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Bakalářská práce

Markéta Malcová

Ztráta flexe v tzv. Updated Old English: jmenná fráze v textu *Nativitas Sanctae
Mariae*

Loss of Inflection in Updated Old English: the Noun Phrase in the Text of
Nativitas Sanctae Mariae

Poděkování

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Abstrakt

Tato práce se zabývá otázkou ztráty flexe ve jmenných frázích ælfricovské homile *De nativitate Sanctae Mariae* (*Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis; Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium*). Na základě kolace rukopisů MS Hatton 114 a Bodley 343 provádí kvalitativní a kvantitativní analýzu jmenné fráze. Cílem práce je popsat hlavní tendence fonetických a morfologických změn v textu. Hlavní tendence v morfologických změnách poukazují na to, pomocí jakých praktik se písař upraveného rukopisu Bodley 343 vyrovnává s oslabením pádového systému. Ukazuje se, že mezi tyto praktiky patří sjednocování kolísajících podstatných jmen do jediného skloňovacího paradigmatu anebo pozvolné zavádění nových koncovek, jejichž význam je úžeji definován než kdy dřív. Vypozorované změny jsou zasazeny do souvislosti vývoje od staré do střední angličtiny.

Abstract

This work is concerned with the question of loss of inflections in the noun phrases of the Ælfrician homily *De nativitate Sanctae Mariae* (*Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis; Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium*). On the basis of collation of the manuscripts MS Hatton 114 and Bodley 343 a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the noun phrase is performed. The analysis aims to describe the main tendencies in the phonetic and morphological changes found in the text. The main tendencies of the morphological changes point toward the approach chosen by the scribe of the Updated manuscript Bodley 343 in dealing with the weakening case system. This includes unifying nouns which vary in gender affiliation in a single paradigm or the gradual implementation of new word endings with more narrowly defined meanings. The observed changes are placed in the context of the development from Old to Middle English.

Klíčová slova

stará angličtina, střední angličtina, Updated Old English, historická lingvistika, jazyková typologie, ztráta flexe, jmenná fráze

Keywords

Old English, Middle English, Updated Old English, historical linguistics, language typology, loss of inflections, noun phrase

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List of abbreviations

B 343	Manuscript Bodley 343
H 144	Manuscript Hatton 114
MS	Manuscript
NP	Noun Phrase
N/A	Not Applicable

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1. Introduction

The aim of this work is to provide an analysis of the main tendencies of the morphological and the phonetic changes in the Updated Old English version of the text known as *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae*.

Nativitas Sanctae Mariae is one of several Old English texts which exist not only in Late Old English, but also in the corpus of texts written in the so called Updated Old English. This invites scholars to compare the two existing versions and make observations on the development of the language in this period, namely between the eleventh and twelfth century.

Detailed linguistic studies of this material have been scarce so far. This work is focused on a single text but strives to provide as detailed analysis of the morphological and phonetic changes contained therein as possible in order to help further our understanding of the development of English at the time of its most profound structural change in history. It takes into account not only the morphology and phonetics, but also briefly takes note of the lexicology and syntax and puts the observed development into the context of the changing linguistic type of English, from the inflectional to the isolating.

The first part (2.1) of this work introduces the two manuscripts which contain the studied text. It examines the contents of each, their authorship and origin and finally the occasion for which they were created and the circumstances of their creation.

The second part (2.2) is concerned with the language of the manuscripts. The first two chapters provide information about Old English and Updated Old English in general, with the first serving as a brief introduction to Old English grammar. The second focuses on the phonetic and morphological characteristics which define Updated Old English. The third chapter of this section examines briefly the lexical and syntactic changes in the Updated Old English version of the text in comparison with the Old English version. This examination uncovers some general tendencies of the text, such as a tendency for conservatism.

In the third part (3.) of this work the material itself – that is, the edition of the text which had been used for the analysis – is introduced and the method of work is briefly described. The text was transcribed, colour-coded and broken down into several tables to make its quantification easier. The results of this quantification are to be seen in the fourth, analytical part of this work. At the end of this section the research questions are formed.

The analytical part (4.) draws on the research questions and the data collected and quantified in the tables in the Appendix. The first half consists of a simple quantification – the data is put into tables according to factors such as the type of the noun phrase or the type of the change and its frequency is calculated. The changes are divided into phonetic and morphological. In the second half of this part, the morphological changes are given special attention and examined one by one in their specific context to determine precisely what the scribe had changed in them. The results are summarised in the discussion at the end.

The final part of this work is the conclusion (5.) which reiterates the results and their implications for further research.

2. Theoretical Background

Nativitas Sanctae Mariae is an early medieval homily concerning the life of Saint Mary, an apocryphal story, beginning with the meeting of her parents and ending with her immaculate conception. The text can be divided into three parts. It begins with a prologue which introduces the topic to the listeners, celebrates Mary and explains her numerous titles. The main body of the text concerns the story of Mary itself. The third part is an epilogue which restates Mary's importance and instructs the listeners to pray to her in times of need. This text has been preserved in two distinct manuscripts, Hatton 114 and Bodley 343, in the second one undergoing noticeable linguistic alternation.

2.1 History of the Manuscripts

2.1.1 Manuscript Hatton 114

This manuscript contains the older version of the text of *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae*. Bruno Assmann in *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* lists it as Bodleiana, Jun. 22, fol. 201-212.¹ However, this manuscript is actually evidenced in the Catalogue of Bodleian Libraries as Hatton 114.² It is called "St. Wulstan's Homiliary" and is divided into two parts (Hatton 113 and 114), with the Nativity in the second part.

2.1.1.1 The Properties of the Manuscript

There are fifty items in the Manuscript in total (if we count as individual "items" even glosses and notes by specific hands throughout the manuscript), with *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* listed as Item 42.³ Majority of the works in the manuscript are Ælfric's homilies from his First and Second Series along with a single homily by Wulfstan and a number of anonymous homilies of which the Nativity is one.

The manuscript has three main scribes who wrote various items in it, the first being the most active. The Nativity of Saint Mary was written by the second scribe. Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* do not

¹ Bruno Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien und Heiligenleben* (Kassel: Wigand, 1964), p. 259.

² "MSS. Hatton 113-14," *A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges*, Bodleian Digital Library Systems and Services, 4 August 2017
https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6027 14 June 2019

³ Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114," *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13
<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.114.htm> 14 June 2019

provide any details on this scribe's style and scripture, not even a characteristic to distinguish him from others. However we do know that he was the author of items 1, 42, 43, 44, 46 and of one Latin item in the first half of the manuscript, and that he wrote in the English Vernacular Minuscule just like the other two.

2.1.1.2 The Genesis of the Manuscript

The Manuscript is assumed to have been copied for and used by Wulfstan II, bishop of Worcester (1062–95). It includes Wulfstan's own texts as well as texts by abbot Ælfric of Eynsham, the most influential writer of that era. The manuscript being divided into two parts, the first part includes more of Wulfstan's texts, while the second more of Ælfric's, although they are both mixed to a certain degree. The manuscript was probably divided into two parts at the beginning of the thirteenth century. At around the same time, a table of contents was written in the margins.⁴

The manuscript originated in Worcester where it presumably remained for most of its existence – there is evidence of it being there from the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, the manuscript was in the ownership of Christopher, Lord Hatton. Its second part (Hatton 114) was gifted to the Bodleian Library from which it was borrowed by Dr Thomas Marshall. He eventually added it to the Junius collection which after his death in 1678 returned into the ownership of the Bodleian Library.⁵ This is why it was for a time known as Bodleiana, Junius 22, as mentioned above and listed in Bruno Assmann.

The authorship of the manuscript is uncertain, sources such as *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* list it as anonymous.⁶ There was some speculation that the text could have been written by Ælfric, however, Bruno Assmann argues against this hypothesis by pointing to the visible lack of his characteristic rhythmical prose style and to the fact that Ælfric had been quoted as specifically speaking out against apocryphal stories because they are not canonical.⁷

⁴ Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114," *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13

<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.114.htm> 14 June 2019

⁵ Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114," *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13

<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.114.htm> 14 June 2019

⁶ Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114," *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13

<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.114.htm> 14 June 2019

⁷ Assmann (1964), p. 260.

2.1.1.3 The Purpose of the Manuscript

Unlike the younger manuscript B 343 which was copied at a time when production of texts in English had become less common and must have seemed of doubtful utility, Hatton 144 was most likely, as mentioned above, copied during the life of Wulfstan II (1008–1095). The language of its time still more or less adhered to the Old English standard and although the new Norman rulers of England were establishing their power by recalling senior monks from their positions in the monasteries and replacing them with their own people who would use Norman French and Latin, writing in English at this period was still far from being a revolutionary act.

The purpose of the copy was therefore, as speculated on by Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*,⁸ simply to be read out by Wulfstan II to his audience during his preaching. It is also possible that it could serve as personal reading material for spiritual contemplation.

2.1.2 Manuscript Bodley 343

This manuscript contains the younger version of the text. Changes had been made to the text on all levels, from morphological and lexical to syntactic.

2.1.2.1 The Properties of the Manuscript

Manuscript Bodley 343 contains ninety-six items. These include three musical sheets, Ælfric's homilies from his First and Second Series, some of Ælfric's letters and tracts, homilies by anonymous authors, scholarly dialogues in Latin, and Wulfstan's homilies, including his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.⁹ Eighty-three out of the ninety-six items are in Old English, with eleven being in Latin and two containing only music sheets.

As Susan Irvine states in her General Introduction to *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, “the vocabulary and syntax were altered to conform to twelfth-century linguistic practice”.¹⁰ According to Bruno Assmann, the changes in vocabulary and syntax are “often

⁸ Mary Swan and Helen Foxhall Forbes, “Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114,” *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13

<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.114.htm> 14 June 2019

⁹ Aidan Conti and Orietta Da Rold, “Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343,” *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, University of Leicester, 2010-13

<https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Bodl.343.htm> 14 June 2019

¹⁰ Susan Irvine, *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. xvi

nonsensical”.¹¹ He mentions that while some misspellings have been corrected, there are many illogically formed words.

Susan Irvine identifies in the manuscripts hands of two different scribes: the second one is the author of the Nativity of Saint Mary. Susan Irvine characterises his hand as “neat and clear”¹² and lists several of his characteristics: his abbreviations are marked by “a superscribed bar, usually straight but occasionally hooked”¹³, the symbol 7 is used instead of ‘and’. His texts include decorative initials “usually in red, green or black”¹⁴ and titles “in red or black”¹⁵. And he uses both insular and Caroline forms, sometimes with distinctive function. The last fact links him with a small group of “scribes writing English in the first half of the twelfth century and later,” for whom “the distinction between insular and Caroline forms of letters for the vernacular and Latin respectively was no longer of very great importance”.¹⁶

The manuscript is not ordered chronologically or otherwise, although smaller groups of texts in various sections do tend to be ordered by the annual succession of their respective saint’s days. In section (d) specifically it is items 14–18, including Saint Mary on the eighth of September.¹⁷

2.1.2.2 The Genesis of the Manuscript

According to a Latin inscription quoted by Bruno Assmann,¹⁸ the manuscript comes from the time of Henry II., who ruled from 1154 to 1189. This corresponds with the opinion of Susan Irvine, who places it in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁹ It is undoubtedly a copy - all the texts contained within the manuscript were composed in the eleventh century – more specifically, in the pre-Conquest period.²⁰ This manuscript represents a second stage in a long line of development, during which various writers borrowed and copied parts of it, transforming the collection. There are at least 23 such stages (or possibly 36, if we also

¹¹ Assmann (1964), p. 260

¹² Irvine (1993), p. xix

¹³ Irvine (1993), p. xix

¹⁴ Irvine (1993), p. xix

¹⁵ Irvine (1993), p. xix

¹⁶ Elaine M. Treharne, “Production of manuscripts of religious texts“ in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 25

¹⁷ Irvine (1993), p. xxxv

¹⁸ Assmann (1964), p. 260

¹⁹ Irvine (1993), p. xviii

²⁰ Irvine (1993), p. xviii

include all the fragments)²¹ – the linking item being Ælfric’s homilies. The manuscript listed as the preceding stage to Manuscript Bodley 343 is BL MS Royal 7 C. xii.

Susane Irvine states that the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary is a post-Ælfrican text by an unknown author. It must have been provided by some collection of texts intended for saints’ feast days, of which numerous versions existed. These were not circulated by Ælfric himself. She suggests it could have been provided by BL MS Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, a manuscript which she lists as being preserved only as a fragment. She points out that it is strange that when composing section (d) the compiler did not opt out for an Ælfrician homily about Saint Mary, which he would have had available, seeing that the source containing it (CCCC MS 188) provided him with most of the remaining content of section (d). She hypothesises that, as opposed to the explanatory approach by Ælfric, the simpler narrative form was preferable.²² A noticeable amount of late twelfth century texts show this preference, indicating perhaps something about the character of their audience (this issue is discussed in more detail in 2.1.2.3 below).

Irvine hypothesises that the texts contained in the manuscripts were spread around in the form of booklets and the scribes would copy them as they became available, not according to choice.²³ She further suggests that some of the contents may have originally been written at Canterbury and Exeter, however the final conclusion is that the manuscript originates from the Worcester area. It was however not compiled at any significant monastic centres, because there the author would have larger and better-known collections available as sources and would not have to use obscure ones.²⁴

Based on detailed linguistic study of one of the manuscript’s texts, Peter Kitson argues that although many linguistic phenomena of the text suggest as its origin east Herefordshire or south-west Worcestershire more important are its connections to the AB language (described by J. R. R. Tolkien as a standard literary language in the West Midland area in the 13th century²⁵) and that the manuscript originated in Hereford.²⁶

2.1.2.3 The Purpose of the Manuscript

²¹ Irvine (1993), p. xii-xiii

²² Irvine (1993), p. xxxiv

²³ Irvine (1993), p. xxxviii

²⁴ Irvine (1993), p. li-lii

²⁵ J.R.R. Tolkien, “Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad“ in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. 14 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 104-126.

²⁶ Peter Kitson, “Old English Dialects and the Stages of the Transition to Middle English” in *Folia Linguistica Historica*, vol. 11, is. 1-2 (The Hague: Societas Linguistica Europaea, 1992), pp. 33-34

Elaine M. Treharne in her detailed study of five twelfth century manuscripts, *Production of manuscripts of religious texts* (2000), finds similarities between the spatially and temporarily distant compositions and therefore wonders whether there could not have been an organized effort to produce English texts in a uniform way. She speculates about co-operation between scriptoria by way of lending manuscripts and instructional materials. She observes that all the manuscripts she studies are small, portable, utilitarian and not overly decorated. She assumes therefore that they were created with a practical purpose in mind.²⁷ “Only a small number of scribes seem to have been given the responsibility of copying English texts, probably as a marginal activity, and possibly as a philanthropic initiative on the part of the scriptorium”,²⁸ but at the same time it is important to keep in mind that the texts were written by experienced scribes and were seen as worthwhile to the point of deserving overview and correction by a senior scribe.²⁹

Both Elaine M. Treharne and Susan Irvine agree that Bodley 343 was produced to satisfy a demand for religious reading in English, rather than as a supportive text for preaching or archiving purposes.³⁰ Irvine specifically disputes the idea of preaching by mentioning that since the manuscript includes a long narrative about the Holy Rood it would be unsuitable.³¹ However, she does not object to preaching having perhaps been a secondary aim, with perhaps only some texts actually used for it. However, the core function remains “instruction”, that is, religious reading. The intended reader remains completely unknown.³²

An alternative way of looking at the text is presented by Elaine Treharne in her essay *Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century* (2006). She suggests that the act of writing in English at the time of Norman rule over England represented a self-aware “literary resistance”.³³ According to her, the English monks were rejecting the newly established order which made French the language of the educated and insisted on expressing themselves in their own language. She specifically mentions Worcester among the cities which formed part of the “network” of those who “refused to collaborate

²⁷ Treharne (2000), p. 39

²⁸ Treharne (2000), p. 39.

²⁹ Treharne (2000), p. 39

³⁰ Irvine (1993), p. liii

³¹ Susan Irvine, “Compilation and use of Old English manuscripts” in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 59.

³² Treharne (2000), p. 39

³³ Elaine Treharne, “Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century” in *New Medieval Literatures*, vol. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), p. 260.

with the colonizers”.³⁴ While such vocabulary might be just a little bit too strong, the distaste of the English for the new aristocracy can be supported with evidence from contemporary chronicles.

2.2 Language of the Manuscripts

If we choose to speak about the manuscripts in a generalized, ideal form, we might recognize that each of them is written in a “different language”. While the older script is in standard Old English and adheres to its grammar (as described in 2.2.1 below), the younger text appears to be applying some rules of its own. We choose to term this “new language” Updated Old English (as described in 2.2.2 below).

2.2.1 Old English

The language used in Manuscript Hatton 114 (MS H 114) is Late West Saxon, the Standard Old English. It uses cases to express relationships between the inflected word classes, maintains grammatical concord within noun phrases and between the subject and the verb. Its standard word order is SVO, but SOV and A_{dv}VSO are also possible, with SOV being preferred if the object is expressed by a pronoun.³⁵ Negative, interrogative and imperative clauses use VSO, preceded by a negative pronoun or an interrogative pronoun. Subordinate clauses put the verb at the very end of the structure. The subject of a clause can be left unexpressed.

Nouns express case (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and remains of the instrumental), number (singular, plural and remains of the dual) and gender (masculine, feminine and neuter). Based on their gender and, therefore, their declension, nouns can be divided into “stems”. A stem is a unit of the root of a word and a characteristic vowel or a consonant. There are four major and several minor declensions, the major are A-stem, O-stem, N-stem, and root-consonant.³⁶ Nouns which do not fit into any of these classes belong to the minor declensions.³⁷

Each of the cases usually has more than one function. Thus the nominative is the case of the subject, but also of direct address. The dative and the accusative express their respective

³⁴ Treharne (2006), p. 261.

³⁵ Laurel J. Brinton and Leslie K. Arnovick, *The English Language: A Linguistic History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). p. 230-231.

³⁶ Brinton and Arnovick (2011), pp. 200-202.

³⁷ Brinton and Arnovick (2011), pp. 202-203.

syntactic roles, indirect object and direct object, but both also have an adverbial (typically temporal) usage and are a requirement if the noun is governed by certain verbs or prepositions. The genitive can also be adverbial; it can express possession, partition, measure and is required by some verbs and prepositions. The instrumental used to express means or manner, accompaniment, comparison or cause.³⁸

Old English differentiates between weak and strong adjectives, with the former being used if the noun has any other modifiers besides the adjective, such as demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns or numerals. If the adjective is in the comparative or superlative degree, it will be weak. On the other hand, strong adjectives appear if the adjective is in the predicative position or the noun has no other modifiers.³⁹

Old English verb expresses person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural), tense (present, preterit), mood (indicative, subjunctive, and imperative). Verbs express future by using the present tense. There is no grammaticalized perfect or progressive form. The subjunctive mood distinguishes number and tense but is the same for all persons.⁴⁰ Verbs are negated by “*ne*” (which can stand on its own or merge with the verb as a prefix, in which case it is often reduced to “*n-*”) and nouns by “*nan*”.⁴¹ Negation can be expressed using one or more negations in a clause.

2.2.2 Updated Old English

Updated Old English by its name hints that it shares the majority of its grammatical categories with Old English but is characterised by certain notable changes. Richard Dance characterizes this “language” by the corpus which contains it: this corpus consists of 25 manuscripts of pre-Conquest writings, mostly homilies, which have been “variously copied, recopied, excerpted, recontextualised, rewritten”.⁴² Dance’s interest in the texts is primarily lexicological.

According to him, the texts have so far been given little attention by scholars because they are copies and therefore not authentic documents of the language of the period.⁴³

³⁸ Brinton and Arnovick (2011), p. 214

³⁹ Randolph Quirk, and C. L. Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*. (London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1960), p. 68

⁴⁰ Henry Sweet, *First Steps in Anglo-Saxon*. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1897), p. 25.

⁴¹ Sweet (1897), p. 19.

⁴² Richard Dance, “Getting a word in: Contact, etymology and English vocabulary in the twelfth century,” in: *Journal of the British Academy*, vol. 2 (London: The British Academy, 2014), p. 181.

⁴³ Dance (2014), p. 182.

Generally, based on our knowledge of Middle English, the changes which are more or less visible in the twelfth century are: merging together of unstressed vowels, especially in word-final positions, loss of “-n” in final positions where it previously replaced “-m” and the progressive disappearance of gender and with it of the declensional distinction.⁴⁴ The phonetic changes in word-final positions naturally lead to changes in morphology. Simplification of the declensional system is visible in the analogical spreading of simple word endings such as “-s” for plural.⁴⁵

The Old English written standard could hide phonetic changes that were in progress towards the end of the Old English period – these changes became evident only in Middle English, but in spoken language had already been taking place by the eleventh century at the latest. Roy Michael Liuzza in his *Scribal habit: evidence of Old English Gospels* comments that the phonetic changes in unstressed syllables which are visible in manuscripts are to be expected due to the unstressed vowels having merged into schwa.⁴⁶ He also wonders whether the scribe actually understood the inflectional system and suggests that noun word endings would be recreated more carefully than verb endings due to their unfamiliarity.⁴⁷

There is also the possibility which scholars are only recently beginning to address and explore, namely that the morphological system of Updated Old English could have had its own peculiar features. Raffaella Baechler in *Analogy, reanalysis and exaptation in Early Middle English: the emergence of a new inflectional system* suggests the model of an entirely new system which uses schwa as a marker of the feminine gender (as opposed to both the masculine and neutral gender) in word-final positions.⁴⁸ She also explains how word endings spread: in the genitive plurals, the weak suffix “-ena” became incorporated into the strong paradigm of all genders because it was more distinctive than its counterparts. Similarly, the masculine singular genitive “-s” had extended to masculine dative plurals and neutral nominative and accusative plurals. Feminine plurals came to be marked by “-n” which spread from weak gender-indistinctive “-an” to the strong feminine declension. Therefore this

⁴⁴ Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre and Ma Dolores Pérez-Raja, “Multilingualism, Social Network Theory, and Linguistic Change in the Transition from Old to Middle English” in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England c. 800-c. 1250*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011), pp. 239-240.

⁴⁵ Conde-Silvestre and Pérez-Raja, (2011), p. 240.

⁴⁶ Roy Michael Liuzza, “Scribal habit: evidence of Old English Gospels” in: *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 144.

⁴⁷ Liuzza (2000), p. 159-160.

⁴⁸ Raffaella Baechler, “Analogy, reanalysis and exaptation in Early Middle English: the emergence of a new inflectional system” in: *English Language and Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 24-25.

separation of plural markings (“-s” versus “-n”) clearly distinguishes the feminine and the masculine-neutral dichotomy. Our analysis below will attempt to identify any morphological developments similar to the one described by Raffaella Baechler.

2.2.3 Lexical and Syntactic Changes

Now let us consider the text of *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* itself. Mark Faulkner in his article *Archaism, Belatedness And Modernisation: ‘Old’ English in the Twelfth Century* investigates lexical changes in the twelfth century manuscripts and draws attention to their conservatism – he does so in contrast to scholars who had been speaking about “modernization” and (in an attempt to make the manuscripts more appealing) had insisted that the manuscripts were not “merely” preserving the past.⁴⁹

The lexical changes in the Updated Old English version of the Nativity are mostly such that the words can be considered absolute synonyms: such as making “*drihten*” (lord) into “*God*”, “*folc*” into “*men*”, “*gewat*” (went) into “*eode*” (gone), “*gecweden*” (said, proclaimed) to “*inemned*” (named, proclaimed).

The lexis remains Old English; it appears that both scribes prefer Germanic words to borrowed ones, with only a few rare exceptions. Faulkner notes the same occurrence in his manuscript and suggests it might have been caused by the anti-Norman sentiment of the scribes.⁵⁰

Sometimes the scribe of B 343 makes certain that the text will be more easily understood, like when he changes “*iunga*” to “*ængel*” in the sentence “*Ða [and]swarode him se iunga [and] cwæð*” (Then the youth answered him and said). He does not trust the context to communicate the identity of the youth clearly enough – although that might have originally been part of the intention, since the angel was at first simply called “*sum swyðe wlitig wer*” (a very handsome man) and his real identity is only revealed when he speaks. One more example of the way in which the scribe of B 343 makes certain the text is clear is when he refuses to shorten the negative: “*nystest*” thus becomes “*ne wistest*”.

There is a curious instance which hints at the semantic development of Old English words. We can observe that the scribe of B 343 seems to misread the text “*ða þeode, þe wið us*

⁴⁹ Mark Faulkner, “Archaism, Belatedness And Modernisation: ‘Old’ English In The Twelfth Century”. *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, vol. 63, is. 259 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) p. 202.

⁵⁰ Faulkner (2011), p. 195.

arisan” (the people who rise against us) and “corrects” it to “*þa ðeode, þe mid us arisæn*” (the people who rise with us). He loses the sentence’s original meaning, because it was indeed referring to Israel’s enemies, not allies, but he seems to do so because the expression “*wið*” has already shifted its meaning towards its current one.

The syntactic changes as a whole are bound to be more radical than the lexical ones: for example “*We habbað geræd on bocum*” (We have read in books) is replaced by “*We leorniað*” (We learned). These changes including those where the younger scribe skips over entire sentences or leaves out words appear to be mostly motivated by a desire for clearer syntax and brevity.

2.3 Language Typology

While we may be looking at the language with the advantage of the knowledge of its future development and can speak about its change from a synthetic language to an analytic one, for the English speakers of the twelfth century there was no such binary opposition: the language was an open field of possibilities.

In this work we shall rely on the language typology as developed by Vladimír Skalička and Petr Sgall of the Prague School. Based on a functional-structuralist understanding of linguistics, it divides languages into four primary types: 1. the agglutinating type (each morpheme has a single function; there is a strong differentiation between a morpheme and a word, between a word and a sentence; an exemplary language of this type is Turkish); 2. the isolating type (each morpheme has a single function; there is a weak differentiation between a morpheme and a word; an exemplary language of this type is Modern English), 3. the inflectional type (each morpheme has many functions; there is a strong differentiation between a morpheme and a word, between a word and a sentence; an exemplary language of this type is Czech or Classical Latin), and 4. the introflexional type (each morpheme has many functions; there is a weak differentiation between a morpheme and a word; an exemplary language of this type is Arabic).⁵¹

Old English was an inflectional language which communicated grammatical information using various affixes (word endings in nouns and prefixes in verbs) and the ablaut. It conjugated verbs and declined nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals. As opposed to

⁵¹ Vladimír Skalička and Petr Sgall, “Praguian Typology of Languages” in: *Prague School of Structural and Functional Linguistics*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994), pp. 335-336.

agglutinating languages, Old English expressed all relevant grammatical information like case, number and gender with a single morpheme. The suffixes allowed for a relatively free word order (as mentioned above in 2.2.1) because each word's syntactic role in a clause was communicated by its form.

