these verbs do not appear in Durham not because of their frequency or current use, but rather because there was no context in the text for them to be used.

As for the verbs that do occur in Durham, all of them gloss Latin verbs that also appear in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, with one exception. Thus, in both glosses *hrīnan* glosses *tango*

'to touch', *astīgan* glosses both *ascendo* 'to go up' and *descendo* 'to go down', *onginnan* glosses *innuo* 'to sign', *swingan* glosses *flagello* 'to punish', *slēpan* glosses *dormio* 'to sleep', *bebeōdan* glosses *commino* 'to threaten', *gebindan* glosses *vincio* 'to bind', *woepan* glosses *fleo* 'to cry', *gewæxan* glosses *cresco* 'to grow', *standan* glosses both *sto* 'to stand' and *existo* 'to exist', *feallan* glosses *cadere* 'to fall', *gefregnan* glosses *interrogo* 'to ask', *gefretan* glosses *comedo* 'to eat', *gehātan* glosses *jubere* 'to command', and *ondrǣdan* glosses *timo* 'to dread'. This last verb, *ondrǣdan*, also glosses *expavesco* 'to fear' in Durham, which is not a form recorded in Lindisfarne, but is a synonym of *timo*. In the same manner, the verb *rǣdan* does not gloss the exact same verb in Durham as it does in Lindisfarne, but they are synonyms: it glosses *lego* 'to read' in Lindisfarne, and *recito* 'to read aloud' in Durham. The same happens with *woepan*, which glosses *fleo* 'to cry' in Durham, but *ploro* 'to cry' in Lindisfarne. On the other hand, *sceadan* glosses *separo* 'to separate' and *defero* 'to bring' in Durham, as it does in Lindisfarne, but it also glosses *destituo* 'to place' in Durham, which is a meaning that is not recorded in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

Most of the verbs that do appear in both the Lindisfarne and Durham glosses occur over 10 times in Lindisfarne, some of them even reaching numbers over 50 occurrences (e.g. *gehātan*, *stīgan* and *onginnan*, with 61, 59, and 56 total occurrences, respectively). However, despite their high frequencies in Lindisfarne, the results are not quite so steep in Durham, with none of the verbs presenting a rate higher than 10 in the Durham gloss and *standan* being the most commonly used verb with a frequency rate of nine instances in the preterite tense and past participle. This could be due to the different nature of the text or an indicator of a decrease in the use of these verbs, but it must be noted that frequencies are most likely ruled by the times a particular concept is mentioned in each text.

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In terms of regularisation, the results are quite surprising. Of the 12 verbs appearing in Durham in the preterite or past participle, only four are recorded as weak (33%), while the other eight (66%) do not exhibit this innovative feature. The distribution of weak and strong forms of the Lindisfarne verbs in Durham can be seen in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Rates of innovative weak forms in Durham

verb	strong occurrences	weak occurrences	total frequency
hrīnan	1	1	2
slēpan	0	1	1
stīgan	3	0	3
sceadan	2	2	4
feallan	4	0	4
gewæxan	1	0	1
gestandan	4	0	4
gebindan	1	0	1
swingan	1	0	1
onginnan	1	0	1
bebeōdan	1	0	1
gehātan	4	1	5

Considering the general tendencies of simplification during the Middle English Period, and taking into account that these verbs did appear as weak in Lindisfarne, it is unexpected that 66% of them would appear only in their strong forms in Durham. It must be noted, however, that these results are very limited as there is a scarcity of data and most of these verbs only appear once or twice in the preterite tense or past participle in the Durham gloss. Nonetheless, these results still show a change in progress with both glosses presenting a tendency to the regularisation of strong verbs, even if these verbs do not behave in the exact same manner in both texts. These results seem to align with the traditional theory of Aldred being of an older age when glossing Durham (see sections 2.3 and 2.5, and chapter 3 for both this theory and an alternative explanation of the chronological gap between the two glosses). It could be the case that he had started to adhere more to the prestigious variety of the language throughout his life, as he seems to have travelled to Wessex in 970 (see Fernández Cuesta & Langmuir 2019). And, as we have already seen in section 5.2.6 and also discussed in section 2.5, he seemed to be aware of the innovative nature of these weak forms and thus sometimes he would use them in double glosses next to the etymological strong forms. Moreover, two out of the four weak verbs in Durham, *slēpan* (100% weak in Durham) and *sceadan* (50% weak in Durham), are verbs that did not present alternation in Lindisfarne. That is, they only presented a weak inflection in Lindisfarne. This indicates that these verbs were most likely established as weak at the time of Aldred's glossing activities, and by the time he started glossing the *Durham Ritual* they would probably be mainly used as weak by the speakers in the community.

These results could also support the theory that Aldred was, in fact, only the glossator of John's Gospel in Lindisfarne, as they align with my results of this being the most conservative Gospel (see section 5.2.5), similarly to the the results in Durham. However,

only one out of the four verbs that are used as weak in Durham (*gehātan*) appears in John's Gospel in Lindisfarne (five times in the strong inflection) – the remaining verbs (*hrīnan*, *slēpan*, and *sceadan*) appear neither in the expected strong inflection nor as innovative weak forms in this Gospel; therefore, conclusions on this point are elusive.

However, these results become more interesting when taking into account the Present-Day English status of the verbs. Of these eight verbs that remained strong in Durham, there is one (12.5%) that does not exist in Present-Day English (*astīgan*). Of the remaining six verbs, four (*feallan*, *rǣdan*, *bebeōdan*, and *gebindan)* are all still irregular to this day, while *gefretan* and *gefregnan* are regular (*OED* s.v. *fret*, v1; *Merriam-Webster* s.v. *frayn*). It is fascinating that, while Aldred had used these verbs in a weak analogical manner in the past as a glossator of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, he chose – whether they represent his own choices or those of his sources remains to be determined – to use them only as strong at a later point in his life, which aligns with the Present-Day English status of these verbs.

If one focuses only on the comparative study of Lindisfarne verbs in Durham, the latter gloss seems to be more conservative. However, when one looks at all the strong verbs that appear in Durham, the picture changes completely. There are four verbs that are recorded as weak in Durham aside from the four already included in Lindisfarne*,* which can be seen in Table 18 below.

Table 18. Weak innovative verbs in Durham not recorded in Lindisfarne

	weak occurrences	strong occurrences	total frequency
underbegan	1	0	1
giflegan	1	0	1
giletan	1	0	1

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eftastregdan	1	1	2

As I said in section 5.1, 399 strong verbs appear in Lindisfarne, of which 23 are inflected in a weak manner (5.7%). 221 strong verbs are recorded in Durham, and of these, eight present a weak inflection (3.6%). The difference between these two percentages seems to be large, although this comparison might not be fair due to the different nature of the texts that may allow for one to use preterite forms more often and therefore use weak or strong forms more often, as well. Indeed, a chi-square test for statistical significance reveals the difference between the texts to be not significant (see Table 19 below) with a p value of 0.240614.

Table 19. Chi-square test results for conservatism in Durham

	weak innovative verbs	purely strong verbs	marginal row totals
Lindisfarne	23 (19.95) [0.47]	376 (379.05) [0.02]	399
Durham	8 (11.05) [0.84]	213 (209.95) [0.04]	221
marginal column totals	31	589	620 (grand total)
p= 0.240614			

Moreover, if one takes into account the frequencies and alternation of the verbs that undergo this process of regularisation in both glosses, we find that in Lindisfarne there are 59 weak instances out of 344 (17%), while in Durham these strong verbs present innovative instances nine times out of a total of 33 forms (27%). The percentage of weak innovative forms is, then, higher in Durham than in Lindisfarne, and one could assume

this innovation was, in fact, more common in Durham. A chi-square test for statistical significance, however, reveals this to be a non-significant difference (see Table 20 below).

Table 20. Chi-square test results for innovation rates in Durham

	weak rates	strong rates	marginal row totals
Lindisfarne	59 (62.85) [0.24]	344 (340.15) [0.04]	403
Durham	9 (5.15) [2.88]	24 (27.85) [0.53]	33
marginal column totals	68	68	436 (Grand Total)
p=0.054488			

In sum, neither the difference in the number of verbs affected by this regularisation process in both glosses, nor the times these verbs appear as weak or strong present statistically significant discrepancies, which means both Durham and Lindisfarne are equally likely to present weak innovative forms.

In terms of frequencies, all of the strong verbs that appear as weak in Durham present rates of five or lower. This correlates with the results from Lindisfarne of low frequency being a key factor in the regularisation process. Moreover, eight of the 11 verbs do not present alternation and appear only in weak forms in Durham. This, again, could be due to their low frequencies (five being the highest rate), or an indicator of these verbs being considered fully weak by Aldred.

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In terms of class, the tendency for class VII to be more susceptible to change seen in Lindisfarne is also apparent in Durham. Of the eight strong verbs to present weak innovative forms, four (50%) are class VII (*slēpan*, *sceadan*, *gehātan*, and *giletan*). Three of the remaining four verbs represent different classes: class I (*hrīnan*), class II (*giflegan*), and class III (*eftastregdan*). Lastly, *underbegan* is an anomalous verb (*DOE*, s.v. *be-gan*).

With regard to glossing practice, none of the weak innovative forms in Durham appears in double or triple glosses, and therefore there is no data for comparison with Lindisfarne.

6.2. The gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels*

As I discussed in chapter 3, comparing the languages of the gloss to the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne Gospels* is particularly interesting due to the traditional theory that Owun, one of the glossators to the *Rushworth Gospels*, is said to have borrowed the *Lindisfarne* manuscript as a guide to help him to gloss the Gospel of Saint Mark, and continued using it until the end of the Gospels, which means the forms encountered in Ru2 should coincide with those of Lindisfarne, with some grammatical variations to adapt the forms to the dialectal variety he was accustomed to. However, more recent literature (Kotake 2016) has postulated that the similarities between Lindisfarne and Ru2 are not due to Owun's copying of the Lindisfarne gloss, but rather due to Aldred's and Owun's use of the same sources (see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on the glossing of Ru2).

Of the 59 weak innovative forms in Lindisfarne, 44 can be found in Rushworth (the remaining 15 appear either in the prologues or the lost leaves of the MS). Of these 44 instances, 33 (75%) present the same lexeme as Lindisfarne, while there are only a handful of instances (25%, or 11 out of 44) where Farman and Owun used completely different verbs from the ones found in Lindisfarne. In order to determine if these results

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can confirm whether Owun copied the Lindisfarne gloss or not, we need to look at Gospel distribution. Figure 3 below displays my results in raw numbers.
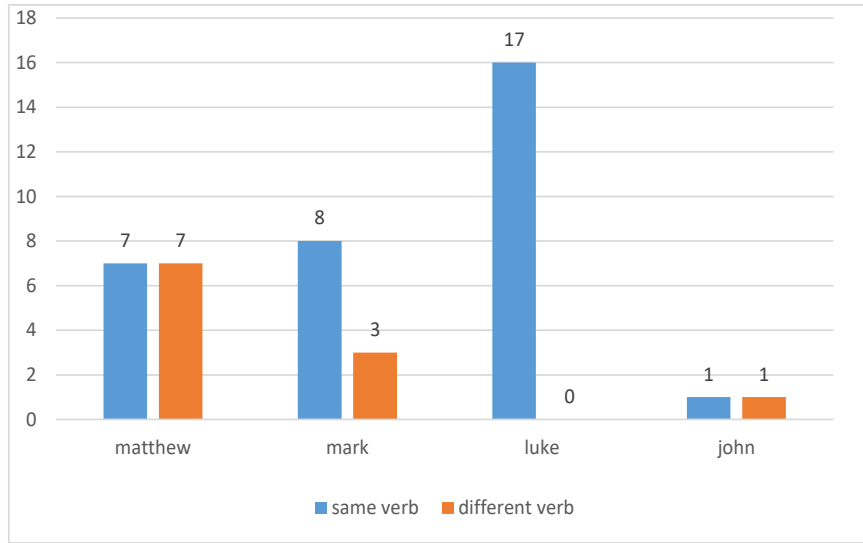

Figure 3. Distribution of verbs according to Gospel in raw numbers in the Rushworth Gospels interlinear glosses

Looking at the data, it seems that my results align more with the traditional theory of Owun's copying than with most recent approaches that state that he did not, but that the similarities come from their use of the same sources (Kotake 2016, see discussion in chapter 3).[25] The most salient result is Luke, as all 17 instances found in that gloss happen to be the exact same verb (i.e. the same lexeme) found in Lindisfarne. Luke's Gospel was glossed by Owun in its entirety. On the other hand, Matthew and John's Gospels both present more evenly matched results: Matthew, glossed by Farman, features seven

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[25] There is one form that I did not include in my analysis as it does not present the effects of regularisation; however, it could be used as proof of copying. The form *astige* (LkGl [Ru] 9.54) appears to be a subjunctive form glossing a preterite indicative. Latin mood and Old English mood do not always match in glosses, but in *Lindisfarne* the same form appears glossing a subjunctive form. This could be due to Owun copying Aldred's gloss without realising the Latin form in the *Rushworth* MS was a preterite indicative and not a subjunctive form, and thus rendering this mismatched translation mirroring Lindisfarne.

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instances of the same verb and seven where a different verb is used, while John (Ru2) features one instance of each of these categories (same verb vs. different verb).

The focus, however, is in Mark, as this is the Gospel Skeat most vehemently states to be a verbal copy of the Lindisfarne manuscript. 11 instances of the verbs included in my analysis occur in the Rushworth gloss to Mark's Gospel. Of these 11, eight (73%), are the same verb used in Lindisfarne. Out of these eight instances, one (12%) can be found in the part of Mark's Gospel glossed by Farman (Ru1), and the other seven belong to Ru2 (88%). The three instances where a different verb was chosen can also be found in Ru2. Still, the rate in which the same verb appears is very high, which supports the theory that Owun could have copied, or at least used as a reference, the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. A chi-square test reveals the use of the same lexeme to be a statistically significant factor in the analysis of all four Gospels, not just Mark (see results in Table 21 below).

Table 21. Chi-square test results for the use of Lindisfarne lexemes in Ru1 and Ru2

	same verb	different verb	marginal row totals
Ru1	8 (11.25) [0.94]	7 (3.75) [2.82]	15
Ru2	25 (21.75) [0.49]	4 (7.25) [1.46]	29
marginal column totals	33	11	44 (grand total)
$p = 0.016983$			

With regard to regularisation, a clear conservative tendency can be seen in Rushworth. 16 out of the 23 verbs analysed in Lindisfarne appear in these glosses a total of 271 times,

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of which only 12 (4.4%) are weak innovative forms. Table 22 below shows the frequency

and distribution of these forms.

Table 22. Distribution of weak forms in Rushworth

	hrīnan	*stīgan*	*bebeōdan*	*onginnan*
Ru1	n/a	7 strong (100%) 0 weak	11 strong (100%) 0 weak	4 strong (100%) 0 weak
Ru2	13 strong (93%) 1 weak (7%)	41 strong (98%) 1 weak (2%)	n/a	46 strong (100%) 0 weak
	swingan	*ðringan*	*gebindan*	*gefregnan*
Ru1	n/a	n/a	n/a	2 strong (100%) 0 weak
Ru2	2 strong (50%) 2 weak (50%)	2 strong (66%) 1 weak (33%)	3 strong (75%) 1 weak (25%)	39 strong (100%) 0 weak
	standan	*feallan*	*slēpan*	*sāwan*
Ru1	3 strong (100%) 0 weak	n/a	1 strong (20%) 4 weak (80%)	1 strong (100%) 0 weak
Ru2	30 strong (100%) 0 weak	0 strong 1 weak (100%)	n/a	1 strong (100%) 0 weak
	sceadan	*ondrǣdan*	*wēpan*	*gehātan*

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Ru1	n/a	4 strong (100%)	2 strong (100%)	10 strong (100%)
		0 weak	0 weak	0 weak
Ru2	2 strong (100%)	21 strong (100%)	6 strong (100%)	9 strong (90%)
	0 weak	0 weak	0 weak	1 weak (10%)

In Rushworth, the higher-frequency verbs, for the most part, do not present weak forms, while the lower-frequency verbs present some alternation, although some are only present in the expected strong forms. There are, however, no instances of a 100% weak verb in Rushworth, which accounts for the more conservative nature of these glosses. The verbs with a higher percentage of weak forms in Lindisfarne present alternation in Rushworth too, but with lower rates of regularisation (*slēpan* Li. 100% vs. Ru1 80%, *swingan* Li. 80% vs. Ru2 50%, and *ðringan* Li. 67% vs. Ru2 66%), except for one case, *sceadan*, which was 100% weak in *Lindisfarne* but is 100% strong in Ru2.

