



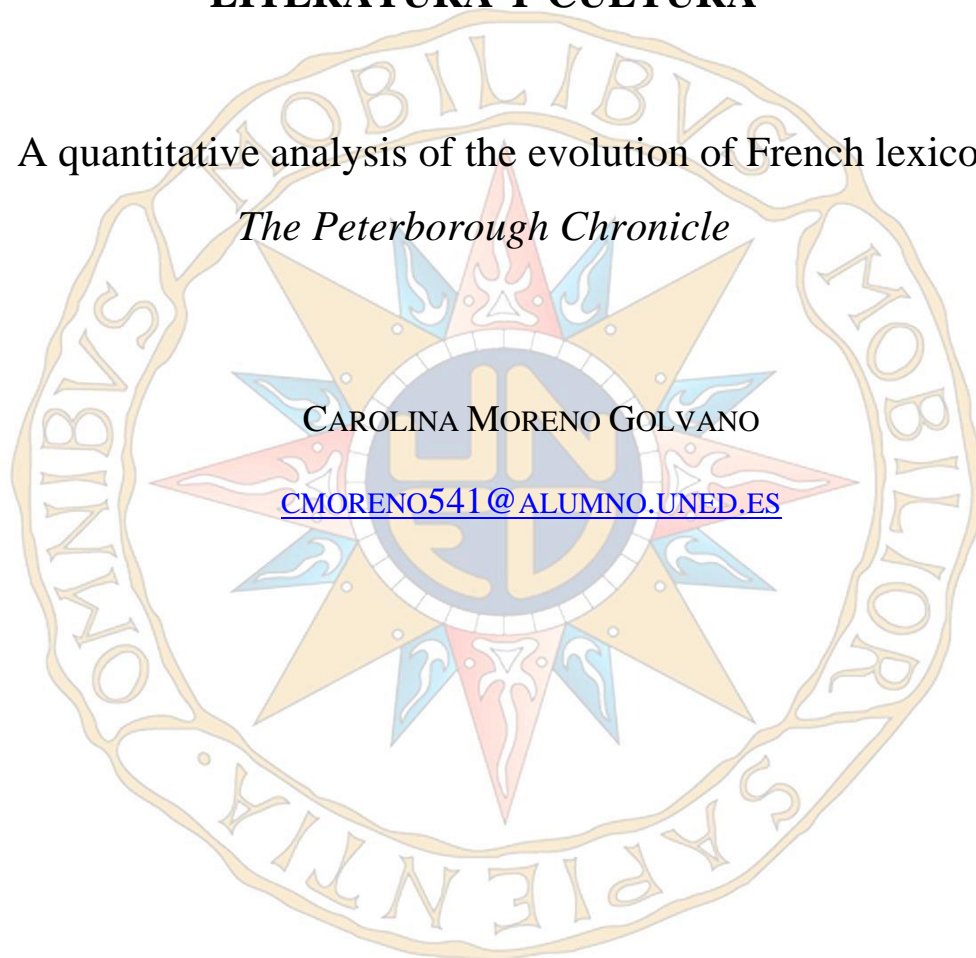
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A quantitative analysis of the evolution of French lexicon in

The Peterborough Chronicle

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The Peterborough Chronicle is a good example of the linguistic evolution from the Old English to the Middle English and reveals the French influence on the English language in the eleventh and twelfth century, right after the Norman Conquest of England. In this project, a quantitative analysis has been made in order to evidence the French influence by studying the lexicon of a few samples retrieved from this historical text.

Key words: Old English, *The Peterborough Chronicle*, French, lexicon, diachrony.

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1. Introduction

The subject matter of the present project is an analysis on the evolution of the lexicon of French origin throughout *The Peterborough Chronicle* (hereafter *PetC*). The strategy will focus on, first, presenting the topic by giving information about the lexical features of Old and Middle English, the different influences on the language and also the relevance of *PetC*, and then carrying out a quantitative analysis of the number of words of French origin that are present in a few fragments taken from different parts of the book. The main objective is to find a correlation between the lexical changes in this book and the influence that the French language had on it, enhanced by the historical facts that occurred during the years when it was written.

The Peterborough Chronicle is the last part of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is a compendium of several chronicles about the history of Anglo-Saxon and Norman England from year 1 to 1154 A.D. Written between 1121 and 1155 A.D., it contains a surprisingly good example of the evolution of the language from the Old English to the Early Middle English, as it was transcribed over the course of several decades during which the Norman conquest of England (1066) occurred. The said event represented an inflection point for the history of England and its language, and in this period “very few new vernacular texts were produced in England”¹, which consequently increases the significance and linguistic implication of a text of this kind.

The above-mentioned *PetC* is of great importance for the understanding of the evolution of the English language, since it sets a worthy example of the linguistic changes it experienced at that stage. This text shows the beginnings of the so-called Early Middle English (1100-1250), emerging and drifting apart from the Old English language.

The main objective of this project is to illustrate the lexical changes and especially the French influence on English lexicon, by means of a quantitative study. As far as my research goes, there are currently no published studies evaluating this aspect of the Chronicle from a quantifiable point of view.

¹ Bergs, Alexander, and Janne Skaffari. *Invitation to the Peterborough Chronicle and its Language*. Peter Lang, 2007, page 1.

Therefore, part of the motivation for the project is to offer a new empirical revision of the already studied lexical evolution of English based on actual observations.

2. The Peterborough Chronicle

The *Peterborough Chronicle* is the last part of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (hereafter ASC). The ASC is a historical record that spans from year 1 to 1154 A.D. and it is “the earliest national chronicle written in a western vernacular language”². Its creation started in 1121 and it has been said that Alfred the Great was the first scribe, although the actual first writer remains unidentified. The manuscripts of the ASC are named with letters from A to G, the E