As it began nearing the isolating type, English started restricting its word order, gradually introduced a new word category of articles to express a new grammatical category of definiteness, lost the distinction between weak and strong adjectives and began levelling down all irregularities to establish a new system of suffixation (such as creating plural and possessive case with “-s”). The fact that there is any suffixation being used at all means that some aspects of the flectional type survive. On the other hand, the ablaut, which English verbs use to communicate their grammatical information, is a distinctly inflexive trait.

The language *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* is written in is in both versions still distinctly inflectional (and inflexive) but it is the purpose of this work to observe the ways in which it appears to be progressing towards the isolating type.

2.4 Previous Works on the Topic

Current scholarship has followed two lines – first is manuscript studies, which investigates relationships between various manuscripts and their histories. The other has been literary-historical studies – it focuses on what can be considered “English literature” of this age and its relationship to literatures written in Latin and Norman French. These works usually only approach these manuscripts in a generalizing and a descriptive manner (such as Tyler's *Conceptualizing multilingualism in England, c. 800 – c. 1250* or *Rewriting Old English in the twelfth century*).

Linguistic studies of these manuscripts have been scarce. Most are philological and only describe the language of a specific relic or diachronically investigate relationship between Old English and Middle English (such as Peter Kitson). Special attention has been given to the lack of concord in certain twelfth century texts by Paul Hoffmann in *Das grammatische Genus im Lazamons Brut* and Charles Jones in *Grammatical gender in English: 950 to 1250*. Lack of concord is indeed occasionally also observable in our text.

Some interest in word endings in twelfth century manuscripts was shown by Richard Morris in his *Old English homilies and homiletic treatises of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (which is part of the same edition as Bruno Assman's *Angelsächsischen Homilien und*

Heiligenleben). His work was afterwards continued by Wilhelm Stadlmann in *Die Sprache der mittenglischen Predigtsammlung in der Handschrift Lambeth 487*. However, both simply described the observed changes – whereas Raffaella Baechler has suggested a way of interpreting the available data.

It can be said that Raffaella Baechler's *Analogy, reanalysis and exaptation in Early Middle English: the emergence of a new inflectional system* is one of the foundation stones of the present analysis. Her hypotheses are taken for our own in this work and we shall attempt to test them out on our material. Raffaella Baechler's study focuses on The Lambeth Homilies I–V and IX–XIII which were produced in north-western Worcestershire at some point toward the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth.⁵² She is interested in analogical changes in a paradigm: intra-paradigmatic and inter-paradigmatic. The first type occurs within a paradigm when a single form spreads to new positions. This does not necessarily mean that the grammatical information expressed by the form had been lost, but it had become obscure and the two distinct categories might be on the verge of collapsing into each other. Inter-paradigmatic analogy, on the other hand, operates between nouns from different inflection classes.⁵³ Most commonly, words with the least frequent inflection stems begin conforming to the usage of a more frequent inflection stem, such as the spreading of masculine “-s” which had been mentioned in 2.2.2 above.

However, Baechler observes not only grammatical analogy but also a linguistic change which is called “exaptation” (although there are still some disputes about the term). Exaptation is defined as the refunctionalisation of linguistic material (such as a suffix) which has been retained but which had lost its previous function. This new function must be “unexpected” – this means that it is unique to the language and does not follow common cognitive rules of association – as well as “new”, that is, the new function must be unrelated to the old function.⁵⁴

Baechler compares the typical Old English paradigm with the ones found in the Lambeth Homilies and observes analogies and exaptations. As already briefly described above in 2.2.2, she concludes that Updated Old English began using a binary system for the expression of difference between feminine on the one side and masculine and neutral nouns on the other. This means that feminine nouns are signalled by a schwa sound which has developed from

⁵² Baechler (2019), p. 6.

⁵³ Baechler (2019), pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴ Baechler (2019), p. 6.

vocalic case endings typical for the strong feminine paradigm. Any vocalic ending is a marker of the feminine gender. Whether this can be considered an exaptation is up for debate and she herself lists arguments for as well as against.⁵⁵ The “-n” word ending has to disappear from the singular feminine paradigm because it is reanalyzed as a marker of feminine plural. Masculine-neutral plurals become distinguished by “-s”. At the same time, the weak plural genitive suffix “-ena” wins over and replaces “-a” because it is more easily recognizable. The system is simplifying into a binary opposition in which possession is expressed by the presence of the ending and the lack of it by its absence. In the singular, the genitive “-s” has expanded onto all masculine and neutral forms as a mark of the genitive.

⁵⁵ Baechler (2019), pp. 23-24.

3. Material and Method

3.1 Material

This work uses the edition of *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* by Bruno Assmann in *Angelsächsischen Homilien und Heiligenleben*. The text remains unchanged from this edition, except for a single error - adding a space on page 2. Therefore all unusual word forms (such as *brohtn* on page 13 and *ant* on page 21) have been preserved, just like irregular usage of capital letters and Roman numerals. Assmann's editorial input which in his book was marked by italics has been put into square brackets. The superscribed bars, which the scribes use to indicate abbreviations, are signified using the Czech symbol for a vocalic length ´. Special symbols have been preserved with the exception of the 7 symbol in B 343 which has been replaced by *[and]*, and the special symbol for g, *yogh* “ʒ”, which has been simply turned into g as it did not serve any obvious distinguishing purpose.

Microform reproductions (microfiche) of the original manuscript B 343 were also studied. Minimal differences were observed, such as presence or lack of spaces in some compound words (*wif cynn* > *wifcynn*). Assmann's edition also makes direct speech more easily distinguishable by adding colons not present in the original. However, because the original text was not always clear due to the rather low quality of the reproductions, this work chooses to fully rely on Bruno Assmann's edition.

3.2 Method

The Nativity of Saint Mary was studied with a focus on the problem of loss of inflectional word endings in Updated Old English. In order to better observe what changes have occurred in the text it had to be collated. The two texts were printed next to each other for easier comparison already in Bruno Assmann's edition. This was reproduced in this work and a translation into current English was added.

The translation of the Old English text into Current English was mainly done with the use of the digital edition of the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* hosted by the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University in Prague. Secondarily Martin Lehnert's *Dictionary* which was printed as part of *Poetry and Prose of the Anglo-Saxons*, and the digital *Dictionary of Old English: A-H* hosted by the University of Toronto were consulted.

Although there exists an alternative translation, one done by Mary Clayton and available in her book *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, the translation used in this work is original. Mary Clayton's translation was not readily at hand and therefore was not used in the course of this work.

The collation of the two texts was done using a simple colour scheme: light blue indicated those letters or words which remained completely unchanged. Black indicated anything which changed in all positions except for the final one. This could mean phonetic change, lexical change or entire sentences which had been left out or added in. Most importantly, red signalled a change in the word ending – this could mean a phonetic or a morphological one.

The data from the text was afterwards organized into two tables which are to be found in the Appendix of this work: first is the Table of Changes. This table lists all word phrases with red-marked endings, without concern for whether they happen to be verb or noun phrases. The second, which is the Table of Noun Phrases, shows all noun phrases in the text. Items in both tables follow the order in which they appear in the text.

The tables in the Appendix allowed the data to be calculated and organized into tables in the practical section of this work. The first table in the practical section provides general information about the frequency of the changes in each noun phrase and the two successive tables show the frequency of specific changes. The data has been divided between these two tables due to frequency: there is a large number of changes which occur only once or twice in the text. Those changes which are deemed to be of morphological character are afterwards examined in detail and from their features are drawn the conclusions of this work.

3.3 Hypotheses

First and foremost when approaching the text, applying the colour scheme described above (3.2) and afterwards marking down all relevant data in a table, the research questions we were attempting to answer were:

1. What changes in word endings do we observe in the text?
2. How many are there?

In answer to these questions were created the tables in the section 4.1 below. They provide information about the quality and the quantity of observed changes in word endings.

However, since we are foremost interested in those changes in word endings which are relevant for the loss of inflection expected in this period, we have to divide the changes into those which bear no influence on the grammatical information expressed (the word loses its inflectional ending but is still understood as expressing the same grammatical information), i.e. the phonetic, and those which have actively changed their morphological character (the word ending has been specifically chosen by the scribe with a certain intention), i.e. the morphological. The research questions are therefore:

3. How many of the changes are phonetic and how many are morphological?
4. Can all changes be said to be purely phonetic or purely morphological?
5. If not, why are some phonetic and some morphological, more specifically what characteristic features can we observe in one group and in the other?
6. Do the morphological changes serve some newly defined purpose, possibly forming a system of their own?

4. Analysis

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Quantification

4.1.1.1 Table 1: Noun Phrases

Every noun phrase, no matter how many words it constitutes, is counted as a single unit. If a noun phrase includes changes in more word endings, all of them are still counted only as one change within one noun phrase in the first table which follows below. This table serves for broad orientation, it informs us how many noun phrases there are in total in the text and how common are the changes we are interested in.

	Subject	Prepositional	Object	Complement	Adverbial	All NPs
Total	405	282	250	50	22	1012
Changed	37	95	52	24	6	216
Percentage of change	9,14%	33.69%	20.8%	48,00%	27,27%	21.34%

There are 1,058 noun phrases in H 114. (However, included in that count are also 5 cases which cannot really be considered noun phrases because they stand outside of the syntactical structure, mostly because they are forms of address. These were counted in because some change occurred in their word endings.) The manuscript B 343 does not entirely correspond with H 114. In it, 45 noun phrases of the original have been left out but in different places 15 new ones have been added in. Therefore, in the Updated Old English text there are 1,028 noun phrases. Considering this irregularity, only those cases which are shared by both texts have been counted in. Therefore, the table above works only with 1,014 noun phrases in total.

Out of the 1014 noun phrases that are shared between the two texts, 218 undergo some kind of change in the word ending. Therefore only 21,50% of the noun phrases exhibit change.

There are 405 noun phrases in the role of the subject. Only 37 of them undergo some kind of change in the suffix.

There are 285 prepositional phrases – included in that number are 20 cases in which the preposition does not stand before the complement as is customary in today’s English but instead behind it, such as “*hire cwæð to*” or “*cwæð hyre to*” (which we both interpret as prepositional phrases ‘to her’). These are instances of the so called floating prepositions. Out

of the prepositional phrases, 98 undergo some kind of change in the suffix. In one case, the change occurs in one of the phrases with the floating preposition.

249 phrases stand in the role of an object (both direct and indirect). 14 of these are expressed by personal pronouns with a reflexive function. The suffixes in the objects are changed on 51 occasions, including three cases where the change occurs in one of the reflexive pronouns.

There are 50 subject or object complements. There are 24 cases of change in them.

There are 22 adverbials which are expressed by noun phrases. There are 6 cases of suffix change among them.

From the table it is clear that the changes are the most prominent in prepositional phrases and most limited in the subject phrases. One reason for this may be that the subject phrases are typically in the nominative, therefore they do not change, while the prepositional phrases are those which use cases most often. This may go as far as using several different cases in a single prepositional phrase. Most typical of these is the usage of the prepositional dative which is further determined by additional nouns in the genitive. An example of this is: “*on þam unstillu[m] yðum þære sæ þises middaneardes*”, which can be literally translated as “on the unstill waves of the sea of this world”, thus using a prepositional dative and two genitives.

Overall, the changes in endings are rather low in the text as whole. The general tendency of the text can be stated to be conservative, although the copy is far from perfectly identical: it is important to stress that we are not counting in lexical, phonetic or graphemic changes which occur in non-final syllables. Lexical changes have been discussed above (2.2.3), while the other two types of change have been generally disregarded in this work. By phonetic change we understand changes such as “*leahre*” to “*læhre*”. By graphemic change we understand those which do not actually alter their quality but are simply written differently due to different scribal customs. As an example we might consider the difference between “*þ*” as in “*muþe*” and “*ð*” as in “*muðe*” in our text.

4.1.1.2.1 Table 2: Common Word Endings

In the second table we focus our attention on those parts of the text which we marked as “changed” above. Here, the noun phrases are no longer treated as units, but divided into individual words which is why the number of total units increased from 218 to 298. The table informs us of the nature of the change, that is, specifically which endings change, how often

and how common that makes them. Zero suffix is expressed by “ \emptyset ”. N/A stands for Not Applicable.

One of the main criteria for the changes listed in the table below is frequency. The first table in this section focuses only on those changes which occur most commonly, while all changes which occur less than five times in the entire text are grouped together under the heading “Sporadic” (shortened to “Spor.” in the table below). These irregular, or less common changes, are written out in the third table below.

The changes in the table are ordered alphabetically.

As shall be addressed below in 4.1.2, the changes can be divided according to their quality into two major groups: the phonetic and the morphological. As the table demonstrates, most of the commonly occurring changes in the text are phonetic.

Change	Occurrence	Percentage	Type	Example
$a > \text{æ}$	57	19.20 %	Phonetic	“ <i>his worda</i> ” > “ <i>his wordæ</i> ”
$an > \text{æ}$	8	2.69 %	Phonetic	“ <i>mine heortan</i> ” > “ <i>mine heortæ</i> ”
$a > e$	39	13,14 %	Phonetic	“ <i>þæra manna</i> ” > “ <i>ðare monn</i> ”
$an > e$	26	8.75 %	Phonetic	“ <i>on godes lufan</i> ” > “ <i>on godes lufe</i> ”
$e > \text{æ}$	11	3.68 %	Phonetic	“ <i>þine gemænunga</i> ” > “ <i>þine gemungæ</i> ”
$e > \emptyset$	9	3.07 %	Phonetic	“ <i>sume dæge</i> ” > “ <i>súme dæg_</i> ”
$um > \text{æ}$	5	1.68 %	Phonetic	“ <i>on Israhelum</i> ” > “ <i>on israe læ</i> ”
$um > e$	35	11.78 %	Phonetic	“ <i>on westenum</i> ” > “ <i>on westene</i> ”
$\emptyset > e$	6	2.02 %	Morphological	“ <i>his folc_</i> ” > “ <i>his folce</i> ”
$\emptyset > re$	16	5.39 %	Morphological	“ <i>hi_</i> ” > “ <i>hyre</i> ”
<i>Spor.</i>	82	27.61 %	N/A	N/A
<i>All</i>	297	100 %	N/A	N/A

In the first four lines of the table above we see that the phonetic shift from “-a” to “-æ” occurs in two variations, one without “-n” at the end and the other with it. In the cases without “-n” we assume it is because the nasal had already disappeared earlier. This is a standard phonetic change described in the literature which discusses the Updated English manuscripts and the language of their period.

As morphological changes are marked those word endings which are characterized by gaining new sounds into or completely transforming their final syllable. Both shall be discussed in detail below.

This version of the table also allows us to count the degree (in percentage) to which each of the major changes forms a part of all the changes in the text.

4.1.1.2.2 Table 3: Rare Word Endings

All the less common changes which have for clarity and brevity been listed in the table above as “Sporadic” are listed here. There are no examples provided unlike in the previous table because the single occurrence would be the only example. All changes which occur in the text can be found in the table of changes in the Appendix.

Changes listed as “Sporadic”	Occurrence	Type
<i>ra > es</i>	1	Morphological
<i>an > ú</i>	1	Morphological
<i>a > ene</i>	1	Morphological
<i>am > a</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>am > æ</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>am > are</i>	1	Morphological
<i>s > ø</i>	4	Morphological
<i>u > æ</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>e > a</i>	2	Phonetic
<i>an > es</i>	2	Morphological
<i>an > ø</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>an > um</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>a > ø</i>	2	Phonetic
<i>as > ei</i>	1	Morphological
<i>e > um</i>	2	Morphological
<i>e > æn</i>	1	Morphological
<i>e > æs</i>	1	Morphological
<i>e > an</i>	2	Morphological
<i>elre > le</i>	1	Morphological
<i>e > ne</i>	2	Morphological

<i>en > ø</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>er > ræ</i>	1	Morphological
<i>es > æ</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>e > u</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>e > ú</i>	2	Morphological
<i>ge > ø</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>ig > ø</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>m > n</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>m > ø</i>	5	Phonetic
<i>na > re</i>	1	Morphological
<i>ne > e</i>	1	Morphological
<i>ne > m</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>ne > ø</i>	2	Phonetic
<i>n > m</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>n > ø</i>	2	Phonetic
<i>ø > æ</i>	1	Morphological
<i>ø > d</i>	1	Morphological
<i>o > e</i>	2	Phonetic
<i>ø > es</i>	2	Morphological
<i>ø > n</i>	3	Morphological
<i>ø > ne</i>	1	Morphological
<i>ø > s</i>	2	Morphological
<i>re > e</i>	4	Phonetic
<i>re > m</i>	1	Morphological
<i>re > ø</i>	1	Morphological
<i>u > e</i>	4	Phonetic
<i>um > an</i>	1	Phonetic
<i>um > en</i>	3	Phonetic
<i>a > ú</i>	1	Morphological
<i>um > ø</i>	3	Phonetic
<i>um > on</i>	1	Phonetic

There are 61 types of change in word endings, out of which 27 are of morphological character. All changes marked as morphological shall be discussed below, with the sole exception of the change *as* > *ei*, because it is a change within a proper name (Phariseas > pharisei) which is motivated by the form of the name in Latin.

4.1.2 Qualification

4.1.2.1 Phonetic Changes

Phonetic changes have already been discussed in the section on Updated Old English in 2.2.2 above. However, let us examine them a little closer here. The phonetic changes are of three types: the first is pure phonetic change such as “-a” and “-e” to “-æ” and “-a” to “-e”. The second is a loss, either only a partial one or a complete one. In a partial loss, what disappears is the “-m” or “-n” at the end of a word. This allows the preceding vowel to change (“-u” and “-a” changing to “-æ” or “-e”). In a complete loss, any vowel at the end of a word is lost. Our model of a loss is therefore a development during which the nasal at the end of a word disappears which leads to the change in sound of the preceding vowel; eventually, the preceding vowel disappears as well. There is a variation on this trend, however, which is not evidenced in our table because the word ending is technically not lost: the “-m” or “-n” is preserved but the vowel before it changes, most often in the way mentioned above, “-a” and “-e” to “-æ”; and “-a” to “-e”. This is a sign that the nasals are very likely to disappear but that the speakers of the language feel the need to preserve the word ending for the time being – because it carries grammatical information which would otherwise be lost.

In phonetic terms, we can describe the change from “-a” and “-e” to “-æ” as fronting in the case of “-a” and as lowering in the case of “-e”. The change from “-a” to “-e” is unlikely to be fronting and raising, instead it is likely a case of centring, where the *schwa* sound is expressed in writing by “-e”.

4.1.2.2 Morphological Changes

There is a high probability that any occurrence of rise of new word endings (as evidenced in table 2 above) serves a grammatical purpose. In observance with Raffaella Baechler’s theory, we shall attempt to interpret any non-phonetic change that we have marked in tables 2 and 3 above as intentional choices on the part of the scribe. As phonetic development of the language led to erosion and disappearance of word endings, those endings which might for

various reasons be considered more distinctive became the preferred variants in order to keep the morphological system functional.

Let us begin from the two morphological changes which appear in Table 2 because they belong among the more common ones, and then continue with the “irregular”, that is, the more rare examples.

4.1.2.2.1 Change $\emptyset > e$

The first example are the six occurrences of the change $\emptyset > e$. The relevant examples are listed in the Table of Changes from the Appendix as follows:

	Old English	Updated	Change	Page, paragraph
1	nan wer him gelic_	nan mon him ilice	$\emptyset-e$	2, 4
2	ingcer mildheortnyss_	eower mildheortnyse	$\emptyset-e$	7, 2
3	his folc	his folce	$\emptyset-e$	9, 2
4	godes gyfe full	godes gife fulle	$\emptyset-e$	11, 2
5	hwit_ godweb_	hwite godewebbes	$\emptyset-e$ $\emptyset-es$	16, 3
6	on oðer land_	on oðer londe	$\emptyset-e$	18, 4

Perhaps the first thing we should note is that although Raffaella Baechler theorized that vocalic endings such as “-e” are at this stage in the language becoming markers of femininity, none of the nouns listed here are feminine, except for mildheortnyss.

1. þ[æt] on þa tid næs nan wer him gelic_ on Israhelum
on þa tis næs nan mon him ilice on israelæ
so that at that time there was no man like him in Israel

This is a mere stylistic choice. One of the words is an adjective in the position of a complement, the other is an adverbial.

2. ingcer mildheortnyss_, þe gyt worhten
eower mildheortnyse, þe ge wrohton
the mercy that the two of you have been shown

Feminine nouns endings in “-nyss” appear in both variants, with and without “-e”, in Old English, but the scribe of B 343 seems to prefer the version with “-e”, presumably because the vocalic ending is a marker of femininity as per Raffaella Baechler’s theory.

3. *cwæð, ðæt he wolde his folc_ geseccan mid haligre geneosunge*
cwæð, þ he wolde his folce_ secan haligre neosunge
 said, that he would bless his people with this holy visitation

This appears to be a change from accusative into dative because the scribe of B 343 let out the preposition “*mid*”. Instead of the people being the object of the blessing, in the new version the visitation is “blessed to” the people.

4. *Ac hyre word wæron godes gyfe full_*
Ac hire word weró godes gife fullē
 But her words were full of God’s grace

The scribe of B 343 is probably attempting to indicate a concord in number. He is using the form of the adjective which usually follows after a demonstrative pronoun and is indicative of either the neutral or the feminine gender (there is a separate form for the masculine).

5. *Ða onfeng Maria hwit_ godweb_ to wefanne*
Þa onfeng maria hwite godwebbes to wefanne
 Then Mary began weaving white cloth

In this instance it is a change from the accusative singular to the accusative plural. It seems to be a stylistic choice and the adjective keeps concord with the noun.

6. *he wolde hy_ forlæton [and] faran him on oðer land_*
he wolde hire forlæten [and] faren hí on oðer londē
 he would let her go and ride to a different land

Here it seems that the scribe of B 343 felt that the preposition “*on*” requires a dative in the noun, even though the adjective remained in the accusative. It is evidence of the weakening grammatical concord in the language.

4.1.2.2.2 Change $\emptyset > re$

The other morphological change which is listed in Table 2 above is $\emptyset > re$. It is a very special change, because unlike in all other examples, all the changes from zero suffix to “*-re*” occur in a single word. The word is a personal pronoun “*hi*”, which changes to “*hire*”. While the change occurs only 16 times, the word itself appears many more times in both texts, often distinguishing itself only by orthography: “*hyre*” or “*hire*”.

Here is a small table detailing how both manuscripts treat this personal pronoun in general.

	H 114	B 343	All
“hyre”	53	2	55
“hire”	20	84	108
“hi_”	16	0	16
All	89	86	

We can see from the table that the scribe of H 114 uses various versions of the pronoun, while the scribe of B 343 prefers to unify the forms into “hire”. He seems to have left in two cases of “hyre” purely by a mistake.

The version “hi_” was probably not preserved because it could easily be confused with the form of the third person plural “hi” (although this specific homophony – between feminine accusative and plural nominative - exists in other Germanic languages as well). It is also noteworthy that there were three times when the scribe felt free to skip the word and not copy it at all.

	Old English	Updated	Change	Page, paragraph
1	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	3, 4
2	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	4, 2
3	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	5, 3
4	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	5, 3
5	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	5, 4
6	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	8, 1
7	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	11, 1
8	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	11, 3
9	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	13, 3
10	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	16, 4
11	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	18, 2
12	<u>hy</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	18, 4
13	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	20, 3
14	<u>þurh hi</u>	þurh hire	<i>ø-re</i>	21, 1
15	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	21, 2
16	<u>hi</u>	hire	<i>ø-re</i>	21, 3

1. **Da ongan Anna, his gemæcca_**, wepende **hi_ to drihtne gebiddan**
Ða ongon anna hire imæccan bewepen [and] **hire to drihtine biddan**
 Then Anna, his spouse, began crying, she prayed to God

2. þæt ic hi_ wolde þe gebringan to þinum te[m]ple
 þ ic hire wolde þe bringæn to þine t[é]m]ple
 I would bring them to you in your temple

3. nu to dæg ic me æteowde þinum gemæccan [and] hi_ gefrefrode
 nu to dæg ic me æteowde þine gemæccan [and] hire frefrode
 today I showed myself to your spouse and comforted her

4. þa þa heo hi_ wēpende [and] geomriende to drihtne gebæd
 þa þa heo hire wæpende [and] geomeriende to drihtene bæd
 because she was crying and prayed to the Lord, lamenting

5. ðu gemetest hi_ geeacnode
 þu imætest hire ieacnode
 you will find her pregnant

6. heo hi_ ða fedde þreo winter æt hire breostum
 heo hire þa fedde þreo wintræ æt hire breoste
 [she] then fed her for three winters at her breast

7. ne geseah hi_ nan man yrre
nan mon ne seah hire wrað
 no man saw her angry

8. swa hwilc man swa hi_ untrum gesohte
 swa hwilc mon swa hire untrum isohte
 whichever ill man sought her out

9. hwilcu[m] wære we hi_ befæstan sculon to healdenne
 hwylce wære we hire bifæsten sceolen to haldene
 which man we should entrust with guarding her

10. *ongunnon hi_ wurþian [and] hyre eadmidlice hyran*
heo ongunnon hire weorðian [and] hire eadmodlice heran
 [they] took to worshipping her and humbly obeying her
11. *þa gemette he hi_ bearn hæbbende on hire gehrife*
þa imette he hire bearn habbende on hire rife
 he noticed that she has a child in her womb
12. *þæt he wolde hy_ forlæton*
þ he wolde hire forlæten
 he would let her go
13. *ða sacerdas læddon hi_ mid þa[m] fæmnum to Iosepes hame*
þa sacerdas læddon hire mid þam fæmnum to iosepes hame
 the priests lead her with the virgins to Joseph's home
14. *forðan þe ealles middaneardes hælo þurh hi_ becom on þæs woruld*
forþam ðe alle middaneardes hæle þurh hire becom on ðas woruld
 because through her the salvation of all middle-earth came to this world
15. *forðan hi_ nu englas eadigað*
forþan englæs hire nu eadigæð
 because of that she is now celebrated by angels
16. *Ac uton we nu hi_ eadmodlice biddan*
Ac uton we hire nu eadmodlice biddan
 But let us now humbly beg kindness of her

In most of these examples the feminine personal pronoun stands in the syntactic position of the object. In example 1 and 4 it functions as a reflexive pronoun which is governed (and required) by the verb. In example 14 the pronoun is governed by a preposition.