In general, there are not many instances of innovative weak forms in Rushworth. However, the differentiation between Ru1 and Ru2 is interesting. Of the 271 forms found in Rushworth, 49 belong to Ru1 while 222 can be found in Ru2. In Ru1, 4 out of 49 (8.2%) are weak, while in Ru2 regularisation happens 8 out of 222 times (3.6%). Percentually, the difference is quite large, and the results are unexpected as Ru2 is in the Old Northumbrian dialect. However, a chi-square test reveals that this variation is not significant (see Table 23 below), meaning that both Ru1 and Ru2 are equally as likely to use innovative weak forms.

Table 23. Chi-square results for the significance of weak innovative forms in Rushworth

	weak	strong	row totals
Ru1	4 (2.17) [1.54]	45 (46.83) [0.07]	49
Ru2	8 (9.83) [0.34]	214 (212.17) [0.02]	222
column totals	12	259	271 (grand total)
p = 0.160238			

It should be noted, nonetheless, that all the weak instances in Ru1 belong to the verb *slēpan*, a verb which was inflected as weak 100% of the time in Lindisfarne and Durham, and which presents variation in Ru1. This could imply that this verb was pretty much established as weak in Old English, and therefore used as such in both the Mercian and Old Northumbrian dialects (but not in West Saxon, see section 6.3).[26]

It is interesting that Ru2 shows fewer weak forms than Lindisfarne despite both glosses being in the same dialect, especially when I established above that Ru2 consistently used the same lexemes as Lindisfarne. This suggests that if Owun did indeed copy the Lindisfarne gloss, he recognised these innovative weak forms that Aldred had written as mistakes that he ought to correct.

In terms of Gospel distribution, Mark's Gospel is the one that has been deemed a clear copy of Lindisfarne in traditionally. Of the 12 instances found in Mark (11 in Ru2 and one in Ru1), nine (eight in Ru2 and one in Ru1) are the same verb as the one in Aldred's

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[26] It should also be noted that Ru1 uses the dental suffix –*t*- to form the past tense of this verb (*sleptun* MtGl 13.25, *slepte* MtGl 8.24, *sleptun* MtGl 27.52). This correlates with Present-Day English inflection and adds to the theory that the Mercian dialect is the direct predecessor of our current standard.

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gloss. However, out of these nine instances only two are weak (22%), and both belong to Ru2. Luke's Gospel, glossed in its entirety by Owun, tells a similar story. Out of the 17 forms located in Luke in Ru2, which use the same lexeme as Lindisfarne, only seven (41%) are innovative weak or hybrid forms, while ten of these instances (59%) follow the traditional strong inflection. As for John, there are only two instances of regularisation found in this Gospel in Lindisfarne. Of these, only one uses the same lexeme in Ru2, but in a strong inflection (*gistod* JnGl 1.35). The gloss to Matthew's Gospel (Ru1) uses the same lexeme as Lindisfarne on seven occasions, of which four (57%) are weak – these are all forms of the verb *slēpan*, as mentioned above.

A comparison between Lindisfarne weak forms and those of Ru2 can help shed some light onto the issue of copying. There are 24 instances in which Owun uses the same verb as Lindisfarne in his gloss. However, despite using the same lexeme, only nine of these forms (37%) are weak or hybrids in Ru2, while 15 of the instances (63%) present a strong inflection. On the other hand, there are eight instances of the same verb being used in Lindisfarne and Ru1. Of these, four instances (50%) are weak innovative forms in both glosses. All the weak instances in Ru1 are from the verb *slēpan*, which suggests, as noted above, that this verb was weak in both the Old Northumbrian and Old Mercian dialects (as seen in section 5.1, the verb *slēpan* is weak 100% of the time in Lindisfarne). In sum, Owun used the same lexeme as Lindisfarne in all but two instances in his gloss, which contrasts with Farman's use of different verbs, and therefore is suggestive of copying; however, he also heavily favoured the use of strong forms in Ru2, which speaks of the innovative nature of the Lindisfarne gloss, and could disprove the theory of copying. A chi-square test, however, casts doubt on the statistical significance of weak to strong correspondence between Lindisfarne and Rushworth (see Table 24 below). The examples of equivalences between Lindisfarne and both Ru1 and Ru2 can be found in section 5.1.

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Table 24. Chi-square results for the correspondence between weak forms in Lindisfarne and Rushworth

	weak to weak	weak to strong	marginal row totals
Ru1	4 (3.25) [0.17]	4 (4.75) [0.12]	8
Ru2	9 (9.75) [0.06]	15 (14.25) [0.04]	24
marginal column totals	13	19	32 (grand total)
p = 0.533003			

When discussing my data in section 5.1, I mentioned my discovery of an odd translation choice for the Latin verb *ornare* 'to decorate', which is rendered three times in Lindisfarne with the verb *hrīnan*. This verb, however, does not appear to be equivalent in meaning to the Latin original, and Old English dictionaries report it meaning 'to touch'. What makes this case particularly interesting is that Ru1 uses a different verb in two out of these three instances: *fretwan*. The verb used in Ru1 does appear in previous literature as meaning 'to decorate'. On the other hand, in the remaining instance, the glossator in Ru2 chose to use the same verb as Lindisfarne. This could be a sign of copying, or indicative of dialectal variation. The two instances translated as *fretwan* appear in Matthew's Gospel, glossed by Farman, who was a speaker of the Old Mercian dialect. However, the other instance, where *ornare* is glossed by the verb *hrīnan*, is found in Luke's Gospel, which was translated by Owun, a native speaker of Old Northumbrian. Admittedly, this is such a small sample that the conclusions that can be drawn from it are limited and inconclusive, but it is an interesting point nonetheless.

Another verb that caught my attention during my analysis of the regularisation of strong verbs in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses is *gefregnan*. This verb, meaning 'to ask', is used consistently in Ru2, while Ru1 prefers *ahsian* 'to ask'. The comparison between the nine instances from Lindisfarne and Rushworth could support the theory of copying, as Owun uses *gefregnan* in the same contexts Aldred does. However, it is difficult to support this hypothesis after looking at the full context for this verb in Rushworth. There are 36 other instances of this verb in Rushworth, of which 35 can be found in Ru2 and one in Ru1. This suggests that the use of *gefregnan* over *ahsian* could be dialectal, as both Aldred and Owun use it, while Farman prefers *ahsian* most of the time.

In sum, and *pace* Kotake (2016), my data seems to support the theory that Owun copied the Lindisfarne manuscript when glossing Ru2, but he adapted it to his own idiolect, which appears to be more conservative and does not use innovative weak forms so frequently.

6.3.   The *West Saxon Gospels*

As mentioned before in chapter 3 and section 5.1, the case of the *West Saxon Gospels* is rather different from that of Rushworth or Durham, as they do not present a word-by-word gloss but are rather a translation of the Bible.

Of the 23 Lindisfarne verbs included in my analysis, 12 are also present in the *West Saxon Gospels* (52%). The 11 verbs (44%) that do not appear in the preterite tense or past participle in the *West Saxon Gospels* are: *dwīnan*, *rǣdan, sceadan, harmcweðan, sweltan, wēpan*, *gefregnan*, *gesūpan*, *gewæxan*, *gehātan*, and *gefretan*.

As for the 12 verbs that do appear in both the *West Saxon Gospels* and Lindisfarne, only four of them use the same innovative weak forms already seen in *Lindisfarne*. Table 25 below shows the number of occurrences of strong and weak forms of these verbs in the

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Hatton manuscript. The full examples and Bible verses where all the instances can be found are collected in section 5.1, and references to the forms not included in Lindisfarne are in Appendix III.

Table 25. Distribution of strong and weak forms in the West Saxon Gospels

	hrīnan	*stīgan*	*bebeōdan*	*onginnan*
frequency	24 strong (100%) 0 weak	5 strong (100%) 0 weak	6 strong (100%) 0 weak	20 strong (100%) 0 weak
	swingan	*ðringan*	*gebindan*	*standan*
frequency	1 strong (50%) 1 weak (50%)	2 strong (100%) 0 weak	2 strong (66%) 1 weak (33%)	5 strong (100%) 0 weak
	feallan	*slēpan*	*sāwan*	*ondrǣdan*
frequency	0 strong 1 weak (100%)	5 strong (100%) 0 weak	5 strong (100%) 0 weak	0 strong 2 weak (100%)

In general, it seems that the innovative tendency of the regularisation of strong verbs found in Lindisfarne was not a common trend in West Saxon, at least in this particular set of verbs, as there are only four verbs that present weak forms. Given that these Gospels are a much later text, one would expect these innovative features to be reflected here. It is interesting that three out of the four verbs that appear in weak innovative forms in the *West Saxon Gospels* are, in fact, irregular in Present-Day English (*gebindan*, *swingan*, and *feallan*), with *ondrǣdan* being the only one that is regular present.

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As in the case of my Lindisfarne data, frequency seems to play a role in the regularisation of strong verbs in the *West Saxon Gospels*. The most frequent verbs (*hrīnan* with 24 instances and *onginnan* with 20 instances) are the ones that are consistently strong in the *West Saxon Gospels*, while less frequent verbs like *swingan* (frequency of 2), *gebindan* (frequency of 3), and *ondrǣdan* (frequency of 2) present regularisation. A chi-square test for statistical significance for the *West Saxon Gospels* frequency data renders a p value of 0.00446224, which means this differentiation between high-frequency and low-frequency verbs does affect the data and is significant, therefore making frequency a key factor in the regularisation of this set of strong verbs.

In sum, the *West Saxon Gospels* present a much more conservative language use with regard to the regularisation of the strong verbs in my dataset than in Lindisfarne, and frequency seems to be the key factor in the regularisation process.

6.4. Summary

In my analysis of the regularisation of strong verbs in Durham, the language of this gloss does not bear any significant differences with that of Lindisfarne, as both present similar rates of regularisation. This confirms the hypotheses that Aldred was the glossator for both these texts, and does not support the view that this gloss is more conservative than Lindisfarne.

As for the *Rushworth Gospels*, the language of Ru1 is more conservative with regard to this set of verbs, as only one verb presents weak forms. Ru2 presents regularisation at higher rates than Ru1, but much lower than Lindisfarne. Moreover, the consistent use of the same lexemes as Aldred aligns with the theory of Ru2 being a copy of Lindisfarne. Regularisation is seen at much lower rates in the *West Saxon Gospels*. However, the data obtained from this text is minimal, which prevents solid conclusions.

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In sum, Lindisfarne and Durham seem to be the most innovative texts with regards to regularisation, which could imply that this was a characteristic of Aldred's idiolect – although it should be noted that the other texts have not been studied in full, which might have provided different results.

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7. Other simplification processes affecting Old Northumbrian strong verbs: vowel transference

Aside from regularisation, Old English strong verbs underwent other processes of analogy and simplification over the course of time. One of these processes concerns the transference of the two vowels of the preterite. As explained in the introduction (chapter 1), strong verbs in Old English had one vowel for the first and third person singular preterite indicative, and another for the rest of the preterite (second person singular, preterite indicative plural and preterite subjunctive; see Table 4 in section 1.2 for a full account of the ablaut series in the seven Old English strong verb classes).

With time, the English language evolved towards a drastic decrease in the number of strong verbs. Alongside the regularisation of strong verbs, the distinction between the two vowels of the preterite – and, in many cases, the vowel of the past participle –began to collapse too as a result of a process of simplification, with speakers using these vowels interchangeably, or completely removing one of them from their vocabulary. As with the regularisation from strong to weak, vowel transference has traditionally been linked to the Middle English period (Branchaw 2010b: 108). However, some examples of this process have been found by scholars in multiple Old English texts, such as the use of *–u-* as a root vowel in the singular preterite of *findan* (*-a-* being the expected root vowel) in *Beowulf*, King Alfred's *Orosius*, and *The 50th Psalm* among others (Krygier 1994: 60-61). Moreover, this levelling process of vowel transference has long been associated with the North, as Southern ablaut patterns had a tendency for conservatism (Branchaw 2010b: 119).

Theoretically, the shift is expected to happen from the second preterite vowel in favour of the first, due to the fact that the preterite plural was less frequent than the singular, together with the disappearance of the distinction of the second person singular vowel,

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which would become levelled to the 1st and 3rd singular vowel as well (Branchaw 2010b: 108-109).

In the sections below (7.1 to 7.4), examples are explained in detail, but a full account of all the instances of vowel transference or lack thereof in the affected verbs in Lindisfarne, Durham, Ru1, Ru2, and the *West Saxon Gospels* can be found in Appendix IV.

7.1. The gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*

I have found three verbs that undergo levelling between the two vowels of the preterite in Lindisfarne: *arīsan*, *onginnan*, and *geceōsan*.[27] This indicates that vowel transference was not a common occurrence in Lindisfarne, as only three out of the 399 strong verbs that can be found in the gloss undergo this process (0.7%).

Arīsan is a class I strong verb with the meaning 'to rise'. It appears 66 times in its preterite and past participle forms in Lindisfarne. Of these, one (1%) seems to be a case of vowel transference.

> MtGl (Li) 27.64 *iube ergo custodiri sepulchrum usque in diem tertium ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi surrexit a mortuis et erit nouissimus error peior priore*
>
> gehat forðon gehalda ꝉ þætte sie gehalden byrgenn oð ðone ðirde doege eoðe mæg þæt hia cyme ðegnas his & hia forstela hine & cuoða ðæm folce **arisa ꝉ arās** from deadum & bið ꝉ wæs ðiu hlætmesto duola ꝉ huarf wuyrse from ærra.
>
> PDE translation: Command therefore the sepulchre to be guarded until the third day: lest perhaps his disciples come and steal him away, and say to the people: He is risen from the dead; and the last error shall be worse than the first.

In the passage above, we can see the form *arisa* in a double gloss with *arās*, the expected third person singular preterite form. Both of these forms gloss Latin *surrexit*, a third

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[27] Ross (1937: 136) mentions this analogical process and identifies three verbs that underwent vowel transference: *geceōsan* (included in this section), *gebrūcan* (included in section 8.1 as I have not considered it a type of vowel transference), and *wosan* (disregarded as the vowel transference involves e/æ, which is most likely indicative of scribal practice).

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person singular preterite indicative active form of the verb *surgo* 'to rise'. Since this is a third person singular form of class I, the expected root vowel would be − *ā*-, as in the second form in this double gloss (*arās*). However, the form has –*i*- as its root vowel, which is characteristic of the second preterite of verbs of class I. This is an unusual type of change according to previous literature, as the shift is expected to happen from the plural to the singular vowel (Branchaw 2010b: 108-109, see above). Moreover, class I verbs and more specifically *risan* are used by Branchaw as examples of "keeping with the general tendency to level [...] into a [singular] preterite form" (2010b: 109).

It should be noted, nonetheless, that this example is not unproblematic. As the form is in a double gloss with the expected form, this could mean that Aldred was aware of the innovative nature of vowel transference and therefore he chose to add the more traditional form next to it for the sake of clarity, as he did sometimes with the innovative weak forms I presented in section 5.1. On the other hand, it is possible that this form is not, in fact, a preterite form, but rather an infinitive presenting loss of final –*n*. This could mean Aldred chose to translate the Latin meaning first by glossing *arisa*, and then he added a double gloss to express tense (*arās*). If this were the case, the –i- root vowel would be correct, as class I verbs use [i:] for the infinitive, and [i] for the preterite plural and past participle forms. Another possible explanation for the final vowel is that this is a subjunctive form, in which case the root vowel would be the expected one. In this context, an infinitive would be an unexpected choice, so this is more likely a subjunctive form. As we have no way of knowing what Aldred's intentions when using this double gloss were, I still felt it was safe to include this form as a vowel transference or extension example. After all, its meaning is definitely past.

The next verb in my data is *onginnan*. This class III strong verb appears 69 times in its preterite and past participle forms in Lindisfarne. Out of these, one (1%) is an example of

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vowel transference. This verb also undergoes regularisation in Lindisfarne (see section 5.1).