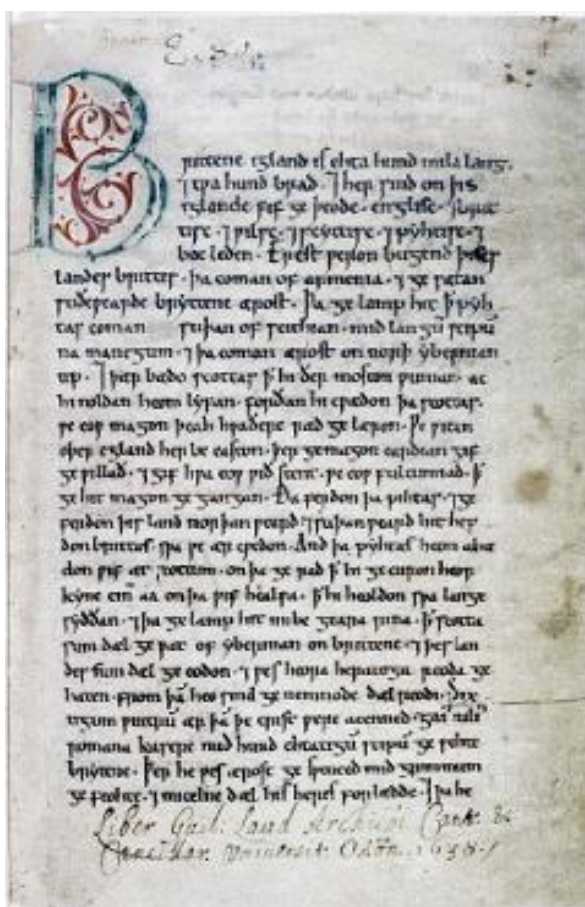


Image 1. First page of the E manuscript, kept in Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford.
Source : Digital Bodleian

manuscript corresponding to the so-called *Peterborough Chronicle* which is currently kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford University. The *PetC* text could be divided into two sections: the first section includes the records from 1070 up to 1121, “all written in a uniform hand and ink”³ (which suggests one same scribe), and the second section comprises the various continuations which were added on different occasions and include the records from 1122 to 1154.

The historical importance of the ASC lies in the fact that it is the oldest record of the history of this period, and also that it is written in English (as opposed to annals written in Latin). The only Latin text that could dispute with *PetC* in terms of contemporaneity is *Historia Novorum* written by Eadmer of Canterbury and finished around 1109. That text differs from *PetC* in that it is an eyewitness record: Eadmer narrates certain events not mentioned

² Swanton, Michael J. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. J.M. Dent, 1996.

³ Clark, Cecily, editor. *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*. Oxford University Press, 1970. Page xviii (Introduction).

in *PetC* and also gives more detailed explanations. Nevertheless, Eadmer's work focuses on church issues and thus it does show a biased understanding of the society of that time.

Furthermore, *PetC* served as a source for many Latin historians, such as Henry of Huntingdon⁴, and is complemented by other historically relevant records like the well-known *Historia Ecclesiastica*⁵ or the *History of the Church of York*⁶.

The *ASC* and, more importantly, the *PetC* contain great evidence of the evolution of the language from the Old English to the Early Middle English, especially because *PetC* narrates the historical events occurred just after the Norman conquest (1066), which represented an inflection point for the history of England and its language.

PetC was written between 1121 and 1155 at Peterborough, England. It is said that its writers were likely to be local monks, so the original text is accurately established in an almost unique way. Given the geographical bounds of this town, the dialect spoken in Peterborough should have been similar to that spoken by the Middle Angles. Besides, *PetC* provides the earliest example of the Old English language of this region. Regarding the Middle English period, the *Ormulum* (biblical text written by the monk named Orm) is localized in North Lincolnshire (nearly a hundred miles north from Peterborough) and makes use of a language very similar to that of the Final Continuation of *PetC*. Therefore, evidence suggests the language of *PetC* is from the area of the East Midlands.

Apart from the synchronic changes that have already been discussed, various diachronic changes can be withdrawn from the study of *PetC* and these are the focal point of the present project. The Norman Conquest brought the inevitable influence of French language, and this fact might be observed in the evolution of the linguistic features in the Chronicle.

⁴ Henry of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum*. Thomas Arnold, 1879.

⁵ Orderici Vitalis. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri Tredecim*. Ed. A. Le Prévost, 1838-55.

⁶ Hugh the Chantor. *History of the Church of York*. Ed. C. Johnson, 1961.

3. State of the art

Old English grammar and vocabulary were based on a mixture of dialects taken to England by the Germanic tribes: Saxons, Angles and Jutes. However, it was somewhat influenced by the languages of previous groups who inhabited those lands, such as the Romans, the Scandinavians and the Celts. This influence was mainly in the form of vocabulary add-ons, sometimes found in some particular areas (for instance, Latin is prominent in religious words). Following, an overview of their impact is presented, as well as some details about the lexical productivity of Old English (also declared here as *OE*)⁷.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest of the Celtic population in Britain caused some Celtic terms to be assimilated into English. These were mainly place-names (like Kent or Dover). The highest number of Celtic names survives in the names of rivers (for example, river Thames), hills and places near them (*cumb* [deep valley], *torr* [peak]).

The influence of Latin was different to Celtic language in terms of historical relationship, because Latin was well regarded by the Anglo-Saxons and it was not the language of the local conquered people (as happened with the Celts). It began with the Roman rule in England, continued throughout hundreds of years and the Anglo-Saxons also learned Latin words from the Celts who were already using them. In order to find out the evidence of the date at which a Latin word was acquired, the phonetic form has to be studied. Changes such as the *i-umlaut* (mutation) found in Latin words show us that certain Latin terms were already borrowed in English at certain point of history; to be precise, at the point at which that particular change happened in the English language.

Three periods are defined for the influence of Latin. First, the so-called Zero Period, when Roman rule in Britain (first to fifth century) caused a great number of Latin words to become part of the English lexicon. Roman civilization extended through all social classes, and trade flows between Germanic and Roman people provided the ideal environment for the exchange of words from

⁷ C. Baugh, Albert, and Thomas Cable. *A History of the English Language*. Routledge, 2002, pp. 74-105, 108-126, 167-183.

both sides. Latin words from this period are typically related to agriculture (*spelt* [wheat]), war (*camp* [battle]), trade (*mangere* [monger]) and domestic life (*cytel* [kettle]). Words acquired in this period reflect well the relationships between Germanic tribes and Romans.

Following, the First Period, where only a few Latin words were acquired from the Celts during the Anglo-Saxon settlement (fifth to seventh century), such as *port* (harbour) or *castra* which means camp and is used in many names of towns and cities in the actual form of *-chester* (as in Manchester or Winchester).