So what is it that we are observing? It appears that the feminine personal pronoun (which traditionally declines *heo*, *hire*, *hire*, *hie*) had lost its unique accusative form and levelled it with the forms of the genitive and the dative, giving us the origin of the Modern English

„her“. It is also observable that even at the time of the manuscript H 114, the change was already underway which is why there are only 16 occurrences of the accusative form in the entire text. It may have been by mistake, but the scribe was already letting the form „her“ slip in. Consider the following example from H 144:

Fæmnan beoð hyre on fultume

The virgins will be of assistance to her

In the example, the form „hyre“ had been used in the place of an accusative. The development of this trend between H 144 and B 343 shows the continuous simplification of the declensional paradigms.

4.1.2.2.3 Sporadic Changes

	Changes listed as “Sporadic”	Occurrence	Type
1	<i>ra-es</i>	1	Morphological
2	<i>an-ú</i>	1	Morphological
3	<i>a-ene</i>	1	Morphological
4	<i>am-are</i>	1	Morphological
5	<i>s-ø</i>	4	Morphological
6	<i>an-es</i>	2	Morphological
7	<i>e-um</i>	2	Morphological
8	<i>e-æn</i>	1	Morphological
9	<i>e-æs</i>	1	Morphological
10	<i>e-an</i>	2	Morphological
11	<i>elre-le</i>	1	Morphological
12	<i>e-ne</i>	2	Morphological
13	<i>er-ræ</i>	1	Morphological
14	<i>e-ú</i>	2	Morphological
15	<i>na-re</i>	1	Morphological
16	<i>ne-e</i>	1	Morphological
17	<i>ø-æ</i>	1	Morphological
18	<i>ø-d</i>	1	Morphological
19	<i>ø-es</i>	2	Morphological
20	<i>ø-n</i>	2	Morphological

21	<i>ø-ne</i>	1	Morphological
22	<i>ø-s</i>	2	Morphological
23	<i>re-m</i>	1	Morphological
24	<i>re-ø</i>	1	Morphological
25	<i>a-ú</i>	1	Morphological

1. ne *æfter hyre yldrūm ne murnde, swa swa cildra gewuna* is
ne *æfter hire ealdre ne rymde, swa swa childeſ gewunæ* wæs
nor did she yearn for her parents as is children’s custom

According to *Dictionary of Old English: A–H*, the neutral noun “*cild*” can use both plurals and in fact begins alternating between the two as early as in Late Old English⁵⁶. The variation is not therefore of much significance but it shows an overarching trend of preferring the ending “-s” to other endings in masculine and neutral plurals.

2. *he wolde geeadmedigan, þæt hi gecyrdon to heora sylfra heortan*
he wolde eadmedigan, þ heo cyrdon to heoræ silfræ heortú
he would humble [them], so that they would turn to their own hearts

The plural genitive of the word “*heort*” is evidenced in Old English in both variants, out of which the scribe of B 343 preferred the version with “-um”, possibly because it was more distinctive, although he shortened it. It might be because the weak declension had become obsolete.

3. þ[æt] *he for XXX daga fæc ne mihte ham to his gemæccan gehweorfan*
þ he for ðrittige dagene fæcc ne mihte ham to his mæcce gehweorfan
that he could not return home to his spouse before thirty days’ time

The word “*dæg*” has two possible declensions in Old English, one strong and one weak. The scribe of H 144 chose the strong declension, while scribe of B 343 preferred the weak one because it is longer and thus easier to distinguish – this preference was described by Raffaella Baechler.

⁵⁶ *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. A. diPaolo Healey with J. Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies for the Dictionary of Old English Project, 2009); <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/> 14 June 2019

4. Ac syle þam clænan fæmnan fultum, þæt heo wunigen mid hig
 Ac ic onfo þare clænen femnæn, b heo wunie mid me
 But give help to the pure virgin, so that she may live with them

This change was motivated by the syntactic and lexical changes in the sentence and therefore does not provide us with any of the information that interests us. Each of the two scribes is telling the story a little differently.

5. Ða eft þæs þriddan dæges drihtnes heahencgel hyre ætywde
 [And] eft þæs on ðriddæ dage_ drihtines engel hire æteowde
 Then again on the third day the Lord's archangel appeared to her

heo wæs drihtnes modor, ures hælendes
 heo wæs drihtines moder, ure_ hælendes
 she was the mother of the Lord, our saviour

ic þe fram fruman mines gesinscipes gehet
 ic þe fró frimþe mine_ _sinscipes bihæt
 I promised you from the beginning of my marriage

Ic eom drihtnes encgel
 Ic eom drihtine_ engel
 I am the Lord's angel

The first example is anomalous, because the change is inspired by syntactic changes (adding a preposition) which demand a change in the case of the noun. However the disappearance of the genitive “-s“ in the following two examples informs us of a growing disregard for grammatical concord. Grammatical information can be expressed by only one member of a noun phrase. The third example appears to be simply a scribal mistake.

6. He brohte twyfealde gyfe drihtne hluttre onsegednyse [and] his lichaman clænnysse
 He brohte twyfealde gyfe drihtene luttre onægednyse [and] his lichames clænnysse
 He brought a two-fold gift to the Lord, a clean offering and his bodily cleanliness

heo is cwen þæs heofonlican cyninges gecweden

heo is cwen þæs heofenlices kynges

she is proclaimed to be the queen of the heavenly king

The weak declension is disappearing and being taken over by the strong masculine declension which is more varied in forms and more common in the language thus better known by the speakers. Raffaella Baechler describes this as spreading of the vital “-s” ending.

7. heo geornlice [and] eadmodlice þurhwunode on hyre gebede

heo geornlice [and] eadmodlice þurhwunode on hiræ _bedum

she earnestly and humbly remained at her prayer

eall þ[æt] folc wundrodon on hire gebære

all þ folc wundraede on hire ibærum

all the people were amazed at her behaviour

The scribe of H 144 uses “prayer” and “behaviour” in the singular while the scribe of B 343 prefers the plural. The word ending “-um” might be preferable after dative preposition because it is more easily distinguished.

8. Ða genam se sacerd ealle þa gyrde

Ða _nam þe sacerd alle gerdæn

The priest then took all the rods

The scribe of B 343 uses the plural with “-n” because it is more easily recognizable. Raffaella Baechler describes this as the spreading of “-n” plurals in feminine nouns.

9. Ic singode [and] gemunde þe facnes, þær nan næs

Ic syngode mid gemynde þæs facnes, þær nan næs

I sinned and suspected deceit where there was none

Each of the sentences is syntactically different due to the added preposition in B 343; however both use the genitive in the noun. The lack of grammatical concord in H 114 seems to hint that it was not always necessary even at the earlier stage.

10. he drihten ingc syleð swa myccl e grownyse on ingcran beorðre

he eow sylleð swa mycele grownisse on eowre beorðran

he, the Lord, has given to you two in your child so much prosperity

he ða genam þa gyrde

he þa nom þa gyrdan

he took the rods

Weak declension of the noun “*beorþor*” is not attested anywhere in Standard Old English, so this appears to be an innovation on the part of the scribe of B 343. If we could consider the noun to be feminine (it is generally understood as neutral, but it could vary) we could interpret it as the spreading of a plural feminine marker “-n”, as described by Raffaella Baechler and evidenced in the second example. The second example is closely related to example 8 above.

11. Ða clypode se biscop mid mycelre stefne hine

þa clypode þe biscop hine mycle stefne

Then the bishop called out with a loud voice

While the scribe of H 144 correctly used the adjectival ending “-re” with a feminine noun “*stefn*”, the scribe of B 343 failed to do so. He more than likely considered the noun to be of different gender although it is not clear based on what. There exist, however, some masculine and neutral homonyms in Old English which could have caused the interference.

12. he næfde nænige oðre gymene buton his eowde

næfde he nænigne oðre gemæne nymðe his eowde

he never minded anything other than his herd

of ðam wæstmum he gode þryfealde lac gebrohte

of þam wæstmme he gode þreofealdne lac _brohte

he would bring to God three-fold offering from the produce of the land

The scribe of B 343 interpreted both nouns as masculine and used the masculine accusative ending “-ne”. While “*lac*” in the second example varies in gender and can be interpreted as masculine, “*gymene*” from the first example should be feminine and the change is therefore innovative.

13. heo hi_ ða fedde þreo winter æt hire breostum

heo hire þa fedde þreo wintræ æt hire breoste

[she] then fed her for three winters at her breast

The Old English word “*winter*“ fluctuates between a-stem declension and an earlier u-stem declension. The scribe of B 343 seems to prefer the more archaic version of the plural perhaps because he wishes to distinguish between the singular and plural forms which remain the same in the a-stem declension.

14. *ðær awunode þone dæg [and] ða niht on hire gebede*
þær wunede ðone dæg [and] þa niht on hire _bedú
there [she] remained throughout the day and the night in her prayer

se ðe cyðlice gecyðde þine halignysa on eallum Israhela folce
þe ðe cyðlice _cyðde þine halignesse on alle israele folcú
since he so clearly made his holiness known to all the people of Israel

Similar to example 7 above, the first example seems to be simply a difference between a singular and a plural. Once again we might speculate that the dative preposition inspires the choice of the more distinguishable ending “-um”.

15. *Him ða to genealæhte þara bocena sum*
Him ða to _neahlæhte þare bocere sum
One of the scribes (...) then approached him

A problematic case because the word used by the scribe of H 144 is elsewhere undocumented. It might have been created by confusion with the weak genitive plural of “*boc*”. The scribe of B 343 uses a phonetically altered version of the word which would sound in Old English “*bocera*”.

16. *eall Israhela bearn mycelne gefean hæfdon be his hamcyme*
all israelex bearn mycele blisse hæfdon bi his hamcyme
all Israel’s children felt much joy about his homecoming

This is a lexical choice; each of the scribes uses a different noun (one masculine and the other feminine), therefore must use a different gender in the declensional ending of the concordant adjective.

17. *hire eadignyss_ astigeð ofer ealle wifa cynn*
hire eadignyssæ oferstihð all_ wifcynn
her blessedness will descend over all woman-kind

Both versions seem to be possible. It might be that the vocalic ending should imply feminine gender. Similar occurrence is in the example 2 in the section 4.1.2.2.1 above.

18. He þa Ioachim gode brohte unwemme_ lac

He þa ioachim brohte unwemmed lac

He, Ioachim, then brought to God an unspotted offering

This is a mere stylistic choice, one scribe uses an adjective while the other the past participle.

19. Ða onfeng Maria hwit_ godweb_ to wefanne

Ða onfeng maria hwite godewebbes to wefanne

Mary then began to weave white cloth

ne nan man ne gehyrde yfel_ word of hyre muðe gan

ne nan word yfeles of hire muðe ne com

neither did any man ever hear an evil word come from her mouth

These are mere stylistic choices, linked here more by chance than any similarity. In one case the scribe of B 343 decided to use a plural where H 144 had a singular in the accusative. In the other case the scribe of B 343 used an idiomatic expression with the partitive genitive (“a word of evil”).

20. Ða ongann Anna, his gemæcca_, wepende hi_ to drihtne gebiddan

Ða ongon anna hire imæccan bewepen [and] hire to drihtine biddan

Then Anna, his spouse, began crying, she prayed to God

oð þ[æt] hi becomon to ælicre yldo_

oð ðet heo bicomen to ælicre yldon

until they reached the age prescribed by law

The first example is a syntactic choice in which each scribe is telling the story differently – while the scribe of H 144 titles Anna as „his spouse“, in the version from B 343 the spouse becomes the object that Anna is bemoaning. The scribe employs the weak masculine declension to indicate the accusative. The second example is less clear but also appears to be an example of the weak declension.

21. *Abiathar, se sacerð, brohte mycclē gyfe þa[m] bisceope*
abiathar, þe sacerð, brohte mycclne gyfe þam biscope
 Abiathar the priest brought many gifts to the bishop

The feminine noun “*gyfe*” in Old English occasionally varied between genders and it appears that the scribe of B 343 perceived it as masculine, therefore felt the need to add the masculine accusative ending “*-ne*”.

22. *godes encgel hyre ætywde [and] hyre brohte heofonlice swetnysse*
godes engel hire æteowde [and] hire brohte heofenlices swetnysse
 the God’s angel appeared to her and brought her sweetness from heaven
- his rice ne bið nan ende*
his rices ne bið nan ende
 there will be no end to his realm

Similarly to the example 6 above, the masculine genitive ending “*-s*” is spreading into more positions, as described by Raffaella Baechler, because the speakers are more familiar with it and it communicates the grammatical information much more clearly than the endingless accusative.

23. *Ða gegyrede hine Abiathar se biscop mid þare heahsacerða gegyrlan*
Þa gescrydde hine abiathar þe biscop mid þam heahsacerðæ gyrlan
 Then Abiathar the bishop with the high priests put on attire

The Old English word „*gyrlan*“ is evidenced as fluctuating between the masculine and the feminine gender – the masculine gender is preferred by the scribe of B 343.

24. *heo gesette hyre sylfre haligne regol*
heo sette hire sylf haligne regol
 she set for herself holy rules

As the grammatical concord weakens, the reflexive pronoun no longer requires a feminine word ending with would be concordant with the feminine subject.

25. *Marian sæde (...) þa fægrian gesyhðe þæs engles [and] ða frofre þara worda*
marian sæde (...) þa fægrea sihðe þæs englæs [and] ða frofre ðare wordú
 [he] told Mary (...) of the fair sight of the angel and the comfort of his words

Similar to examples 7 and 14 above, the word ending “-um” seems to be preferred. The grammatical concord in the noun phrase is breaking up and the dative ending “-um” seems to be introduced because of the preceding preposition and without any regard for the case of the demonstrative.

4.2 Discussion

The language finds itself in an uncertain time – as it stops being written down and the pronunciation is not repeatedly reinforced by referring back to what had been written, there is no standard to adhere to and the language splinters into many differing local usages. The phonetic changes become more rapid and come to alter the language greatly. In the word endings, nasals are disappearing and all vowels are centralizing.

Let us return to our research questions: in the section 4.1.1.1 above, we first answered the most basic questions about the text – what type of changes there are. The answer was that there are phonetic and morphological changes. They were ordered into the tables in 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2 according to their type and frequency.

The following analysis attempted to answer these questions:

- How many of the changes are phonetic and how many are morphological?
- Can all changes be said to be purely phonetic or purely morphological?
- If not, why are some phonetic and some morphological, more specifically what characteristic features can we observe in one group and in the other?

Number of phonetic changes is higher; out of the 61 types of change evidenced in the tables in 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2, there were 27 of morphological character and 34 of phonetic character. Given how closely are the phonological and morphological levels of language linked to each other, it is clear that the changes in the text cannot be said to be purely phonetic nor purely morphological – phonetics unavoidably influence morphology.

The phonetic changes are characteristic by their predictability – they can be described quite accurately and they occur more or less automatically. For this reason they do not deserve any closer attention. They may lead to the breaking of grammatical concord in noun phrases.

In the morphological changes, there are several prevailing trends:

1. Grammatical concord within noun phrases is slowly corroding away and being replaced by a simplified version in which only one member of the noun phrase indicates the relevant grammatical information for the entire phrase. There are at least five examples of this in the morphological changes analyzed above (and no doubt many more among in phonetic changes in which word endings disappear). The one member which becomes the carrier of grammatical information is usually either the demonstrative pronoun, which is about to develop into the article, or the noun. On the other hand, grammatical concord is most often lost in possessive pronouns.
2. Nouns which were subject to varying in gender affiliation in Old English are understood by each of the scribes differently, therefore we have reason to assume preferences have shifted in between the time of the two manuscripts. We must assume that the variations were no longer perfectly equal because then the scribe of B 343 would have no objection to copying the text as it was. In this regard, it is particularly striking that the masculine gender is prevailing in all of the examples above. It appears that its declension is seen as the most regular and therefore the most easily recognizable and preferable. All nouns which have hitherto been fluctuating in their gender are therefore preferred by the scribe as masculine. This leads to the introduction of various masculine word endings (such as accusative “-ne” and genitive “-s”) were there previously were not. Whether this is in accordance with Baechler’s theory of the spreading of masculine “-s” into the neutral paradigm is debatable. We assume that the nouns change their gender - often even from the feminine to the masculine, while Baechler hypothesizes that the neutral paradigms (never feminine) are adopting masculine word endings.
3. Whenever there is a possibility to choose between two word endings, the one which is more distinguishable (i.e. has fewer homonyms) will be chosen. Therefore there is evidence corresponding with Baechler’s theory that the weak word ending “-ena” is spreading into the strong paradigm of certain nouns because it is more distinctive and that there is a preference for feminine nouns to have plurals ending with “-n”. There are also two examples in which feminine nouns ending in “-nyss” acquire a vocalic ending, which can be understood as minor evidence in support of Baechler’s theory that the attachment of schwa (“-e”) to the end of words signalizes the feminine gender.
4. There appear to be word endings such as “-um” to which the scribe of the Updated text has an ambiguous relationship. This word ending was never discussed by Baechler in her theory. From our text it seems that the word ending “-um” is preferred as a strong

dative plural ending after a preposition. At the same time, however, this ending is one of those which undergo the strongest phonetic corrosion and disappear throughout the text most often. This means that although the ending is eradicated in its traditional positions, it is newly introduced into the text wherever the scribe of B 343 feels the need to emphasize a dative plural in contrast to a singular.

5. The feminine personal pronoun “heo” had lost its accusative form “hie” and replaced it with the genitive/dative form “hire”. The orthography of this form had been fixed to “hire” as opposed to “hyre”. This practice is already partially present in H 144 and by B 343 is perfectly uniform.

The language is progressing towards the isolating type through the weakening of the grammatical concord and the growing number of nouns which use the strong masculine declension – this automatically leads to the further peripheralization of other declensional paradigms. A scribal preference for distinguishable word endings is constantly at odds with the continuous phonetic erosion which leaves endings unclear. Choice of endings thus becomes more conscious and motivated by pragmatics. We can observe the beginnings of a new morphological system which re-uses some of the old word endings as indicators of something new which eventually comes to fruition in the manuscripts described by Raffaella Baechler.

Conclusion

This work was concerned with the loss of inflection in the so called Updated Old English, specifically in the text *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae*. Its goal was to investigate how the language manages to balance out its need for grammatical information with the continuing eradication of its inflectional system.

The work opened with an examination of the contents, origin and purpose of the two relevant manuscripts – Hatton 114 and Bodley 343 – and of the “languages” they have been written in, Old English and Updated Old English respectively. The section on Updated Old English summarized the main expected phonological and morphological developments in the language. The following examination of the lexical changes showed a strong conservative tendency in both scribes, which lead them to preserve Old English vocabulary. Changes in syntax point to the effort of the scribe of Updated Old English to make the text as approachable and easily comprehensible as he can. Both of these tendencies – conservatism and tendency to clarity and order – are prevalent throughout the Updated Old English text and have an impact even on the morphological changes which have been at the centre of our inquiry.

Another aspect which must be considered is the question of language typology because in this period there can be observed the roots of the future change of English from an inflectional into an isolating language.

The material from the manuscripts was organized into two tables (in the Appendix) to make summarizing of the data easier. The data was examined in the analytical section of this work and the following conclusions were reached: the change affecting inflectional endings is noticeable but not overwhelming, only about 20% of all noun phrases in the text undergo a change in their word endings. Phonetic changes are regular and more common than morphological changes. Morphological changes point to several dominant traits: the grammatical concord is weakening and all grammatical information shifts only onto a single member of a noun phrase. Nouns which in Old English existed in more than one variant in terms of gender show a strong tendency to eventually adopt the masculine gender and its declensional paradigm. When picking word endings from two possible variants, the one which is more clearly distinguishable is always preferred. This includes the word endings “-um” after dative prepositions, although it is at the same time the one ending which is most

frequently lost to phonetic change. The scribe is likely only using it when he needs to emphasize the difference between a singular and a plural. The feminine personal pronoun “*heo*” had lost its accusative form to make its paradigm more regular. Therefore the main tendency is to limit the declensional system – which in Old English was noticeably irregular – only to the most familiar and most common forms.

As the inflectional Old English limits its declensions, they come to resemble those residues of inflection which still exist in English today, be it pronominal declension or the genitive “-s”. In order for English to become an isolating language it also has to develop syntactical forms which can carry grammatical information (such as the complex verb cases or of-genitives) of which there is yet no evidence in our text.

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Résumé

Tato práce pojednává o ztrátě flexe ve starší angličtině na základě textu homilie *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae*. Jejím účelem bylo pozorovat na základě srovnání dvou kopií tohoto textu, z nichž jedna obsahuje změny v pádových koncovkách, jakým způsobem se jazyk vyrovnává s postupnou ztrátou distinktivních ohebných koncovek. Vychází z teorie prezentované Raffaellou Baechlerovou, která říká, že se v tomto období v jazyce prosazoval nový morfologický systém, který se snažil zachovávat alespoň některé z původních jmenných kategorií pomocí nově volených koncovek. Tyto koncovky byly většinou voleny tak, aby byla u tvarů, které měly morfologické dublety, vždy ze dvou zachována ta výraznější.

V první části této práce jsou představeny rukopisy, v nichž se nám homilie *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* dochovala. Prvním je rukopis Hatton 114 z druhé poloviny jedenáctého století a druhý Bodley 343 z druhé poloviny století dvanáctého. Mladší rukopis, Bodley 343, vznikl za značně dramatičtějších okolností než první, kdy po dobytí Anglie Vilémem I. nastalo období úpadku anglického jazyka. Zatímco oficiální role přebíraly latina a normanská francouzština, opisování rukopisů ve staré angličtině bylo provozováno pouze marginálně, za účely soukromého využití nebo archivace – také by možné, že byly znakem odboje vůči nové normanské šlechtě. Rukopis Bodley 343 je součástí korpusu textů zachovaného z tohoto období, který bývá v angličtině označován termínem „Updated Old English“. Updated Old English je charakteristická změnami v pádových koncovkách, které vznikají na základě fonetických ztrát a centralizace vokálů na koncích slov. U obou rukopisů je postupně představen jejich obsah, okolnosti jejich vzniku a pravděpodobný důvod jejich vzniku.

Druhá část práce se soustředí na jazyk obou rukopisů. V první řadě podává velmi stručný úvod do gramatiky staré angličtiny. Na to navazuje vysvětlením, v jakých ohledech se od standardní staré angličtiny liší angličtina pozměněná, Updated Old English, kterou užívá písař rukopisu Bodley 343. Následuje stručné uvedení do změn v tomto rukopise. Ty mohou být rozděleny na lexikální a syntaktické, a na fonetické a morfologické (neboli flektivní), jejichž detailní analýza je předmětem této práce. Lexikální a syntaktické změny vycházejí především z pohnutek písaře, který usiloval o to, aby byl nový text co nejsrozumitelnější. Volil proto záměrně slova, která nebudou pocíťována jako archaická, a zjednodušoval rozvětvenější souvětí písaře staršího rukopisu Hatton 114. Fonetické změny jsou již pro účely této práce zajímavější, neboť jsou úzce svázány se změnami v systému skloňování. Jak se stará angličtina pomalu mění v angličtinu střední, dochází k zániku jejích nazálních deklinačních

koncovek a ke kvalitativní změně ve vokálech, které těmto nazálám předcházejí. Výsledkem je, že se jednotlivé koncovky stávají nerozpoznatelnými. Aby naprosté ztrátě deklinačního systému mluvčí zabránili, snaží se tyto koncovky někdy zachovat, někdy účelně vybírají mezi dubletami výraznější variantu, aby byl význam zřetelněji vyjádřen. Ve středu zájmu této práce proto stojí morfologické změny v textu, které jsou reakcí písaře na rozpadající se hláskový systém a snahou zachovat alespoň systém provizorní.

Teoretická část práce dále pokračuje uvedením do jazykové typologie Pražské školy, protože angličtina mezi starším a středním obdobím přechází z ohebného jazyka v jazyk neohebný, izolační. Ztráta flexe ve jmenných frázích se ve větším měřítku promítá do celkového vývoje jazykového systému.

Posledním tématem teoretické části je souhrn literatury, která se tímto problémem zabývala před touto prací. Čistě gramaticky zaměřené práce na toto téma jsou vzácné, častěji je rukopisům věnována pozornost z hlediska historie nebo literatury – zkoumá se jejich vztah k jiným rukopisům nebo jejich literární hodnota a role v historickém kontextu. Lingvistické práce prozatím obvykle konstatovaly stav jazyka, aniž by ho nějak blíže zkoumaly, nebo ho případně zkoumaly z jiných strukturních hledisek. Zvláštní výjimkou je práce Raffaely Baechlerové, ze které tato práce částečně vychází. Raffaella Baechlerová podává ve své práci vlastní interpretaci dat z jiných rukopisů Updated Old English. Tato práce si klade za cíl rozšířit naše vědomosti zpracováním textu, kterému dosud nebyla žádná práce věnována, a ideálně také podnítit nový zájem v této oblasti.

V následující části jsou stručně shrnuty informace o německé edici rukopisů od Bruna Assmanna, ze které tato práce vychází, a o tom, jakým způsobem byl upraven text homilie. Stejně jako v německé edici byly i v této práci obě verze textu *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae* postaveny vedle sebe, aby je bylo možno lehčeji porovnat. Ve třetím sloupci k nim byl rovněž připojen překlad do současné angličtiny. Následně byly zpracovány pomocí barveného značení, které slouží k lepší přehlednosti dat: všechny části textu, které zůstávají neměnné, jsou vyznačeny světle modrou barvou. Černě zůstávají označeny všechny změny mezi oběma verzemi, kromě těch, které se vyskytují v koncovkách slov – to zahrnuje vše od změn grafému nebo hlásky až po vynechání celých vět nebo pasáží v textu. Nejdůležitější je červené značení, které se nachází na jakékoli změně v koncovce slova. Takto upravený text byl následně zpracován do tabulek, které se nacházejí v dodatku (Appendix).

Výzkumnými otázkami, na které si práce kladla za cíl odpovědět, byly nejprve: které změny v textu pozorujeme? A kolik přesně jich je? Na tyto otázky odpověděla první část analýzy, během které byl text zpracován. Změny v koncovkách, které provedl písař rukopisu Bodley 343, byly rozděleny podle druhu jmenných frází, ve kterých se vyskytují, a do dalších tabulek poté především podle formy, kterou mají. (Sekundárně rovněž podle frekvence, do tabulky nejfrekventovanějších a tabulky sporadických.) Na základě charakteru změny, podle toho, zda dochází ke ztrátě nazál a vokálů, nebo k jejich změně, popřípadě připsání písařem, jsou změny rozděleny na fonetické a morfologické. U fonetických předpokládáme, že probíhají automaticky, na základě platných fonetických pravidel – naopak morfologickým je věnována zvýšená pozornost, neboť u nich předpokládáme, že jsou písařem voleny s nějakým záměrem.