> LkGl (Li) 15.24. *quia hic filius meus mortuus erat et reuixit perierat et inuentus est et coeperunt aepulari*
>
> forðon ðes sunu min dead wæs & eftliofed ł eft <lifde> gelosade & gemoeted is & **ongannon** hriordagæ.
>
> PDE translation: Because this my son was dead, and is come to life again: was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

The form *ongannon* is a third person plural preterite. Following class III ablaut pattern, the expected vowel for a plural preterite form would be –*u*- (*ongunnon)*, with –*a*- being the vowel for first and third person singular forms. This is a clear example of the singular root vowel being transferred to plural forms.

The last verb in my data to fall under the category of verbs that present vowel transference is *geceōsan*. This is a class II verb with the meaning 'to choose, seek out'. It appears 18 times in its preterite and past participle forms in Lindisfarne. Of these, two present vowel transference (11%).

> JnGl (Li) 15.16. *non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos et posui uos ut eatis et fructum adferatis et fructus uester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis a patre in nomine meo det uobis*
>
> ne gie mec **geceāso** ah ic geceās iuh & ic gesette iuih þætte gie geongæ & wæstem gie gebrenga & uæstem iuer gewuniað þætte suæhuæd gie gibidded from ðæm feder on noma minum seleð iuh.
>
> PDE translation: You have not chosen me: but I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain: that whatsoever you shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you.

In this example we find the form *geceāso* glossing Latin *elegistis*, a second person plural perfect active indicative form ('chose'). This a plural form, yet it does not feature the characteristic vowel of plural forms for class II verbs (-*u*-). Instead, the vowel, or in this case, diphthong, used in the gloss is that of the first preterite: –*ea.* This is a clear case of vowel transference from the singular to the plural.

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Aside from vowel transference, this example is also interesting because it presents levelling of the effects Verner's Law and rhotacism. Verner's Law is a process whereby Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives became voiced in the evolution of Germanic languages. This process only took place "if the accent in Indo-European was not on the immediately preceding syllable" (Bammesberger 1992: 39). This affected the Old English strong verb paradigm, as "forms of the infinitive and preterite singular displayed root accentuation, whereas forms of the preterite plural, past participle and subjunctive preterite received suffixal accent" (Adamczyk 2004: 19). Due to Verner's Law, we can find an alternation between [s] and [z] in Germanic, representing the original placement of the accent (Bammesberger 1992: 39). The voiced fricative, [z], became [r] in intervocalic position due to rhotacism (Bammesberger 1992: 39), a process that exists in all Germanic languages except Gothic (Catford 2001: 179).[28]

Both of these processes account for the variation seen in this verb, where the infinitive is *geceōsan* and the singular preterite form *geceās*, but the preterite plural and past participle forms are *gecuron* and *gecoren*, respectively. In the example above we can see that levelling appears not only in the transference of the root vowel, but also in the consonant following it.

The levelling of the effects of Verner's Law in Old English verbs has been studied by Adamczyk (2004). In fact, this particular example was mentioned in her study as one of the forms which "levelled the effects of Verner's Law in Old English" (2004: 29). This is particularly interesting as strong class II verbs are, according to her study, usually the most archaic and reluctant to change (2004: 51). However, in Lindisfarne this verb presents not only one but two simplification processes, attesting once again to the

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[28] Catford explains that "there are two well-known types of rhotacism, namely the n > r type and the s/z > r type" (2001: 178).

advanced state and innovative nature of the language of the gloss. Such is the case that the *DOEC* records one instance of this form (*geceāso*) only in Lindisfarne, while the expected form *gecuron* appears 62 times in the corpus. The hypothetical innovative past participle *gecosen* is not recorded in the *DOEC*, however, while *gecoren* occurs 752 times.

There is also an additional instance of vowel transference in the preterite plural of this verb.

> LkGl (Li) 14.7. *Dicebat autem et ad inuitatos parabolam intendens quomodo primos accubitos eligerent dicens ad illos*
>
> cuoeð ða & to ðæm laðendum ⱶ þæt bisen beheald huu ða formo hræsto hia **geceāson** cuoeð to him.
>
> PDE translation: And he spoke a parable also to them that were invited, marking how they chose the first seats at the table, saying to them:

In this example, *geceāson* glosses Latin *eligerent*, a third person plural imperfect active subjunctive form. As in the example above, this form presents vowel transference (*-ea-* instead of *–u-*) and the levelling of the effects of Verner's Law.

In sum, these are clear examples of levelling taking place in the paradigm of strong verbs in Lindisfarne and a testimony to the innovative nature of the gloss.

7.2. The gloss to the *Durham Ritual*

All of the verbs that present vowel transference in Lindisfarne appear in Durham. *Arīsan* is found three times in preterite forms in Durham: second person singular *arise* (DurRitGl 165.14), third person singular *arās* (DurRitGl 26.16), and third person plural *arioson* (DurRitGl 43.17). All of these are inflected in the expected manner and do not present vowel transference, which aligns with the traditional view of the more conservative nature of the Durham gloss.

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The verb *onginnan* appears only once in an unexpected form in Lindisfarne, with the example of *ongannon* as a plural form instead of the etymological form *ongunnon*. In the gloss to the *Durham Ritual*, this verb appears in the preterite singular form *ongann* (DurRitGl 45.8) once. This is the expected root vowel in verb of class III, which could be taken as evidence of the more traditional nature of Aldred's gloss in the *Durham Ritual* (as compared to the *Lindisfarne* gloss). However, it must be taken into account that the form that presents levelling in Lindisfarne is a plural form, which shows the characteristic vowel of the first preterite. The form that appears in the Durham gloss, on the other hand, is a singular form, and there is no evidence of singular forms taking the preterite plural vowel in Lindisfarne. Therefore, I have no data allowing me to determine whether this verb presented vowel transference in the gloss to the *Durham Ritual*.

Giceasan appears twice in preterite forms in Durham: first person singular preterite form *giceas* (DurRitGl 55.20) and third person singular preterite form *giceas* (DurRitGl 78.16). These are both singular forms and do not present vowel transference from the plural.

Besides the comparative analysis with Lindisfarne discussed above, I decided to look for other instances of vowel transference in Durham for a more comprehensive view of the topic, and I was able to find one additional example. It involves the verb *onlucan* 'to unlock', which appears once in the second person singular preterite form *onlece* (DurRitGl 46.20). The expected vowel for a class II verb such as this for this form would be –*u*-, while the first and third person singular have –*ea*- (see Lindelöf 1901: 166). The use of *ea*, *e* and *æ* was often interchangeable for Old English scribes, which explains this case of vowel transference into the first preterite vowel.

In sum, the results for Durham and Lindisfarne in terms of vowel transference are similar, as this is not a very prominent process in either of the glosses.

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7.3. The gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels*

As explained in section 6.2, the gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* is not as innovative in nature as the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* in terms of the levelling process of regularisation as far as my set of verbs is concerned. It can therefore be expected that the same will happen with the process of vowel transference.

Firstly, I will explore the instances I have analysed in Lindisfarne in order to determine whether they undergo the same process. One of these verbs, *arīsan,* presents vowel transference from the plural to the singular in Lindisfarne in MtGl 27.64 (*arisa*). This form is located in Farman's gloss, which is the Old Mercian part of the Rushworth gloss (Ru1)*,* and appears with the expected root vowel for its class: *arās*. As expected (see section 6.2), Rushworth features a more traditional language. However, the form *arisa* appears in Ru2. As can be seen in the example below, it is next to the expected form *arās* in a double gloss.

> MkGl (Ru2) 16.14. *nouissime recumbentibus illis xii apparuit et exprobrauit incredulitatem illorum et duritiam cordis quia hiis qui uiderant eum resurrexisse non crediderunt*
>
> æt nesta ł lætemest hlionigendum ðæm twelfum æteowde & forcom ł fordraf ungileoffulnisse hiora & stiðnisse heorta forðon ðæm ðaðe gisegun hine **arisa** ł arās ne gilefdun.
>
> PDE translation: At length he appeared to the eleven as they were at table: and he upbraided them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them who had seen him after he was risen again.

Both *arisa* and *arās* gloss Latin perfect active infinite *resurrexisse* in this instance, so it is likely that the glossator used *arisa* to indicate the base form (infinitive) and *arās* to indicate tense (past).

Aside from this instance, the verb *arīsan* appears 39 times in the preterite tense in Rushworth. Of these, 19 can be found in Ru1 and the remaining 20 instances belong to

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Ru2. None of these instances presents vowel transference or other simplification processes.

The next verb that presents vowel transference in Lindisfarne appears in LkGl 15.24 in the form *ongannon*. In Rushworth, this is part of the Old Northumbrian gloss penned by Owun (Ru2). However, this verse is part of the eight lost leaves from the *Rushworth* manuscript and, therefore, I have no data for comparison. The verb *onginnan* appears 50 times in the preterite tense in the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*. 11 of these instances belong to Ru1, while the remaining 39 instances can be found in Ru2. None of these instances features any traces of simplification or vowel transference.

The last verb to present vowel transference in Lindisfarne is *geceōsan*, which appears twice in levelled forms in Lindisfarne. Both of these instances appear in Owun's gloss in the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru2). The first one is found in Luke 14.7. Here, both the root vowel and the consonant have been levelled in Lindisfarne, resulting in the form *geceāson* instead of the expected *gecuron*. In Ru2, a very similar form appears, *gifeasan*. This is a different spelling of the same verb (*DOE*, s.v. *geceōsan*), but it features the same two processes illustrated in Lindisfarne: vowel transference from the first to the second preterite and the levelling of the effects of Verner's Law. This different spelling could be motivated by Owun's copying of Lindisfarne, as he might not have recognised the innovative form and tried to change the verbal root itself. This is the only time this verb appears in this spelling in Ru2.

The second time *geceāso* appears in Lindisfarne is in JnGl 15.16. In this case, Owun chose the traditionally expected form (*gecuron*). Aside from this instance, the form *gecuron* can be found a second time in the Rushworth gloss, this time in Ru1 (MtGl 13.48). The singular form *geceās* also appears twice in these glosses, once in Ru1 and once in Ru2. All display the expected inflection.

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In sum, in terms of vowel transference, Rushworth appears to feature more conservative language with regard to these three verbs, with no differences between Ru1 and Ru2, and evidence for copying in Ru2 is scarce. However, it is at the very least interesting that both Lindisfarne and Ru2 coincide in using an innovative form affected by the same processes in the same context (*geceāson and gifeasan*, respectively).

7.4. The *West Saxon Gospels*

The possible instance of vowel transference in the verb *arīsan* in Lindisfarne is translated as *arise* (a subjunctive form) in the *West Saxon Gospels*. This is not a case of vowel transference, and neither are any of the other 54 instances of this verb appearing in this text. In the case of *onginnan*, there are again no instances of this verb undergoing levelling in the *West Saxon Gospels*. It appears 34 times in the text. The instances in the *West Saxon Gospels* where the verb *geceōsan* is used do not present vowel transference and show the effects of Verner's Law, resulting in the forms *gecuran* (Lk 14.7) and *ge-chure* (Jn 15.16). It appears a total of 12 times.

In sum, the *West Saxon Gospels* do not present vowel transference in any of the instances exemplifying this process in Lindisfarne. A more in-depth study of this text would be needed to draw any solid conclusions.

7.5. Summary

Vowel transference is not a common phenomenon in Lindisfarne, but even in its rarity it serves to prove the overall changing status of strong verbs in the gloss. In this aspect, the results of this analysis match those of Durham, which aligns with the results already obtained in the regularisation section and confirms that both glosses were written by the same scribe.

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The other texts analysed present vowel transference at lower rates than Aldred's glosses, but the scarcity of the data prevents me from drawing any solid conclusions.

8. Anomalous forms in Lindisfarne and a comparison with other texts

In this section I wish to explore anomalous verbal forms that might evidence processes of analogy in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* but do not fit into the regularisation and levelling categories explained above, and others that are simply puzzling.

The first category I will explore involves verbs in which the anomalous forms might be due to confusion with a different verb. Then, I will deal with forms that seem to be characteristic of the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Lastly, I will talk about the form *sprec*, which is a case in itself.

8.1. Anomalous forms motivated by confusion with a different verb

During my research of the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* one verb appeared to have undergone the simplification process of vowel transference. However, this transference might be due to confusion with another verb that is similar in spelling. This is the case of (*ge)brūcan*, a class II polysemic verb that can mean both 'to use' and 'to eat'. It appears in its preterite and past participle forms in the Lindisfarne gloss 10 times, all of which present unusual root vowels (100%). The vowel paradigm for the preterite of this verb should be *–ea-* for the first and third singular persons, and *–u-* for the second person singular and all the plural persons. However, the first, second and third persons plural of the preterite indicative of this verb appear as (*ge)brecon* in Lindisfarne (see examples below) — the expected form being *(ge)brucon*.

> MkGl (Li) 6.44. *erant autem qui manducauerunt quinque milia uirorum*
>
> woeron uutedlice ða ðe **brecon** ⱦ eton fif ðusendo wæro ⱦ wærana.
>
> PDE translation: And they that did eat, were five thousand men.
>
> LkGl (Li) 13.26. *tunc incipietis dicere manducauimus coram te et bibimus et in plateis nostris docuisti*

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ðonne ☩ ða gie onginnes cuoeða we **brecon** ☩ eton fora ðec & we druncon & in plaecum ☩ usum ðu lærdes ☩ we gelærdon.

PDE translation: Then you shall begin to say: We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets.

LkGl (Li) 17.27. *edebant et bibebant uxores ducebant et dabantur ad nuptias usque in diem qua intrauit noe in arcam et uenit diluuium et perdidit omnes*

brecon & druncon wifo lædon & weron sald to brydloppum oðð on dæg of ðæm inneade in ærce & cuom þæt flod & losade ☩ spilde alle.

PDE translation: They did eat and drink, they married wives, and were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark: and the flood came and destroyed them all.

LkGl (Li) 6.1. *Factum est autem in sabbato secundo cum transirent per sata uellebant discipuli eius spicas et manducabant confricantes manibus*

aworden wæs ðonne on ðone æfterra daeg miððy oferfoerdon ðerh gecoecton ðegnas his ða croppas ☩ ehras & eton **gebrecon** mið hondum.

PDE translation: and were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark: And it came to pass on the second first sabbath, that as he went through the corn fields, his disciples plucked the ears, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.

JnGl (Li) 6.26. *respondit eis iesus et dixit amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia uidistis signa sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis*

ondsuearade him se hælend & cueð soð is soð is þæt ic cueðo iuh gie soecas mec ne forðon gie segon beceno ah forðon gie **gebrecon** ☩ of ðæm hlafum fifum & gefylled gie aron ☩.

PDE translation: Jesus answered them, and said: Amen, amen I say to you, you seek me, not because you have seen miracles, but because you did eat of the loaves, and were filled.

JnGl (Li) 6.49. *Patres uestri manducauerunt in deserto manna et mortui sunt*

aldro iuero **gebrecon** ☩ on uæstern þæt fostrað & deado ueron ☩.

PDE translation: Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead.

JnGl (Li) 6.58. *hic est panis qui de cęlo descendit non sicut manducauerunt patres uestri manna et mortui sunt qui manducat hunc panem uiuet in aeternum*

ðes is hlaf seðe of heofnum ofdune astāg ne suæ **gebrecon** aldro iuero þæt heofunlic met ☩ & deado sint ☩ seðe bruccað ðiosne ☩ hlaf liofað in ecnisse.

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PDE translation: This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever.

JnGl (Li) 18.28. *Adducunt ergo iesum a caiapha in praetorium erat autem mane et ipsi non introierunt in prętorium ut non contaminarentur sed manducarent pascha*

gelæddon ꝼ forðon se hælend from caifa <biscope> in ðæs giroefa halle ꝼ motern ꝼ sprecern uæs uutedlice armorgen & ða ꝼ hia ne ineodon in ðæm sprecern þætte hia nere gewidlęd ꝼ besmitten ah þætte hia **gebrecon** eostro.

PDE translation: Then they led Jesus from Caiphas to the governor's hall. And it was morning; and they went not into the hall, that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the pasch.