Last, the Second Period, where the Christianization of Britain (beginning in 597) produced the highest transmission of Latin words, most of which had to do with the new religion. During this period, a great number of churches and monasteries were built, schools were settled inside some of them, and Latin was the language used in ecclesiastical services and learning. Scholars, usually monks or bishops, devoted a good part of their time to teaching, not only theology but also astronomy or literature. The need for new religious terms was easily solved by importing Latin terms into the native language. Phonetic changes show that some words were acquired early, thus being found in literature from that time, and some others got into English in a later period (tenth or eleventh century) corresponding to the religious stimulation of the Benedictine Reform. Some examples of Latin words acquired due to Christianization are the words *temple*, *mass* or *abbot*, which are actually present in *PetC* as we will see later. The effect religion had on domestic life is reflected in language, as shows the adoption of Latin words related to household or clothing, such as *silk* or *beet*. The church's influence on education was clear, as previously-mentioned, leaving its trace on the incorporation of words like *master* or *verse*.

With the aim of finding terms for new concepts, native words already existing in Old English were also applied to some needs emerging with the introduction of Christianity. Such was the case of the concept of God, for which Anglo-Saxons adopted their own native term instead of the Latin equivalent (*deus*). Obviously, there were concepts which had no equivalent in the native language

so that a word had to be borrowed in order to cover that specific need, as happened with the categories of the church hierarchy (bishop, monk, etc.).

Another relevant source of influence on Old English was the Scandinavian languages. In the eighth century, the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, traditionally named Vikings, began a series of attacks and conquests of other territories, among which was England. This period was known as the Viking Age and extended until the eleventh century. The natural capability of adaptation of the Scandinavians, along with the English willing to accept their new diverse population, enabled the incorporation of the Danes, as well as their language, into the English society. In some cases, Scandinavian and Old English words share such an underlying similarity that it is not easy to differentiate their real origin, and the difference in phonetic development can be used to discriminate between one and the other. For instance, the sound *sk* was palatalized in OE to *sh* (written *sc*), while it remained *sk* in the Scandinavian area, as in OE *scyrte* (shirt) which was *skyrta* (skirt) in Old Norse. Furthermore, a great part of the Scandinavian influence is seen, as occurs with Celtic, in place-names. Terminations such as *-by* (meaning "town law", as in *Derby*), *-thorpe* (meaning "village", as in *Linthorpe*) or *-thwaite* (meaning "isolated piece of land", as in *Braithwaite*) have a Scandinavian origin and are still used today. In addition to place-names, Scandinavian influence can also be observed in words of everyday life; such is the case of *take*, *cow* or *lift*.

In the cases where there already existed a native word for a concept and a foreign equivalent began to be used, a period of coexistence occurred until the use of one or the other survived. In this sense, various circumstances may lead to different conclusions. First of all, if the native and the foreign term shared a similar form, then the finally chosen word stands for both origins. In contrast, if the form was dissimilar in the two origins, the English word often prevails, possibly due to a larger number of speakers preferring that option. Nevertheless, after a coexistence period the foreign word could succeed against the native one. This last option mostly occurred with Scandinavian terms by the 1300 after a long period of coexistence, as happened with the word "egg": *ey* in OE and *egg* in Scandinavian. Sporadically, words of both origins survived, following a differentiation in meaning, of which a good example

would be the words *craft* (OE) and *skill* (Scandinavian). Lastly, the native word could experience some modification due to the influence of the foreign term, giving rise to an altered word as a result of the intercourse of the two languages.

Overall, one of the most prominent foreign influences on English, and unquestionably the most relevant to this project, is the one delivered by the French language (Old French at that time). The inflection point for this influence and also the end of the Old English period are marked by the Norman Conquest occurred in 1066, when William the Conqueror (duke of Normandy) claimed the English throne. The settlements of Danes in the area of Normandy, and their dukes, retained enough power to often outshine the actual king of France. The Scandinavian adaptability of the Normans eased the process and they soon adjusted to French customs and language, which facilitated their incursion into England and its upper classes thanks to the lack of an English successor after the death of King Edward.

After the conquest, the new aristocracy had enough power to keep using their own language, and at first they obviously had no knowledge of English and their efforts to learn it were rather short. Soon their association with the English upper class made it convenient for them to learn English, thus creating bilingual environments in this kind of spheres. In addition, they continued to use French partly due to the close relationship of England with France, which derived in the gradual creation of an Anglo-French nobility. In this context, English was seen as the language of the conquered people, an inferior tongue, while French was inevitably associated to the aristocracy and cultivated environments. Consequently, most of the numerous literary works produced at the court at this time were in French, primarily for convenience reasons as most noblemen mastered this language rather than the local one. During the century following the Norman Conquest, everyday life and national interest shaped the fusion of French and English people, resulting in a parallel blending of the two languages.

Within the previously explained social and political framework, the influence of French in the vocabulary can easily be predicted. The extension of this influence in the English lexicon can be observed in numerous fields, some of

which are nobility (*noble, servant, juggler*), literature (*rime, story*), administration (*royal, crown, court, office, minister*), army (*peace, soldier, spy, defend*), law (*plaintiff, jury, evidence, fraud*), ecclesiastical (*chaplain, pastor, baptism, abbey*), learning and science (*sculpture, chimney, chronicle, surgeon*) or everyday life (*jewel, cloak, button, scarlet*).

A difference between the French terms used in OE and the modern French equivalents may be prominent. This variance is rooted in the way words evolved in French compared to when they were borrowed in OE. As an example, at this time the currently used word *forest* was borrowed from Old French and it has remained in the same form in English until now, whereas it resulted in the form *forêt* in modern French. Another reason for this difference might be the already existing distance between the Anglo-French dialect that entered in England and its continental counterpart, Central French, which was spoken in the influential city of Paris.

As it happened with Scandinavian languages, French was integrated into English in several ways. Assimilation is the most common process as it is the natural combination of both languages: English prefixes or suffixes are added to French roots resulting in new words. As an example, the Old French *feid* (faith) resulted in the creation of English words such as faithful, faithless or faithfulness, and the same happened with other Old French words like *comun* (common), *gentil* (gentle), *pais* (peace) and many others.

Within the context of such language merging, it is sure that duplicates arise. To be precise, when a foreign term was introduced for an already existing concept (for which there was already a word), there happened to be two terms to refer to the same entity. Due to the natural economics of the language and its speakers, either one of the terms was to be lost (after some time of coexistence) or a differentiation in meaning emerged, thus making them useful to name different concepts or introducing a certain nuance. During this process, many native (Germanic) words died out to give way to a great number of new foreign terms that were acquired. For instance, the OE word *anda* (envy, hatred) was replaced by the Old French *envie* which resulted in *envy*, so the native derivatives *andig* and *andian* also died out to give way to their French-rooted equivalent *envious* and *to envy*. Some examples of differentiation in

meaning would be the group of words *stench* (*stenc*⁸ in OE, of Germanic origin), *aroma* (from Latin *aroma*), *odor* (from Old French *odor*) and *scent* (from Old French *sentir*), in which each term has a slightly different nuance, all of them being part of the current English lexicon.