Druhá část analýzy měla za úkol zodpovědět tyto výzkumné otázky: kolik z uvedených změn je fonetických a kolik morfologických? Je možno říci, že jsou všechny změny v textu čistě fonetické nebo čistě morfologické? Jaké charakteristické rysy můžeme vypočítat u jednoho a u druhého druhu změny, čím se od sebe liší? A konečně: slouží zde morfologické změny nějakému záměru, popřípadě vytvářejí vlastní gramatických systém? V následující analýze byly morfologické změny uvedeny v plném kontextu a analyzovány s ohledem na znejistělý flektivní systém, který hledá způsoby, jak se alespoň částečně zachovat.

Výsledky, kterých bylo touto prací dosaženo, jsou následující: z celkového počtu 61 druhů změn v koncovkách je 27 morfologického a 34 fonologického charakteru. Nelze hovořit o tom, že by všechny změny byly pouze fonetické nebo pouze morfologické, neboť tyto změny jsou úzce provázány a změna v jedné rovině nutně vyvolává reakci v druhé. Fonetické změny jsou charakteristické svou zákonitostí, naopak změny morfologické charakterizuje intence písaře. Fonetickým změnám nebyla věnována další pozornost. Morfologické změny byly analyzovány v plném kontextu a byly u nich vypočítány tyto hlavní tendence: na základě postupující fonetické změny se ve jmenných frázích oslabuje gramatická shoda mezi jednotlivými členy. Začíná se prosazovat systém, ve kterém se nositelem gramatické informace stává pouze jediný člen fráze – tím bývá někdy ukazovací zájmeno, ze kterého se do budoucna v angličtině vyvine určitý člen, jindy podstatné jméno, neboť jeho koncovky mohou být mnohem výraznější než koncovky adjektivní.

Druhou významnou tendencí, na kterou hojně poukazují příklady z textu, je preference, kterou má písař rukopisu Bodley 343 pro podstatná jména mužného rodu. Ve staré angličtině značné množství podstatných jmen kolísalo v rodě, a užívalo proto víc než jednoho deklinačního

paradigmatu. Pokud by toto nepravidelné kolísání pokračovalo i do dob Updated Old English, museli bychom předpokládat, že by písař rukopis opsal a rody beze změny zachoval – pozorujeme ovšem naopak, že každé jméno, které kolísá (často mezi femininem a maskulinem) je převáděno na maskulinum a skloňováno podle maskulinního paradigmatu. Docházíme tedy k závěru, že silné skloňování mužského rodu získávalo v Updated Old English na síle, jak se k tomuto vzoru připodobňovala stále další a další slova, čímž zároveň klesala frekvence užívání jiných paradigmat. Tím se zároveň mluvčí jako písař rukopisu Bodley 343 utvrzovali v tendenci rozšiřovat toto paradigma i na další slova.

Teorie Raffaely Baechlerové jsou daty z tohoto textu částečně zpochybněny, ale i částečně potvrzeny. Zpochybňuje je fakt, že koncovky ze silného paradigmatu mužského rodu se nešíří do jiných paradigmat – ale maskulinní skloňování se přesto šíří, protože na mužský rod obrací všechna kolísající jména. Na druhou stranu data také mnoho z hypotéz Raffaely Baechlerové potvrzují, i když převážně ojedinělými případy. Potvrzuje se například šíření koncovky slabé deklinace „-ena“, která ovládne genitiv v silném paradigmatu všech rodů, šíření preference pro plurály feminina, které končí na „-n“, a preference pro signalizaci ženského rodu pomocí vokalické koncovky.

Zvláštním případem je koncovka „-um“. Tato koncovka má tendenci se rozpadat (na nazálu a vokál) a mizet na základě fonetických změn. Patří ke změnám s nejvyšší frekvencí fonetických změn. Přesto se v textu vyskytují případy, kdy se ji písař rukopisu Bodley 343 rozhodne použít a to bez ohledu na gramatickou shodu se zbytkem jmenné fráze. Zřejmě je využívána ke zdůraznění dativního plurálu v kontrastu k singuláru.

Posledním vyzorovaným faktem je změna v paradigmatu osobního zájmena „ona“. Na místo jeho akuzativního tvaru „*hie*“ proniká tvar sdílený genitivem a dativem „*hire*“ a to již v rukopise Hatton 114. V rukopise Bodley 343 je již změna kompletní - „*hie*“ se již vůbec nevyskytuje. Celé paradigma bylo zjednodušeno na „*heo*“ a „*hire*“, tedy budoucí „*she*“ a „*her*“.

Praktickou část zakončuje shrnutí získaných výsledků a celá práce je zakončena závěrem, který znovu uvádí veškeré cíle a závěry této práce.

Appendix

Appendix A: Text of Nativitas Sanctae Mariae

H 144

Men ða leofestan! Weorþian we nu on andweardnysse þa gebyrðtīde þære eadigan fæmnan S[an]c[t]a Marian. Seo wæs cennystre ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes. Nu is hyre nama gereht hlæfdige oððe cwen oððe sæsteorra.

Heo is hlæfdige gecweden, forðan þe heo cende þone hiaford heofonas [and] eorðan. And heo is cwen gecweden, forðan þe heo com of ðam æðelan cynne [and] of ðam cynelican sæde Davides cynnes. Sæsteorra heo is gecweden, forðan þe se steorra on niht gecyþeð scypliðendum mannu[m], hwyder bið east [and] west, hwyder suð [and] norð.

Swa þonne wearð þurh ða halgan fæmnan Sca Marian gecyþed se rihte siðfæt to ðam ecan life þam ðe lange ær sæton on þeostrum [and] on deapæs scuan [and] on þam unstillu[m] yðum þære sæ þisses middaneardes. [And] a syððan wiston ealle halige þone fruman middaneardes [and] ende [and] heofona rices wuldor [and] helle wite.

Nu wille we eow secgan be ðære gebyrde þære eadigan fæmnan Sct Marian, hu seo geworden wæs [and] acenned.

B 343

Men ða leofeste! Wurðie we nu on andweardnysse þa gebyrðtīde þære eadige femne sçe marie. Ðeo wæs godes kenninge ures drihtnes hælendes cristes, [and] hiræ nome ireht læfdi_ oððe cwen oððe sæsteorræ.

Heo is læfdi_ inemned, forðan þe heo cende þone laford heofenæs [and] eorðæn. And heo is cwen inemned, forðan þe heo com of þam æðele cynne [and] of þam kynelyce sæde dauides cynnes. Sæsteorræ sche is icweden, forþan ðe þeo sæsteorra on niht _cuðeþ scypliðendú monrí, hwider bið east [and] west [and] suð [and] norð.

Swa þenne wærð þurh þa halig_ femne icyd þe rihtæ siðfæt to þam æce life þam ðe ær longe seten on þeostrú [and] on deapæs scuan [and] on þam unstillu yðan þare sæ þisses middaneardes. And ha syððan wisten alle halige þone frumen middaneardes [and] ende [and] heofene riches wuldor [and] helle wite.

Þeonrí magen we nu hwylcen seogú wordú sæcgæn be ðære burdtīde þære eadigæn femne sçe marie, hu heo iboren wæs.

Translation of H 144

Dearest men! Let us now at present honour the birth of the noble virgin Saint Mary. She was the birth-giver of our Lord holy Christ. Now is her name interpreted as lady or queen or sea-star.

She is called a lady because she gave birth to the Lord of heaven and earth. And she is called a queen because she came of the noble kin and of the kingly seed of David the king. She is called a sea-star because this star at night lets sailors know where east and west is, where south and north.

So it was through the holy virgin Saint Mary that the right travel-path to the eternal life became known to those who long before dwelt in darkness and in the shadow of death and on the unstill waves of the sea of this middle-earth (world). And ever since all holy ones know the beginning and end of the middle-earth and glory of the heavenly kingdom and hell's punishment.

We will now tell you about the birth of the noble virgin Saint Mary, how she was born and begotten.

We habbað geræd on bocum, þ[æt] wære sum swiðe æþele wer on Israheliscum folce. Þæs nama wæs loachim. Se wæs of Iudan cynne [and] he wearð geboren on Galileiscre scire on þære byrig, þe is gehalten Nazareth.

Se wæs heorda his sceapa [and] he wæs godfyrht man on bylewitnysse [and] on fremsumnysse, [and] he næfde nænige oðre gymene buton his eowde. Of þa[m] eowde he fedde ealle þa ðe him drihten ondredon [and] of ðam wæstmum he gode þryfealde lac gebrohte [and] ealle his æhta on þreo todælde.

Ænne dæl he sealde þearfan [and] wydewan [and] steopcildum [and] ælþeodigum mannum [and] oðerne dæl he sealde þam þe gode ane þeowodon. Ðone þriddan dæl he heold him sylfum [and] his hirede big to lifigenne.

Ða midþam þe he þas ðing wæs donde þus, þa micclode god his woruldæhta, þ[æt] on þa tid næs nan wer him gelic on Israhelum. Ðas þing he ongan don, þa þe he wer fiftyne wintra.

[And] midþam þe he hæfde twentig wintra, þa onfeng he wif him to gemæccan. Seo wæs gehalten Anna [and] hyre cynn wæs on þære byrig Bethlehem.

Seo wæs Achares dohtor of his _genum cynne, þ[æt] is þonne of ðam æþelan cynne Dawides þæs cynincges. Hi ða wæron samod drohtniende ætgædere twentig wintra, swa hi nan bearn ne begeaton.

We leorniað, þæt were sú æþel wer in israel. His nome wæs ioachim, of iudan cynne.

He wæs heordæ his sceapæ. He wæs godfyrht mon on bilewitnysse [and] in fremsumnesse. And næfde he nænigne oðre gemæne⁵⁷ nymðe his eowde. Of þam eowde he fedde alle þa ðe heom drihten ondredæþ [and] of þam wæstmum he gode þreo fealdne lac _brohte [and] all _his æhta on ðreo todælde.

Enne del he sealde þearfæn [and] widewæn [and] steopcildú [and] ælþeodig moní and oðerne del þæm þe gode ane seruedæn. Þriddan dæl he heold him seolfú [and] his hirede bi to lyfigenne.

Forþan ðe he þas ðing wæs donde þus, þa myclode god his woruldæhta; on þa tis næs nan mon him ilice on israelæ. Ðas ðing he ongon don, þa he wæs XV wintre.

[And] midþa ðe he hæfde XX wintra, þa nom he wif him to make. Heo wæs ihaten anna.

Heo wæs achares dohter of his agene cynne, þ is ðenne of ðam æþelan cynne dauides þæs kynniges. Heo þa wæron samod togedere twentig wintra, swa heo nan bearn ne bigetæn.

We have read in books that there was a very noble man among Israel's people. His name was loachim. He was of Jewish kin and he was born in the land of Galilee in that city that is called Nazareth.

He was the shepherd of his sheep and he was a God-fearing man of simplicity and kindness and he never minded anything other than his herd. Of that herd he fed all those who feared the Lord and he would bring to God three-fold offering from the produce of the land and would divide all his possessions in three.

One part he gave to the needy and widows and orphans and foreigners and the second part he gave those who served the one and only God. The third part he kept for himself and his household for their livelihood.

And when he was doing the things thus, then God multiplied his wordly-propethy, so that at that time there was no man like him in Israel. He began doing those things when that he was fifteen winters old.

And when he was twenty winters old, then he took a woman for a spouse. She was called Anna and her kin was from the city of Bethlehem.

She was Achar's daughter of his own kin that is that of the noble kin of David the king. They afterwards lived together for twenty winters. Even so, they never begot any child.

⁵⁷ edit: added space

Ða gelamp hit sume dæge, þæt he eode_ to ðam drihtnes temple, [and] he ða ioachim gestod betwyx þam mannum, þe to gode onsegednyse brohton, [and] he gearwode his gyfe on godes gesihðe. Him ða to genealæhte þara bocena sum, þæs nama wæs Ruben, [and] cwæð him to:

Nis þe alyfed, þ[æt] ðu stande betwyx þam mannum, þe gode onsegednyse bringað, forðan þe godes bletsung ofer ðe ne com, þæt he þe ænig bearn asende.

He ða þæs wæs mycclre scame þrowiende beforan þa[m] folce for þisum wordum [and] he ða swa scamiende ut of ðam temple wepende gewat [and] he nolde þa eft to his agenum hame hweorfan, ac he gewat on westenum to his sceapum [and] ða hyrdas nam mid him [and] ðær wunode fif monþa fæce, swa þ[æt] ðær nænig ærendraca betweonan ne ferde him [and] his gemæccan.

Ða ongann Anna, his gemæcca_, wepende hi_ to drihtne gebiddan [and] ðus cwæð:

Min drihten Israhe^{la} god, þu ðe eart strang [and] mihtig ofer ealle gesceafta, [and] ðu me noldest næfre bearn ofer eorðan syllan [and] ðu minne wer me æt gename, [and] ic nat, hwæþer his lif is ofer eorðan; [and] gif he forðgewiten is, þonne ne gegearwie ic him byrgene. Ða heo þas word gecweden hæfde, þa eode heo eft on hire cauertune [and] hire eadmodlice to drihtne gebæd.

Ða ilamp hit s^ume dæg_, þ heo eoden to þam drihtnes temple, [and] he þa ioachim_ stod betwyx þam monⁿ, þe to gode heoræ lac onsegednesse brohten, [and] he gearwode his gifu on godes isihðe. Him ða to_ neahlæhte þare bocere sum, his nome wæs ruben, [and] cwæð to him:

Nis ðe ilyfed, þ ðu stonde betwux þam ðe gode onsegednyse bringæð, forþan ðe godes bletsung ofer þe ne com, þ he þe ænig bearn sende.

He ða þær wæs mycle scame þrowiende beforan þam folce for ðisse wordum. He þa swa scamiende ut of ðam temple wepende eode [and] he þa nolde æft hweorfan to his agene hame, ac he gewat on westene to his sceapú [and] þa hyrdæs nom mid him [and] þær wunode fif monðæ fæcc_, swa þær nan_ ærendrace ne ferde betweenan hí [and] his mæccan.

Ða ongon anna hire imæccan bewepen [and] hire to drihtine biddan [and] þus cwæð:

Min drihten israele god, þu þe eart strong [and] mihtig ofer alle isceaftæ, [and] þu me naldæst næfre bearn ofer eorðan syllæn [and] þu minne wer æt me genome, [and] ic nat, hwæder his lif is ofer eorðan; [and] gif he forðiwiten is, þonⁿ gearwode ic him byrigenne. Ða heo ðas word icwæden hæfde, þa eode heo eft on hire cauertun_ [and] hire eadmodlice to driht_ bead.

Then it happened one day that he went to the Lord's temple and he, ioachim, stood there between those men who brought offering to God and he prepared his offering in God's sight. One of the scribes whose name was Ruben then approached him and said to him:

It is not allowed that you should stand between the men who bring offerings to God because God's blessing never came over you, in that he has never sent you a child.

Thus he suffered much shame before the people because of those words and then, thus shamed, he went out of the temple crying and then he didn't want to return again to his own home, but he departed to the wilderness to his sheep and took with him the shepherds and lived there for five months' time, so that no messenger travelled between him and his spouse.

Then Anna, his spouse, began crying, she prayed to God and spoke thus:

My Lord Israeli God, you who are strong and mighty over all creatures, and you never wanted to give me a child on earth and you took my husband away from me and I do not know where his life is on earth; and if he has gone then I have not prepared him a burial. Then when she had said that word she went again to her hall and humbly prayed to God.

[And] æfterðam þe heo hire gebed gefylled hæfde, þa ahof heo hire eagan up to drihtne. Ða geseah heo spearwan nest on anum lawertreowe. Heo ða wependre stefne clypode to drihtne [and] cw[æð]:

Drihten, þu ælmihtiga god, þu sealdest eallum gesceaftum byrðor [and] hi on þan gefeoð [and] ic þe nu þanc secge, þæt þu me ane ute atyndest fram þinre gyfe þære fremsumnysse. Hwæt, þu min drihten canst [and] wast mine heortan. Hwæt, ic þe fram fruman mines gesinscipes gehet; gyf þu me sealdest sunu oððe dohtor, þæt ic hi_wolde þe gebringan to þinum te[m]ple.

Ða heo þas word gecweden hæfde, hwæt, þa hyre ætywde drihtnes encgel [and] ðus cw[æð]: Ne ðearft ðu þe ondrædan, Anna, forðan þe þin þrowung is on godes geþeahte. Ð[æt] of ðe acenned bið, þæt bið on wundra eallu[m] folcum oð þ[æt] woruldes ende.

Ða midþa[m] þe he þas word gecweden hæfde, þa wæs he fram hyre eagum ahafen. Ða wæs heo swyðe forht geworden for ðæs engles gesihðe. Heo hire þa gewat into hyre clyfan [and] ðær awunode þone dæg [and] ða niht on hire gebede. Ða þæs on mergen þa gelaþode heo hyre þinene hire to [and] cwæð: Hwæt, þu me gesawe on wydewanhade beswicene [and] on mycelre nearonysse gesette [and] noldest me to frofre cuman?

Ða [and]swarode heo hire ungeþwærlice [and] hire cwæð to: Ðeah þe god þinne wer æt þe gename [and] ðinne innoð beluce, hwæt sceal ic þæs don? Ða þa heo ane þas word gehyrde, þa ongan heo biterlice wepan.

And æfterþan ðe heo hæfde hire bone ifylled, þa ahof heo hire eagan up to drihtne. [And] þa iseah heo an sparewæn nest on anu_lawertrewe. Heo þa mid wependre stefne clypode to drihtne [and] cwæð:

Drihten, þu almihtiga god, ðu þe sealdest alle isceftæ byrþor [and] heo on þon gefoð, ic þe nu þanc sæcge, þæt þu me ane ute atyndest fram þine gyfæ þare fremsumnysse. Hwæt, þu min drihten const [and] wast mine heortæ. Hwæt, ic þe fró frimþe mine __sinscipes bihæt, gif ðu me sealdest sunu oððe dohter, þ ic hire wolde þe bringæn to þine té[m]ple.

Ða heo þas word icwædon hæfde, þa æteowde hire godes engel [and] cwæþ: Nylt þu ðe ondredan, anna, forþan þin ðrowung is on godes þohte. þ of þe acenned bið, þ bið on wundra allú monn oð ðet woruldæ ende.

Ða midþæm ðe he þas word icwædon hæfde, þa wæs he fram hire eagan ahofen. Ða wæs heo swyðe forht iworden for þæs englæs isihðe. [And] heo þa eode into hire cleofæ [and] þær wunode ðone dæg [and] þa niht on hire _bedú. Ða wæs morgen iworden; þa laðede heo hire ðinene to hire [and] to hire cwæð: Hwæt, ðu me isawe on mine wydewanhade biswicene [and] on mycelre nearonysse isette [and] noldost me toforen cumen?

Ða answarde heo hire unðwærlice [and] hire to cwæð: Ðeah god þinne wær æt þe nome [and] þin_innoð biluce, hwæt sceal ic þe ðæs don. Ða þe heo anæ þas word ihyrde, þa ongon heo wepæn biterlice.

And then after this, when her prayer had been fulfilled, she lifted her eyes up to the Lord. Then she saw a sparrow's nest on a laurel tree. She then called to the Lord with weeping voice and said:

Lord, you almighty God, you give all creatures children and they then rejoice over the, and I now say my thanks to you, that you shut out me alone from your gifts of kindness. Why, you, my Lord, know and understand my heart. Why, I promised you from the beginning of my marriage, that if you give me a son or a daughter I would bring them to you in your temple.

When she spoke that word, behold, the Lord's angel appeared before her and spoke thus: You do not need to fear, Anna, because your suffering is in God's consideration. She who will be born of you, she is to be wondered at by all the peoples until the world's end.

Then when he had said that word he rose from her sight. Then she became very frightened because of the sight of the angel. She went into her room and there remained throughout the day and the night in her prayer. Then on that morning she called her servant to herself and said: Why, you saw me betrayed in widowhood and put in great distress and you did not want to come and comfort me?

Then she answered to her unkindly and told her: If the God took your husband away from you and locked your womb, what should I do with that? Once she heard that word she began to cry bitterly.

Hwæt, þa on þære ylcan tide
ætywde hi[m] sum swyðe wlitig
wer on þam westene, þær þær he
wæs mid his hyrdum, [and] him
cwæð to: For hwan nelt ðu ham
gehweorfan to þinu[m]
gemæccan?

Ða cwæð he loachim: Twentig
wintra ic wunode mid hyre [and]
me god nan bearn of hyre ne
sealde. Ac ic swyðe geæswicod
eode ut of ðam drihtnes temple;
forðan ic nylle eft ham
gehweorfan, ac ic wylle her
wunian þa hwile, þe drihten wile,
[and] ða godes gyfe for drihtnes
naman dælan, swa ic ær dyde. Ða
[and] swarode him se iunga [and]
cwæð:

Ic eom drihtnes encgel [and] nu to
dæg ic me æteowde þinum
gemæccan [and] hi_ gefrefrode,
þa þa heo hi_ wepende [and]
geomriende to drihtne gebæd.
[And] wite þu, þæt heo is of ðinum
sæde geeacnod, swa swa þu
nystest, þa þa þu hi ana forlæte,
[and] heo þe cenneð dohtor [and]
seo bið on godes temple
fulfremed, [and] se halga gast
restep on hyre, [and] hire
eadignyss_ astigeð ofer ealle wifa
cynn, [and] hire ne bið gelic ænig
þara þe ær wæs oððe æfter.

Cyr nu to þinu[m] gemæccan [and]
ðu gemetest hi_ geeacnode, [and]
ðu þæs gode þanc sege, forðan þe
hyre sæd bið gebletsod [and] heo
bið modor þære ecan bletsunge
geseted.

Hwæt, þa on ðære ylcan nihte him
æteowde sum swiðe wlitig wer on
ðam westene, þær þær he wæs
mid his heordú, [and] him to
cwæð: For hwá nelt þu ham
_hweorfan to þinú imæccan?

Þa cwæð ioachi: Twentig wintræ ic
wunod' mid hire [and] me god nan
bearn of hire ne sealde. Ac ic
swiðe geæswicod eode ut of þá
godes temple; forþan ic nylle æft
ham hweorfan, ac ic wylle her
wunian þa hwile, ðe drihten wyle,
[and] þa godes gife for drihtenes
nome dælan, swa ic ær dyde. Þa
andswarde hí þe ængel [and] ðus
cwæð:

Ic eom drihtine_ engel [and] nu to
dæg ic me æteowde þine
gemæccan [and] hire frefrode, þa
þa heo hire wæpende [and]
geomriende to drihtene bæd.
[And] wite þu nu, þ heo of ðine
sæde iacnod is, swa swa þu na hit
ne wistest. Ða þe ðu ane forlæte,
heo þe cenneð dohter [and] heo
bið on godes temple fulfremed,
[and] þe halga gast ræstæþ on
hire, [and] hire eadignyssæ
oferstihð all_ wifcynn, [and] hire
ne bið ilic ænig þare þe ær wæs
oððe æfter cymð.

Cyr nu to ðine imæccan [and] þu
imætest hire iacnode, [and] þas
ðonce gode, forþan ðe hire sæd
bið ibletsod [and] heo bið moder
þare æcæn bletsunge iset.

Behold, at that same time a very
handsome man appeared to him
in the wilderness, there where he
was with his herds and said to
him: Why do you not want to
return home to your spouse?

Then said he, loachim: Twenty
winters I lived with her and God
did not give me any child from
her. But I went out of the God's
temple very offended; because of
that I do not want to return home
again, but I want to remain here
for the while that Lord wills and
divide the God's gifts in the Lord's
name, as I did before. Then the
youth answered him and said:

I am the Lord's angel and today I
showed myself to your spouse and
comforted her, because she was
crying and prayed to the Lord,
lamenting. And know that she is
pregnant with your seed, so that
you did not know when you left
her alone and she will give birth to
a daughter and she will be brought
up to perfection in God's temple
and the holy ghost will rest on her
and her blessedness will descend
over all woman-kind and to her
will not be similar any that there
before her was or after her will be.

Return now to your spouse and
you will find her pregnant and give
thanks to God for that, because
her child is blessed and she was
chosen the mother of eternal
blessing.

Ða wurpode hine ioachim [and] him cwæþ to: Gyf hit þus gewurðan scule, swa þu cwyst, site mid me on minum huse [and] gebletsa þinne þeow.

Ða cwæð se encgel to him: Hwi wylt þu la cweðan, þ[æt] ðu sy min þeowa, ac þu eart min efenþeowa, forðan þe wit syndon anes godes þeow. [And] ic þe secge, þ[æt] min mete ne min drenc ne mæg beon fram mannum gesewen. Ac swa hwæt swa þu me to gyfe tihhie, bring þæt gode to onsægednysse.

He þa ioachim gode brohte unwemme_ lac [and] to ðam engle cwæð: Næs ic na gedyrstig, þæt ic gode sacerdlíce onsægednysse brohte, þær þu me ne hete. Ða cwæð se encgel: Na ic ðe ne hete gode sacerdlíce onsægednysse bringan, forðam gyf ic godes willan to þan on þe ne ongeate. Ða gewat se encgel samod mid ðam stence þære onsægednysse into heofonum.

He ða ioachim wearð to þam forht, þat he feoll on his ansyn [and] læg swilce he dead wære fram þære sixtan tide þæs dæges, oð þ[æt] æfen wæs. Him þa to genealæhton his hyrdas [and] hi hine þa gesawon licgan [and] nyston þone intingan on him, ac ahofen hine up, [and] hi wendon, þæt he wolde hine sylfne acwellan.

Ða ahof he his heafod up [and] he him asæde þa his gesihðe, þe he geseah. Ða wurdon hi sona afyrhte [and] eac wundrodon, oð þ[æt] he heom eall asæd hæfde; [and] hi ða ealle hine trymedon [and] lærdon, þ[æt] he gehyrsu[m] wære þæs engles wordum [and] þ[æt] he hraþe gehwyrfe ham to his gemæccan.

Ða weorðede hine ioachi [and] him to cwæð: Gif hit þus iwyrðan scyle, swa ðu cwæst, site mid me on mine huse [and] _bletse þinne ðeow.