MtGl (Li) 13.4. *et dum seminat quaedam ceciderunt secus uiam et uenenerunt uolucres et comederunt ea*

& miððy ꝼ ða huile saues ðorlease ꝼ sum oðer gefeollon neh ꝼ æt stræt ꝼ woeg & cuomun ða flegendo & **gebrecon** ꝼ eton ꝼfreton ða ilco.

PDE translation: And whilst he soweth some fell by the way side, and the birds of the air came and ate them up.

MtGl (Li)14.20. *et manducauerunt omnes et saturati sunt et tulerunt reliquias duodecim cophinos fragmentorum plenos*

& geeton ꝼ **gebrecon** alle & gefylled weron ꝼ geriordad weron & genomon ða metlafo tuoelf ceawlas ꝼ foðer screadunga fullo.

PDE translation: And they did all eat, and were filled. And they took up what remained, twelve full baskets of fragments.

In all the examples above, the verb *(ge)brūcan* is glossing Latin verbs with the meaning 'to eat'. Different verbs are featured, such as *manduco* and *como*, but what remains clear is that the glossator was aware of the meaning of these verbs in Latin and knew the equivalent in English: (ge)brūcan. However, as mentioned above, the forms in my data do not follow the expected inflection for class II preterite plural forms. It might be the case that the diphthong in the preterite singular root was simplified by Aldred – and, possibly, other speakers –into an –e- and that is the reason why *(ge)brecon* appears in the gloss, making this a case of vowel transference from the singular to the plural. This theory is supported by the fact that the spelling *ea* was often used interchangeably with *e* and *æ*

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by Old English scribes (Dresher 1985: 13). Another possible explanation is the confusion on Aldred's part between the inflection of *(ge)brūcan* and the class IV verb *brecan* 'to break'. This verb forms its preterite forms – both singular and plural by changing the root vowel to –*æ*- (*bræc* in the singular and *brǣcon* with a long vowel in the plural). This is a vowel that is oftentimes rendered as –*e*-, which would explain why we find (*ge)brecon* instead of (*ge)brǣcon* in the gloss.

This anomalous vowel has been noticed in previous literature: "*brūcan* exhibits curious Northern preterite plural forms *gebrecon* [Ru2] and *bre(i)con* [Li]" (Krygier 1994: 43). In Cook's glossary (1894), some of the examples above, such as LkGl (Li) 6.1, appear in the entry for *gebrecan*, recorded as glossing Latin verbs such as *frangere* 'to break' (Cook 1894: 73). There is a separate entry for *gebrūcan*, however, in which most of these instances are recorded. The verbs without the *ge*- prefix appear in two separate entries as well (Cook 1894: 24-25). In sum, it is possible that Aldred changed the root vowel in the conjugation of the verb *(ge)brūcan* due to analogy with the preterite forms of the verb *gebrecan*, and, even if this is a case of vowel transference, it is ultimately not a case of levelling. Hogg classifies this use of –*e*- in the plural as analogical extension (1992b: 147), as does Ross (1937: 136). It must also be noted that there are no mentions in the *DOE* (s.v. *gebrecan* and *gebrūcan*) of any recorded instances of the confusion between these two verbs, although forms with –e- appear under the headword *gebrūcan*. Moreover, it seems clear that the glossator in Lindisfarne was not choosing *brecan* over *brūcan* due to a lack of knowledge of the meaning of such verbs, as his translations are correct. However, *brūcan* is one of the 100 commonest verbs in the *MCOE* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 238) and, if it adapted its preterite forms from *brecan*, this would go against Bybee's (1985) theory of lexical strength (see section 1.3), which postulates that the more frequent verb would 'attract' the less frequent into its inflectional pattern. In this

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framework, the theory of vowel transference gains weight. It is hard to reach a conclusion on which of these two possible explanations (confusion with a different verb or, simply, vowel transference) is more accurate in this case, nonetheless.

This confusion seems to have continued throughout Aldred's life, and in Durham, the form *gibrece* appears (DurRitGl 88.14). Despite the fact that it glosses Latin present form *fungi,* from *fungere* 'to perform', this form is classified as a preterite by Lindelöf (1901: 116). If this is a present form, it should make use of the root vowel of the infinitive, which in the case of *brūcan* is –*u*-. In this instance, the vowel used is –*e*-, indicating, again, a confusion with the verb *brecan* 'to break'. The conclusion is the same if the form is, indeed, in the preterite tense, in which case –*ea*- should appear instead of –*e*-. However, the confusion between –*ea*- and -*e*- could be responsible for this spelling, instead of the influence of the verb *brecan*.

As for the Rushworth glosses, out of the ten instances where this confusion can be found in Lindisfarne, two are omitted in the Rushworth glosses, and four instances use a different verb in those verses (*etan* 'to eat'). The remaining four instances that use *gebrūcan* can be found in Luke's Gospel and John's Gospel, both glossed by Owun in the Old Northumbrian dialect (Ru2). The first of these instances occurs in LkGl 17.27, in which both Lindisfarne and Ru2 use the form *brecon*. The next instance can be found in JnGl 6.49, where Aldred uses *gebrecon* and Owun uses the very similar form *gibrecun*. This happens again in JnGl 6.58, where Lindisfarne's *gebrecon* corresponds to Ru2's *gibrecon*. The last of these instances is *gebrecon* in JnGl 18.28, which appears as *gibrec* in Ru2.

It can be seen from all of these examples that the confusion between *gebrūcan* and *gebrecan* is found in Ru2 as well as in Lindisfarne, or that both scribes used vowel transference in the preterite plural of *gebrūcan*. This could be used as evidence for the

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claims suggesting that Owun copied his gloss from Aldred's work, although, admittedly, it could also be simply a dialectal feature.[29]

Lastly, in the *West Saxon Gospels* all of the examples above use a different verb: *etan* 'to eat'. This is consistent with the *DOE* (s.v. *gebrūcan*), which notes that this verb is mostly common in Old Northumbrian.

8.2. Anomalous forms characteristic of the Old Northumbrian dialect

The verbs that belong to this category present unexpected root vowels, but the high number of forms found in my data suggests that these could be anomalous forms characteristic of Lindisfarne and its glossator's idiolect or dialect. A comparative analysis with the glosses to the *Durham Ritual* and *Rushworth Gospels*, and with the *West Saxon Gospels* will determine whether this is the case.

There are three verbs that I have found in the Old Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* that fall under this category: *(ge)cuman*, *gehaldan,* and *gefeallan*. The verb *(ge)cuman* 'to move' is a high-frequency verb in Lindisfarne, appearing 306 times in the preterite and past participle forms. Out of these 306 forms, 305 (99%) present *–uo-* as their root vowel, instead of the *–o-* characteristic of both singular and plural preterite forms in class VI verbs, to which *gecuman* belongs. The expected vowel can only be found in one instance in the form *gecomae*, located in MtPrlg 6.17, glossing Latin perfect form *venisse*. Due to reasons of space and for the sake of readability, I will not include all 305 forms in the text. I will choose some examples to illustrate my points, but all the remaining instances can be found in Appendix V.

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[29] I was not able to find any additional instances of preterite forms of this verb in Rushworth.

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ÁMBITO- PREFIJO	CSV	FECHA Y HORA DEL DOCUMENTO
GEISER	**GEISER-d8e1-68a7-6d4c-4817-b552-86c8-589a-7297**	**19/10/2020 14:05:21 Horario peninsular**
Nº registro	DIRECCIÓN DE VALIDACIÓN	
O00008744e2000051318	**https://sede.administracionespublicas.gob.es/valida**	

GEISER-d8e1-68a7-6d4c-4817-b552-86c8-589a-7297

The expected root vowel is the same for both singular and plural, and the forms found in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* mimic that pattern. Both singular and plural forms feature *–uo-* as a root vowel, as can be seen in the examples below.

> JnGl (Li) 3.2. *hic uenit ad eum nocte et dixit ei rabbi scimus quia a deo uenisti magister nemo enim potest hęc signa facere quę tu facis nisi fuerit deus cum eo*
>
> ðes **cuom** to him on næht & cuæð to him la laruu ue uuton þætte from gode ðu **gecuome** laruu nænig monn mæge ðas taceno geuirce ðaðe ðu doas ⊦ uircas buta sie god mið him.
>
> PDE translation: This man came to Jesus by night, and said to him: Rabbi, we know that thou art come a teacher from God; for no man can do these signs which thou dost, unless God be with him.
>
> MtGl (Li) 14.33. *qui autem in nauicula erant uenerunt et adorauerunt eum dicentes uere filius dei es* seðe ⊦ ða ðe uutedlice in scipp weron **gecuomon** & geworðadon hine cuoeðende soðlice sunu godes arð.
>
> PDE translation: And they that were in the boat came and adored him, saying: Indeed thou art the Son of God**.**

The examples above show two singular forms, *cuom* and *gecuome* in JnGl 3.2, and a plural form, *gecuomon*, in MtGl 14.33. All gloss perfect forms in the Latin original and share the same root vowel, regardless of their singular or plural inflection. While this is characteristic of a verb of class IV such as *gecuman*, they do not present the expected vowel *o*. In sum, there has not been any transference from the singular to the plural, or vice versa.

Aside from this anomalous root vowel, a process of simplification that can be seen in this verb is the lack of formal distinction between the indicative and subjunctive mood. The plural subjunctive forms of this verb use *–on* as their ending, which is the expected ending in preterite indicative forms, instead of West Saxon subjunctive ending *–en*. In the example below, *gecuomon* glosses Latin verb *venissent*, a third person plural pluperfect active subjunctive form. It is true that Latin voice and Old English mood do not always coincide in the gloss. However, this use of *–on* instead of *–en* is something that previous

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authors have noticed (see Cole 2014: 183) and has been said to be a characteristic of the Old Northumbrian dialect (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 233), which exemplifies the overall status of change of the verbal system in the dialect.

> LkGl 7.4. (Li) *at illi cum uenissent ad iesum rogabant eum sollicite dicentes ei quia dignus est ut hoc illi praestes*
>
> soð hia miððy **gecuomon** to ðæm hælend bedon hine geornlice cuoedon him þætte ł forðon wyrðe is þætte ðis him ðu doe.
>
> PDE translation: And when they came to Jesus, they besought him earnestly, saying to him: He is worthy that thou shouldest do this for him.

On the other hand, the present tense of this verb has –y- as a root vowel (see Cook 1894: 31-32, 75), which indicates that the vowel featured in the preterite forms is indeed a marker of tense. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is not a process of levelling or vowel transference in this verb. It is clear that there is still a distinction between the present and past tenses, which suggests that a process of regularisation is not taking place in the conjugation of this verb. The preterite forms present an unusual vowel compared to the paradigm of West Saxon, but it seems to be the preferred one for Aldred in his dialect.

In the case of Durham, *(ge)cuman* appears in the preterite plural forms *gicuomon* (DurRitGl: 47.20, 58.20, 76.9) and *forecuomon* (DurRitGl 73.8, 77.14), as well as the preterite singular form *cuom* (DurRitGl 70.13). This verb behaves in the exact same way it did in Lindisfarne: using –uo- as a root vowel instead of –o-. This confirms that this was a feature of Aldred's idiolect, as it did not disappear overtime.

The comparison of this data with the Old Mercian and Old Northumbrian glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels* reveals some striking results. There are 205 instances of this verb in the preterite in Ru2, all of which present –o- as their root vowel, with no recorded instances of –uo- appearing in Ru2. On the other hand, of the 99 instances in Ru1, 67

(68%) present *–uo-/-wo-* as their root vowel, with *–o-* being used in 32% of the instances

(32 out of 99).[30] These results are surprising taking into account that Ru2 is usually closer

to Lindisfarne than Ru1 in terms of innovative language and dialect. However, in this

case, it is Ru1 which is similar to Lindisfarne.[31]

In sum, generally speaking, the verb *gecuman* is not inflected in the preterite in

Rushworth in the same way as it is in Lindisfarne. In Ru1, the majority of the forms are

similar to those of Lindisfarne, but the expected forms also appear (MtGl 24.39, 25.10,

for example). However, the complete absence of *–uo-* in Ru2 is striking.

The *DOE* (s.v *cuman*) confirms that the forms featuring *uo* are indeed characteristic of

Lindisfarne, Durham, and Rushworth, but they are also featured in texts by Venerable

Bede. The 8th-century monk died in Northumbria and has been shown to have used an

Anglian variety in his works (Campbell 1951). As explained in chapter 3, the Anglian

dialects comprise the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects. Therefore, it can be concluded

that the use of *uo* instead of *o* in the preterite of the verb *(ge)cuman* is a dialectal feature

of Anglian texts. This feature was already noticed by Campbell, who states that "[Anglian

texts] have prevailingly *–w-* in past of *cuman*" (1959: 313 §742) (see also Hogg & Fulk

(2011: 245) and Krygier (1994: 50), but no clear explanation about why or how this

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[30] In general, Ru1 prefers *-wo-* over *-uo-*, with instances such as the one found in Matthew 9.28, where *gecuome* appears in Lindisfarne and *cwom* in Ru1, and Matthew 21.23, where *gecuome* can be found in Lindisfarne and *cwom* appears in Ru1. Both of these instances gloss Latin subjunctive forms and their expected spelling would be *cum*. *–uo-* is also present in Ru1, as can be seen in Matthew 14.33 among others, where Latin preterite plural form *venerunt* is glossed as *gecuomon* in *Lindisfarne* and *cuomon* in Ru1.

[31] In addition to the 306 instances of this verb found in Lindisfarne, I was able to find four additional ones in the Rushworth glosses. Three of these can be found in Matthew's Gospel gloss (Ru1), and one is found in John's Gospel's gloss (Ru2). These four additional instances follow the pattern found in the previous examples: the three forms in Ru1 use *–wo-* as their root vowel, while *–o-* is found in Ru2.

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happened is given. Nonetheless, it must not be forgotten that –*uo*- is not found in Ru2. Campbell (1959) also makes note of the consistent use of –*o*- in Ru2 (§742). This could just mean Owun did not use those forms in his idiolect. In any case, this most definitely serves as hard evidence against the claims of Owun's copying from Aldred's gloss, as it is unlikely he would have changed every single instance of *(ge)cuman* to fit his particular idiolect, especially when this feature seems to have been used in Northern English since at least the 8th century, and was a form also used by people he worked with, like Farman. As expected on the basis of their Southern origin, the *West Saxon Gospels*, on the other hand, feature –*o*- as a root vowel in every single instance (331 out of 331, 100%).

Another verb that falls under the same category as *(ge)cuman* is *gehaldan* 'to keep'. Although most commonly rendered as *gehealdan* in Southern texts, this class VII verb appears with –*a*- in its infinitive and present tense in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which is a characteristic of the Anglian dialects (Campbell 1963: 55-56). Following class VII inflection, the preterite forms of this verb (both singular and plural) should have –*eo*- as their root vowel. However, in both the singular and plural preterite forms attested in Lindisfarne, this verb features diphthong –*ea*- instead, as illustrated in the examples below. This verb is one of the 100 commonest in the *MCOE* (Hogg & Fulk 2011: 256), and it appears 30 times in total in my dataset. All these forms are accounted for in Cook (1894: 82-83), and some examples can be seen below.

> MtGl (Li) 9.25. *et cum eiecta esset turba intrauit et tenuit manum eius et surrexit puella*
>
> & miððy fordrifen wæs ðy ðreat ᚦ ðy menigo inneade & **geheald** ᚦ genom hond hire & arras þæt maiden.
>
> PDE translation: And when the multitude was put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand. And the maid arose.
>
> MtGl (Li) 22.6. *reliqui uero tenuerunt seruos eius et contumelia adfectos occiderunt*

ða oðero uutedlice **gehealdon** ⴕ gefengon ðegnas his & mið fræceðo geyfled ⴕ geteled ofslogun.

PDE translation: And the rest laid hands on his servants, and having treated them contumeliously, put them to death.

MkGl (Li) 14.1. *Erat autem pascha et azyma post biduum et quaerebant summi sacerdotes et scribae quomodo eum dolo tenerent et occiderent*

wæs uutedlice eastro æfter twæm dogrum & sohton ða hehsacerdas & ða uðuuto huu hine mið facne **gehealdon** ⴕ mæhton hia gehalda & ofslogon ⴕ hia mæhton ofslaa.

PDE translation: Now the feast of the Pasch, and of the Azymes was after two days; and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might by some wile lay hold on him, and kill him.