In addition, another resource for word formation is the derivation with prefixes and suffixes. This way of creating new words, especially characteristic of Old English, was far less common after the Norman Conquest. This decline in the use of prefixes was seen in Middle English use of *for-* (Germanic *ver-*) to form derivatives such as *forscalden* (to burn with hot liquid, from Old French *escalden*). On the contrary, the use of suffixes was decreased to a lesser extent as some of them have remained in a considerable amount of terms. Such is the case of *-ness*, *-ful* or *-ish*, as in *happiness*, *colourful* and *blackish*, as opposed to *-red* (from OE *ræden*, meaning “condition”) or *-dom* (from OE *dom*, meaning “statute”) which only persist in a few words like *hatred* or *dukedom*.

Lastly, the use of self-interpreting compounds was weakened as well during the transition to Middle English, after the Norman settlement, although not completely abandoned. In some cases, a new French word was acquired instead of creating a compound out of native English words.

To sum up, the years following the Norman Conquest saw a great extent of French influence over the Old English language, especially in lexicon. Several thousands of French words were introduced in different ways, but the grammar and the basis of the English vocabulary were still essentially of Germanic origin.

Along with a simplification of the declension system, these changes gave way to Middle English. The transition from Old to Middle English will be detailed later.

3.1. Literary review

Given the diachronic relevance of *PetC* manuscript, numerous studies have been made on it in terms of linguistic analysis; namely morphological, syntactical or lexical. A further analysis of such bibliographical references would be of great interest but beyond the scope of this project, so here follows a brief

⁸ Etymonline : www.etymonline.com/search?q=stench

passage which points out some references and authors related to our subject matter.

One of the earliest references is the academic dissertation of O. P. Behm⁹ which focused on the last part of the Chronicle and where he made an extensive study of the phonological aspects (noting every occurrence of all the possible vowels and consonants) and inflections (declension of all grammatical categories and also verbal conjugation). This systematic and exhaustive study has inspired the conception of the present project, even though the lexical and etymological aspect of the language was not included in Behm's dissertation.

Cecily Clark, whose second edition of the Chronicle¹⁰ will be the basis for this project, spent some decades studying the early Medieval English, its features and its historical framework. She was particularly interested in the period 1066-1200 and the effects of the Norman conquest on the English language, and also the interconnection of the three most relevant languages in use at that time (English, Latin and French), each of them having their own field and degree of influence in medieval England. Likewise, she revised in detail the origin of personal names within the context of lexical variety in Old and Middle English.

Moreover, David Shores focused on the syntax¹¹ in *PetC*, while the Finnish senior lecturer Janne Skafari has written various articles¹² about the lexical characteristics of the language in the *PetC*.

From the previous review, it could be said that in some way the apparent inexistence of a quantitative analysis of the French lexicon in *PetC* motivated this project.

⁹ Behm, O. P. *The Language of the Later Part of the Peterborough Chronicle*. Gothenburgh, 1884.

¹⁰ Clark, Cecily, editor. *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*. Oxford University Press, 1970.

¹¹ L. Shores, David. *A descriptive syntax of the Peterborough chronicle from 1122 to 1154*. The Gruyter, 1971.

¹² Skaffari, Janne. *The non-native vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle*. Peter Lang, 2002.

4. From Old English to Middle English

Old English was characterized by having a strongly inflectional system, to be precise, highly relying on inflections to mark the grammatical category of every word or group of words. As a consequence, the word order in Old English was very flexible, because the categories were clearly understood without regard to the order of the elements in a sentence. However, with Middle English came a progressive loss of inflections, thus the order of the elements in a sentence became more important, in order to keep its meaning clear and avoid ambiguity. In this sense, the evolution of the language made it shift from a highly synthetic stage in Old English to a highly analytic character in Middle and Modern English¹³. This transitional process can actually be observed in *PetC*. As a matter of fact, these changes were not directly caused by the Norman Conquest and the influence of French, but the invasion provided with the necessary conditions for them to occur.

Apart from the grammatical and syntactical variations that differentiate Old from Middle English, there existed some remarkable changes in lexicon too. These ones were mainly caused by the influence of French after the Norman Conquest and the social and political status and relevance of this language during the coming years. A great number of French words were poured into English starting in this period, many of which still remain today, as well as some English words were passed on to French. The long and continued political relationship between France and England made it easy for both languages to coexist and influence each other for centuries, and nowadays the effects of this connection are still perceived.

As Baugh & Cable mention in their book (168-169), two stages can be distinguished in terms of French influence on the English language. The first stage (until 1250) is characterized by a limited number of French loanwords (around 900), most of which are words related to nobility that could have been acquired by the lower classes. Some others came from the influence of literature, as for example *rime* or *story*, and of course religious acts were also

¹³ C. Baugh, Albert, and Thomas Cable. *A History of the English Language*. Routledge, 2002, pp. 166-167.

one of the main channels for this lexical transference. The second stage (after 1250) occurred with many French-speaking people shifting to English, thus taking part of their previous lexicon with them (whether due to familiarity or lack of knowledge of the equivalent English words). That period brought, in consequence, a greater amount of French words into English, and this time they belonged to many more aspects of society and daily life (food, medicine or art are some examples).

In sum, lexical influence of French on the English language is quite an interesting topic of discussion and is going to be the central aspect of the present study, for which *PetC* is going to be of much help to illustrate not only the influence but also its evolution over time.

5. Methodology

The procedures used in the present project are based on the scientific method, which has been chosen with two main purposes: first, to present a rigorous study of the French lexicon evolution in the Chronicle, and second, to draw conclusions which may or may not prove the initial hypothesis. The empirical strategy will start, as the standard scientific method states, by formulating hypothesis based on previous studies or even observations (in this case, based on existing writings which were previously mentioned). It will continue with experimental testing, which will be the quantitative analysis that was revealed before. Eventually, several deductions will be drawn from the empirical analysis and then the initial hypothesis will hopefully be verified (even refined) or discarded.

Our starting hypothesis is as follows: the amount of lexicon of French origin in *PetC* increases from beginning to end.