Ða cwæð þe engel to hí: Hwi wilt ðu la cwæðon, þ ðu beo min ðeowæ, ac þu eart min efenðeowæ, forþan wit beoð anes godes þeow. [And] ic þe secge, þet min mæte and min drync ne mæg beon from moní isægen. Ac swa hwæt swa ðu me to gife tihstest, bring þæt gode to unsægednesse.

He þa ioachim brohte unwemmed lac [and] to þam engle cwæð: Næs ic na geðyrstig, þ ic gode sacerdlíce onsægednesse brohte, gif þu me ne hæte. Ða cw[æð] þe engel: Na ic þe ne hate gode sacerdlíce onsægednesse bringan, forþan ðe ic godes willæn to þam ne ongeate. Ða ferde þe engel samod mid þam stence ðære onsægednysse into heofenú.

He þa ioachi_ wearð to þam afyrht, þ he feoll on eorþan [and] læg swylce he dead were fram þære sixtan tide þæs dæges, oð ðet hit euen wæs. Him þa to nealæhton his heordæs [and] heo hine þa isegæn liogan [and] nysten þenne intingæn on him, ac _hofen him up, [and] heo cwæden, þ he wolde hine sylfne acwællæn.

Ða ahof he his heafod up [and] sæde heom his sihðe, þe he iseah. Ða wyrdon heo sonæ afyrhte [and] eac wundredon, oð ðet he hit heom all isæd hæfde; [and] heo alle þa hine tremedon [and] lærdon, þ he ihyrsu[m] wære þæs englæs wordú [and] þ he hraþe hwirfde ham to his imæccæn.

Then ioachim worshipped him and said to him: If it should happen thus as you say, sit with me in my house and bless your servant.

Then said the angel to him: Why would you say that that you are my servant, when you are my even-servant, because the two of us are servants of one God. And I say to you that neither my food, nor my drink may be seen by men. But whatever you considered as a gift to me, bring that as an offering to God.

He, ioachim, then brought to God an unspotted offering and to the angel said: I would not be so bold as to bring to God priestly offering, had you not commanded me. Then the angel said: Neither would I command you to bring to God priestly offering, had I not in you perceived that such is God's will. Then the angel went together with the scent of the offering into heaven.

He, ioachim, then became so frightened that he fell on his face and lay as if he was dead from the sixth hour of that day until it was evening. His shepherds approached him then and they saw him lying there and did not know of any cause but they lifted him up and assumed that he had wanted to kill himself.

Then he lifted his head up and he told them of the sight that he saw. Then they were immediately frightened and also amazed, until he told them everything; and then they all encouraged and instructed him that he should listen to the angel's words and that he should quickly return home to his spouse.

He ða ioachi[m] þreodode [and] smeade on his mode, hwæt he embe þæt dyde. Ða wearð he færinga on slæpe gehwyrfed. Him þa eft ætywde se ylca godes encgel on slæpe [and] him to cwæð:

Ic eom godes engel [and] fram drihtne ic eom þe to hyrde geset. Ac gewit nu ham orsorh to ðinu[m] gemæccan [and] ingcer mildheortnyss_, þe gyt worhten, is beforan godes gesihðe [and] ingcer nama wæs gesædd beforan godes gesihðe on his þrymsetle, [and] he drihten ingc syleð swa myccler grownysse on ingcran beorðre, swa he næfre nænigan halgan ær ne sealde, ne nu eft ne sylleð.

He þa ioachim of þam slæpe aras [and] his swefen sæde his hyrdu[m]. Hi ða ealle hine bædon [and] halsedon, þ[æt] he gehyrsumode þæs engles wordum [and] ricene ham gecyrde. Ða wæs he ær gegan for his unrotnysse on þam westene to ðam feor, þ[æt] he for XXX daga fæc ne mihte ham to his gemæccan gehweorfan. Heo þa Anna wæs æt hyre gebede, þa ætywde hyre drihtnes encgel [and] hyre gecigde þone hamsið hyre gemæccan.

[And] heo ða mid hyre hyrede him ongean ferde mid mycclum gefean; swylce eac hyre mægðe [and] eall Israhela bearn mycelne gefean hæfdon be his hamcyme [and] be ðam hlisan hire geeacnunge.

He þa ioachi ðreodode on his mode, hwæt he embe þæt dyde. Ða wearð he feringæ on slæpe gehwyrfed. Him þa æteowde be ilcæ engel eft on slepe [and] hí to cw[æ]ð:

Ic eom godes engel [and] fró drihtne ic am þe to heorde iset. Ac fare nu ham orsorh to ðine _mæccan [and] eower mildheortnyss_, þe ge wrohton, [and] eower nomæ wæs iræded beforæn drihtnes isihðe on his ðreomsettle, [and] he eow sylleð swa mycele grownisse on eower beorðran, swa he næfre nænne halge ær ne sealde, ne nu næfre æft ne sylleð.

He þe ioachi_ of þam slepe aras [and] his swefen sæde his heordú. Heo þa alle hine bædon [and] halsedon, þ he ihyrsumode þas englæs wordum [and] ræcene ham cyrde. Ða wæs he ær igan for his unrotnysse on þam westene swa feor, þ he for ðrittige dagene fæcc ne mihte ham to his mæcce gehweorfan. Heo þa Anna wæs æt hire bede, þa æteowde hire drihtnes engel [and] hire cydde ðone hamsið hire imacen.

[And] heo þa mid hire hinene him ongean eode mid mycle gefean; swilce eac hire magas [and] all israelæ bearn mycele blisse hæfdon bi his hamcyme [and] be þam lisan hira geeacnunge.

He, ioachim, then thought and pondered in his mind what he should do about that deed. Then he suddenly fell asleep. The same God's angel appeared to him again in sleep and said to him:

I am God's angel and I am sent from the Lord to guard you. But return now without fear to your spouse at home and the mercy that the two of you have been shown is before God's sight and the names of the two of you were uttered before God's sight on his throne and he, the Lord, has given to you two in your child so much prosperity, as he never gave any pious before, nor ever shall again.

He, ioachim, then arose from that sleep and told his shepherds about his dream. They all begged him and implored that he should obey the angel's words and quickly returns home. He had gone so deep into the wilderness because of his unhappiness, that he could not return home to his spouse before thirty days' time. She, Anna, was then at her prayer, when the Lord's angel appeared to her and announced to her her husband's journey home.

And she then with her household went to meet him with great joy; so also her kin and all Israel's children felt much joy about his homecoming and about the news of her conception.

Hwæt, þa æfterþan wæron
gefylde nigan monað hire
geeacnunge, þa cende Anna hyre
dohtor on þissum dæge [and] hyre
naman gecigde Maria, [and] heo
hi_ ða fedde þreo winter æt hire
breostum. loachim þa [and] Anna
læddon þæt cild mid heom to
þære halgan ceastre [and] ða lac
brohton mid heom to ðam
drihtnes temple, þe Iudea gewuna
wæs.

[And] hi ða sealdon þ[æt] cild on
gemanan þære fæmna, þe
dæges [and] nihtes on godes lofe
wunodon. Heo þa up eode mid
þam oðrum fæmnum on þa fiftyne
stæpas on þam temple, swa heo
on bæc ne beseah, ne æfter hyre
yldrum ne murnde, swa swa cildra
gewuna is.

Ac heo wæs on gange [and] on
worde [and] on eallum gebærum
gelic wynsuman men, þe hæfde
XXX wintra, [and] heo geornlice
[and] eadmodlice þurhwunode on
hyre gebede, oð þ[æt] þa biscopas
[and] eall þ[æt] folc wundrodon
on hire gebære.

Ða cende anna hire dohtor [and]
hire nome nemnode maria, [and]
heo hire þa fedde þreo wintræ æt
hire breoste. loachi_ [and] anna
þa læddon þ child mid heom to
þare halgan ceastre [and] þ lac
brohten mid heom into þam
drihtines temple, þe iudea iwune
wæs.

[And] heo þa sealden þ child on
gemæne þære femnæ, þe dæges
[and] nihtes on godes lofe
wunoden. Heo up eode mid þam
oðre femnú on þa XV stæpes on
þa temple, swa heo ne on beac ne
beseah, ne heo na ne tealtrade, ne
æfter hire ealdre ne rymde, swa
swa childes gewunæ wæs.

Ac heo wæs on geange [and] on
wordæ [and] on allú ibære ilic
wunsumen menn, þe hæfde þrittig
wintræ, [and] heo geornlice [and]
eadmodlice þurhwunode on hiræ
_bedum, oð ðet þa biscopæs [and]
all þ folc wundræde on hire
ibærum.

Behold, then when afterwards
nine months of her pregnancy
were fulfilled, then Anna gave
birth to her daughter on this day
and named her Maria and then
fed her for three winters at her
breast. Then loachim and Anna
took the child with them to the
holy citadel and then brought with
them offering to the Lord's
temple, as was the custom in
Judea.

And then they put the child in
company of those virgins who
spend days and nights praising
God. As she then went with the
other virgins up the fifteen steps
to the temple, she did not look
back, nor did she yearn for her
parents as is children's custom.

But she was in walking and in
words and in all behaviour like
agreeable men who are thirty
winters old, and she earnestly and
humbly remained at her prayers
until the bishops and all the
people were amazed at her
behaviour.

Heo Anna þa, S[an]c[t]a Marian modor, wæs gefylled mid halige gaste [and] witegode þa beforan þam folce [and] ðus cwæþ:

Drihten ælmihtig god wæs gemyndig his wordæ, þe he sylfa cwæð, ðæt he wolde his folc gesecan mid haligre geneosunge [and] ða þeode, þe wið us arisan, he wolde geeadmedigan, þæt hi gecyrdon to heora sylfra heortan [and] heora earan ontynon to urum benum, [and] ða bysmernysa ura feondum fram us acerron.

On ðam mundbyrdum ecre blisse tuddor forgeafon on Israhelum, swa me min drihten forgeaf, þæt ic mot gode gecweme lac bringan, ær me mine fynd ascufon fram þære halgan onsegednysse for minre unwæstmberendnysse. Drihten min acerde hi[m] fram me [and] me forgeaf ecne gefean.

Heo anna þa wæs ifylled mid þam halgan gaste [and] heo witegode þa biforen þam folce [and] þus cw[æð]:

Driht_almihtig god wæs imundig his wordæ, þe he sylf_cwæð, þ he wolde his folce_secan haligre neosunge [and] þa ðeode, þe mid us arisæn, he wolde eadmedigan, þ heo cyrdon to heoræ silfræ heortú [and] heoræ earan ontynon to ure benú, [and] þa bismernesse ure feódú from us acyrdon.

On þam unbeoðrum æcere blisse, ðe þar igefæn is on israele, swa me mic drihten_geaf, þ ic mot gode icwæme lac bringan, ær me mine feond ascufon from þare halgan onsegednysse for mine unberendnysse. Drihten min acerde heom from me [and] me_geaf ecce blisse.

Then she, Anna, mother of Saint Mary, was filled with Holy Ghost and prophesised there before the people and spoke thus:

Lord almighty God was mindful of his words, which he himself had said, that he would bless his people with this holy visitation and the people who rise against us he would behumble, so that they would turn to their own hearts and open their ears to our prayer and then turn away from us the smearing of our enemies.

In the protection of an eternally blessed offspring bestowed upon Israel, my Lord granted me that I may bring to God a pleasant offering, while earlier my enemies drove me from the holy offering for my infertility. My Lord turned them away from me and shall grant me eternal blessing.

Ða heo þas word gecweden
hæfde, þa cyrdon hi ham mid þam
[and] þ[æt] cild forleton æt ðam
halgan temple mid oðrum
fæmnum. Heo ða weox [and]
wearð fulfremed on godra mægna
heanyssu[m], [and] heo ða sone
godum towcræftum onfeng,
swyðor þonne ænig þara þe heora
bearn wæron wifa [and]
fæmnena.

[And] heo gesette hyre sylfre
haligne regol, swa þæt heo wolde
beon fram þære ærestan tide þæs
dæges on hyre halgum gebedum
wuniende oð þ[æt] ða þridan
tid_ [and] fram þære þridan tide
oð ða nigoþan tid_ ymbe hyre
webbgeworc.

[And] eft fram þære nigoðan tide
heo þurhwunode standende on
hyre gebedum, oð þ[æt] godes
encgel hyre ætywde [and] hyre
brohte heofonlice_ swetnysse
[and] heo onbirigde þære of his
handa.

[And] heo syðþan wæs betere
[and] swyðre on godes lufan [and]
on gastlicra mægna heanyssu[m],
[and] heo ylðran fæmnan lærde to
godes willan [and] heo wæs
getyddre [and] snotere on þære
godes æ, þonne ænig þære þe
hyre beforan wæs.

Ða heo þas word icwædon hæfde,
þa cyrdon heo ham mid þam [and]
þ child forlæten æt þá temple mid
þam oðre femnen. [And] heo þa
weox [and] wearð fulfremed on
godræ mægene heanyssæ, [and]
heo þa sonæ godú towcræftú
onfeng, [and] swiðor þone ænig
þare þe heore bearn wæren wifæ
[and] femnena.

And heo _sette hire sylf_ haligne
regol, swa þ heo wolde beon fram
þare æreste tyde þæs dæges on
hire halig_ _beden wuniende oð
ðet þa ðridde tyde, on þa nigoðæn
tide emben hire webgeworc.

[And] æft fram þare nigoðan tyde
heo þurhwunode standende on
hire ibedú, oð ðet godes engel hire
æteowde [and] hire brohte
heofenlices swetnysse [and] heo
þaræ burigde of his handa.

[And] heo syððan wæs betere
[and] swiðre on godes lufæn [and]
on gastlicæ mægenæ heanyssæ,
[and] heo ylðræn femnæn lærde
to godes willæn [and] heo wæs
tyddre [and] snotere on þare
godes lage, þone ænig þære þe
hire biforen wæs.

After she has spoken that word,
they returned home with that and
left the child at the holy temple
with the other virgins. She grew
up there and was brought to
perfection in good virtues of
humbleness and she then soon
took up good skill in weaving,
better than any there whose
children⁵⁸ were women and
virgins.

And she set for herself holy rules,
so that she would be from the first
time of the day alone at her holy
prayer until the third hour and
from the third hour until the ninth
hour about her web-work.

And again from the ninth hour she
dwelt standing in her prayer until
the God's angel appeared to her
and brought her sweetness from
heaven and she took it from his
hands.

And she afterwards was better
and grew strong in God's love and
in the spiritual virtue of
humbleness and she taught older
virgins about God's will and she
was more learned and wise about
God's law than any before her
ever was.

⁵⁸ unclear passage, this translation is
only approximate

Heo wæs eadmodre [and] on godes lufan glæddre [and] on hyre gebohtum clænre [and] on ðam davidiscu[m] sangum wrætlicre [and] wisra, þonne heora ænig ær wære. Heo wæs þolemōd [and] gestæðþig on hire gebæran [and] ne geseah hi nan man yrre, ne tælan, ne wyrgean, ne nan man ne gehyrde yfel word of hyre muðe gan.

Ac hyre word wæron godes gyfe full [and] heo wæs on hyre heortan smeagende þonne wisdo[m] godes boca. [And] ða fæmnan, þe mid hyre wæron, heo getrymde, þæt hi on heora gebedum þurhwunodon [and] on godes lofa [and] þæt heora nan stefne up ne ahofe on idlum læhtre, ne hy on heora tungan teonan ne cwæden, ne nan yfel word of heora mupe ut ne eode.

And of heom aras ærest se gewuna, þæt se man, se ðe oþerne mid lufan gegrete, þæt he him godcunde bletsunge ongean sette. And dæghwamlice heo onfeng mete of ðæs engles hande [and] mid þa[m] gereordod wæs, [and] ðone mete, þe heo æt þa[m] bisceope onfeng æt ðam temple, heo gedælde þearfendum mannum. [And] swa hwilc man swa hi untrum gesohte, eft he eode hal fram hire.

Heo wæs eadmodre [and] on godes lufe glæddre [and] on þohte clænre [and] on þam dauidisce sange wrætlicre, þone ænig wære. [And] heo wæs ðolemod [and] steaðig on hire ibærum [and] nan mon ne seah hire wrað, ne tælan, ne warigen, ne nan word yfeles of hire muðe ne com.

Ac hire word weró godes gife full [and] he wæs on hire heortæn smeagende þone wisdom on godes bocæ. [And] ða fæmnen, þe mid hire weron, heo tymede, þ heo on heoræ bedum þurhwyndon [and] on godes lofe [and] nan heoræ stefne on ydele læhtre up ahufe, ne heo on heoræ tungan teonan ne cwædon, ne nan yfel word of heoræ muðe ut ne eode.

[And] of hire aras ærest þe wunæ, þ ðe mon, ðe oðerne grete mid leofe worden, þ he him godcunde bletsunge ongean sette. [And] dæghwamlice heo underfeng mete of þas englæs handa [and] mid þan heo ireordod wæs, [and] þone mete, þe heo æt þam bisceope underfeng on þam temple, þone heo dælde ðearfendú mon. And swa hwilc mon swa hire untrum isohte, æft he eode hal fram hire.

She was humbler and more cheered by God's love and in her thoughts cleaner and more amazed by David's songs and wiser than any before her were. She was patient and steady in her bearings and no man saw her angry, nor blaming, nor cursing, neither did any man ever hear an evil word come from her mouth.

But her words were full of God's grace and in her heart she contemplated the wisdom of God's books. And the virgins, who were with her, she improved so that they stayed at their prayer and in worship of God, and so that none of them ever rose her voice in idle blame, nor did their tongues speak any harm, nor did an evil word ever come out of their mouths.

And from them first arose the custom that the man, who greets another with love, gives him a Godly blessing. And daily she took food from the angel's hands and was fed with that, and the food, which was then given to her by the bishop at the temple she divided between needy men. And whichever ill man sought her out, he often went back healthy from her.

Ða gelamp hit, þ[æt] Abiathar, se sacerd, brohte mycclē_gyfe þa[m] bisceope [and] bæd hine, þæt he gesealde Maria_n his sunu to gemæccan. Ða styrde Maria_him [and] cwæð anrædlice: Ne gewurð þæt næfre swa, þ[æt] ic wer grete oððe wer me.

Ða [and]wyrðan þa_biscopas_hyre [and] hyre mægðe on þam te[m]ple [and] cwæðan: god wæs on bearnum begangan [and] on eaforan weorþað, swa þ[æt] gewunelic wæs on godes folce Israhelum. Ða [and]wyrde Maria [and] hi[m] cwæð to: Næs nan rihtwis man, ne nan halig ær Abel, [and] hine arleaslice his broðor ofslōh.

He brohte twyfealde gyfe drihtne hluttre onsegednyse [and] his lichaman clænnysse. Swylce_eac Helias wæs on þissere worulde, ac he wearð alæded mid lichaman [and] mid sawle to heofonu[m], forðan þe he his clænnysse geheold.

Þa ilamp hit, þ abiathar, þe sacerd, brohte mycelne gyfe þam biscope [and] bæd hine, þet he sealde maria_ his sune to imæccæn. Ða steorde maria_æ him [and] cwæð andredlice: Ne _wurðæþ þ næfre swa, þ ic wer grete oððe wer me.

Ða answerden hire þa_biscopas [and] hire magas alle, þe on þam temple werð, [and] cwædon: God wæs on bearnú begangen [and] in eaforen weorðap, swa ðet iwunelic wæs on godes folce israele. Þa answyrd maria [and] heom cwæð to: Næs nan rihtwis mon, ne halig ær abel, [and] hine arleaslice unwis ofslōh.

He brohte twyfealde gyfe drihtene luttre onsegednyse [and] his lichames clænnysse. Eac swylce helias wæs of þissere weoruldæ ilæd on lichame, forþan ðe he his clænnysse heold.

Then it happened that Abiathar the priest brought many gifts to the bishop and begged him that he could have his son marry Mary. Then Maria corrected him and said resolutely: It will never be so, that I should know a man or a man me.

Then the bishops answered her and her kin in the temple and said: God was worshipped by children and honoured by offsprings, as was the custom among God's people of Israel. Then answered Maria and said to them: There was no righteous man, nor a pious one before Abel, and he was wickedly killed by his brother.

He brought a two-fold gift to the Lord, a clean offering and his bodily cleanliness. Such was also Elias in this world, but he was taken away with body and with soul to heaven because he had upheld his cleanliness.

Ða wæs heo, swylce heo wære XIV wintra. Ða gede[m]don þa Phariseas, þæt heo syððan wunian sceolde on þam godes temple. Hy ða geþeahotodon, þæt hi Israhela folc gelaðodon to ðam godes temple þy þridan dæge. Ða þa hy þider gesamnod wæron, þa astah se heahbiscop Isachar up on þone ytemestan stæpe, clypode þa hludre stefne [and] ðus cwæð:

Gehyrað nu, Israhela bearn, mine word. Hwæt, ge witon, þ[æt] Salomon þis tempel getimbrode [and] her wæron syððan inne cyninga bearn [and] witegena [and] heahsacerda, oð þ[æt] hi becomon to ælicre yldo_. [And] hi gelimplice heora yldran wæron gehyrsume to ælicum gyftum [and] heora bearn eft gode lac brohton swyðe gecweme to þa[m] godes temple [and] on heora yldrena endebyrdnyse gode gecwemdon.

Nu is þonn[e] gemeted, þæt Maria hæfð niwe endebyrdnyse ongunnon gode mid to gecwemanne, cweð, þæt heo wile hire mægðhad bringan. Nu þonne uton secan þa andsware to gode ure axunge, þ[æt] god us gecyðe, hwilcu[m] wære we hi_ befæstan sculon to healdenne. Ða gelicode þæt word þære gesamnung[e] [and] hy ða asenden hlota ofer þa XII cyn Israhela. Ða gefeoll þæt hlot ofer ludan cyn, iacobes sunu.

Wæs heo, swylc_ heo wære feowertene wintræ. Þa _demden pharisei, þ heo syððan wunian sceolde on þam godes temple.

Ðæt þridde dæg, þa heo þa ðider isamnod wæron, þa astah þe heahbiscop isachar up on þone ytemeste stæpe [and] clypode þa luddre stefne [and] þus cw[æð]:

lhyræð nu, israele bearn, min_ word. Ge witon, þ salomon þis temple timbrode [and] her wæron syððan inne kyningæ bearn [and] witegenæ [and] heahsacerdæ, oð ðet heo bicomen to ælicre yldon. [And] heo ilimplice heora yldran wæron eawfestæ [and] heoræ bearn æft gode icweme lac brohtn to þam godes temple [and] heora yldrene endebyrdnyse gode icwæmdon.

Nu is ðonne imetod, þ maria hæfð niwe endebyrdnyse ongunnen gode mid to cwemene, sægð, þ heo wyle gode hire mægðhad bringan. Uton secan þa andsware æt gode sylfum ure axunge, þ god us cyþe, hwylce wære we hire bifæsten sceolen to haldene. Þa licode þet word alle þare samnung[e] and þa senden lot_ ofer þa tweolf cynn israele bearnu. Þa feol þ lot ofer iudan cynn, iacobes sune.

Then she was fourteen winters old. Then judged the Pharisees that she should afterwards dwell in the God's temple. They then decided that they will invite the Israeli people to God's temple on the third day. Then when they were gathered there, the archbishop Isachar ascended up on the highest step, called with a loud voice and spoke thus:

Listen now, Israel's children, my words. Why, you know, that this temple was built by Salomon and that here were the children of the king and of wise-men and of high priests until they reached the age prescribed by law. And they were obedient to their parents as to lawful marriages and their children often brought very pleasing offering to the God's temple and in order according to their parent's rank.

Now it happened that Mary has taken up a new occupation with which she wishes to please God, said that she wants to offer her maidenhood. Now let us seek from God an answer to our question, God will let us know, which man we should entrust with guarding her. The word delighted the gathering and they then cast a lot over the twelve tribes of Israel. The lot fell on the Judah kin, sons of Jacob.

Ða bebead se sacerd, þ[æt] þ[æt] iudan cynn come eall þæs on mergen to ðam halgan temple, ælc þæra þe wif næfde, [and] hæfde him gyrda on handa. Ða wæs þonon geworden, þ[æt] ioseph wæs gehaten sum gewinrod man, eode þyder mid iungum mannu[m] [and] his gyrde bær.

Ða genam se sacerd ealle þa gyrde [and] bær into þam Sancta Sancta S[an]c[t]orum [and] bebead, þæt hi comon þæs on mergen [and] name ælc his gyrde, [and] ðonne sceolde culfre fleogan of þære gyrde foreweardre up oð þone heofon.

Ðonne sceolde se wer beon hyrde þære fæmnan. Ða wæs geworden on mergen þæs æfteran dæg, þæt hi comon ealle on þa tid þære onsægednyss, [and] he ða inn eode se biscop into þam Sancta Sancta S[an]c[t]orum, wæs þæt þæra haligra haligra ealra, [and] he ða genam þa gyrde [and] sealde heora æghwilcu[m] his gyrd on sundran.

Ða wæs þæra manna þreo þusenda, ac ða of nan þara gyrda seo culfre ne eode. Ða gegyrede hine Abiathar se biscop mid þære heahsacerda gegyrlan [and] eode into ðam Sancta Sancta S[an]c[t]orum [and] onbærnde þa drihtne sende. Ða ætywde him drihtnes encgel [and] him cwæð to:

Seo seleste gyrd is gyt unseald, seo þe þu for naht ne telest. Nim þa [and] syle, þonne cymð þær tacen of hyre, þe þu þær setest. Wæs þæt iosepes gyrd.

Ða bead þe sacerd, þ iudan cynn come þæs on mærgen to þam godes temple, ælc þære ðe wif næfde, [and] hæfde heoræ ælc gyrdæ on hondæ. Ða wæs ðonen iworden, þ ioseph wæs ihatan sum iwintred mon [and] eode þider mid gungú monn [and] his gerde þider bær.

Ða nam þe sacerd alle gerdæn [and] bær ða into scá scóf [and] bead, þ heo comen on mærgen [and] nome ælc his gyrd, [and] þonne sceolde an culfre fleon of ðære gyrde foreweardre up into heofen.

Ðenne scold' þe wer beon hyrde þære fæmnan. Ða wæs iworden on mærgen þæs æftren dæg, þa comen heo ealle on þa tid þære onsægednyss, [and] þa in eode þe biscop abiathar into scá scóf, wæs þæt þære haligra haligra ealra, and he þa nom þa gyrdan [and] sealde anre gehwylcu heom on syndron.

Wæs ðare monn ðreo þusendæ, [and] þa of nan þære gyrde þeo culfre ut ne eode. Ða gescrydde hine abiathar þe biscop mid þam heahsacerdæ gyrlan [and] in eode on þa scá scóf [and] onbærnde þa onsægednyss [and] his bene to drihtine sende. Ða æteow him drihtines engel [and] him to cwæð:

Ðeo sæleste gerde is git æfter, þe ðu for naht ne tellest. Nym þa [and] syle, þonne cymð þær tacen of hire, þ ðu þær secgst. Wæs þ iosepes gyrd.