As shown in these examples, *gehaldan* appears to behave in a similar way to *gecuman* in terms of conjugation. Both of these verbs present preterite vowels that are different from the expected ablaut pattern for their class in West Saxon. These are forms that do not seem to vary throughout the gloss and can thus be classified as forms belonging to the Old Northumbrian dialect characteristic of the Lindisfarne gloss. In fact, previous literature has commented on Lindisfarne and Durham's tendency to use *ea* instead of *eo* (Campbell 1959 §742) and, some have even stated that the use of *ea* and *eo* was interchangeable in Old Northumbrian (Hogg 1992a: 103 §5.44). And while the use of *ea* instead of *eo* has been deemed a feature of South Northumbrian texts (Hogg 2004: 245-246, 249), it has also been argued that "it hardly seems wise" to assume Aldred was a speaker of either North or South Northumbrian, as his native origin is entirely unknown (Hogg 2004: 243-244). Moreover, the fact that this is a high-frequency verb would suggest that it would be more resistant to change (see sections 1.3 and 5.2.3), and therefore the theory of this form being, in fact, the usual one in Northumbrian gains weight.

In the case of the gloss to the *Durham Ritual*, this verb is inflected in the same way as it is in Lindisfarne in both the preterite and the infinitive: it appears as *giheald* (DurRitGl

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60.11, 81.3, 88.9), *geheald* (DurRitGl 198.14) and *gehealdon* (DurRitGl 107.12) in the preterite singular and plural, respectively. This is, once again, a sign of dialectal variation, as both Lindisfarne and Durham use –*ea*- as the root vowel for the preterite instead of –*eo*-, which would be the expected form in West Saxon. I have already explained that the use of *eo* and *ea* interchangeably is a dialectal feature of Old Northumbrian (Hogg 1992a: 103 §5.44). Moreover, this verb is also listed by Lindelöf as *gihalda* in its infinitive form (1901: 150). In this case, the use of *a* is motivated by the following *l* due to first fronting and lack of breaking, as the North and the Midlands are "a-dialect" areas (Hogg 1992a: 80-84).

In sum, the gloss to the *Durham Ritual* behaves identically to Lindisfarne. Ultimately, these changes appear to be a characteristic feature of the Old Northumbrian dialect and not instances of innovative spellings. These results also reinforce the hypothesis that Durham and Lindisfarne were glossed by the same scribe.

As for the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*, out of all 30 instances of this verb, one is found in the lost leaves of the original manuscript, and in seven of the examples the verb *niman* 'to take' is used instead. The remaining 22 instances use the verb *gehealdan*, but only three of those (7.33%) present the form found in Lindisfarne. The other 19 forms appear with the expected root vowel –*eo*- (see Appendix V). These three instances can be found in Mark and John's Gospels, both of which were glossed by Owun in Ru2. The first example occurs in MkGl 10.20, where Latin *observavi* is glossed as *geheald* in Lindisfarne and *giheald* in Ru2. In MkGl 14.49, *gihealdun* appears in Ru2 and *gehealdon* in Lindisfarne, and in JnGl 17.12 *giheald* is the form chosen in Ru2 corresponding to Lindisfarne's *geheald*.

Saving dialectal differences such as the use of *gi*- instead of *ge*- and –*un* instead of –*on*, these forms are identical in both the Lindisfarne and Ru2 glosses. However, as explained

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above, these only make up for 7% of the instances of this verb in the Rushworth gloss. Owun is more conservative in his language, and it is possible that these three instances could be motivated by his alleged copying of Lindisfarne, as he is using the diphthong *ea,* which has been argued to be a feature of North Northumbrian (although, as noted above, the distinction between South and North Northumbrian is hard to establish – see Hogg 2004) – if the theory of copying is still regarded as valid after the results in the *(ge)cuman* section. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in its preterite forms in the Rushworth glosses. As for the *West Saxon Gospels*, all 13 instances of this verb appearing in the manuscript have *–eo-* as a root vowel.

Gefeallan 'to fall' is a class VII strong verb that appears 23 times in its preterite forms in Lindisfarne. Like in the case of *gehaldan*, the conjugation of the verb *gefallan* also involves the use of diphthongs *–eo-* and *–ea-*. Being a class VII verb, the expected root vowel would be *–eo-* for both singular and plural preterite forms, but it appears as *gefeall* (12 times), *gefeoll* (once), *gefeallon* (four times), and *gefeollon* (6 times) in Lindisfarne (see Appendix V for a full account of these forms).This verb also underwent regularisation in Lindisfarne (see section 5.1). It appears three times in Durham, all using *–ea-* instead of *–eo-* in both plural and singular forms *gifeall* in DurRitGl 70.19 and 165.2; *gifeallon* in DurRitGl 58.5 (Lindelöf 1901 s.v. *gifalla*, stv) and *–eo-* is not used. There is also one singular form spelled *gefæl* (DurRitGl 191. 10). This could be a scribal error, as the confusion of *e* and *æ* is often seen, and *–ea-* involves similar vowels. In any case, it is interesting that *–eo-* was still in use in Lindisfarne, but by the time Aldred undertook the glossing of the *Durham Ritual*, *-ea-* was the only spelling used. This could mean this interchangeability of *–eo-* and *–ea-* was a change in progress during the time of the glossing of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and had become an effective change characteristic

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of the Old Northumbrian dialect by the time of the glossing of the *Durham Ritual*, or it could be a feature of Aldred's idiolect.

In Rushworth this verb appears 18 times with –*eo*- as its root vowel (five in Ru1 and 13 in Ru2), and only twice with –*ea*- as the root vowel, both instances in Ru1. In the *West Saxon Gospels*, this verb occurs 24 times and uses –*e*- or –*eo*- as the root vowel for the preterite tense.

In sum, the peculiar preterite vowel in these verbs seems to be restricted to Lindisfarne and Durham, being a characteristic feature in these glosses, with some representation in Ru2. It is a dialectal feature of Old Northumbrian, or at the very least a feature that is characteristic of Aldred's idiolect.

8.3. The case of *sprec*

The class V verb *sprecan* appears 15 times in its preterite and past participle forms in the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, one of which (6%) could be considered a case of vowel transference. Nonetheless, this is a very complicated example.

The expected ablaut for the verb *sprecan* 'to speak' is *sprecan – spræc –sprǣcon – sprecen*. Therefore, the root vowel in both singular and plural preterite forms should be <æ>. This is not, however, what we find in this instance in Lindisfarne, where the form *sprec* is classified by Cook as a preterite form (1894: 176). The change from *æ* to *e* is not without precedent, as scribes tended to use *e* and *æ* interchangeably, but it is the only time this verb appears with *e* instead of *æ* in the preterite singular in Lindisfarne (see Cook 1894: 176). In any case, this example is interesting in various ways.

> JnGl (Li) 13.10. *dicit ei iesus qui locutus est non indiget ut lauet sed est mundus totus et uos mundi estis sed non omnes*
>
> cuoeð him to se hælend seðe geðuæn is ⵏ **sprec** uæs ne ðorfæð ⵏ þætte aðoa hine ah is clæne all & gie clæno aron ah ne alle.

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PDE translation: Jesus saith to him: He that is washed, needeth not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly. And you are clean, but not all.

The example above illustrates preterite form *sprec*, in a double gloss, translating Latin participle *locutus* 'spoken'. There are several ways this example can be analysed. Firstly, as I just mentioned above, this form is classified by Cook as a preterite; however, *-e-* is not the expected root vowel in a preterite form of the verb *sprecan*, and in fact, forms such as *spræcc* appear several times throughout the gloss (e.g. JnGl 15.11, 16.6; see Cook 1894: 176 for full list of examples – 10 tokens). This would suggest a motive behind the use of *–e-* in this instance. A reason for this could be that Aldred intended this form to be read as a participle, and not a preterite as Cook suggests, in which case the root vowel would be the expected one, but there is no ending. The expected past participle form would be *sprecen*. It seems unlikely that in expressing the meaning of a participle the glossator would remember the correct vowel but not the ending. Moreover, the expected auxiliary for *spoken* would be *to have* instead of *to be*, as it appears in the gloss.

This unexpected form could also a result of confusion on the part of the glossator due to the Latin original *locutus*, which is not only a participle form but also a noun. This would explain the use of *sprec*, as the Old English noun meaning 'speech' is spelled in this way. It must also be noted that this form appears in a double gloss next to *geðuæn is*, which is puzzling considering this is a form of the verb *geþwean* 'to wash'. At first sight, there appears to be no reason why *washed* and *spoken* would gloss the same word. However, the Present-Day English translation of this Bible verse reads "he that is washed" (see Jn 13.10 in the Douay-Rheims Online Bible), and the *Bosworth-Toller* gives the Latin original text in the Lindisfarne *Gospels* as *qui lavatus est* 'he that is washed' instead of *qui locutus est* 'he that is talked' (*Bosworth-Toller*, s.v. *ge-þweán*). In both Skeat's edition (1878) and the facsimile edition of the Gospels (Kendrick 1956-1960), this instance

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appears as *locutus*, nonetheless. This scribal error has also been spotted by other scholars studying the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, with Richard Mardsen referring to it as "nonsensical" (2013: 185).

It is possible that Aldred had more than one Latin source of the Gospels available to him (or that he knew the passage by heart) and therefore, when he saw *locutus* on the *Lindisfarne Gospels* but *lavatus* on his other sources, he recognised the first as a scribal error and decided to add both meanings to the gloss in order to be a thorough translator: the first one translating the form that made more sense in the context (*lavatus*), and the second one translating the verb (or noun, as he might have understood it) that can actually be found in the text he was glossing.

Regardless of scribal errors and confusions with the Latin original, the question of why Aldred chose to spell *sprec* in this way could still be explained by means of a process of vowel transference. There is only one form of the plural preterite of this verb in the gloss, which also presents –e- as its root vowel (MtGl 20.11 *sprecon*, see Cook 1894: 177), while all the singular preterite forms – except the one at hand – feature *æ* as their root vowel. This could indicate *e* was the usual second preterite vowel found in this verb in Old Northumbrian and, therefore, its use in this particular example could denote a transference of the vowel from the plural to the singular. However, one example is not enough to determine whether this was the root vowel used for plural preterite forms in Old Northumbrian, and thus this hypothesis cannot be tested.

In Ru2, this instance appears as *gisprecen* (JnGl 13.10), which is a participle form. However, the word these two forms are glossing is different in the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne* manuscripts. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* read *qui locutus est* in this verse, while the *MacRegol Gospels* read *qui lotus est* (Tamamoto 2013: 308). And while both of these are participles, the meanings are completely different. *locutus* means 'talked', while *lotus*

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means 'washed' (from Latin *lavo*). While the meanings of the Latin original are different, both Ru2 and Lindisfarne use the same verb in their gloss: *sprecan*. This could be used as proof of Owun's copying of the Lindisfarne gloss, as it seems unlikely that Owun would gloss *lotus* as *gisprecen* had he not seen Aldred's work. This is not the only time this happens in Ru2. In MkGl 4.11, for example, Owun includes *godes* 'of God' despite the absence of a corresponding Latin word in the *Rushworth* MS. There is, however, a corresponding Latin word in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* MS (*dei*; see Kotake 2016: 379-380 for a full account of this example). However, these instances are not necessarily concrete proof of Owun's copying but rather, as Kotake (2016) postulates, they could be proof of both Owun and Aldred having access to the same sources, motivating the similarities between Lindisfarne and Ru2.

8.4. Summary

Aside from regularisation and vowel transference, some strong verbs in the gloss present unexpected root vowels. In some cases, the presence of anomalous root vowels seems to be due to confusion with a different verb. This is the case of gebrūcan 'to eat', which appears in the preterite plural in Lindisfarne with –*e*- as a root vowel, possibly motivated by confusion with *gebrecan* 'to break'. The same forms are found in Durham and Ru2. This anomalous root vowel could also be explained by means of vowel transference, and seems to be characteristic of Old Northumbrian, since it appears in the three texts pertaining to this dialect in my data.

Other anomalous forms characteristic of Old Northumbrian and, more broadly, of Anglian dialects, have also been identified, such as the use of –*uo*- in the preterite of *gecuman*, found in Lindisfarne, Durham, and Ru1 (Ru2 uses –*o*-), the use of –*ea*- in the preterite of *gehaldan*, found in Lindisfarne, Durham, and marginally in Ru2, and the

interchangeability of *–eo-* and *–ea-* as preterite root vowels in the verb *gefallan* (seen in Lindisfarne, Durham, and both the Rushworth glosses).

These forms widely support the theory of Lindisfarne and Durham having the same glossator, while the use of *–o-* instead of *–uo-* as preterite root vowel for *gecuman* in Ru2 challenges the traditional view of Owun's copying of Lindisfarne.

The last verb analysed in this section is *sprecan* 'to speak', which is found glossing a scribal error in the Latin original. This could have motivated the anomalous form found in the Lindisfarne gloss. However, the most interesting aspect of analysis is the fact that Owun also used the verb *sprecan* in his gloss, despite the Latin original in *Rushworth* using a verb with the meaning 'to wash'. This could either suggest that Owun was, in fact, copying Lindisfarne, or that both Aldred and Owun had access to the same sources.

9. Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to assess the status of past tense formation of strong verbs in Old Northumbrian with regard to regularisation and other processes of simplification, such as vowel transference. For that purpose, I examined the glosses to the *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth Gospels*, as well as the gloss to the *Durham Collectar*, and several manuscripts of the *West Saxon Gospels* (see chapter 3). It is evident that the Old Northumbrian strong verbal system was changing at the time of the composition of the Lindisfarne, Durham, and Ru2 glosses. The regularisation of strong verbs to the weak conjugation, and the vowel transference between singular and plural forms are testament to the developments in the system – processes that have been traditionally attributed to the Middle English period (see sections 1.2 and 2.4).

The regularisation of strong verbs is an analogical innovative feature of Old Northumbrian. It can be seen in the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and to the *Durham Ritual*, and to a lesser extent in the Old Northumbrian part of the gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru2). In contrast, this feature is not as prominent in the Old Mercian gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* (Ru1) or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Class III and VII strong verbs are more affected by this analogical process, and class VII verbs are the ones that seem to have carried out this feature to the present day more effectively. Both of these classes were more affected by the change probably due to the fact that they have subclasses. In the case of class VII, the vowels to mark the different tenses in all the subclasses were phonetically similar, which prompted confusion and favoured the change to weak. Class III, on the other hand, presents subclass IIIa, which is the most phonetically distinct ablaut series, and although these verbs started being inflected as weak in Old Northumbrian, they did not carry the change through to the present and are irregular in Present-Day English (see sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.4)

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The key factor in the regularisation of strong verbs in Lindisfarne is frequency, working in an inversely proportional manner: the higher the token frequency of a verb is, the less likely it is for that verb to become weak (see section 5.2.3). It must be noted that in my work frequencies have been established by the number of times a verb appears in the preterite and past participle, not taking into account the total number of occurrences of the verb in all contexts.

As for the nature of the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, my data reveals a clear differentiation between the gloss to John's Gospel and the glosses to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke. John is the most conservative one in terms of regularisation, which supports the theory that it might have been written by a different glossator (see section 5.2.5). In this sense, my work adds to the debate over Aldred's authorship of the Gospels, and aligns with previous literature that states that John's Gospel is different from the other three Gospels in terms of syntax (Kotake 2016), lexicon (Elliot & Ross 1972), morphology (Brunner 1947-1978, van Bergen 2008, Cole 2016, van Gelderen 2019), and orthography and palaeography (Skeat 1878; see section 2.5).

As for the comparative analysis, a chi-square test for statistical significance reveals that the difference between Durham and Lindisfarne in their use of weak innovative forms is not significant, even if the raw numbers in Durham are lower (see section 6.1). Moreover, regularisation in Durham is not limited to the verbs that underwent this process in Lindisfarne, as weak innovative forms of four additional verbs are found. My results do not support the theory that Aldred's speech became more conservative as he aged and moved up the church hierarchy (Ross 1970, Brown 2003, Cole 2016) and that his grammar became Westernised due to West-Saxon influence (Fernández Cuesta & Langmuir 2019), but are more consistent with studies that have found no significant results for conservatism in the Durham gloss (Rodríguez Ledesma 2018; see also section

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3 for a full discussion of both theories). In sum, Durham seems to be more conservative than Lindisfarne in some aspects, but not in others – as claimed by Ross (1970). Moreover, my findings serve to prove that Lindisfarne and Durham were glossed by the same scribe, and are at odds with the theory that John's Gospel in Lindisfarne might be the only one glossed by Aldred himself, as the conservatism found in that Gospel does not align with the results in Durham.