The empirical evidence in the study will possibly lead us to confirm this opening premise as well as to question and discuss the factors that influence the variations in the number of words of French origin throughout the text.

As it was mentioned in a previous section, two different stages are observed in the French influence on the English language. As the first stage spans until 1250 A.D., the whole of this analysis will be located within the scope of this stage. Consequently, we are expected to find only a small number of French words and most of them either from the nobility field, or related to literature or religion.

5.1. Selected parameters

As *PetC* documents the historical events occurred from 1070 to 1154 (then starting just after the Norman Conquest), the fragments subjected to this analysis will be selected from equally spaced years and should be of similar length for the samples to be representative and have comparable conditions.

An odd number of fragments will be chosen, in order to have a central fragment and some fragments on each side. As three fragments may not be

representative enough in number, then five fragments will be nominated. Having 84 years of chronicles, the time span will be divided into four equal sections so the selected points will, if possible, be the following years: 1070, 1091, 1112, 1133 and 1154.

Given the fact that a very small number of words would not illustrate well enough the assumption of the study, each fragment will have 100 words. Obviously, the greater the number of selected words, the more representative the study would be. A hundred is considered to be high enough to create a realistic sample and also makes the analysis achievable within the time restrictions of this project. Besides, there will not be any duplicates among the chosen words, so a hundred of different lexical stems will be designated.

Within every selected fragment, the words that will be subjected to the etymological analysis will only be content words; these include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. This kind of words carry semantic content so they are more likely to be borrowed from a foreign language due to a new specific need or influence, as opposed to function words (prepositions, for instance) which are usually more stable in terms of lexical origin. The number of content words on each fragment should be similar or equal in order to establish equivalent conditions for the analysis to be made. Proper nouns such as names of places or people will be included in the analysis; consequently, the effect of their introduction will be properly discussed.

Eventually, it should be said that the multiple authors of *PetC* may condition the language and style of the writing in the different sections of the text. This factor will possibly lead to certain difficulties in the analysis and it undoubtedly sets a new dimension of parameters that could hardly be studied, because the sections written by each author are not clear.

5.2. Online resources

Several online resources have been used for the research of the etymological source of the analysed terms. Firstly, the Bosworth-Toller Anglo Saxon Dictionary¹⁴ has been used to find the basic form of each word (for example, the infinitive of a verb), which makes it easier for it to be found in an

¹⁴ Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: bosworthtoller.com/

etymological search engine. Certain words were more modern and could not be found in Bosworth-Toller, so the Middle English Compendium¹⁵ was used instead, as it matches the Middle English terms with their respective OE ones. Once the basic OE form of a word was traced, the etymological research was done, by looking it up in either *Etymonline*¹⁶ or *Wiktionary*¹⁷. Furthermore, an extra resource¹⁸ was used to find out the origin of some proper names.

¹⁵ Middle English Compendium (University of Michigan): quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary

¹⁶ Online Etymology Dictionary: www.etymonline.com/

¹⁷ Wiktionary: en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Wiktionary:Main_Page

¹⁸ Lehiste, Ilse. "Names of Scandinavians in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle". PMLA, Vol. 71, No. 1 (Mar., 1958), pp. 6-22.

6. Analysis of French lexicon in *PetC*

Following the previously explained methodology, five equally-spaced sections of the *PetC* have been selected as samples, from where a total of five hundred content words have been selected and analysed etymologically. All of the collected data has been introduced into an Excel file in order to be statistically evaluated and properly graphed for an easier visual understanding.

Before starting the discussion, some terms should be clarified. During this analysis, some terms will be used generally in order to simplify the exposition of ideas. The term “Germanic” will be used to refer to Old English words whose origin might be either Anglo-Saxon (coming from any dialect of the time: West Saxon, Anglian, etc.) or Middle Dutch, both belonging to the Proto-Germanic branch of languages. In addition, the terms “French” and “Old French” will be used indistinctly to refer to the Romance language spoken in northern France from the eighth to the fourteenth century, which came in direct contact with English thanks to the Norman Conquest of Britain. Finally, “Scandinavian” will be used to refer to words rooted in any of the languages spoken in the eleventh century in the Scandinavian Peninsula or Denmark: Old Norse, Danish and Old Icelandic.

All the words that have been analysed, as well as the details of their origin, can be found in the Annex.

First, let us observe the breakdown of word origins in each section and, later, an overview of all sections will be presented and evaluated¹⁹.

6.1. Section 1

This first section corresponds to the beginning of the chronicles of year 1070. The following table summarizes the origin of the 100 words of this section:

Etymological origin	No. words
Celtic	1
Germanic	81

¹⁹ Note: all the graphs and tables presented in this section have been made by the author of this project.

Latin	8
Scandinavian	10
Total	100

Table 1. Origins of Section 1 (S1)

First of all, it is understandable not to find any word of French origin, as year 1070 is too close to the Norman Conquest (1066) to notice any borrowing of French terminology. Also, the major introduction of French began in the upper classes, namely the aristocracy, so the arrival of this influence to the ecclesiastical sphere (the writers of *PetC* belonged to this sector) will have to wait several years.

As could be expected, around the 80% of all these words are of Germanic origin. Besides, 10% of the words come from Scandinavian languages. In more detail, regarding their category we can find most of them are proper nouns, like Ely or Thorold:

<u>Scandinavian</u>
Noun
Huscarles
Utlages
Proper noun
Denmarcan
Elig
Osbearn
Swegn
Turolde
Walþeof
Verb
Griðede (griðian)
Rohten

Table 2. Scandinavian words in S1

As of words of Latin origin, it is interesting to observe their field of application, as the vast majority of them belong to the ecclesiastical terminology, as could be predictable for this particular etymology:

<u>Latin</u>
Abbotrice
Biscop
Cantelcapas
Cristes
Frencisce

Mæssa
 Munecas
 Mynstra

Total

Table 3. Latin words in S1

The words *abbot*, *bishop*, *cantelcopes*, *Christ*, *mass*, *monk* and *mynster* come from Latin and were acquired by English as a result of the Christianization of the country, essentially because speakers did not have an equivalent in Old English so they had to borrow the Latin term.

Concerning the Celtic origin, it is curious to evidence how Celtic words persist mostly in place-names. In this section, the only Celtic word is *Humbran* which refers to the river Humber.