Then the priest comanded that that the Judah people should all come on that morning to the holy temple, all those that did not have wives and should have their rods in their hands. Afterwards it happened that Joseph was the name of a seasoned man, who went there with younger men and carried his rod.

The priest then took all the rods and bore them into the Sancta Sanctorum and commanded that they come there on the morrow and they each should take their rod and then a dove should fly up from the rod forward up to the heaven.

Then should the man become the guardian of the woman. That happened in the morning of the next day that they all came at the time of the offering and the bishop then went into the Sancta Sanctorum, where there was the holy of holies, and he took the rods and gave every one of them his rod separately.

There were three thousand of these men, but then no dove came from any of the rods. Then Abiathar the bishop with the high priests put on attire and went into the Sancta Sanctorum and sent to the Lord burned offering. Then the Lord's angel appeared to him and said to him:

The best rod has yet not been given, the one that you took for naught. Take it and give it, then the sign which you have set will come out of it. It was Joseph's rod.

Ða næs he na gesoht, forðan þe he wæs eald [and] ytemest stod. Ða clypode se biscop mid mycelre stefne hine [and] cydde him þ[æt], [and] he ða sone onfeng þæra gyrda of ðæs bisceopes handum. Hwæt, þær of sona fleah culfre swyðe hwit [and] geo geond fleah þa heannysse þæs te[m]ples [and] heo ða gewat into heofonum.

Ða wæs þæt folc fægniende [and] swyðe bliðe [and] cwædon to iosepe: Eadig eart ðu on þinre ylde, nu þe god swa gewurðode, þ[æt] ðu scealt beon hyrde þære clænan fæmnan. Eac swylce þa biscopas cwædon: Onfoh hyre nu, forðan þe þu eart ana gecoren on þinum cynne hyre to hyrde fram gode.

He ða ioseph cwæð mid bifiendre stefne: Nis min gemet swilcum cilde to onfonne, forðan þe ic hæbbe fela bearna [and] ða synd ealle yldran þonne heo.

Þa næs heo na isoht, forþan ðe ioseph wæs eald [and] on utemeste stod. Þa clypode þe biscop hine mycle stefne [and] hine nemnode [and] him his gyrdæ sealde. [And] þa on sæmningæ fleah þær culfre ut swiðe hwit [and] fleah geond þa hwæmmes þæs temples [and] þa gewat on ðone heofen.

Þa wæs ðet folc swiðe gefeonde [and] cwædon to iosepe: Eadig eart þu on þine ylde, nu ðe god swa gewurðode, þ ðu scealt beon hyrde þære clænen fæmnen. Eac swylce þa biscopas cwædon: Onfoh hire nu, ioseph, forþan ðe þu eart anæ icoren on þine cynne hire to hyrde from gode.

He þa ioseph cwæð bifiendre stefne: Nis min gemet swylcú cilde to onfonne, forþan ðe ic hæbbe fela bearnæ [and] þa beoð alle yldræ þon heo.

He was not sought after because he was old and stood the furthest. Then the bishop called out with a loud voice and told him that and he immediately took his rod from the bishop's hands. Behold, a very white dove immediately flew out of it and flew through the height of the temple and then went into heaven.

Then the people rejoiced and were very glad and said to Joseph: Blessed are you in your age, now that God exalted you so that you shall be the guardian of the clean virgin. Also the bishops were saying: Take her now because you are the one chosen by God out of your kin to guard her.

Then Joseph said with a trembling voice: It is not appropriate for me to take this child, because I have many children and they are all older than her.

Ða cwæð se biscop to hi[m]:
Gemune þu, hu hit gelamp be
Dathan, hu he forwearð [and]
manega eac þa ðe godes willan, ac
ic hy gehealde, oð þ[æt] ic ongyte
godes willan on hyre [and] god
þonne gecyþeð, hwilc iungra
manna on minum cynne hyre
wurðe bið.

Ac syle þam clænan fæmnan
fultum, þæt heo wunigen mid hig
oð þ[æt] ælice ylde. Ða cwæð se
biscop: Fæmnan beoð hyre on
fultume oð þæne dæg eowra
gemænunga, [and] ne mæg hig
nan oðer onfon.

Ða onfeng ioseph hi mid oðrum
fæmnum, þe hyre wæron on
fultume geseald to iosepes
hame. Ða wæron þus gehatene, ærest
Becca, Sephira, Susanna, Abugea
[and] Sehel. [And] se biscop sealde
heom eallum godweb to wefanne
of seolce [and] of mislicum hiwum
wahrift to þam te[m]ple. Ða
onfeng Maria hwit_ godweb_ to
wefanne [and] ða oðre mislices
hiwes. Ða soræcon⁵⁹ hi heom
betwynan on gleo [and] ðus
cwædon:

Þu eart ure gingast, þe miht wefan
þæt hwite godweb, [and] ðu miht
beon ure cwen. Ða þa hi þas word
spræcon on gleo, ða ætywde
heom drihtnes encgel [and] cwæð:
Ne sceal eower word beon on
idelnysa, ac hit sceal beon mid
soðe gecyþed, forðan þe scolde
beon middaneardes cwen. Ða
wæron hi ealle swiðe forhte for
ðæs engles gesihðe [and] his
worde [and] ongunnon hi_
wurþian [and] hyre eadmidlice
hyran.

Ða cwæð þe biscop to him:
Gemun_ þu, hu _lamp daban; he
forwearð [and] monige eac mid
him, þa þe godes willæn
forhokedon. Ða cw[æð] he ioseph:
Ne forhoge ic na godes willæn on
hire, [and] god þonne cyðap,
hwylc geongræ monnæ on mine
cynne hire wurðe bið.

Ac ic onfo þare clænen femnæn, þ
heo wunie mid me, oð ðet heo
hæbbe ælycre ylde. Ða cwæð þe
biscop: Fæmnen beoð mid hyre on
fultume oð þæne dæg incre
geamúgæ, [and] ne mæg hire nan
oðer wer underfon.

Ða onfeng ioseph mariam mid
oðre fif fæmnum, þe hire wæron
on fultume iseald to iosepes
hame. Ða wæron ihatene, æræst
þus: becca, saphira, Susanna,
Abugea [and] Sehel. [And] þe
biscop sealde heom alle godeweb
to wæfenne of seolce [and] of
mislice hiwú wahrift to þam
temple. Ða onfeng maria hwite
godewebbes to wefanne [and] þa
oðre mislices hiwæs. Ða specan
heo heom betweenen on gleaw
[and] ðus cwædon:

Þu eart ure gingast, þu miht wefan
þ hwite godweb [and] þu miht
beon ure cwæn. Ða þas word
spræcon, ða æteowde heom
drihtines engel [and] cwæð: Ne
sceal eower word beon on
ydelnyse, ac hit sceal mit soðe
beon icyðed, forþan þe witegan
gearæ sædon, þ heo sceolde beon
middaneardes cwen. Ða weron
heo alle swiðe afyrhte for þæs
engles isihðe [and] his worde
[and] heo ongunnon hire
weorðian [and] hire eadmodlice
heran.

The bishop then said to him:
Remember how it happened with
Dathan, how he perished and
many similar with him by God's
will. But I will guard her until I will
know God's will with her, until
God will make it known, which
young man of my kin will be
worthy of her.

But give help to the pure virgin, so
that she may live with them until
she reaches lawful age. Then the
bishop said: The virgins will be of
assistance to her until the day of
your marriage, and no other may
take her.

Then Joseph took her with the
other virgins that were given to
her for assistance to Joseph's
home. They were named thus,
first Becca, Sephira, Susanna,
Abugea and Sehel. And the bishop
gave them all precious cloth to
weave a curtain for the temple
from silk and of miscellaneous
hues. Mary then began to weave
white cloth and the others the
miscellaneous hues. Then they
spoke in jest among themselves⁶⁰
and spoke thus:

As you are the youngest of us, you
may weave the white cloth, and
you may be our queen. When they
spoke that word in jest, the Lord's
angel appeared to them and said:
Your words shall not be spoken in
idleness, but they shall be with
truth proclaimed, because she
shall be the queen of the middle-
earth. Then were they all very
afraid of the sight of the angel and
his words and took to worshipping
her and humbly obeying her.

⁵⁹ Probably a mistake, should have
been "spræcon"

⁶⁰ unclear passage, this translation is
only approximate

ƿa gelamp hit sume dæge, þæt heo stod be sumere wyllan. ƿa ætywde þær drihtnes encgel [and] cwæð hyre to:

Eadig þu eart Maria, forðan on þinum mode þu gearwodest drihtnes eardunghus, [and] leoht cymð of heofonum on ðe [and] þæt lihteð ofer ealne middaneard. Ða eft þæs þriddan dæges drihtnes heahencgel hyre ætywde mid unascgendlicre beorhtnysses [and] heo ða wæs swyðe afyrht [and] abreged for ðæs engles gesihðe.

Ða cwæð se encgel to hyre: Ne þearftu ðe ondrædan, Maria. Drihtnes gifu is mid þe. ƿu scealt acennan cyning, se ah anweald heofonas [and] eorðan, [and] his rice_ ne bið nan ende.

ƿa ilamp hit sume dæge, þ heo stod be súmeres welle. ƿa æteowd' hire þær drihtnes engel [and] hire to cwæð:

Eadig eart ðu maria, forþan ðe on ðine mode þu gearcost drihtnes eardunghus, [and] liht cymeð of heofene on ðe [and] ðæt lihtæð ofer alne middaneard. [And] eft þæs on ðriddæ dage_ drihtnes engel hire æteowde mid sæcgendlicre beorhtnysses [and] he þa wæs swiðe afyrhted [and] abræged for þæs englæs isihðe.

ƿa cwæð he to hire: Ne ðearft þu ðe ondrædan, maria. Drihtnes gifu is mid þe. ƿu sceald kennen cyning, þe ah anweald heofenas [and] eorðan, [and] his rices ne bið nan ende.

Then it happened one day that she stood by some well. Then the Lord's angel appeared and said to her:

Blessed you are, Mary, because you prepared in your heart Lord's habitation and light will come from heaven on you and will shine over all middle-earth. Then again on the third day the Lord's archangel appeared to her with unspeakable brightness and she was very frightened and startled by the sight of the angel.

Then the angel said to her: You need not fear, Mary. The Lord's grace is with you. You shall beget a king who shall rule heavens and earth and there will be no end to his realm.

On þa tid, þe þis gelamp, wæs
losep on þam lande, þe
Cafarneum hatte, ymbe his cræft.
He wæs smið [and] mænigteawa
wyrhta.

Ða þa he þanon gecyrde to his
agenum hame, þa gemette he hi_
bearn hæbbende on hire gehrife.
Ða wæs he sona swyðe forht [and]
sorhful on his mode [and] ðus
cw[æð]: Drihten, drihten min,
onfoh minum gaste. Me is deað
selre, þonne lif.

Ða cwædon þa fæmnan him to, þe
mid hyre wæron, þæt hi geare
wiston, þæt hyre nan wer ne
onhran, ac heo wære orwelges
mægðhades [and] unwemme.
[And] we witon, þæt heo wæs
dægges [and] nihtes on halgum
gebedum wuniende [and] godes
encgel wið hyre spræc [and] heo
dæghwamlice of ðæs engles
handum mete þigde. Hu mæg þæt
gewurðan, þæt þæt sy swa, forðan
þe we witon, þæt hit man ne
dyde, ac godes encgel.

Ða cwæð he Ioseph: Nis þæt na
swa, nat ic, þeah heo beo
beswicen þurh þæs engles hiw.
[And] he ða weop bitterlice [and]
ðus cwæð: Mid hwylcre byldu
mæg ic æfre gan to godes temple
oððe hu mæg ic geseon þa ansyne
þara sacerda for sceame. Ða þa he
þus cwæð, þa þohte he digollice,
þæt he wolde hy_ forlæton [and]
faran him on oðer land_.

On þa tid, þe ðis ilamp, wæs
ioseph on þæ lande, þe
chapharnaum hatte, ymbe his
creft. He wæs smið [and]
monigteawe wurhtæ.

Þa he þanon _cyrde to his agene
hame, þa imette he hire bearn
habbende on hire rife. Ða wæs he
sonæ swiðe afurht [and] sorhful
[and] þus cw[æð]: Drihten, drihten
min, onfoh min_ gast_. Me is deap
sælre, þone lif.

Þa sædon him þa femnen, þe mid
hire wæron, þ heo geare wistan, þ
hire nan wer ne onran, ac heo
wære andwealdes mægðhades
[and] unwemmed. [And] we
witon, þ heo wæs dægges [and]
nihtes on halgú gebedum [and]
godes engel wið hire spæc [and]
heo dæghwamlice of þæs engles
handæ mete ðigde. Hu mæg þ
iwurdan, þ þ swa beo, forþan þe
we witon, þ hit mon de dyde, ac
godes engel.

Þa cwæð Ioseph: Nis na þet na
swa, nat ic, þeah heo beo biswicen
þurh þæs engles hiw. [And] he þa
weop bitterlice [and] þus cwæð:
Mid hwilcere bealde mæg ic efre
gan into godes temple oððe hu
mæg ic iseon þa onsyne þare
sacerdæ for sceame. Þa he þus
cwæð, þa ðohte he digollice, þ he
wolde hire forlæten [and] faren hí
on oðer londe.

At that time, as this happened,
Joseph was in the land that was
called Capernaum, about his craft.
He was a smith and a skillful
workman.

Then when he afterwards
returned to his own home he
noticed that she has a child in her
womb. He was immediately very
frightened and sorrowful in his
manner and spoke thus: Lord, my
Lord, recieve my ghost. Death is
better for me than life.

Then the virgin, who with her
were, said to him that they know
well that no man touched her, but
she was rightfully a virgin⁶¹ and
untouched. And we know that she
dwelled days and nights at holy
prayers and the angel of God
spoke with her and she daily took
food from the angel's hands. How
may it happen, that it is so,
because we know, that it was not
done by a man, but by the God's
angel.

Then he, Joseph, said: That is not
so, I do not know that she would
be seduced through that angel's
appearance. And then he wept
bitterly and spoke thus: How can I
ever again go to the God's temple
with confidence or how can I look
in the face of the priests without
shame. While he spoke thus, he
secretly thought that he would let
her go and ride to a different land.

⁶¹ unclear passage, this translation is
only approximate

Ða on þære ilcan nihte, þe he þis
þohte, þa ætywde him godes
encgel on slæpe [and] cw[æð] to
him: Ioseph, ne þearft þu ðe
ondrædan; þu eart Dawides
cynnes, onfoh þinne gemæccan;
hyre geacnung is of ðam halgan
gaste, [and] heo cenned sunu
[and] ðæs nama is hælend,
forða[m] þe he geded hal his folc
fram heora synnu[m].

He þa Ioseph aras of ðam slæpe
swyðe gefeonde [and] swyðe bliðe
[and] gode þancode [and] Marian
sæde [and] þam fæmnum, þe mid
hyre wæron, þa fægran gesyhðe
þæs engles [and] ða frofre þara
worda [and] ðus cwæþ: Ic singode
[and] gemunde þe facnes, þær
nan næs.

Þa on þare ylcan nihte, þe he þis
ðohte, æteowde him godes engel
on slæpe [and] hí to cwæð:
Ioseph, ne ðearft þu ðe
ondrædon; þu eard dauides
cynnes, onfoh þine imæccan; hire
eacnung is of þam halga gaste,
[and] heo acenned sunu [and] his
nome is hælend, forþa ðe he dæð
hal his folc fram heora synnú.

He þa Ioseph aras of þam slæpe
swiðe gefeonde [and] gode
ðancode [and] Marian sæde [and]
þam femnen, þe mid hire wæron,
þa fægræ sihðe þæs englæs [and]
ða frofre ðare wordú [and] þus
cw[æð]: Ic syngode mid gemynde
þæs facnes, þær nan næs.

Then on that same night that he
thought this, the God's angel
appeared to him in his sleep and
told him: Joseph, you need not
fear, you are of David's kin, take
your spouse, her pregnancy is of
the holy ghost and she will give
birth to a son and his name is the
saviour because he then shall
deliver all his people from their
sins.

He, Joseph, then arose from his
sleep very joyful and very happy
and thanked God and told Mary
and the virgins who were with her
of the fair sight of the angel and
the comfort of his words and
spoke thus: I sinned and suspected
deceit where there was none.

Ða wearð æfter þisu[m] mycel
hlysa on þam folce, þæt Maria
wæs geæacnod. Ða sume dæge
namon hine þa þegnas þæs
temples [and] læddon hine to ðam
biscope [and] to þam
heahsacerdum [and] cwædon to
him:

To hwan forhæle ðu us þine
gemænunge swa clænre fæmnan,
þe godes englas hy feddan swa
swa culfran on þam te[m]ple,
[and] heo næfre nolde were
æthrinan, ac heo wæs on godes æ
seo getydeste fæmne, [and] gif ðu
nedinga hyre on ne sohtest, þonne
wære heo clæne. He ða ioseph hine
ladode [and] cwæð, þæt he hyre
næfre ne æthrine. Hwæt, þa
biscopas [and] ða heahsacerdas on
unarimdu[m] godcundre geryna
be ðære ealdan æ acunnodan
soðlice, þæt hio wæren butu
clæne fram eallum þam synnum,
þe þæt folc hi oncuðe.

Hi ða ealle eadmodlice bædon
hyre mildse [and] heora wohnyssa
forygfennyssa, þæs þe hi þæs
unrihtes hy oncuðan, [and] hi
[and] eall þæt folc [and] ða
sacerdas læddon hi mid þa[m]
fæmnum to iosepes hame mid
micclum gefean [and] mid mycelre
blisse clypodon [and] ðus
cwædon: Sy drihtnes nama
gebletsod on worulda woruld, se
ðe cuðlice gecyðde þine halignyssa
on eallum Israhela folce.

Ða wearð æfter ðissum mycel lya
on þam folce, þ maria iæacnod
wæs. Ða sume dæge nomæn hine
þa ðegnæs þæs temples [and]
læddon hine to þam biscope [and]
to þam heahsacerdon [and]
cwædon to him:

To hwan forhæle þu us þine
gemungæ swa clæne femne, þe
godes engles fædden swa swa
culfran on þá temple, [and] heo
nolde næfre wære arinæm, ac heo
wæs on godes æ þe ityðdeste
fæmne, [and] gif þu hire nydes on
ne sohtest, þone wære heo clæne.
He þa ioseph hine ladode [and]
cw[æð], þ he hire næfre ne arine.
Ða biscopas þa [and] þa
heahsacerdæs unarimodú
godcundre gerynæ be þaræ aldan
æ acunnodæn soðlice, þ heo
weron batwa clæne from alle þá
synnú, þe ðet folc heom oncuðe.

Heo þa alle eadmodlice bæden
hire bletsunge [and] heoræ
wohnysse forgyfennyse, þæs ðe
heo yfele wilnunge bi heom
hæfdon, [and] al þ folc [and] þa
sacerdæs læddon hire mid þam
femnem to iosepes hame mid
mycele gefean [and] mid mycele
blisse clypodon [and] þus
cwædon: Beo drihtines nome
iblætson on worulda woruld, þe
ðe cyðlice cyðde þine halignesse
on alle israele folcú.

After this there was a lot of
rumoring among the people that
Mary was pregnant. Then one day
the servants of the temple took
her and led her to the bishop and
to the high priests and said to him:

Why did you conceal from us your
union in marriage with so clean a
virgin, the God's angels fed her
like a dove in the temple, and she
never wanted to touch a man, but
she was in God's law the most
learned female and if you had not
forced yourself on her then she
would be still clean. Then he,
Joseph, defended himself and said
that he never touched her. Why,
the bishops and the high priests
know themselves about the
numberless God-related mysteries
which the old testament proved
true, they were both clean of all
the sins that the people accused
them of.

Then they all humbly begged her
mercy and forgiveness for their
wrongdoings, that they had
accused her unrightfully and they
and all the people and the priests
lead her with the virgins to
Joseph's home with much joy and
with great bliss calling and saying
this: Be Lord's name blessed in the
world forever, since he so clearly
made his holiness known to all the
people of Israel.

Wæs seo halige fæmne, swa we ær cwædon, of lesses wyrtrum an [and] of Dawides cynne, [and] heo wæs drihtnes modor, ures hælendes, [and] heo is hordfæt þæs halgan gastes [and] heo is cwen þæs heofonlican cyninges gecweden [and] heo is engla hiht [and] ealra manna frofor [and] fultum, forðan þe ealles middaneardes hælo þurh hi becom on þæs woruld.

[And] forðan hi nu englas eadigað [and] ealle þeoda [and] ealle cneorissa, gehwylc mancynnes geleafulra. [And] mid þisra bletsunga [and] herenyssa heo becom beforan þæt þrymsetl þæs heofonlican deman [and] beforan gesyhðe ealra haligra, þær heo nu dæg hwamlice þingað for eall þis mennisce cynn.

Ac uton we nu hi eadmodlice biddan, þæt heo us si milde mundbora [and] bliðe þingere to ðam heofonlican mægn-þrymme. Nu we geara witan, þæt heo mæg æt hire þa[m] deoran sunu biddan, swa hwæt swa heo wile, [and] beon ðingere to urum drihtne, þæt he us forgyfe gesibsum lif [and] ece eadignysse a butan ende. God us to ðam gefultumige! Am[en].

Wæs þeo halig femne, swa we ær sædon, of iesses wyrtrumæ [and] of dauides cynne, [and] heo wæs drihtines moder, ure hælendes, ant heo wæs hortfæt þæs halgan gastes [and] heo is cwen þæs heofenlices kynges [and] heo is englea hiht [and] allre monne, forþam ðe alle middaneardes hæle þurh hire becom on ðas woruld.

[And] forþan englas hire nu eadigæð [and] alle þeode [and] alle cneornysse, hwylc monocynnes ileafulræ. [And] mid þisse blætsunge [and] herunge heo bicó biforen gesihte alræ halgenæ, þær heo nu to dæg hwamlice þingæþ for alle þis mennisce cynn.

Ac uton we hire nu eadmodlice biddan, þ heo us beo milde mundbore [and] bliþe þingestre to þá heofenlice mægenðrymme. Nu we geara witon, þ heo mæg æt hire þan deore sunæ biddæ, swa hwæt swa heo wyle, [and] beon þingere to ure drihtene, þ he us _gife _sibsum lif [and] ece eadignysse a buton ende. God us to þam fylste! Am[en].

The holy virgin was, as we said before, of lesses' root and of David's kin and she was the mother of the Lord, our saviour, and she is the treasure-vessel of the holy ghost and she is proclaimed to be the queen of the heavenly king and she is the joy of angels and all men's comfort and assistance, because through her the salvation of all middle-earth came to this world.

And because of that she is now celebrated by angels and all people and all tribes, each and every believer among mankind. And with this blessing and praise she came before the throne of the heavenly judge and in front of the sight of all the saints, there she now daily thinks on all this mankind.

But let us now humbly beg kindness of her, so that she may be our kind protector and pleasant intercessor to the mighty glory of heaven. Now we readily know, that she may ask her dear son for anything she wants and convince our Lord that he should grant us a peaceful life and eternal blessing without end. God help us to that! Amen.