In terms of the regularisation of strong verbs, the Rushworth glosses are more conservative than Lindisfarne. From the set of verbs studied, only one presents regularisation in Ru1: *slēpan*. This is a verb that was weak 100% of the time in Lindisfarne, which could indicate that it was already established as weak at the time and therefore used as such in both Old Mercian and Old Northumbrian. Ru2 presents regularisation at higher rates than Ru1, but much lower than Lindisfarne. The verbs with a higher percentage of weak forms in Lindisfarne are also inflected as weak in Ru2, but at much lower rates (see section 6.2). In the *West Saxon Gospels*, there are only a handful of weak innovative instances in this particular set of verbs. My results are limited by the small size of my data, however.

In conclusion, the regularisation of strong verbs is a prominent feature of Old Northumbrian, which sets the timeline for the start of this analogical process at a much earlier period than it had traditionally been linked to. Moreover, it seems to be a key part of Aldred's idiolect, as both the Lindisfarne and Durham glosses present similar rates of regularisation, in contrast with the results drawn from the other texts in my analysis.

Other processes of simplification such as levelling by means of vowel transference between the plural and singular forms of the preterite also reveal the innovative nature of the Lindisfarne gloss. This process is not as frequent as the development of weak forms in the gloss. However, it is clear from my analysis that the Lindisfarne and Durham

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glosses are more advanced than the other texts included in my study. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the size of the data is too small to draw solid conclusions, and only the verbs found in Lindisfarne were analysed in the other texts.

The fact that the Durham Ritual and the Lindisfarne gloss share some linguistic features can be taken as evidence that both were glossed by the same scribe. In line with the regularisation of strong verbs, the Durham gloss does not seem to be significantly more conservative when it comes to vowel transference. Moreover, the fact that both these glosses share the same characteristic forms (-*uo*- as the root vowel for the preterite of *cuman* and -*ea*- as the root vowel for the preterite of *gehaldan*; see section 8.2) can be taken as further evidence in favour of the suggestion that Aldred glossed both.

With regard to the verbs studied in the vowel transference section, the Rushworth glosses are more traditional in their language, and Ru1 more so than Ru2. Lastly, the *West Saxon Gospels*, the most recent text in my data, adheres to traditional verbal inflection more closely than the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* does in this particular set of verbs, and no corresponding instances of vowel transference can be found in this text.

Other processes of simplification can be seen in my data despite not being the main focus of my research, such as the possible use of indicative –*on* in the third person plural subjunctive instead of etymological –*en* (see section 7.2, also Cole 2014), and the overall confusion of *e* and *æ* (see section 5.1).

As for the alleged copying of the Lindisfarne gloss by Owun, Ru2's scribe, I have not got any significant results regarding the regularisation of strong verbs to be able to draw solid conclusions on the matter. However, the consistent use of the same lexeme in Lindisfarne and Ru2, contrasting with word choice in Ru1 (e.g. consistent use of *ahsian* over *gefregnan* in Ru1, while Ru2 uses *gefregnan* in the same contexts as Lindisfarne; see

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sections 5.1 and 6.2), could corroborate the theory of Owun's copying or serve as proof to both scribes' use of the same sources. However, Ru2's preference for strong forms even when using the same lexeme as Lindisfarne speaks to the more traditional nature of the former (see section 6.2). In terms of the other verbs studied that do not undergo regularisation, the results seem elusive as well. On the one hand, the complete lack of root vowel –*uo*- in the preterite of the verb *gecuman* in Ru2 could prove the originality of the gloss, as the verb is inflected in a different manner to Lindisfarne –and to Ru1 – 100% of the time. On the other hand, however, the case of *sprec,* where the Ru2 scribe translates not the original text in Rushworth but rather the Latin form appearing in Lindisfarne, seems somewhat hard to explain if we discard the theory of Owun's copying, although alternatives have been put forward (see section 8.3).

The present dissertation offers further evidence for the innovative nature of Old Northumbrian, not only because the process of regularisation of strong verbs can be seen in Lindisfarne, Durham, and Ru2 but also because I have found weak innovative forms in verbs that the *OED* states underwent the process much later, such as *woepan*, *gefregnan*, and *gewæxan*. Moreover, the existence of some verbs that underwent more than one process of simplification in the gloss (*onginnan*, regularisation and vowel transference; *geceōsan*, vowel transference and levelling of the effects of Verner's Law) attests to the overall state of change in progress in the strong verbal system in Lindisfarne. I hope this work serves as grounds for future research. My results are limited thus far due to the comparative nature of the study of Rushworth and the *West Saxon Gospels*, which does not take into account the inflection of other strong verbs that might have undergone regularisation or other processes of simplification in these texts. This is a future avenue I wish to explore in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of Old English dialectology with regard to strong verbal morphology. The analysis presented here could

be further developed by studying other Old English texts of the time, not limited to a religious content. It would also be interesting to compare the situation in Old English with that of other Germanic languages. Another path stems from this thesis, and that is my finding of an anomalous meaning for the verb *hrīnan* 'to touch', which appears to mean 'to decorate' in Northumbrian (see sections 5.1 and 6.2). This is something that I wish to explore further in a comparative manner to find whether it was a dialectal meaning, or part of Aldred's idiolect.

Appendix I: Problematic forms

There are some instances of strong verbs in Lindisfarne that are problematic in their categorisation as either weak or strong, for reasons I will explore below. Because their classification requires special explanation, these forms are not included in my analysis.

One of these forms is an instance of the verb *bebeōdan*, discussed in section 5.1.

↳ Weak? form bebeade

> MkGl (Li) 9.25. *et cum uideret iesus concurrentem turbam comminatus est spiritui inmundo dicens illi surde et mute spiritus ego tibi praecipio exi ab eo et amplius ne introeas in eum*
>
> & miððy gesæh se hælend þone iornende ðreat gestiorande wæs ðæm gaaste unclæne cuoeðende ðæm ðu la deafe & ðu la dumbe gaast ic ðe **bebeade** geong from him & forðor þætte ðu ne inngae in hine.
>
> PDE translation: And when Jesus saw the multitude running together, he threatened the unclean spirit, saying to him: Deaf and dumb spirit, I command thee, go out of him; and enter not any more into him

This form glosses Latin present indicative form *praecipio*. The *–e* ending here is expected since it glosses a present tense form. However, the vowel in the root is *–ea–* and not *–eo*, as the expected present tense form would be. This is due to the fact that *eo* and *ea* were used interchangeably in Old Northumbrian (Hogg 1992: 103 §5.44). In Ru2 the form chosen for this gloss is *bibeodu*, while the *West Saxon Gospels* also show an expected present tense form here: *beode*.

Another problematic form comes from the verb *tredan*. This class V strong verb has evolved into PDE *tread*, an irregular verb. This verb appears once in a preterite form in Lindisfarne, and it does so in a possibly weak manner.

↳ Weak? form *tredon*.

> MkGl (Li) 11.8. *multi autem uestimenta sua strauerunt in uia alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in uia* menigo uutedlice woedo his

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---

legdon ⸭ brædon on uoeg oðero uutedlice ða twiggo ⸭ ða telgo gebugun ⸭rendon of ðæm trewum & **tredon** on ðæm woeg.

PDE translation: And many spread their garments in the way: and others cut down boughs from the trees, and strewed them in the way.

Third person plural preterite form *tredon* appears in the example above. It glosses Latin third person plural imperfect indicative active form *sternebant* 'they scattered'. The translation is accurate, but the form appears to be weakened as there is no presence of ablaut – the expected form would be *trædon*. However, as mentioned in section 5.1, scribes tended to sometimes use *e* and *æ* interchangeably so this might be a case of scribal preference and not an instance of regularisation, which is why I classified it as problematic. Unfortunately, this verb does not appear in Durham and therefore these hypotheses cannot be proven. In Ru2 this instance appears as *stredun*, and in the *West Saxon Gospels stroweden* can be found. I was not able to find any additional instances of this verb in the preterite tense or past participle in either the Rushworth glosses or the *West Saxon Gospels*.

Appendix II: Hybrid forms

stode LkGl 1.11

bebeade LkGl 8.29

gewoxe LkGl 12.44

gehehtes LkGl 14.22

ondrearde LkGl 18.2

gebinde LkGl 24.28

gestode JnGl 1.35

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Appendix III: Strong forms from Lindisfarne, Rushworth, and the *West Saxon Gospels*

Strong forms: Lindisfarne

Class I

hrīnan

>*gehrān* MtGl 8.3
>
>*gehrān* MtGl 8.15
>
>*gehrān* MtGl 9.20
>
>*gehrān* MtGl 9.29
>
>*gehrān* MtGl 17.7
>
>*gehrān* MtGl 20.34
>
>*gehrān* MkGl 1.41
>
>*gehrān* MkGl 5.27
>
>*gehrān* MkGl 5.30
>
>*gehrān* MkGl 5.31
>
>*gehrān* MkGl 7.33
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 5.13
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 7.14
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 8.44
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 8.45
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 8.46
>
>*gehrān* LkGl 22.51
>
>*gehrinon* MkGl 6.56 (x2)

stīgan

>*astāg* MtGl 3.16
>
>*astāg* MtGl 7.25
>
>*astāg* MtGl 7.27
>
>*astāg* MtGl 13.2
>
>*astāg* MtGl 14.23
>
>*astāg* MtGl 15.29

astāg MtGl 15.39

astāg MtGl 20.17

astāg MtGl 28.2

astāg MkGl 1.10

astāg MkGl 3.13

astāg MkGl 4.1

astāg MkGl 4.32

astāg MkGl 6.51

astāg MkGl 8.10

astāg MkGl 8.13

astāg MkGl 15.8

astāg LkGl 2.4

astāg LkGl 3.22

astāg LkGl 4.31

astāg LkGl 5.3

astāg LkGl 6.17

astāg LkGl 8.22

astāg LkGl 8.23

astāg LkGl 8.37

astāg LkGl 9.28

astāg LkGl 18.14

astāg LkGl 19.4

astāg LkGl 19.28

astāg JnGl 2.12

astāg LkGl 2.13

astāg LkGl 3.13

astāg LkGl 5.1

astāg LkGl 5.4

astāg LkGl 6.17

astāg LkGl 6.58

astãg LkGl 7.10

astãg LkGl 7.14

astãg LkGl 20.17

astãg LkGl 21.11

stigon MkGl 3.22

stigon JnGl 6.16

astigon MkGl 4.7

astigon MkGl 5.18

astigon MkGl 10.32

astigon MkGl 15.41

astigon LkGl 5.2

astigon LkGl 5.19

astigon LkGl 8.22

astigon LkGl 18.10

astigon JnGl 6.24

astigon JnGl 7.10

astigon JnGl 11.55

astigon JnGl 12.20

astigon JnGl 21.3

Class II

bebeōdan

bebead MtGl 8.4

bebead MtGl 9.30

bebead MtGl 11.1

bebead MtGl 12.16

beboden MtGl 9.30

gesuppan

geseap MtGl 27.34

Class III

onginnan

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ongann MtGl 4.17

ongann MtGl 11.7

ongann MtGl 11.20

ongann MtGl 14.30

ongann MtGl 16.21

ongann MtGl 16.22

ongann MtGl 18.24

ongann MtGl 20.8

ongann MtGl 24.49

ongann MtGl 26.37

ongann MtGl 26.74

ongann MkPrlg

ongann MkGl 1.45

ongann MkGl 4.1

ongann MkGl 5.18

ongann MkGl 5.20

ongann MkGl 6.2

ongann MkGl 6.7

ongann MkGl 6.34

ongann MkGl 8.25

ongann MkGl 8.31

ongann MkGl 8.32

ongann MkGl 10.28

ongann MkGl 10.32

ongann MkGl 10.47

ongann MkGl 11.15

ongann MkGl 12.1

ongann MkGl 13.5

ongann MkGl 14.33

ongann MkGl 14.69

ongann MkGl 14.71

ongann MkGl 14.72

ongann MkGl 15.8

ongann LkGl 4.21

ongann LkGl 7.15

ongann LkGl 7.24

ongann LkGl 7.38

ongann LkGl 9.12

ongann LkGl 11.29

ongann LkGl 12.1

ongann LkGl 14.30

ongann LkGl 15.14

ongann LkGl 15.28

ongann LkGl 19.45

ongann LkGl 20.9

ongann JnPrlg

ongann JnGl 4.47

ongann JnGl 8.9

ongann JnGl 13.5

ongannon LkGl 15.24

ongunne MtGl 14.30

ongunnon MkGl 14.19

ongunnon MkGl 15.18

ongunnon LkGl 7.49

ongunnon LkGl 14.18

ongunnon LkGl 22.23

ongunnon LkGl 23.2

ongunnun MtGl 12.1

ongunnun MtGl 26.22

ongunnun MkGl 2.23

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ongunnun MkGl 5.17

ongunnun MkGl 6.55

ongunnun MkGl 8.11

ongunnun MkGl 10.41

ongunnun MkGl 14.65

ongunnun LkGl 5.21

ongunnun LkGl 11.53

ongunnun LkGl 19.37

swingan

gesuungun LkGl 18.32

ðringan

geðrungen LkGl 8.42

gebindan

geband MtGl 14.3

geband MkGl 6.17

geband LkGl 10.34

geband LkGl 13.16

gebundon MkGl 15.1

gebunden MtGl 16.19

gebunden MtGl 21.2

gebunden MkGl 5.4

gebunden MkGl 11.2

gebunden MkGl 11.4

gebunden MkGl 15.7

gebunden LkGl 8.29

gebunden LkGl 19.30

gebunden JnGl 18.24

unbunden MtGl 16.19

gefregnan

gefrægn MtGl 22.35

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gefrægn MtGl 22.41

gefrægn MtGl 27.11

gefrægn MkGl 8.23

gefrægn MkGl 8.27

gefrægn MkGl 9.21

gefrægn LkGl 9.18

gefrægn LkGl 18.18

gefrægn LkGl 18.40

gefrægn JnGl 4.52

gefraegn MkGl 15.4

gefrægn MkGl 15.44

gefraign MkGl 8.5

gefraign MkGl 9.16

gefraign MkGl 12.28

gefraign LkGl 8.30

gefraign LkGl 23.3

gefraign LkGl 23.6

gefraign JnGl 18.7

gefraign JnGl 18.19

gefregn MkGl 5.9

gefregn JnGl 18.21

gefrugnon MtGl 22.23

gefrugnon MkGl 9.10

gefrugnon MkGl 9.11

gefrugnon MkGl 9.14

gefrugnon MkGl 9.28

gefrugnon MkGl 9.33

gefrugnon MkGl 10.10

gefrugnon MkGl 12.28

gefrugnon LkGl 3.10

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gefrugnon LkGl 8.9

gefrugnon LkGl 20.21

gefrugnon LkGl 21.7

gefrugnon JnGl 1.19

gefrugnon JnGl 1.21

gefrugnon JnGl 1.25

gefrugnon JnGl 5.12

gefrugnon JnGl 9.2

gefrugnon JnGl 9.15

gefrugnun MtGl 17.10

gefrugnun MkGl 7.5

gefrugnun MkGl 7.17

gefrugnun MkGl 10.2

Class V

gefretan

gefreten LkGl 8.5

gefreten MtGl 14.71

harmcwoeðan

harmcuoedon MkGl 15.32

Class VII

gestandan

gestod MtGl 2.9

gestod MtGl 13.2

gestod MkGl 18.13

gestod MkGl 23.35

gestod JnGl 1.26

gestod JnGl 6.22

gestod JnGl 7.37

gestod JnGl 18.5

gestod JnGl 18.16

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gestod JnGl 18.25

gestod JnGl 20.11

gestodon MtGl 12.46

gestodon LkGl 23.49

gestodon LkGl 24.4

gewæxan

gewox MtGl 13.26

gewox MtGl 13.32

gewox LkGl 1.80

gewox JnPrlg

gewæxen LkGl 12.18

feallan

gefeall MtGl 7.25

gefeall MtGl 7.27

gefeall MkGl 5.33

gefeall LkGl 1.18

gefeall LkGl 6.49

gefeall LkGl 8.7

gefeall LkGl 8.14

gefeall LkGl 8.28

gefeall LkGl 8.47

gefeall LkGl 13.4

gefeall LkGl 15.20

gefeall LkGl 17.16

gefeoll LkGl 1.12

gefeallon MtGl 2.11

gefeallon MtGl 13.5

gefeallon MtGl 17.6

gefeallon LkGl 16.21

gefeollon MtGl 13.4

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gefeollon MtGl 13.7

gefeollon MtGl 13.8

gefeollon MtGl 15.30

gefeollon MkGl 3.11

gefeollon LkGl 1.7

gehātan

heht MtPrlg (x2)

heht MtGl 18.25

heht MtGl 21.6

heht MkPrlg

heht MkGl 1.44

heht MkGl 6.39

heht MkGl 8.7

heht LkPrlg (x2)

heht LkGl 5.14

heht LkGl 8.55

heht LkGl 19.15

hahten MtGl 26.3

geheht MtPrlg (x11)

geheht MtGl 1.24

geheht MtGl 8.4

geheht MtGl 8.18

geheht MtGl 14.9

geheht MtGl 14.19

geheht MtGl 14.22

geheht MtGl 15.35

geheht MtGl 16.20

geheht MtGl 17.9

geheht MtGl 27.58

geheht MkPrlg (x2)