6.2. Section 2

This second section corresponds to the beginning of the chronicles of year 1091. Here is an overview of the etymological origins found in this section:

Etymological origin	No. words
Celtic	1
Germanic	88
Latin	4
Old French	4
Old Irish	1
Scandinavian	2
Total	100

Table 4. Origins of Section 2 (S2)

A small increase in the number of Germanic words can be observed, but it may not be relevant enough to try to find its cause. In any case, the Germanic origin is still the most prominent, but there is a first trace of Old French, given the fact that this year is already a few decades after the Norman Conquest.

The Old French words found in this section are:

Old French

Castelan

castle

Kiæresburh

Cherbourg

Normandig

Norman

Uescam

Fécamp

Table 5. French words in S2

The presence of the word *cast/e* suggests the acquisition of this word could have taken place in the eleventh century. The word *Norman* is obviously one of the first French words to be used in English due to the conquest. The other two French words found in this section are proper names of French regions. These are not strict borrowings from French but occur due to the social and political relationship between France and England in this period. Linguistically speaking, they do not represent a loanword but in some way they are part of a trace that speaks about the historical context of the chronicles.

Celtic

Loðene

Latin

Candelmæssan

Cristesmessan

Sancte Michæles

Scotlande

Old Irish

Melcolm

Scandinavian

Sacleas

Sehte

Table 6. Minority origins in S2

In this second section, a few Latin words are found, and again most of them belong to the church field: Candlemas and Christmas (Christian festivities) and Saint Michael. Some Scandinavian trace is still observed in common words such as *innocent* and *reconciliation*. The proper name Malcolm comes from Old Irish. Once again, the Celtic hint is still kept in place-names, this time in the name of the Scottish region *Lothian*.

6.3. Section 3

This third section corresponds to the chronicles of years 1112, 1113 and the beginning of the 1114. Here follows a summary of the word origins found in this section:

Etymological origin	No. words
Celtic	1

Germanic	69
Latin	9
Old French	16
Scandinavian	4
Greek	1
Total	100

Table 7. Origins of Section 3 (S3)

A relevant decrease in Germanic terms is visible, for the sake of a great increase in the French words. In this case, proper nouns will be analysed separately:

Old French – proper nouns

Angeow

Anjou (French province)

Bælesme

Bellême (French commune)

Eureus

Évreux (French commune)

Henri

Henry

Mannie

Maine

Natiuiteō

Nativity

Normandig

Normandy

Philippe de Braus

Philip of Braus

Windlesoran

Windsor (English town)

Table 8. French proper nouns in S3

Nearly half of the French words are proper nouns, as detailed above. Most of them are place-names and some others are names of people, like Henry. Again we could say proper nouns are not strictly linguistic borrowings; however, they show the social and cultural exchange with France in some way. Leaving proper nouns apart, the occurrence of French words of the rest of the linguistic categories is also increased in this section:

Old French – except proper nouns

Capelein

chaplain

Castele

castle

Mai
May
Octabe
octave
Octobris
October
Prisune
prison
September
September

Table 9. French words in S3 except proper nouns

Names of months were probably borrowed from French by this century. The word *chaplain* belongs to the ecclesiastical atmosphere, typically full of Latin words. Very common French words like *prison* or *castle* are also found in this section, and they represent the acquisition of everyday terms from Old French.

Latin

Arcebiscoprice
Cantwarabyrig
Crispin
France
Hrofeceastre
Lunden
Pentecosten
Sancti Martini
Tæmese

Table 10. Latin words in S3

Latin words in this section are not only church terminology (*archbishop*, *Pentecost*, *Saint Martin*) but also place-names like *Canterbury*, *Thames*, *London*, *Rochester* or *France*.

The rest of the origins in this section are Scandinavian, with mainly proper names (*Thomas* and *Thorsten*), Greek (proper name *Thomas*) and once again Celtic with another place-name, that of the city of York (*Eoferwic* in OE).

6.4. Section 4

This fourth section belongs to the chronicles of year 1132 and the beginning of 1135. Following a summary of the origins is presented:

Etymological origin	No. words
Germanic	70
Latin	16
Old French	10
Scandinavian	3
Hebrew	1
Total	100

Table 11. Origins of Section 4 (S4)

The percentage of Germanic words is kept very similar. Again we find a visible amount of French words:

Old French

acordede

to accord

Balduin

Baldoin

Blois

Blais

castles

castle

Clunie

Cluny (French commune)

Curbuil

Corbeil

Henri

Henry

Nefe

nephew

Pais

peace

Reduers

Redvers (French commune)

Table 12. French words in S4

Most of them are proper names, either place-names or names of individuals. But still we can find other categories, among which the verb *to accord* stands out, as well as the familiar terms of *nephew* and *peace*.

Latin words in the fourth section are, once more, mostly related to religion: *prior*, *bishop*, *abbot*, *mass* and several names of saints. Also place-names like *Salisbury* or *Exeter*, and people's names like *Stephen*.

The minority etymologies in this section are Scandinavian and Hebrew, the latter found in the biblical name David.

6.5. Section 5

This last section belongs to the last part of the chronicle of year 1140 and the whole of year 1154. Here is a summary of the origins of this section:

Etymological origin	No. words
Germanic	72
Latin	15
Old French	11
Scandinavian	2
Total	100

Table 13. Origins of Section 5 (S5)

The Germanic proportion is more or less conserved, in around 70%. French influence is still observed, among which:

Old French

Angæu

Anjou (French province)

Castles

castle

Clerc

clerk

Curt

court

Henri

Henry

Iustise

justice

læide

to levy

País

peace

Peitou

Poitou

Processiun

procession

Walteruile

Waterville

Table 14. French words in S5

Some of these French words are names of regions or town in France, and the rest are mainly administrative terms (*court*, *justice*), religious (*clerk*, *procession*) or common words also found in previous sections (*peace*, *castle*).

Among Latin words in this section, we can find place-names like *Lincoln*, *Winchester* or *Faversham*, and ecclesiastical terms already found in previous fragments, like *abbot*, *monk* or *monastery* (*minster*).