Appendix B: Table of Changes

Old English	Updated	Change	Page, paragraph
Men <i>ða</i> leofest <i>an</i>	Men <i>ða</i> leofeste	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 1
<i>þa</i> gebyrtdide <i>þære þære eadigan</i> <i>fæmnan</i> S[an]c[t]a <i>Marian</i>	<i>þære eadige femne sçe marie</i>	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i> <i>an</i> > <i>e</i> <i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 1
<i>hyre nama</i>	<i>hiræ nome</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 1
<i>hlæfdige oððe cwen oððe sæsteorra</i>	<i>læfdi oððe cwen oððe sæsteorræ</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	1, 1
<i>hlæfdige</i>	<i>_læfdi_</i>	<i>ge</i> > <i>ø</i>	1, 2
of <i>ðam ædelan</i> cynne [and] of <i>ðam cynelican</i> sæde <i>David</i> es cynnes	of <i>þam æðele</i> cynne [and] of <i>þam kynelyce</i> sæde <i>dauides</i> cynnes	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 2
<i>Sæsteorra</i>	<i>Sæsteorræ</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	1, 2
<i>þurh ða halgan fæmnan</i> Sca <i>Marian</i>	<i>þurh þa halig_ femne</i>	<i>an</i> > <i>ø</i> <i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 3
to <i>ðam ecan</i> life	<i>þam æce</i> life	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 3
on <i>þeostrum</i> and on <i>deap</i> es scuan And on <i>þam unstillu[m]</i> <i>yðum þære sæ þises</i> middaneardes	on <i>þeostrú</i> [and] on <i>deap</i> es scuan [and] on <i>þam unstill</i> e <i>yðan þare sæ þisses</i> middaneardes	<i>um</i> > <i>e</i> <i>um</i> > <i>an</i>	1, 3
<i>þone fruman</i> middaneardes [and] ende [and] <i>heofon</i> a rices wuldor [and] <i>helle wite</i>	<i>þone frumen</i> middæneardes [and] ende [and] <i>heofene</i> riches wuldor [and] <i>helle wite</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 3
<i>þære eadigan fæmnan</i> Sct <i>Marian</i>	<i>þære eadigæn femne sçe marie</i>	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i> <i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	1, 4
<i>sum swiðe æpele</i> wer	<i>sú æpel_</i> wer	<i>e</i> > <i>ø</i>	2, 1
<i>heorda</i> his sceapa	<i>heordæ</i> his sceapæ	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i> <i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 2
<i>næfde</i> nænige oðre	<i>nænigne</i> oðre gemæne	<i>e</i> > <i>ne</i>	2, 2
of <i>ðam wæstmum</i>	of <i>þam wæstme</i>	<i>um</i> > <i>e</i>	2, 2
<i>þryfealde</i> lac	<i>þreofealdne</i> lac	<i>e</i> > <i>ne</i>	2, 2
<i>ealle</i> his æhta	<i>all_</i> his æhtæ	<i>e</i> > <i>ø</i> <i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 2
<i>þearfan</i> [and] <i>wyde</i> wan [and] <i>steopcildum</i> [and] <i>ælþeodigum</i> mannum	<i>þearfæn</i> [and] <i>widewæn</i> [and] <i>steopcildú</i> [and] <i>ælþeodig_</i> moní	<i>um</i> > <i>ø</i>	2, 3
<i>his woruldæhta</i>	<i>his woruldæhtæ</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 4
<i>nan</i> wer <i>him gelic_</i>	<i>nan</i> mon <i>him ilice</i>	<i>ø</i> > <i>e</i>	2, 4
on <i>Israhelum</i>	on <i>israelæ</i>	<i>um</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 4
fiftyne <i>wintra</i>	XV <i>wintre</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>e</i>	2, 4
<i>midþam</i>	<i>midþa_</i>	<i>m</i> > <i>ø</i>	2, 5
twentig <i>wintra</i>	XX <i>wintræ</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 5
to <i>gemæccan</i>	to <i>make</i>	<i>an</i> > <i>e</i>	2, 5
<i>Achares dohtor</i> of his <i>_genum</i> cynne	of his <i>agene</i> cynne	<i>um</i> > <i>e</i>	2, 6
twentig <i>wintra</i>	twentig <i>wintræ</i>	<i>a</i> > <i>æ</i>	2, 6

sume dæge	súme dæg_	<i>e > ø</i>	3, 1
his gyfe	his gifu	<i>e > u</i>	3, 1
þara bocena sum	þare bocere sum	<i>na > re</i>	3, 1
þæs nama	his nome	<i>a > e</i>	3, 1
for þisum wordum	for ðisse wordum	<i>um > se</i>	3, 3
his agenum hame	his agene hame	<i>um > e</i>	3, 3
on westenum	on westene	<i>um > e</i>	3, 3
fif monþa fæce	fif monðæ fæcc_	<i>a > æ</i> <i>e > ø</i>	3, 3
næniġ ærendraca	nan_ ærendrace	<i>ig > ø</i> <i>a > e</i>	3, 3
Anna, his gemæcca_	imæccan	<i>ø > n</i>	3, 4
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	3, 4
Min drihten Israhela god	Min drihten israele god	<i>a > e</i>	3, 5
ofer ealle gesceafta	ofer alle isceaftæ	<i>a > æ</i>	3, 5
on hire cauertune	on hire cauertun_	<i>e > ø</i>	3, 5
to drihtne	driht_	<i>ne > ø</i>	3, 5
on anum lawertreowe	on anu_ lawertrewe	<i>m > ø</i>	4, 1
eallum gesceaftum	alle isceaftæ	<i>um > e</i> <i>um > æ</i>	4, 2
me ane	me anæ	<i>e > æ</i>	4, 2
fram þinre gyfe þære fremsumnyssse	from þine gyfæ þare fremsumnyssse	<i>re > e</i> <i>e > æ</i>	4, 2
mine heortan	mine heortæ	<i>an > æ</i>	4, 2
fram fruman mines gesinscipes	fró frimþe mine_ _sinscipes	<i>s > ø</i>	4, 2
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	4, 2
to þinum te[m]ple	to þine té[m]ple	<i>um > e</i>	4, 2
on wundra eallu[m] folcum	on wundrae allú moní	<i>a > æ</i>	4, 3
oð þ[æt] woruldes ende	oð ðet woruldæ ende	<i>es > æ</i>	4, 3
fram hyre eagum	fram hire eagan	<i>an > æ</i>	4, 4
into hyre clyfan	hire cleofæ	<i>an > æ</i>	4, 4
on hire gebede	on hire _bedú	<i>e > ú</i>	4, 4
ðinne innoð	þin_ innoð	<i>ne > ø</i>	4, 5
þa	þe	<i>a > e</i>	4, 5
ane	anæ	<i>e > æ</i>	4, 5
Twentig wintra	Twentig wintræ	<i>a > æ</i>	5, 2
for drihtnes naman	drihtenes nome	<i>an > e</i>	5, 2
drihtnes encgel	drihtine_ engel	<i>s > ø</i>	5, 3
þinum gemæccan	þine	<i>um > e</i>	5, 3
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	5, 3
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	5, 3
of ðinum sæde	of ðine sæde	<i>um > e</i>	5, 3
ana	ane	<i>a > e</i>	5, 3
hire eadignyss_	eadignyssæ	<i>ø > æ</i>	5, 3
æniġ þara þe ær wæs oððe æfter	æniġ þare þe ær wæs oððe æfter	<i>a > e</i>	5, 3
to þinu[m] gemæccan	ðine	<i>um > e</i>	5, 4
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	5, 4

on min <u>u</u> m huse	on mine huse	<i>um > e</i>	6, 1
min <u>þ</u> eow <u>a</u>	min <u>ð</u> eow <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	6, 2
min efen <u>þ</u> eow <u>a</u>	min efen <u>ð</u> eow <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	6, 2
unwem <u>m</u> e_ lac	Unwem <u>m</u> ed lac	<i>ø > d</i>	6, 3
for <u>ð</u> am	for <u>þ</u> an	<i>m > n</i>	6, 3
He <u>ð</u> a loachim	ioachi_	<i>m > ø</i>	6, 4
hine	him	<i>ne > m</i>	6, 4
sona	son <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	6, 5
færing <u>a</u>	fering <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	7, 1
<u>se</u> y <u>l</u> ca godes <u>en</u> cgel	<u>þe</u> i <u>l</u> c <u>æ</u> engel	<i>a > æ</i>	7, 1
to <u>ð</u> in <u>u</u> [m] gemæccan	to <u>ð</u> ine_ mæccan	<i>um > e</i>	7, 2
ingcer mildheortnyss_	eower mildheortnyss <u>e</u>	<i>ø > e</i>	7, 2
beor <u>ð</u> re	beor <u>ð</u> ran	<i>e > an</i>	7, 2
halgan	halge	<i>an > e</i>	7, 2
He (...) loachim	ioachi_	<i>m > ø</i>	7, 3
for XXX daga	ðrittige dag <u>e</u>	<i>a > ene</i>	7, 3
to his gemæccan	to his mæc <u>ce</u>	<i>an > e</i>	7, 3
mid myc <u>l</u> um gefean	mid myc <u>le</u> gefean	<i>um > e</i>	7, 4
hyre mæg <u>ð</u> e [and] eall Israhel <u>a</u> bearn	hire magas [and] all israel <u>æ</u> bearn	<i>a > æ</i>	7, 4
myc <u>l</u> e gefean	myc <u>e</u> blisse	<i>ne > e</i>	7, 4
be <u>ð</u> am hlisan hire geeacunge	be <u>þ</u> am lisan hira geeacunge	<i>e > a</i>	7, 4
hyre nam <u>a</u> n	hire nom <u>e</u>	<i>an > e</i>	8, 1
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	8, 1
þreo winter	wintr <u>æ</u>	<i>er > ræ</i>	8, 1
æt hire breost <u>u</u> m	æt hire breost <u>e</u>	<i>um > e</i>	8, 1
loachim [and] Anna	loachi_ [and] anna	<i>m > ø</i>	8, 1
Iudea gewun <u>a</u>	iudea iwun <u>e</u>	<i>a > e</i>	8, 1
on gem <u>a</u> an þære fæm <u>n</u> ena	on gem <u>æ</u> ne þære fem <u>e</u> næ	<i>an > e</i> <i>a > æ</i>	8, 2
mid þam o <u>ð</u> rum fæm <u>n</u> um	mid þam o <u>ð</u> re fem <u>n</u> ú	<i>um > e</i>	8, 2
æfter hyre yldr <u>u</u> m	æfter hire eald <u>r</u> e	<i>um > e</i>	8, 2
cild <u>r</u> a gewun <u>a</u>	child <u>e</u> s gewun <u>æ</u>	<i>ra > es</i> <i>a > æ</i>	8, 2
on gange [and] on worde [and] on eallum gebæ <u>r</u> um	on geange [and] on word <u>æ</u> [and] on allú ibæ <u>r</u> e	<i>e > æ</i> <i>um > e</i>	8, 3
XXX wintr <u>a</u>	þrittig wintr <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	8, 3
on hyre gebede	on hir <u>æ</u> _bed <u>u</u> m	<i>e > æ</i> <i>e > um</i>	8, 3
on hire gebæ <u>r</u> e	on hire ibæ <u>r</u> um	<i>e > um</i>	8, 3
Drihten ælmihtig god	Driht_almihtig god	<i>en > ø</i>	9, 2
his word <u>a</u>	his word <u>æ</u>	<i>a > æ</i>	9, 2
he sylf <u>a</u>	he sylf_	<i>a > ø</i>	9, 2
his folc_	his folc <u>e</u>	<i>ø > e</i>	9, 2
to heor <u>a</u> sylf <u>r</u> a heortan	to heor <u>æ</u> silf <u>r</u> æ heortú	<i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i> <i>an > ú</i>	9, 2
heor <u>a</u> earan	heor <u>æ</u> earan	<i>a > æ</i>	9, 2
to ur <u>u</u> m benum	to ure benú	<i>um > e</i>	9, 2

ða bysmernyssa ura feondum	þa bismernesse ure feóðú	<i>a > e</i> <i>a > e</i>	9, 2
on Israhelum	on israele	<i>um > e</i>	9, 3
fram þære halgan onsegednyse	from þare halgan on sægednyssæ	<i>e > æ</i>	9, 3
for minre unwæstmberendnyse	for mine unberendnyse	<i>re > e</i>	9, 3
mid oðrum fæmnum	þam oðre femnen	<i>um > e</i> <i>um ></i> <i>en</i>	10, 1
on godra mægna heanyssu[m]	on godræ mægene heanyssæ	<i>a > æ</i> <i>a > e</i> <i>um > æ</i>	10, 1
þara	þare	<i>a > e</i>	
þe heora bearn	þe heore bearn	<i>a > e</i>	10, 1
wifa [and] fæmnena	wifæ [and] femnena	<i>a > æ</i>	10, 1
hyre sylfre	hire sylf_	<i>re > ø</i>	10, 2
fram þære ærestan tide	fram þare æreste tyde	<i>an > e</i>	10, 2
on hyre halgum gebedum	on hire halig_ _beden	<i>um > ø</i> <i>um ></i> <i>en</i>	10, 2
oð þ[æt] ða þridan tid_	oð ðet þa ðridde tyde	<i>an > e</i>	10, 2
heofonlice_ swetnyse	heofenlices swetnyse	<i>ø > s</i>	10, 3
on godes lufan on gastlicra mægna heanyssu[m],	on godes lufæn [and] on gastlicræ mægenæ heanyssæ	<i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i> <i>um > æ</i>	10, 4
on godes lufan	on godes lufe	<i>an > e</i>	11, 1
on ðam davidiscu[m] sangum	on þam dauidisce sange	<i>um > e</i> <i>um > e</i>	11, 1
on hire gebæran	on hire ibærum	<i>an ></i> <i>um</i>	11, 1
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	11, 1
yfel_ word	word yfeles	<i>ø > es</i>	11, 1
godes gyfe full_	godes gifte full_	<i>ø > e</i>	11, 2
þonne wisdo[m] godes boca	þone wisdom on godes bocæ	<i>a > æ</i>	11, 2
on heora gebedum	on heoræ bedum	<i>a > æ</i>	11, 2
on godes lofa	on godes lofe	<i>a > e</i>	11, 2
on idlum leahtre	on ydele læhtre	<i>um > e</i>	11, 2
on heora tungan	on heoræ tungæn	<i>a > æ</i>	11, 2
of heora muþe ut	of heoræ muðe ut	<i>a > æ</i>	11, 2
se gewuna	þe _wunæ	<i>a > æ</i>	11, 3
mid lufan	mid leofe	<i>an > e</i>	11, 3
ðæs engles hande	þas englæs handa	<i>e > a</i>	11, 3
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	11, 3
myccl_ gyfe	mycelne	<i>ø > ne</i>	12, 1
Marian	maria_	<i>n > ø</i>	12, 1
his sunu to	his sune to	<i>u > e</i>	12, 1
Maria	mariaæ	<i>a > æ</i>	12, 1
on godes folce Israhelum	folce israele	<i>um > e</i>	12, 2
hluttre onsegednyse [and] his lichaman clænnysse	lichames clænnysse	<i>an > es</i>	12, 3

on bissere worulde	of bissere weoruldæ	<i>e > æ</i>	12, 3
mid lichaman	on lichame	<i>an > e</i>	12, 3
swylce	swylc_	<i>e > ø</i>	13, 1
XIV wintra	feowertene wintræ	<i>a > æ</i>	13, 1
Phariseas	pharisei	<i>as > ei</i>	13, 1
on þone ytemestan stæpe	on þone ytemeste stæpe	<i>an > e</i>	13, 1
Israhela bearn	israele bearn	<i>a > e</i>	13, 2
inne cyninga bearn [and] witegena [and] heahsacerda	inne kyningæ bearn [and] witegenæ [and] heahsacerdæ	<i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i>	13, 2
to ælicre yldo_	to ælicre yldon	<i>ø > n</i>	13, 2
heora bearn	heoræ bearn	<i>a > æ</i>	13, 2
on heora yldrena endebyrdnysse	heora yldrene	<i>a > e</i>	13, 2
hi_	hire	<i>ø > re</i>	13, 3
hlotæ	lot_	<i>a > ø</i>	13, 3
ofer þa XII cyn Israhela	ofer þa tweolf cynn israele bearnú	<i>a > e</i>	13, 3
Iacobes sunu	Iacobes sune	<i>u > e</i>	13, 3
ælc þæra þe	ælc þære ðe	<i>a > e</i>	14, 1
gyrda	gyrdæ	<i>a > æ</i>	14, 1
on handæ	on hondæ	<i>a > æ</i>	14, 1
ealle þa gyrde	alle gerdæn	<i>e > æn</i>	14, 2
þæt þæra haligra halignys ealra	þæt þære haligræ halignis ealræ	<i>a > e</i> <i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i>	14, 3
þa gyrde	þa gyrdan	<i>e > an</i>	14, 3
þæra manna	ðare monn	<i>a > e</i>	14, 4
of nan þara gyrda	of nan þære gyrde	<i>ra > re</i> <i>a > e</i>	14, 4
Abiathar se biscop mid þære heahsacerda	mid þam heahsacerdæ	<i>re > m</i> <i>a > æ</i>	14, 4
into ðam S[an]c[t]a S[an]c[t]orum	on þa scá scóf	<i>am > a</i>	14, 4
mid mycelre stefne hine	hine mycle	<i>elre > le</i>	15, 1
þæra gyrda	his gyrdæ	<i>a > æ</i>	15, 1
on þinre ylde	þine ylde	<i>re > e</i>	15, 2
ana gecoren	anæ icoren	<i>a > æ</i>	15, 2
on þinum cynne	on þine cynne	<i>a > æ</i>	15, 2
fela bearna	fela bearnæ	<i>a > æ</i>	15, 3
ealle yldran þonne heo	alle yldræ þon heo	<i>an > æ</i>	15, 3
Gemune	Gemun_	<i>e > ø</i>	16, 1
He [and] manega eac	he [and] monige eac	<i>a > e</i>	16, 1
iungra manna on minum cynne	geongræ monnæ on mine cynne	<i>a > æ</i> <i>a > æ</i> <i>um > e</i>	16, 1
þam clænan	þære clænen	<i>am > are</i>	16, 2
oð þæt ælice ylde	oð ðet heo hæbbe ælycre ylde	<i>o > e</i>	16, 2
mid oðrum fæmnum	mid oðre fif fæmnum	<i>um > e</i>	16, 3

heom eallum	alle	um > e	16, 3
of seolce [and] of mislicum hiwum	of seolce [and] of mislice hiwú	um > e	16, 3
hwit_ godweb_	hwite godewebbes	ø > e ø > es	16, 3
on idelnyssa	on ydelnysse	a > e	16, 4
hi_	hire	ø > re	16, 4
be sumere wyllan	be súmere welle	an > e	17, 1
on þinum mode	on ðine mode	um > e	17, 2
of heofonum	of heofene	um > e	17, 2
þæs þriddan dæges	on ðriddæ dage_	an > æ s > ø	17, 2
Drihtnes gifu	Drihtenes gife	u > e	17, 3
his rice_	his rices	ø > s	17, 3
on þam lande	on þæ lande	am > æ	18, 1
smið [and] mænigteawa wyrhta	smið [and] monigteawe wurhtæ	a > e a > æ	18, 1
to his agenum hame	to his agene hame	um > e	18, 2
hi_	hire	ø > re	18, 2
minum gaste	min_ gast_	um > ø e > ø	18, 2
of ðæs engles handum	of þæs engles handæ	um > æ	18, 3
Mid hwylcre byldu	Mid hwilcere bealde	u > e	18, 4
þa ansyne þara sacerda	þa onsyne þare sacerdæ	a > e a > æ	18, 4
hy_	hire	ø > re	18, 4
on oðer land_	on oðer londe	ø > e	18, 4
of ðam halgan gaste	of þam halga_ gaste	n > ø	19, 1
ðæs nama	his nome	a > e	19, 1
gode [and] Marian sæde [and] þam fæmnum, (...) þa fægran gesyhðe þæs engles [and] ða frofre þara worda	gode [and] marian sæde [and] þam femnen fægræ sihðe þæs englæs [and] ða frofre ðare wordú	um > en an > æ a > e a > ú	19, 2
þe facnes	þæs facnes	e > æs	19, 2
to ðam biscope [and] to þam heahsacerdum	to þam heahsacerdon	um > on	20, 1
þine gemænunge	þine gemungæ	e > æ	20, 2
clænre fæmnan	clæne femne	re > e an > e	20, 2
on unarimdu[m] godcundre geryna	unarimodú godcundre gerynæ	a > æ	20, 2
fram eallum þam synnum	from alle þá synnú	um > e	20, 2
hyre mildse [and] heora wohnyssa forgyfennyssa	hire bletsunge [and] heoræ wohnysse forgifenyssse	a > æ a > e a > e	20, 3
hi_	hire	ø > re	20, 3
mid micclum gefean	mid mycele gefean	um > e	20, 3
drihtnes nama	drihtines nome	a > e	20, 3
þine halignyssa	þine halignesse	a > e	20, 3
on eallum Israhela folce	on alle israele folcú	um > e	20, 3

		$a > e$ $e > ú$	
halige fæmne	halig_ femne	$e > \emptyset$	21, 1
of lesses wyrtrum _a [and] of Davides cynne	of iesses wyrtrum _æ [and] of dauides cynne	$an > \text{æ}$	21, 1
ures hælendes	ure_ hælendes	$s > \emptyset$	21, 1
þæs heofonlican cyninges	þæs heofenlic _{es} kynges	$an > es$	21, 1
engla hiht ealra manna frofor [and] fultum	englea hiht [and] allre monne	$a > e$ $a > e$	21, 1
forðan	forþam	$n > m$	21, 1
hælo	hæle	$o > e$	21, 1
þurh hi_	þurh hire	$\emptyset > re$	21, 1
hi_	hire	$\emptyset > re$	21, 2
ealle þeoda [and] ealle cneorissa, gehwylc mancynnes geleafulra	alle þeode [and] alle cneornyssæ, hwylc moncynnes ileaffulræ	$a > e$ $a > \text{æ}$ $a > \text{æ}$	21, 2
hi_	hire	$\emptyset > re$	21, 3
milde mundbora [and] bliðe þingere	milde mundbore [and] bliþe þingestre	$a > e$	21, 3
to ðam heofonlican mægn-þrymme	to þá heofenlice mægenðrymme	$an > e$	21, 3
deoran sunu biddan	deore sunæ biddæ	$an > e$ $u > \text{æ}$ $an > \text{æ}$	21, 3
to urum drihtne	to ure drihtene	$um > e$	21, 3
lif [and] ece eadignysse	lif [and] ece eadignyssæ	$e > \text{æ}$	21, 3

Appendix C: Table of Noun Phrases

Form	Change	Function	Updated	Change y/n	Note
Men ða leofestan	$an > e$	-	+	y	Not an NP
we		S	+		
on andweardnysse		P	+		
þa gebyrdtide þære eadigan fæmnan S[an]c[t]a Marian	$an > e$	O	+	y	
Seo		S	+		
cennystre ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes		O	+		
hyre nama	$a > e$	S	+	y	
hlæfdige oððe cwen oððe sæsteorra	$a > \text{æ}$	C	+	y	
Heo		S	+		
hlæfdige	$ge > x$	C	+	y	
heo		S	+		
þone hlaford heofonas [and] eorðan		O	+		
heo		S	+		

cwen		C	+		
heo		S	+		
of ðam æðelan cynne [and] of ðam cynelican sæde Davides cynnes	an > e	P	+	y	
Sæsteorra	a > æ	C	+	y	
heo		S	+		
se steorra		S	+		
on niht		P	+		
scypliðendum mannu[m]		O	+		
east [and] west		S	+		
suð [and] norð		S	+		
þonne		O	+		
þurh ða halgan fæmnan Sca Marian	an > e	P	+	y	
se rihte siðfæt		O	+		
to ðam ecan life	an > e	P	+	y	
þam		O	+		
on þeostrum and on deapæs scuan And on þam unstillu[m] yðum þære sæ þises middaneardes	um > e um > an	P	+	y	
ealle halige		S	+		
þone fruman middaneardes [and] ende [and] heofona rices wuldor [and] helle wite		O	+		
we		S	++		
Be ðære gebyrde þære eadigan fæmnan Sct Marian	an > e	P	+	y	
seo		S	+		
We		S	+		
on bocum		P			
sum swiðe æþele wer	e > x	S	+	y	
on Israheliscum folce		P			
Þæs nama		S	+		
Ioachim		C	+		
Se		S			
of Iudan cynne		P	+		
he		S			
on Galileiscre scire		P			
on þære byrig		P			
þe		S			
Nazareth		C			
Se		S	+		
heorda his sceapa	a > æ	C	+	y	
he		S	+		
godfyrht man on bylewitnysse [and] on fremsumnysse		C	+		

he		S	+		
<u>næfde</u> <u>nænige</u> <u>oðre</u>	e > ne	O	+	y	
his eowde		O	+		
Of þa[m] eowde		P	+		
he		S	+		
ealle		O	+		
him		O-ref	+		
drihten		O	+		
of ðam wæstmum	um > e	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
gode		O	+		
<u>þryfealde</u> lac	e > ne	O	+	y	
ealle his æhta	e > x a > ae	O	+	y	
Ænne dæl		O	+		
he		S	+		
<u>þearfan</u> [and] <u>wyde</u> wan [and] <u>steopcildum</u> [and] <u>ælpæodigum</u> mannum	um > x	O	+	y	
<u>oðerne</u> dæl		O	+		
he		S			
gode ane		O	+		
Ðone <u>þridan</u> dæl		O	+		
he		S	+		
him sylfum [and] his hirede		O	+		
he		S	+		
þas ðing		O	+		
god		S	+		
his woruldæhta	a > ae	O	+	y	
on þa tid		P	+		
nan wer him <u>gelic</u> _	x > e	S	+	y	
on Israhelum	um > ae	P	+	y	
Ðas þing		O	+		
he		S	+		
fiftyne <u>wintra</u>	a > e	C	+	y	
he		S	+		
twentig <u>wintra</u>	a > ae	C	+	y	
he		S	+		
wif		O	+		
him		O	+		
Seo		S	+		
Anna		C	+		
hyre cynn		S			
on þære byrig Bethleem		P			
Seo		S	+		
<u>Achares</u> dohtor of his <u>genum</u> cynne	um > e	C	+	y	
of ðam <u>æbelan</u> cynne <u>Dawides</u> þæs cynincges		P	+		

Hi		S	+		
twentig wintra	a > ae	C	+	y	
hi		S	+		
nan bearn		O	+		
hit		S	+		
sume dæge	e > x	A	+	y	
he		S	+		
to ðam drihtnes temple		P	+		
he ða loachim		S	+		
betwux þam mannum		P	+		
to gode		P	+		
onsegednysse		O	+		
he		S	+		
his gyfe		O	+		
on godes gesihðe		P	+		
Him ða to		P-rev	+		
þara bocena sum	na > re	S	+	y	
þæs nama	a > e	C	+	y	
Ruben		S	+		
him to		P-rev	+		
þe		S	+		
ðu		S	+		
betwux þam mannum		P	+		
þe		S	+		
gode		O	+		
onsegednysse		O	+		
þe godes bletsung		S	+		
ofer ðe		P	+		
he		S	+		
þe		O	+		
ænig bearn		O	+		
He		S	+		
myccle scame		O	+		
beforan þa[m] folce		P	+		
for þisum wordum	um > se	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
ut of ðam temple		P	+		
to his agenum hame	um > e	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
on westenum	um > e	P	+	y	
to his sceapum		P	+		
ða hyrdas		O	+		
mid him		P	+		
fif monþa fæce	a > e e > x	A	+	y	
nænig ærendraca	ig > x a > x	S	+	y	
betweonan (...) him		P	+		

[and] his gemæccan					
Anna, his gemæcca_	x > n	S	+		
hi_	x > re	O-ref	+		
to drihtne		P	+		
Min drihten Israhela god	a > e	-	+	y	Not an NP
þu		S	+		
strang [and] mihtig		C	+		
ofer ealle gesceafta	a > ae	P	+	y	
ðu		S	+		
me		O	+		
bearn		O	+		
ofer eorðan		P	+		
ðu		S	+		
minne wer		O	+		
me		O	+		
ic		S	+		
his lif		S	+		
ofer eorðan		P	+		
he		S	+		
ic		S	+		
him		O	+		
byrgene		O	+		
heo		S	+		
þas word		O	+		
heo		S	+		
on hire cauertune	e > x	P	+	y	
hire		O-ref	+		
to drihtne	ne > x	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
hire gebed		O	+		
heo		S	+		
hire eagan		O	+		
up to drihtne		P	+		
heo		S	+		
spearwan nest		O	+		
on anum lawertreowe	m > x	P	+	y	
Heo		S	+		
wependre stefne		A	+		
þu		S	+		
eallum gesceaftum	um > e um > ae	O	+	y	
byrðor		O	+		
hi		S	+		
ic		S	+		
þe		O	+		
þanc		O	+		
þu		S	+		
me ane	e > ae	O	+	y	

fram þinre gyfe þære fremsumnyse	re > e e > ae	P	+	y	
þu min drihten		S	+		
mine heortan	an > ae	O	+	y	
ic		S	+		
þe		O	+		
fram fruman mines gesinscipes	an > the an > s	P	+	y	
þu		S	+		
me		O	+		
sunu oððe dohtor		O	+		
ic		S	+		
hi		O	+		
þe		O	+		
to þinum te[m]ple	um > e	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
þas word		O	+		
hyre		O	+		
drihtnes encgel		S	+		
ðu		S	+		
þe		O-reflex	+		
þin þrowung		S	+		
on godes geþeahte		P	+		
of ðe		P	+		
on wundra eallu[m] folcum		P	+		
oð þ[æt] woruldes ende	es > ae	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
þas word		O	+		
he		S	+		
fram hyre eagum	um > an	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
for ðæs engles gesihðe		P	+		
Heo		S	+		
hire		O-ref			
into hyre clyfan	an > ae	P	+	y	
þone dæg [and] ða niht		A	+		
on hire gebede	e > ú	P	+	y	
þæs on mergen		P-rev	+		
heo		S	+		
hyre þinene		S	+		
hire to		P-rev	+		
þu		S	+		
me		O	+		
on wydewanhade [and] on mycelre nearonyse		P	+		
me to		P-rev	+		
heo		S	+		
hire		O	+		