231

  geheht MkGl 6.27

  geheht MkGl 9.9

  geheht MkGl 10.49

  geheht LkPrlg (x2)

  geheht LkGl 4.39

  geheht LkGl 17.9

  geheht LkGl 18.40

  geheht LkGl 22.6

  geheht JnPrlg (x2)

  gehehtun MtPrlg

  gehaten MtPrlg (x2)

  gehaten MkGl 11.6

  gehaten LkPrlg

  gehaten JnPrlg (x3)

  gehatten MtPrlg

rǣdan

  redon JnGl 19.20

sāwan

  gesawen MtGl 13.19

  gesāwan MkGl 4.15

  gesāwan MkGl 4.31

ondrǣdan

  ondreard MtGl 2.22

  ondreard MtGl 14.5

  ondreard MtGl 14.30

  ondreard MtGl 25.25

  ondreard MkGl 5.33

  ondreard MkGl 6.20

  ondreard LkGl 19.21

  ondreard JnGl 19.8

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wēpan

 weop MtGl 26.75

 woeap MtGl 2.18

In the Rushworth glosses

Class I

hrīnan

 gihrān MkGl 5.27

 gihrān MkGl 5.31

 gihrān MkGl 7.33

 gihrān LkGl 8.44

 gihrān LkGl 8.45

 gihrān LkGl 8.46

 gihrān LkGl 8.47

 gihrān LkGl 22.51

stīgan

 astāg MtGl 3.16

 astāg MtGl 7.25

 astāg MtGl 7.27

 astāg MtGl 14.23

 astāg MtGl 15.39

 astāg MtGl 28.2

 astāg MkGl 1.10

 astāg MkGl 3.13

 astāg MkGl 4.1

 astāg MkGl 6.51

 astāg MkGl 8.10

 astāg MkGl 8.13

 astāg LkGl 2.4

 astāg LkGl 2.51

 astāg LkGl 3.22

233

astāg LkGl 9.28

astāg LkGl 18.14

astāg LkGl 19.4

astāg LkGl 19.6

astāg LkGl 19.28

astāg JnGl 2.12

astāg JnGl 2.13

astāg JnGl 3.13

astāg JnGl 5.1

astāg JnGl 5.4

astāg JnGl 6.41

astāg JnGl 6.42

astāg JnGl 6.58

astāg JnGl 7.10

astāg JnGl 7.14

astāg JnGl 20.17

astāg JnGl 21.11

astige LkGl 9.54

astige JnGl 5.7

astigun MkGl 3.22

astigun MkGl 4.7

astigun MkGl 5.18

astigun MkGl 10.32

astigun MkGl 15.41

astigun LkGl 18.10

astigun JnGl 6.17

astigun JnGl 6.24

astigun JnGl 7.10

astigun JnGl 11.55

astigun JnGl 12.20

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astigun JnGl 21.3

Class II

bebeōdan

bebead MtGl 1.24

bebead MtGl 8.4

bebead MtGl 8.26

bebead MtGl 12.16

bebead MtGl 15.35

bebead MtGl 16.20

bebead MtGl 17.9

bebead MtGl 19.7

bebead MtGl 21.6

bebead MtGl 26.19

bebead MtGl 28.20

Class III

onginnan

ongan MtGl 16.22

ongan MtGl 26.37

ongan MkGl 1.45

ongan MkGl 4.1

ongan MkGl 5.18

ongan MkGl 5.20

ongan MkGl 6.2

ongan MkGl 6.7

ongan MkGl 6.34

ongan MkGl 8.25

ongan MkGl 8.31

ongan MkGl 8.32

ongan MkGl 10.28

ongan MkGl 10.32

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ongan MkGl 10.47

ongan MkGl 11.15

ongan MkGl 12.1

ongan MkGl 13.5

ongan MkGl 14.33

ongan MkGl 14.69

ongan MkGl 14.71

ongan MkGl 14.72

ongan MkGl 15.8

ongan LkGl 4.21

ongan LkGl 9.11

ongan LkGl 9.12

ongan LkGl 11.29

ongan LkGl 11.38

ongan LkGl 14.30

ongan LkGl 19.45

ongan LkGl 20.9

ongan JnGl 13.5

ongann LkGl 23.5

ongann JnGl 1.23

ongunnun MkGl 2.23

ongunnun MkGl 6.55

ongunnun MkGl 8.11

ongunnun MkGl 10.41

ongunnun MkGl 14.19

ongunnun MkGl 14.65

ongunnun MkGl 15.18

ongunnun LkGl 11.53

ongunnun LkGl 12.1

ongunnun LkGl 14.18

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ongunnun LkGl 19.37

ongunnun LkGl 22.23

ongunnun LkGl 23.2

ongunnun JnGl 4.47

ongunnun JnGl 8.9

ongunnon MtGl 12.1

swingan

geswang MtGl 12.1

gebindan

giband MkGl 6.17

giband LkGl 13.16

gibundun JnGl 18.12

gefregnan

gifrægn MkGl 5.9

gifrægn MkGl 7.5

gifrægn MkGl 8.5

gifrægn MkGl 8.23

gifrægn MkGl 8.27

gifrægn MkGl 9.16

gifrægn MkGl 9.21

gifrægn MkGl 9.28

gifrægn MkGl 9.33

gifrægn MkGl 12.28

gifrægn MkGl 14.61

gifrægn MkGl 15.4

gifrægn MkGl 15.44

gifrægn LkGl 9.18

gifrægn LkGl 18.18

gifrægn LkGl 23.3

gifrægn JnGl 4.52

237

gifrægn JnGl 9.2

gifrægn JnGl 18.7

gifrægn JnGl 18.9

gifrægn JnGl 18.21

gefrægn MtGl 22.41

gefrægn LkGl 18.40

gifrugnun MkGl 7.17

gifrugnun MkGl 9.11

gifrugnun MkGl 9.14

gifrugnun MkGl 9.32

gifrugnun MkGl 10.2

gifrugnun MkGl 10.10

gifrugnun MkGl 12.28

gifrugnun MkGl 13.3

gifrugnun LkGl 3.10

gifrugnun LkGl 21.7

gifrugnun LkGl 22.66

gifrugnun JnGl 1.25

gifrugnun JnGl 5.12

gifrugnun JnGl 9.19

Class VI

standan

stod MtGl 13.2

stod MtGl 27.11

stod MkGl 5.30

stod LkGl 2.9

stod LkGl 10.40

stod LkGl 18.11

stod LkGl 18.13

stod LkGl 18.40

238

stod LkGl 23.35

stod LkGl 24.36

stod JnGl 7.37

stod JnGl 8.9

stod JnGl 8.44

stod JnGl 12.29

stod JnGl 18.16

stod JnGl 18.25

stod JnGl 20.11

stod JnGl 21.4

gistod MkGl 10.49

gistod JnGl 1.26

gistod JnGl 6.22

gistod JnGl 18.5

gistod JnGl 20.19

gistod JnGl 20.26

stodun MtGl 26.73

stodun MkGl 14.70

stodun MkGl 15.39

stodun LkGl 9.32

stodun LkGl 17.12

stodon LkGl 23.10

stodon JnGl 18.18

Class VII

gehātan

heht MtGl 8.18

heht MtGl 14.2

heht MtGl 14.9

heht MtGl 14.19

heht MtGl 14.22

239

heht MtGl 18.25

heht MtGl 27.58

heht MkGl 1.44

heht MkGl 6.27

heht LkGl 8.55

heht LkGl 18.40

heht LkGl 19.15

geheht MtGl 14.7

giheht MkGl 8.7

giheht MkGl 10.49

giheht LkGl 22.6

gihehtun MkGl 14.11

gewæxan

giwox LkGl 1.80

giwox LkGl 2.52

ondrædan

ondreord MtGl 14.5

ondreord MkGl 5.33

ondreord MkGl 6.20

ondreord LkGl 19.21

ondreord JnGl 19.8

ondreordun MtGl 17.6

ondreordun MtGl 19.25

ondreordun MtGl 21.46

ondreordun MkGl 4.41

ondreordun MkGl 5.15

ondreordun MkGl 9.15

ondreordun MkGl 10.32

ondreordun MkGl 11.18

ondreordun MkGl 11.32

240

ondreordun MkGl 12.12

ondreordun MkGl 16.8

ondreordun LkGl 1.50

ondreordun LkGl 2.9

ondreordun LkGl 9.34

ondreordun LkGl 20.19

ondreordun LkGl 22.2

ondreordun LkGl 24.5

ondreordun JnGl 6.19

ondreordun JnGl 9.22

wēpan

weop MtGl 26.75

weop LkGl 22.62

weop JnGl 20.11 (x2)

giweop LkGl 19.41

weopun MtGl 11.17

giweopun LkGl 8.52

bisweopun JnGl 19.40

In the *West Saxon Gospels*

Class I

hrīnan

æthrān Mt 8.15

æthrān Mt 9.20

æthrān Mt 9.29

æthrān Mt 17.7

æthrān Mt 20.34

æthrān Mk 5.27

æthrān Mk 5.30

æthrān Mk 5.31

æthrān Mk 8.23

241

æthrān Lk 5.13

æthrān Lk 7.14

æthrān Lk 8.44

æthrān Lk 8.45 (x2)