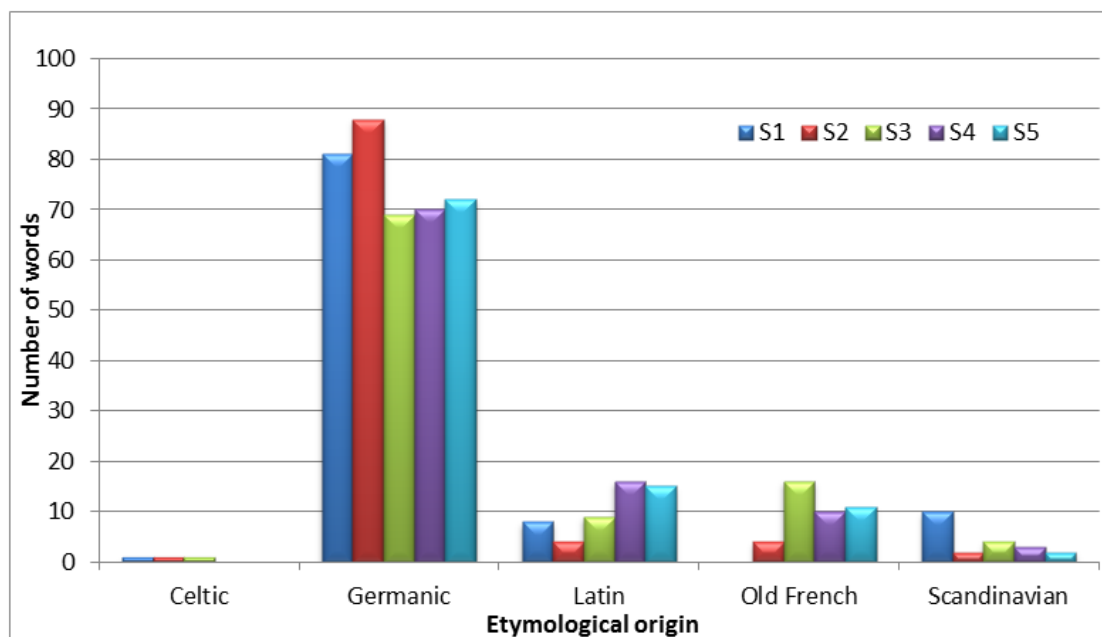
6.6. Overview

Here follows a summary table which contains all the etymological origins found in the five analysed sections and the numbers of words of each origin:

Etymological origin	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Total
Celtic	1	1	1			3
Germanic	81	88	69	70	72	380
Latin	8	4	9	16	15	52
Old French		4	16	10	11	41
Old Irish		1				1
Scandinavian	10	2	4	3	2	21
Greek			1			1
Hebrew				1		1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	500

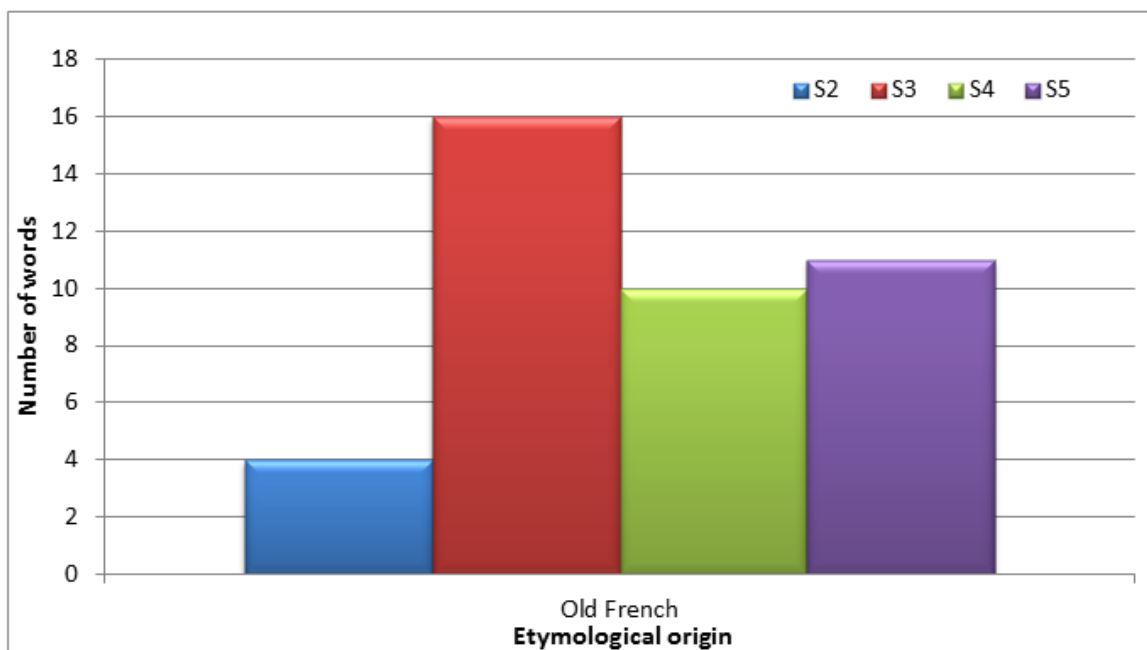
Table 15. Summary

The following graph summarizes the most prevalent etymological origins found in the five analysed sections of *PetC*. The evolution of each of them throughout *PetC* can easily be observed:



Graph 1. Number of words per etymological origin

A tendency to decrease the native Germanic words is appreciated. Regarding the borrowings from Old French, a clear increase is found throughout the studied fragments of the chronicles, going from zero occurrences in the first analysed section to more than 10 (including proper names), with a strong presence in sections three to five. The following graph shows the detail of words of French origin:



Graph 2. Old French words in the five sections (S1 has no occurrences)

As can be visually guessed from this graph, the increasing tendency in the number of French words is clear, although there are statistical variations between sections. When we exclude proper nouns, the tendency is similar but the figures are obviously reduced in all sections: 0, 2, 7, 4 and 7, respectively.

The limited number of words of French origin agrees with the discussion mentioned in previous chapters. *PetC* was written during the first period of French influence and only a small amount of words were borrowed at this time. If the chronicles had been written later (from 1250), a much greater amount of French borrowings would have been found.

In sum, the initial hypothesis “the amount of lexicon of French origin in *PetC* increases from beginning to end” has been evidenced in a measurable way.

7. Conclusions

The aim of this project was to evaluate, in a quantitative way, the influence of French on the English language throughout the historical chronicles presented in *PetC*. The historical period recorded in this part of *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* spans from 1070 to 1154, during which the Norman conquest of England (1066) occurred. The conquest settled a turning point in the history of the country, as well as in the English language, as it triggered numerous changes at lexical, syntactical and grammatical levels. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the oldest historical record of this time and its linguistic relevance relies on the fact that it is written in English, contrasting with other relevant annals which were in Latin.