Hire (...) to		P-rev	+		
þe god		S	+		
þinne wer		O	+		
ðinne innoð		O	+		
ic		S	+		
þæs		O	+		
heo		S	+		
þas word		O	+		
heo		S	+		
on þære ylcan tide		P	+		
hi[m]		O	+		
sum swyðe wlitig wer		S	+		
on þam westene		P	+		
he		S	+		
mid his hyrdum		P	+		
Him (...) to		P-rev	+		
ðu		S	+		
ham		A	+		
to þinu[m] gemæccan		P	+		
he loachim		S	+		
Twentig wintra	a > ae	A	+	y	
ic		S	+		
mid hyre		P	+		
me		O	+		
god		S	+		
bearn		O	+		
of hyre		P	+		
ic		S	+		
ut of ðam drihtnes temple		P	+		
ic		S	+		
ham		A	+		
ic		S	+		
þa hwile		O	+		
drihten		S	+		
ða godes gyfe		O	+		
for drihtnes naman	an > e	P	+	y	
ic		S	+		
him		O	+		
se iunga		S	+		
ic		S	+		
drihtnes encgel	nes > ine	C	+	y	
to dæg		A	+		
ic		S	+		
me		O-ref	+		
þinum gemæccan	um > e	O	+	y	
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
heo		S	+		

hi_	x > re	O-ref	+	y	
to drihtne		P	+		
þu		S	+		
heo		S	+		
of ðinum sæde	um > e	P	+	y	
þu		S	++		
þu		S	+		
hi		O			
ana	a > e	A	+	y	
heo		S	+		
dohtor		O	+		
seo		S	+		
on godes temple		P	+		
se halga gast		S	+		
on hyre		P	+		
hire eadignyss_	x > ae	S	+	y	
ofer ealle wifa cynn		P			
hire		O	+		
ænig þara þe ær wæs oððe æfter	a > e	S	+	y	
to þinu[m] gemæccan	um > e	P	+	y	
ðu		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
ðu		S			
gode		O	+		
þæs (...) þanc		O	+		
hyre sæd		S	+		
heo		S	+		
modor þære ecan bletsunge		C	+		
hine		O	+		
loachim		S	+		
him (...) to		P-rev	+		
hit		S	+		
þu		S	+		
mid me		P	+		
on minum huse	um > e	P	+	y	
þinne þeow		O	+		
se encgel		S	+		
to him		P	+		
þu		S	+		
ðu		S	+		
min þeowa	a > ae	C	+	y	
þu		S	+		
min efenþeowa	a > ae	C	+	y	
wit		S	+		
anes godes þeow		C	+		
ic		S	+		
þe		O	+		

min mete ne min drenc		S	+		
fram mannum		P	+		
þu		S	+		
me		O	+		
to gyfe		P	+		
gode to		P-rev	+		
þæt (...) onsægednysse		O	+		
He (...)Ioachim		S	+		
gode		O			
unwemme_lac	x > d	O	+	y	
to ðam engle		P	+		
ic		S	+		
ic		S	+		
gode		O	+		
sacerdlice onsægednysse		O	+		
þu		S	+		
me		O	+		
se encgel		S	+		
ic		S	+		
gode		O	+		
sacerdlice onsægednysse		O	+		
ic		S	+		
godes willan		O	+		
to þan		P	+		
on þe		P			
se encgel		S	+		
mid ðam stence þære onsægednysse		P	+		
into heofonum		P	+		
He (...)Ioachim	m > x	S	+	y	
to þam forht		P	+		
he		S	+		
on his ansyn		P	+		
he		S	+		
fram þære sixtan tide þæs dæges		P	+		
oð þ[æt] æfen		P	++		
Him (...) to		P	+		
his hyrdas		S	+		
hi		S	+		
hine		O	+		
þone intingan		O	+		
on him		P	+		
hine	ne > m	O	+	y	
hi		S	+		
he		S	+		
hine sylfne		O-ref	+		
he		S	+		
his heafod		O	+		

he		S			
him		O-ref	+		
his gesihðe		O	+		
he		S	+		
hi		S	+		
he		S	+		
heom eall		O	++		
hi (...) ealle		S	+		
hine		O	+		
he		S	+		
þæs engles wordum		O	+		
he		S	+		
ham		A	+		
to his gemæccan.		P	+		
He ða loachi[m]		S	+		
on his mode		P	+		
he		S	+		
þæt dyde		O	+		
he		S	+		
on slæpe		P	+		
Him		O	+		
se ylca godes encgel	a > ae	S	+	y	
on slæpe		P	+		
him to		P-ref	+		
ic		S	+		
godes engel		C	+		
fram drihtne		P	+		
ic		S	+		
þe to		P-ref	+		
ham		A	+		
to ðinu[m] gemæccan	um > e	P	+	y	
ingcer mildheortnyss_	x > e	S	+	y	
gyt		S	+		
beforan godes gesihðe		P			
ingcer nama		S	+		
beforan godes gesihðe		P	+		
on his þrymsetle		P	+		
he		S	+		
ingc		O	+		
swa myccl grownysse		O	+		
on ingcran beorðre	e > an	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
nænigan halgan	an > e	O	+	y	
He þa loachim	m > x	S	+	y	
of þam slæpe		P	+		
his swefen		O	+		
his hyrdu[m]		O	+		
Hi ealle		S	+		

hine		O	+		
he		S	+		
þæs engles wordum		O	+		
ham		A	+		
he		S	+		
for his unrotnysse		P	+		
on þam westene		P	+		
to ðam feor		P			
he		S	+		
for XXX daga	a > ene	P	+	y	
ham		A	+		
to his gemæccan	an > e	P	+	y	
Heo		S	+		
æt hyre gebede		P	+		
hyre		O	+		
drihtnes encgel		S	+		
hyre		O	+		
þone hamsið hyre gemæccan		O	+		
heo		S	+		
mid hyre		P	+		
him		O	+		
mid mycclum gefean	um > e	P	+	y	
hyre mægðe [and] eall Israhela bearn	a > æ	S	+	y	
mycelne gefean	ne > e	C	+	y	
Be his hamcyme [and] be ðam hlisan hire geeacnunge		P	+		
nigan monað hire geeacnunge		S			
Anna		S	+		
hyre dohtor		O	+		
on þissum dæge		P			
hyre naman	an > e	S	+	y	
Maria		C	+		
heo		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
þreo winter	er > rae	A	+	y	
æt hire breostum	um > e	P	+	y	
loachim [and] Anna	m > x	S	+	y	
þæt cild		O	+		
mid heom		P	+		
to þære halgan ceastre		P	+		
lac		O	+		
mid heom		P	+		
to ðam drihtnes temple		P	+		
Iudea gewuna	a > e	S	+	y	
hi		S	+		
þ[æt] cild		O	+		

on gemanan bære fæmnena	an > e a > ae	P	+	y	
dæges [and] nihtes		A	+		
on godes lofe		P	+		
Heo		S	+		
mid þam oðrum fæmnum	um > e	P	+	y	
on þa fiftyne stæpas on þam temple		P	+		
heo		S	+		
on bæc		A	+		
æfter hyre yldrum	um > e	P	++	y	
Cildra gewuna	a > es	S	+	y	
heo		S	+		
on gange [and] on worde [and] on eallum gebærum	um > e	P	+	y	
wynsuman men		S	+		
XXX wintra	a > ae	C	+	y	
heo		S	+		
on hyre gebede	e > um	P	+	y	
oð þa biscopas [and] eall þ[æt] folc		P	+		
on hire gebære	e > um	P	+	y	
Heo Anna		S	+		
mid halige gaste		P	+		
beforan þam folce		P	+		
Drihten ælmihtig god	en > x	S	+	y	
his worda	a > ae	O	+	y	
he sylfa	a > x	S	+	y	
he		S	+		
his folc_	x > e	O	+	y	
mid haligre geneosunge		P	+		
ða þeode		O	+		
mid us		P	+		
he		S	+		
hi		S	+		
to heora sylfra heortan	a > ae a > ae an > ú	P	+	y	
heora earan	a > ae	O	+	y	
to urum benum	um > e	P	+	y	
ða bysmernyssa ura feondum	a > e a > e	O	+	y	
fram us		P	+		
On ðam mundbyrdum ecre blisse		P	+		
tuddor		O	+		
on Israhelum	um > e	P	+	y	
me		O	+		

min drihten		S	+		
ic		S	+		
gode		O	+		
lac		O	+		
ær me		P	+		
mine fynd		S	+		
fram þære halgan onsegednysse	e > ae	P	+	y	
for minre unwæstmberendnysse	re > e	P	+	y	
Drihten min		S	+		
hi[m]		O-ref?	+		
fram me		P	+		
me		O	+		
ecne gefean		O	+		
heo		S	+		
þas word		O	+		
hi		S	+		
ham		A	+		
mid þam		P	+		
þ[æt] cild		O	+		
æt ðam halgan temple		P	+		
mid oðrum fæmnnum.	um > e um > en	P	+	y	
Heo		S	+		
godra mægna heanyssu[m]	a > ae a > e um > ae	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
godum towcræftum		O	+		
þe heora bearn	a > e	C	+	y	
wifa [and] fæmnena.	a > ae	S	+	y	
heo		S	+		
hyre sylfre	re > x	O-ref.	+	y	
haligne regol		O	+		
heo		S	+		
fram þære ærestan tide þæs dæges	an > e	P	+	y	
on hyre halgum gebedum	um > x um > en	P	+	y	
oð þ[æt] ða þriddan tid_	an > e x > e	P	+	y	
fram þære þriddan tide		P	+		
oð ða nigoþan tid		P	+		
ymbe hyre webbgeweorc.		P	+		
fram þære nigoðan tide		P	+		
heo		S	+		
on hyre æebedum		P	+		
godes encgel		S	+		

hyre		O	+		
hyre		O	+		
heofonlice_swetnysse	x > s	O	+	y	
heo		S	+		
bære		O	+		
of his handa.		P	+		
heo		S	+		
betere		C	+		
on godes lufan on gastlicra mægna heannyssu[m],	a > ae a > ae um > ae	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
yl dran fæmnan		O	+		
to godes willan		P	+		
heo		S	+		
on bære godes æ		P	+		
ænig		S	+		
hyre beforan		P-rev	+		
Heo		S	+		
on godes lufan	an > e	P	+	y	
on hyre gepohtum		P	+		
on ðam davidiscu[m] sangum	um > e	P	+	y	
ænig		S	+		
heora (...) ær		P-rev			
Heo		S	+		
on hire gebæran	an > um	P	+	y	
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
nan man		S	+		
nan man		S			
yfel_word	x > es	O	+	y	
of hyre muðe		P	+		
hyre word		S	+		
godes gyfe full_	x > e	C	+	y	
heo		S	+		
on hyre heortan		P	+		
þonne wisdo[m] godes boca	a > ae	O	+	y	
ða fæmnan		O	+		
mid hyre		P	+		
heo		S	+		
hi		S	+		
on heora gebedum	a > ae	P	+	y	
on godes lofa	a > e	P	+	y	
nan		S	+		
on idlum leah tre	um > e	P	+	y	
hy		S	+		
on heora tungan	a > ae	P	+	y	
teonan		S	+		

nan yfel word		S	+		
of heora muþe ut	a > æ	P	+	y	
of heom		P	+		
se gewuna	a > æ	S	+	y	
se man		S	+		
ðe oþerne		O	+		
mid lufan	an > e	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
him		O	+		
godcunde bletsunge		O	+		
heo		S	+		
mete		O	+		
of ðæs engles hande	e > a	P	+	y	
mid þa[m]		P	+		
ðone mete		O	++		
heo		S	+		
æt þa[m] bisceope		P	+		
æt ðam temple		P	+		
heo		S	+		
þearfendum mannum		O	+		
man		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
he		S	+		
fram hire		P	+		
hit		S	+		
Abiathar, se sacerð		S	+		
myccle_ gyfe	x > ne	O	+	y	
þa[m] bisceope		O	+		
hine		O	+		
he		S	+		
Marian	n > x	O	+	y	
his sunu to	u > e	P-rev	+	y	
Maria	a > æ	S	+	y	
him		O	+		
ic		S	+		
wer		O	+		
wer		S	+		
me		O	+		
þa biscopas		S	+		
Hyre [and] hyre mægðe		O	+		
on þam te[m]ple		P	+		
god		S	+		
on bearnum		P	+		
swa þ[æt] gewunelic		S			
on godes folce Israhelum	um > e	P	+	y	
Maria		S	+		
hi[m] cwæð to		P	+		
nan rihtwis man		S	+		

nan halig		S	+		
ær Abel		P	+		
hine		O	+		
his broðor		S			
He		S	+		
twyfealde gyfe		O	+		
hluttre onsegednysse [and] his lichaman clænnysse	an > es	O	+	y	
Helias		S	+		
on þissere worulde	e > ae	P	+	y	
he		S			
mid lichaman	an > e	P	+	y	
to heofonu[m],		P			
he		S	+		
his clænnysse		O	+		
heo		S	+		
heo		S	+		
XIV wintra	a > ae	C	+	y	
þa Phariseas	as > ei	S	+	y	
heo		S	+		
on þam godes temple		P	+		
Hy		S			
hi		S			
Israhela folc		O			
to ðam godes temple		P			
þy þridan dæge		A	+		
hy		S	+		
se heahbiscop Isachar		S	+		
up on þone ytemestan stæpe	an > e	P	+	y	
Israhela bearn	a > e	-	+	y	Not an NP
mine word		O	+		
ge		S	+		
Salomon		S	+		
þis temple		O	+		
inne cyninga bearn [and] witegena [and] heahsacerda	a > ae a > ae a > ae	P	+	y	
hi		S	+		
to ælicre ylde_	x > n	P	+	y	
hi		S	+		
to ælicum gyftum		P			
heora bearn	a > ae	S	+	y	
gode		O	+		
lac		O	+		
to þa[m] godes temple		P	+		
on heora yldrena endebyrdnysse	a > e	P	+	y	

gode		O	+		
þonn[e]		S	+		
Maria		S	+		
gode mid		P-rev	+		
heo		S	+		
hire mægðhad		O	++		
to gode		S	+		
ure axunge		O	+		
god		S	+		
us		O	+		
we		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
þæt word þære gesamnunge		S	+		
hy		S			
hlot ^a	a > x	O	+	y	
ofer þa XII cyn Israhela	a > e	P	+	y	
þæt hlot		S	+		
ofer iudan cyn		P	+		
iacobes sunu	u > e	-	+	y	Not an NP
se sacerd		S	+		
iudan cynn		S	+		
on mergen		P	+		
to ðam halgan temple		P	+		
ælc þæra þe	a > e	S	+	y	
wif		O	+		
him		O-ref			
gyr ^a de	a > ae	O	+	y	
on hand ^a	a > ae	P	+		
ioseph		C	+		
sum gewintrod man		S	+		
mid iungum mannu[m]		P	+		
his gyrde		S	+		
se sacerd		S	+		
ealle þa gyr ^e de	e > aen	O	+	y	
into þam S[an]c[t]a S[an]c[t]orum		P	+		
hi		S	+		
on mergen		P	+		
ælc his gyrde		O	+		
culfre		S	+		
of þære gyrde		P	+		
foreweardre up oð þone heofon.		P	+		
se wer		S	+		
þære fæmnan		O	+		
on mergen þæs æfteran dæges		P	+		
hi		S	+		

on þa tid þære onsægednysse		P	+		
He (...) se biscop		S	+		
into þam S[an]c[t]a S[an]c[t]lorum,		P	+		
þæt þæra haligra halignys ealra	a > e a > ae a > ae	S	+	y	
he		S	+		
þa gyrde	e > an	O	+	y	
æghwilcu[m]		O	+		
his gyrd		O			
on sundran		P	+		
þæra manna	a > e	S	+	y	
þreo þusenda		C	+		
of nan þære gyrde	a > e	P	+	y	
þeo culfre		S	+		
Abiathar se biscop mid þære heahsacerda	re > m a > ae	S	+	y	
into ðam S[an]c[t]a S[an]c[t]lorum	am > a	P	+	y	
onbærnde		O	+		
þa drihtne		O	++		
him		O	+		
drihtnes encgel		S	+		
him cwæð to		P-rev	+		
Seo seleste gyrd		S	+		
seo		O			
þu		S	+		
þa		O	+		
þær tacen of hyre		S	+		
þu		S	+		
losepes gyrd		S	+		
he		S	+		
he		S	+		
eald		C	+		
se biscop		S	+		
mid mycelre stefne hine	elre > le	P	+	y	
him		O	+		
he		S	+		
þæra gyrda	a > ae	O	+	y	
of ðæs bisceopes handum		P	+		
Culfre swyðe hwit		S	+		
geond þa heannysse þæs te[m]ples		P	+		
heo		S			
into heofonum		P	+		
þæt folc		S	+		
to losepe		P	+		

ðu		S	+		
Eadig		C	+		
on þinre ylde	re > e	P	+	y	
þe god		O	+		
ðu		S	+		
Hyrde þære clænan fæmnan		O	+		
þa biscopas		S	+		
þu		S	+		
ana gecoren	a > ae	C	+	y	
on þinum cynne	um > e	P	+	y	
fram gode		P	+		
He ða Ioseph		S	+		
mid bifiendre stefne		P			
min		O	+		
swilcum cilde		O	+		
ic		S	+		
fela bearna	a > ae	O	+	y	
ealle		S	+		
ylðran þonne heo	an > ae	C	+	y	
se biscop		S	+		
to hi[m]		P	+		
þu		S	+		
hit		S			
be Dathan		P	+		
He [and] manega eac	a > e	S	+	y	
þa ðe godes willan		P	++		
ic		S	+		
ic		S	+		
godes willan		O	+		
on hyre		P	+		
god		S	+		
iungra manna on minum cynne	a > ae um > e	S	+	y	
þam clænan fæmnan	am > are	O	++	y	
heo		S	+		
mid hig		P	+		
oð þ[æt] ælice ylðo	o > e	P	++	y	
se biscop		S	+		
Fæmnan		S	+		
hyre		O	+		
on fultume		P	+		
oð þæne dæg eowra gemænunga		P	+		
hig		O	+		
nan oðer		S	+		
Ioseph		S	+		
hi		O	+		
mid oðrum fæmnum	um > e	P	+	y	

hyre		O	+		
on fultume		P	+		
to losepes hame		P	+		
Becca, Sefhira, Susanna, Abugea [and] Sehel		C	+		
se biscop		S	+		
heom eallum	um > e	O	+	y	
godweb		O	+		
of seolce [and] of mislicum hiwum	um > e	P	+	y	
to þam te[m]ple		P	+		
Maria		S	+		
hwit godweb		O	+		
ða oðre		S	+		
mislices hiwes		O	+		
hi		S	+		
Heom betwynan		P-rev	+		
on gleo		P	+		
þu		S	+		
ure gingast		C	+		
þæt hwite godeweb		O	++		
ðu		S	+		
ure cwen		C	+		
hi		S			
þas word		O	+		
on gleo		P	+		
heom		O	+		
drihtnes encgel		S	+		
eower word		S	+		
on idelnyssa	a > e	P	+	y	
hit		S	+		
mid soðe		P	+		
þe		S	++		
middaneardes cwen		C	+		
hi		S	+		
for ðæs engles gesihðe		P	+		
hi_	x > re	O	++	y	
hyre		O	+		
hit		S	+		
sume dæge		A	+		
heo		S	+		
be sumere wyllan	an > e	P	+	y	
drihtnes encgel		S	++		
hyre to		P-rev	+		
Eadig		C	+		
þu		S	+		
on þinum mode	um > e	P	+	y	
þu		S	+		
drihtnes eardunghus		O	+		

leoht		S	+		
of heofonum	um > e	P	+	y	
on ðe		P	+		
ofer ealne middaneard		P	+		
þæs þriddan dæg	an > ae s > x	A	+	y	
drihtnes heahencgel		S	+		
hyre		O	+		
mid unasecgendlicre beorhtnyse		P	+		
heo		S	+		
for ðæs engles gesihðe.		P	+		
se encgel		S	+		
to hyre		P	+		
ðe		S	+		
Drihtnes gifu	u > e	S	+	y	
mid þe		P	+		
du		S	+		
cyning		O	+		
heofonas [and] eorðan,		O	+		
his rice_	x > s	S	+	y	
nan ende.		O	+		
On þa tid		P	+		
þis		S	+		
losep		S	+		
on þam lande	am > ae	P	+	y	
Cafarneum		C	+		
ymbe his cræft		P	+		
He		S	+		
smið [and] mænigteawa wyrhta	a > e a > ae	C	+	y	
he		S	+		
to his agenum hame	um > e	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O-ref	+	y	
bearn hæbbende		O	+		
on hire gehrife.		P	+		
he		S	+		
on his mode		P			
minum gaste	um > x e > x	O	+	y	
Me		O	+		
deað		S	+		
lif		S	+		
þa fæmnan		S	+		
him to		P-rev	+		
mid hyre		P	+		
hi		S	+		

hyre		O	+		
nan wer		S	+		
heo		S	+		
mægðhades [and] unwemme		C	+		
we		S	+		
heo		S	+		
dæges [and] nihtes		A	+		
on halgum gebedum		P	+		
godes encgel		S	+		
wið hyre		P	+		
heo		S	+		
of ðæs engles handum	um > ae	P	+	y	
mete		O	+		
we		S	+		
hit		O	+		
man		S	+		
godes encgel		S	+		
he Ioseph		S	+		
ic		S	+		
heo		S	+		
þurh þæs engles hiw		P	+		
he		S	+		
Mid hwylcre byldu	u > e	P	+	y	
ic		S	+		
to godes temple		P	+		
ic		S	+		
þa ansyne þara sacerda	a > e a > ae	O	+	y	
for sceame		P	+		
He		S	+		
He		S	+		
He		S	+		
hy_	x > re	O	+	y	
him		O-ref	+		
on oðer land_.	x > e	P	+	y	
on þære ilcan nihte		P	+		
he		S	+		
him		O	+		
godes encgel		S	+		
on slæpe		P	+		
to him		P(-rev)	+		
þu		S	+		
þu		S	+		
Davides cynnes		C	+		
þinne gemæccan		O	+		
hyre geeacnung		S	+		
of ðam halgan gaste	n > x	P	+	y	

heo		S	+		
sunu		O	+		
ðæs nama	a > e	S	+	y	
hælend		C	+		
he		S	+		
his folc		O	+		
fram heora synnu[m]		P	+		
He þa Ioseph		S	+		
of ðam slæpe		P	+		
gode þancode [and] Marian sæde [and] þam fæmnum, (...) þa fæggran gesyhðe þæs engles [and] ða frofre þara worda	um > en an > ae a > e a > ú	O	+	y	
mid hyre		P	+		
lc		S	+		
þe facnes	e > aes	O	+	y	
æfter þisu[m]		P	+		
mycel hlýsa		S	+		
on þam folce		P	+		
Maria		S	+		
sume dæge		A	+		
hine		O	+		
þa þegnas þæs temples		S	+		
hine		O	+		
to ðam biscope [and] to þam heahsacerdum	um > on	P	+	y	
to him		P	+		
ðu		S	+		
us		O	+		
þine gemænunge	e > ae	O	+	y	
clænre fæmnan	re > e an > e	S	+	y	
þe godes englas		S	+		
hy		O			
culfran		S	+		
on þam te[m]ple		P	+		
heo		S	+		
heo		S	+		
on godes		P	+		
seo		S			
ðu		S	+		
hyre on		P-rev	+		
heo		S	+		
He ða Iosep		S	+		
hine		O	+		
he		S	+		
þa biscopas [and] ða heahsacerdas		S	+		

on unarimdu[m] godcundre geryna	a > ae	P	+	y	
be ðære ealdan æ		P	+		
hio		S	+		
fram eallum þam synnum	um > e	P	+	y	
þæt folc		S	+		
hi		O-ref	+		
Hi		S	+		
hyre mildse [and] heora wohnyssa forgyfennyssa	a > ae a > e a > e	O	+	y	
hi		S	+		
þæs unrihtes		O	+		
hy		O	+		
hi [and] eall þæt folc [and] ða sacerdas		S	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
to losepes hame		P	+		
mid micclum gefean [and] mid mycelre blisse	um > e	P	+	y	
drihtnes nama	a > e	S	+	y	
on worulda woruld		P	+		
se		S	+		
þine halignyssa	a > e	O	+	y	
on eallum Israhela folce	um > e a > e e > ú	P	+	y	
seo		S	+		
halige fæmne	e > x	C	+	y	
we		S	+		
of lesses wyrtruman [and] of Davides cynne	an > ae	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
drihtnes modor		C	+		
ures hælendes	s > x	-	+		Not an NP
heo		S	+		
hordfæt þæs halgan gastes		C	+		
heo		S	+		
cwen þæs heofonican cyninges	an > es	C	+	y	
heo		S	+		
engla hiht ealra manna frofor [and] fultum	ra > re a > e	C	+	y	
ealles middaneardes hælo		S	+		
þurh hi_	x > re	P	+	y	
on þæs woruld		P	+		
hi_	x > re	O	+	y	
Englas ealle þeoda [and] ealle cneorissa, gehwylc		S	+		

mancynnes geleafulra					
mid þisra blætsunga [and] herenyssa		P	+		
heo		S	+		
beforan þæt þrymsetl þæs heofonlican deman [and] beforan gesyhðe ealra haligra		P	+		
heo		S	+		
for eall þis mennisce cynn		P	+		
we		S	+		
hi	x > re	O	+	y	
us		O	+		
milde mundbora [and] bliðe þingere	a > e	C	+	y	
to ðam heofonlican mægn-þrymme	an > e	P	+	y	
we		S	+		
heo		S	+		
æt hire		P	+		
þa[m] deoran sunu	an > e u > æ	P	+	y	
heo		S	+		
to urum drihtne	um > e	P	+	y	
he		S	+		
us		O	+		
[and] ece eadignysse	e > æ	O	+	y	
a butan ende		P	+		
God		S	+		
us		O	+		
to ðam		P	+		