æthrān Lk 8.46

æthrān Lk 8.47

æthrān Lk 22.51

æthrān Jn 7.30

æthrān Jn 7.44

on-hrān Mk 7.33

stīgan

astah Mt 5.1

astah Mt 9.1

astah Mk 8.13

astah Jn 6.3

stigen Mk 4.7

Class II

bebeōdan

bebead Mt 8.4

bebead Mt 8.26

bebead Mt 12.16

bebead Mt 15.35

bebead Mt 16.20

bebead Mt 17.9

Class III

onginnan

ongan Mt 26.37

ongan Mk 6.2

ongan Lk 19.45

on-gan Mk 1.45

242

on-gan Mk 4.1

on-gan Mk 5.18

on-gan Mk 5.20

on-gan Mk 10.32

on-gan Mk 10.47

on-gan Mk 14.33

on-gan Mk 14.69

on-gan Mk 14.72

on-gan Mk 15.8

on-gan Lk 20.9

angan Mk 6.7

æt-gan Mk 14.71

on-gunnen Mk 2.23

on-gunnen Mk 8.11

ongunnen Mk 14.19

ongunnen Mk 15.18

gebindan

geband Mt 14.3

gebundon Mt 16.19

Class VI

standan

stod Jn 8.9

stod Jn 12.29

stoden Lk 17.12

stoden Lk 23.10

Class VII

sāwan

seow Mt 13.4

seow Mt 13.37

seowe Mt 13.27

243

Appendix IV: Forms not affected by vowel transference in all texts

<u>**In Lindisfarne**</u>

arīsan

    arās MtGl 1.24

    arās MtGl 2.14

    arās MtGl 3.16

    arās MtGl 8.26

    arās MtGl 9.7

    arās MtGl 9.9

    arās MtGl 9.19

    arās MtGl 12.42

    arās MtGl 26.62

    arās MtGl 28.6

    arās MtGl 28.7

    arās MkGl 1.35

    arās MkGl 2.12

    arās MkGl 2.14

    arās MkGl 4.17

    arās MkGl 4.39

    arās MkGl 5.42

    arās MkGl 6.14

    arās MkGl 6.16

    arās MkGl 7.24

    arās MkGl 9.27

    arās MkGl 10.1

    arās MkGl 14.57

    arās MkGl 14.60

    arās MkGl 16.6

    arās MkGl 16.9

    arās MkGl 16.14

arās LkGl 1.39

arās LkGl 4.16

arās LkGl 4.38

arās LkGl 4.39

arās LkGl 5.25

arās LkGl 5.28

arās LkGl 6.8

arās LkGl 7.15

arās LkGl 7.16

arās LkGl 8.24

arās LkGl 8.55

arās LkGl 9.7

arās LkGl 9.8

arās LkGl 9.19

arās LkGl 10.25

arās LkGl 15.20

arās LkGl 22.45

arās LkGl 23.1

arās LkGl 24.12

arās LkGl 24.34

arās JnGl 2.22

arās JnGl 6.18

arās JnGl 11.29

arās JnGl 11.31

arās JnGl 13.4

arās JnGl 21.14

arras MtGl 2.21

arras MtGl 8.15

arras MtGl 9.25

arras MtGl 11.11

arison MtGl 27.52

arison LkGl 4.29

arison LkGl 8.7

arisen MtGl 13.5

arisen MkGl 4.6

arisen MkGl 14.28

arisen MkGl 16.2

arisen LkGl 22.45

onginnan

ongann MtGl 4.17

ongann MtGl 11.7

ongann MtGl 11.20

ongann MtGl 14.30

ongann MtGl 16.21

ongann MtGl 16.22

ongann MtGl 18.24

ongann MtGl 20.8

ongann MtGl 24.49

ongann MtGl 26.37

ongann MtGl 26.74

ongann MkPrlg

ongann MkGl 1.45

ongann MkGl 4.1

ongann MkGl 5.18

ongann MkGl 5.20

ongann MkGl 6.2

ongann MkGl 6.7

ongann MkGl 6.34

ongann MkGl 8.25

ongann MkGl 8.31

246

ongann MkGl 8.32

ongann MkGl 10.28

ongann MkGl 10.32

ongann MkGl 10.47

ongann MkGl 11.15

ongann MkGl 12.1

ongann MkGl 13.5

ongann MkGl 14.33

ongann MkGl 14.69

ongann MkGl 14.71

ongann MkGl 14.72

ongann MkGl 15.8

ongann LkGl 4.21

ongann LkGl 7.15

ongann LkGl 7.24

ongann LkGl 7.38

ongann LkGl 9.12

ongann LkGl 11.29

ongann LkGl 12.1

ongann LkGl 14.30

ongann LkGl 15.14

ongann LkGl 15.28

ongann LkGl 19.45

ongann LkGl 20.9

ongann JnPrlg

ongann JnGl 4.47

ongann JnGl 8.9

ongann JnGl 13.5

ongunne MtGl 14.30

ongunnon MkGl 14.19

ongunnon MkGl 15.18

ongunnon LkGl 7.49

ongunnon LkGl 14.18

ongunnon LkGl 22.23

ongunnon LkGl 23.2

ongunnun MtGl 12.1

ongunnun MtGl 26.22

ongunnun MkGl 2.23

ongunnun MkGl 5.17

ongunnun MkGl 6.55

ongunnun MkGl 8.11

ongunnun MkGl 10.41

ongunnun MkGl 14.65

ongunnun LkGl 5.21

ongunnun LkGl 11.53

ongunnun LkGl 19.37

ongindo LkPrlg

geceōsan

geceās MtGl 12.18

geceās MkGl 13.20

geceās LkGl 6.13

geceās LkGl 10.42

geceās JnGl 6.70

geceās JnGl 13.18

geceās JnGl 15.16

geceās JnGl 15.19

geceāson LkGl 14.7

gecuron MtGl 13.48

gecoren MtGl 20.16

gecoren LkGl 8.15

gecoren LkGl 9.20

gecoren LkGl 9.62

gecoren LkGl 10.42

gecoren LkGl 23.35

gecoren JnPrlg

In Rushworth

arīsan

arās MtGl 8.15

arās MtGl 9.7

arās MtGl 9.9

arās MtGl 9.19

arās MtGl 9.25

arās MtGl 11.11

arās MtGl 14.2

arās MtGl 28.6

arās MtGl 28.7

arās MkGl 1.35

arās MkGl 2.12

arās MkGl 2.14

arās MkGl 4.6

arās MkGl 4.17

arās MkGl 5.42

arās MkGl 6.14

arās MkGl 6.16

arās MkGl 7.24

arās MkGl 9.10

arās MkGl 9.27

arās MkGl 10.1

arās MkGl 14.60

arās MkGl 16.6

arās MkGl 16.9

arās MkGl 16.14

arās LkGl 1.39

arās LkGl 4.16

arās LkGl 8.55

arās LkGl 9.8

arās LkGl 9.19

arās LkGl 23.1

arās LkGl 24.6

arās LkGl 24.12

arās LkGl 24.34

arās JnGl 2.22

arās JnGl 6.18

arās JnGl 11.29

arās JnGl 11.31

arās JnGl 13.4

onginnan

ongan MtGl 16.22

ongan MtGl 26.37

ongan MkGl 1.45

ongan MkGl 4.1

ongan MkGl 5.18

ongan MkGl 5.20

ongan MkGl 6.2

ongan MkGl 6.7

ongan MkGl 6.34

ongan MkGl 8.25

ongan MkGl 8.31

ongan MkGl 8.32

ongan MkGl 10.28

250

ongan MkGl 10.32

ongan MkGl 10.47

ongan MkGl 11.15

ongan MkGl 12.1

ongan MkGl 13.5

ongan MkGl 14.33

ongan MkGl 14.69

ongan MkGl 14.71

ongan MkGl 14.72

ongan MkGl 15.8

ongan LkGl 4.21

ongan LkGl 9.11

ongan LkGl 9.12

ongan LkGl 11.29

ongan LkGl 11.38

ongan LkGl 14.30

ongan LkGl 19.45

ongan LkGl 20.9

ongan JnGl 13.5

ongann LkGl 23.5

ongann JnGl 1.23

ongunnon MkGl 14.19

ongunnon MkGl 15.18

ongunnon LkGl 7.49

ongunnon LkGl 14.18

ongunnon LkGl 22.23

ongunnon LkGl 23.2

ongunnun MkGl 2.23

ongunnun MkGl 6.55

ongunnun MkGl 8.11

251

ongunnun MkGl 10.41

ongunnun MkGl 14.19

ongunnun MkGl 14.65

ongunnun MkGl 15.18

ongunnun LkGl 11.53

ongunnun LkGl 12.1

ongunnun LkGl 14.18

ongunnun LkGl 19.37

ongunnun LkGl 22.23

ongunnun LkGl 23.2

ongunnun JnGl 4.47

ongunnun JnGl 8.9

geceāsan

geceās MtGl 12.18

geceās JnGl 15.16

gecuron MtGl 13.48

In the *West Saxon Gospels*

arīsan

arās Mt 1.24

arās Mt 2.14

arās Mt 2.21

arās Mt 8.15

arās Mt 8.26

arās Mt 9.7

arās Mt 9.9

arās Mt 9.19

arās Mt 9.25

arās Mt 11.11

arās Mt 14.2

arās Mt 26.62

252

arās Mt 28.6

arās Mt 28.7

arās Mk 2.12

arās Mk 2.14

arās Mk 4.39

arās Mk 5.42

arās Mk 6.14

arās Mk 6.16

arās Mk 9.27

arās Mk 14.60

arās Mk 16.7

arās Mk 16.9

arās Lk 1.39

arās Lk 4.16

arās Lk 4.38

arās Lk 4.39

arās Lk 5.25

arās Lk 6.8

arās Lk 7.15

arās Lk 7.16

arās Lk 8.24

arās Lk 8.55

arās Lk 9.7

arās Lk 9.19

arās Lk 10.25

arās Lk 15.20

arās Lk 22.45

arās Lk 23.1

arās Lk 24.6

arās Lk 24.12

arison Mk 12.26

arison Mk 14.57

arison Lk 4.29

arison Lk 24.33

onginnan

ongan Mt 4.2

ongan Mt 4.17

ongan Mt 11.7

ongan Mt 11.20

ongan Mt 16.21

ongan Mk 1.45

ongan Mk 4.1

ongan Mk 5.18

ongan Mk 5.20

ongan Mk 6.34

ongan Mk 8.31

ongan Mk 8.32

ongan Mk 10.28

ongan Mk 10.32

ongan Mk 10.47

ongan Mk 12.1

ongan Mk 13.5

ongan Mk 14.33

ongan Mk 14.69

ongan Mk 14.71

ongan Mk 14.72

ongan Mk 15.8

ongan Lk 4.21

ongan Lk 7.15

ongan Lk 7.37

254

ongan Lk 11.38

ongan Lk 15.28

ongan Lk 19.45

ongan Lk 20.9

ongann Mt 26.22

ongann Mt 26.37

ongann Mt 27.3

ongann Mk 6.2

ongann Mk 11.15

geceōsan

geceās Mt 12.18

geceās Mt 24.22

geceās Mk 13.20

geceās Lk 6.13

geceās Jn 6.70

geceās Jn 13.18

geceās Jn 15.16

geceās Jn 15.19

gecuron Mt 13.48

gecuron Lk 14.7

255

Appendix V: Anomalous forms in Lindisfarne and corresponding forms in the other texts

In Lindisfarne

gecuman

cuom MtGl 1.20

cuom MtGl 2.9

cuom MtGl 2.21

cuom MtGl 2.23

cuom MtGl 3.1

cuom MtGl 3.13

cuom MtGl 3.14

cuom MtGl 4.4

cuom MtGl 4.13

cuom MtGl 5.17

cuom MtGl 8.2

cuom MtGl 8.19

cuom MtGl 9.1

cuom MtGl 9.13

cuom MtGl 10.34

cuom MtGl 10.35

cuom MtGl 11.18

cuom MtGl 11.19

cuom MtGl 12.9

cuom MtGl 12.42

cuom MtGl 12.44

cuom MtGl 13.19

cuom MtGl 13.25

cuom MtGl 13.36

cuom MtGl 13.54

cuom MtGl 14.25

cuom MtGl 15.25

256

cuom MtGl 15.29

cuom MtGl 16.13

cuom MtGl 17.12

cuom MtGl 18.11

cuom MtGl 19.1

cuom MtGl 20.20

cuom MtGl 20.28

cuom MtGl 21.5

cuom MtGl 21.19

cuom MtGl 21.32

cuom MtGl 24.39

cuom MtGl 24.48

cuom MtGl 25.10

cuom MtGl 25.19

cuom MtGl 25.27

cuom MtGl 26.7

cuom MtGl 26.43

cuom MtGl 26.45

cuom MtGl 26.47

cuom MtGl 27.57

cuom MtGl 28.1

cuom MkGl 1.9

cuom MkGl 1.14

cuom MkGl 4.15

cuom MkGl 4.21

cuom MkGl 5.22

cuom MkGl 5.33

cuom MkGl 6.48

cuom MkGl 7.31

cuom MkGl 8.10

257

cuom MkGl 9.7

cuom MkGl 9.14

cuom MkGl 10.1

cuom MkGl 10.45

cuom MkGl 10.50

cuom MkGl 11.9

cuom MkGl 11.10

cuom MkGl 11.13

cuom MkGl 14.3

cuom MkGl 14.17

cuom MkGl 14.37

cuom MkGl 14.41

cuom MkGl 14.43

cuom MkGl 14.66

cuom MkGl 15.43

cuom LkGl 2.27

cuom LkGl 2.51

cuom LkGl 3.3

cuom LkGl 4.16

cuom LkGl 5.32

cuom LkGl 7.33

cuom LkGl 7.34

cuom LkGl 8.12

cuom LkGl 8.41

cuom LkGl 8.47

cuom LkGl 10.30

cuom LkGl 10.33

cuom LkGl 11.6

cuom LkGl 11.31

cuom LkGl 12.51

258

cuom LkGl 13.6

cuom LkGl 13.7

cuom LkGl 13.35

cuom LkGl 15.6

cuom LkGl 15.20

cuom LkGl 15.27

cuom LkGl 15.30

cuom LkGl 17.27

cuom LkGl 19.15

cuom LkGl 19.16

cuom LkGl 19.18

cuom LkGl 19.20

cuom LkGl 19.38

cuom LkGl 22.7

cuom JnGl 1.7

cuom JnGl 1.11

cuom JnGl 1.30

cuom JnGl 1.31

cuom JnGl 2.4

cuom JnGl 3.2

cuom JnGl 3.19

cuom JnGl 3.20

cuom JnGl 3.22

cuom JnGl 3.31 (x2)

cuom JnGl 4.5

cuom JnGl 4.7

cuom JnGl 4.21

cuom JnGl 4.23

cuom JnGl 4.25

cuom JnGl 4.35

259

cuom JnGl 4.46

cuom JnGl 5.28

cuom JnGl 5.43

cuom JnGl 6.5

cuom JnGl 6.37

cuom JnGl 7.6

cuom JnGl 7.28

cuom JnGl 7.30

cuom JnGl 7.41

cuom JnGl 7.42

cuom JnGl 8.2 (x2)

cuom JnGl 8.14

cuom JnGl 8.42

cuom JnGl 9.7

cuom JnGl 9.39

cuom JnGl 10.10

cuom JnGl 11.17

cuom JnGl 11.20

cuom JnGl 11.28

cuom JnGl 11.29

cuom JnGl 11.38

cuom JnGl 11.44

cuom JnGl 12.1

cuom JnGl 12.12

cuom JnGl 12.13

cuom JnGl 12.18

cuom JnGl 12.22

cuom JnGl 12.23

cuom JnGl 12.28

cuom JnGl 12.30

cuom JnGl 12.46

cuom JnGl 12.47

cuom JnGl 13.1

cuom JnGl 13.6

cuom JnGl 14.6

cuom JnGl 14.30

cuom JnGl 16.21

cuom JnGl 16.25

cuom JnGl 16.28

cuom JnGl 16.32 (x2)

cuom JnGl 17.1

cuom JnGl 18.3

cuom JnGl 18.4

cuom JnGl 18.37 (x2)

cuom JnGl 19.38

cuom JnGl 19.39

cuom JnGl 20.1

cuom JnGl 20.2

cuom JnGl 20.4

cuom JnGl 20.18

cuom JnGl 20.19

cuom JnGl 20.24

cuom JnGl 20.26

cuom JnGl 21.13

cwom MtGl 15.39

cwom MtGl 23.39

cwom MtGl 25.6

cwom MtGl 26.40

cwom MtGl 26.49

cwom MtGl 27.58

261

cwom MkGl 1.7

cwom MkGl 1.31

cwom MkGl 1.38

cwom MkGl 1.40

cwom MkGl 2.17

cwom MkGl 3.20

cwom MkGl 4.29

cwom MkGl 5.27

cwom JnGl 12.49

cwom JnGl 19.10

cuome MtGl 20.13

cuome LkGl 4.34

cuome JnGl 6.25

cwome MtGl 26.50

cwome MkGl 1.24

cuomon MtGl 2.2

cuomon MtGl 7.25

cuomon MtGl 7.27

cuomon MtGl 8.33

cuomon MtGl 9.14

cuomon MtGl 14.12

cuomon MtGl 22.34

cuomon MtGl 26.36

cuomon MtGl 26.60

cuomon MtGl 27.33

cuomon MtGl 27.53

cuomon MkGl 1.29

cuomon MkGl 2.2

cuomon MkGl 2.3

cuomon MkGl 3.22

cuomon MkGl 3.31

cuomon MkGl 5.1

cuomon MkGl 5.35

cuomon MkGl 5.38

cuomon MkGl 6.29

cuomon MkGl 6.53

cuomon MkGl 8.3

cuomon MkGl 8.22

cuomon MkGl 9.33

cuomon MkGl 10.46

cuomon MkGl 11.15

cuomon MkGl 11.27

cuomon MkGl 12.14

cuomon MkGl 12.18

cuomon MkGl 14.16

cuomon MkGl 14.32

cuomon MkGl 16.2

cuomon LkGl 1.59

cuomon LkGl 2.16

cuomon LkGl 2.44

cuomon LkGl 3.12

cuomon LkGl 4.42

cuomon LkGl 5.7

cuomon LkGl 5.17

cuomon LkGl 6.17

cuomon LkGl 8.9

cuomon LkGl 8.35

cuomon LkGl 22.52

cuomon LkGl 23.33

cuomon LkGl 23.55

263

cuomon LkGl 24.1

cuomon LkGl 24.23

cuomon JnGl 4.27

cuomon JnGl 4.40

cuomon JnGl 6.24

cuomon JnGl 10.8

cuomon JnGl 10.41

cuomon JnGl 11.19

cuomon JnGl 11.45

cuomon JnGl 12.9

cuomon JnGl 12.13

cuomon JnGl 19.3

cuomon JnGl 19.33

cuomon JnGl 20.3

cuomon JnGl 21.8

cuomun MtGl 3.7

cuomun MtGl 9.10

cuomun MtGl 13.4

cuomun MtGl 21.1

cuomun MtGl 25.36

cuomun MtGl 25.39

cuomun MtGl 28.13

cuomun MkGl 6.31

cuomun JnGl 6.17

cuomun JnGl 7.45

cuomun JnGl 11.33

cwomun MtGl 2.1

cwomun MtGl 26.55

cwomun MtGl 28.11

cwomun MkGl 3.13

264

cwomon MtGl 14.34

cwomon MtGl 25.11

cwomon MtGl 26.60

cwomon MkGl 2.18

cwomon MkGl 3.8

cwomon MkGl 3.19

cwomon MkGl 4.4

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gecuomon MtGl 14.33

gecuomon MtGl 20.9

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gecuomon LkGl 7.20

gecuomon LkGl 16.21

gecuomon JnGl 1.39

gecuomon JnGl 3.26

gecuomon JnGl 4.30

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gecuomon JnGl 4.45

gecuomun MtGl 1.18

gecuomun MtGl 18.31

gecuomun MtGl 20.9

gecwomun MtGl 16.5

gehaldan

geheald MtGl 9.25

geheald MtGl 14.3

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geheald MkGl 5.41

geheald MkGl 6.17

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geheald LkGl 18.21

geheald JnGl 15.10

geheald JnGl 17.12 (x2)

gehalde JnGl 2.10

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gehealdon MtGl 26.4

gehealdon MtGl 26.50

gehealdon MtGl 28.9

gehealdon MkGl 7.3

gehealdon MkGl 9.10

gehealdon MkGl 14.1

gehealdon MkGl 14.46

gehealdon MkGl 14.49

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gehealdon MkGl 14.51

gehealdon LkGl 4.42

gehealdon LkGl 22.63

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gefeollon MtGl 15.30

gefeollon MkGl 3.11

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spræc JnGl 15.11

spræc JnGl 16.1

spræc JnGl 16.6

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comun Mt 9.10

comun Mt 13.4

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comun Mt 24.3

comun Mt 27.53

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comun Lk 5.15

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comun Lk 7.20

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comun Lk 22.66

comun Lk 24.1

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comun Jn 4.45

comun Jn 6.23

comun Jn 10.8

comun Jn 20.3

gehaldan

geheold Mt 19.20

geheold Mk 10.20

geheold Lk 2.19

geheold Lk 2.51

geheold Jn 15.10

heold Mk 6.20

heold Lk 18.21

heold Jn 17.12 (x2)

geheoldon Mk 9.10

geheoldon Jn 17.6

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heoldon Lk 22.36

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gefallan

  feoll Mt 7.25

  feoll Mt 7.27

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  feoll Mk 4.7

  feoll Mk 4.8

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  feoll Lk 8.5

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  feoll Lk 17.15

  feoll Jn 9.38

  feoll Jn 11.32

  feollon Mt 13.4

  feollon Mt 13.5

  feollon Mt 13.7

  feollon Mt 13.8

  feollon Mt 17.6

  feollon Jn 18.6

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