Old English was the result of a combination of several dialects brought to England by the Germanic tribes (Saxons, Jutes and Angles) and it was influenced by a number of other languages that came into contact for various reasons. Latin was one of the greatest sources of influence for English. In early times, it arrived in England with the Romans, and later it arose alongside the Christianization of the country. It was the language of sacred texts, the one in which masses were given and it also provided with new religious terms such as *mass*, *monk* or *bishop*. The Scandinavian languages were another source of borrowed lexicon in English. The languages of the Danes, the Swedes and the Norwegians were in contact with English for a long time during the Viking Age and years later. They provided with words from everyday life and place-names too. An additional source of influence was the language of the Celts, and it also assisted English with many place-names, some of which are still used today.

As we have discussed in some sections of this project, there existed several ways in which words were borrowed and incorporated from foreign languages into the native lexicon. Assimilation or the use of native prefixes and suffixes permitted the natural incorporation of such imported terms. Within the context of the language merging, duplicates occurred for certain concepts for which there already existed a native word. In such cases, either the native or the borrowed term persisted, or a differentiation in meaning arose so both words could remain in use.

The most relevant influx of foreign words during the eleventh and twelfth century came with the Old French spoken by the Norman conquerors. It started right after the conquest and penetrated into the English society, gradually inflowing from the powerful Anglo-Norman aristocracy into the lower classes. For some time, French was seen as a sign of superiority, being associated with the nobility and cultivated environments, so in this first period the borrowed words belonged to those fields. In this context, it is expected to find a decrease in the use of native Germanic words to give way to those new borrowed terms.

The increasing number of French words included in the English lexicon is only one of the characteristics of the transition from Old English to Early Middle English, of which *PetC* contains great evidence. The diachronic changes observed in this period, where the social and political conditions were favourable to such variations, shaped the features of Middle English. The other significant transformation was the simplification of the declension system, which reinforced the strictness of the word order in a sentence.

Regarding the existing studies on the lexical features of Old and Middle English and the importance of *PetC*, Cecily Clark's contribution should be remarked, and her second edition of the *Chronicle* has been the basis of this project. She not only edited the script but also discussed it in many aspects.

The quantitative analysis of French lexicon in *PetC* has been carried out by selecting five equally-spaced sections of the text, retrieving one hundred content words out of each section and searching their etymological origin.

The initial hypothesis was that the number of words of French origin increases from beginning to end of *PetC*. This premise has been evidenced by the analysis of the five samples, as a clear increase in the number of French words has been observed: starting with no French terms in the first section, a few in the second and an average of 12% of the words in sections three to five. An important part of the French terms found was represented by proper nouns, specifically names of French places or people. Initially, proper nouns were going to be excluded from the analysis; nevertheless, they were kept in the samples so the effect of their introduction in the study could eventually be discussed. It is true that proper nouns may not be considered part of the

lexicon of a language, but the fact that *PetC* is a historical record encourages their inclusion in the study as those proper nouns also represent the French influence over England, socially and linguistically speaking. Furthermore, it should be explained that the increase in the number of French words has been evidenced even if proper nouns are excluded from the study. For the sake of this increase in French terms, a general decrease of Germanic words has also been observed. The total number of Germanic vocabulary in our study ranges from the 80-90% in the first two sections to the 70% in the following ones.

In addition to the French etymology, some other relevant influences have been evidenced during the present study, as it could have been expected. Celtic words have been found mainly in the names of places and rivers, and in average they represent less than 1% of the analysed words. Scandinavian languages such as Old Norse also had an impact on Old English, which has been proved too. Scandinavian terms found in this study include common words, some of which are war terms, and also names of people. Last, but not least, Latin influence on English is remarkable and has been evidenced in this study, where an average of 11% of the selected words come from this romance language. The scope of Latin influence goes from proper names of places and people (mainly saints) to religious vocabulary, the latter being the most relevant field of influence. The impact of the Christianization of England in this period can be read between the lines when analysing the lexicon in *PetC*.

From a critical point of view, this quantitative study could be improved or extended in several ways. A greater amount of words could be analysed in order to improve the statistical quality of the data and thus the conclusions that are drawn out of it. Ideally, all the content words of the text could be processed so the totality of the text would be included in the study. This project is just a modest example of a study of a linguistic hypothesis and its measurable evidence from a scientific approach, but a further analysis could always be made by using a similar approach. Additionally, more parameters could be introduced in the analysis; for example, adding non-content words to the study, taking into account the different scribes who wrote the chronicles or even considering the historical events occurred during each period and relating them to their impact on the language.

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9. Annex

The following table contains the list of all the words from *PetC* used in the quantitative analysis included in this project, their category, translation into modern English as well as their origin. The first column contains the section number, out of the five sections that have been retrieved from the original text.

<u>S#</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Details of origin</u>
S1	Her	Adverb	here	Germanic	Old Frisian, Dutch, German
S1	Eorl	Noun	earl	Germanic	
S1	Walþeof	Proper noun	Waltheof	Scandinavian	
S1	Griðede	Verb	to make peace	Scandinavian	Old Norse, Old Icelandic
S1	Cyng	Noun	king	Germanic	
S1	Lengten	Noun	spring	Germanic	Old Saxon, Middle Dutch
S1	Let	Verb	to allow	Germanic	
S1	Hergian	Verb	to ravage	Germanic	Old Norse
S1	Mynstra	Noun	monastery	Latin	
S1	Englalande	Proper noun	England	Germanic	
S1	Wæron	Verb	to be	Germanic	
S1	Geare	Noun	year	Germanic	
S1	Com	Verb	to come	Germanic	
S1	Swegn	Proper noun	Sweyne	Scandinavian	
S1	Denmarcan	Proper noun	Denmark	Scandinavian	Danish
S1	Humbran	Proper noun	Humber (river)	Celtic	
S1	Landfolc	Noun	people of a land	Germanic	
S1	Sceolde	Verb	should	Germanic	
S1	Land	Noun	land	Germanic	
S1	Ofergan	Verb	to overspread	Germanic	
S1	Elig	Proper noun	Ely	Scandinavian	
S1	Densce	Adjective	Danish	Germanic	
S1	Biscop	Noun	bishop	Latin	Ancient Greek
S1	Osbearn	Proper noun	Osbern	Scandinavian	
S1	Huscarles	Noun	member of the king's bodyguard	Scandinavian	Old Icelandic, Old Norse
S1	Englisce	Adjective	English	Germanic	
S1	Folc	Noun	people	Germanic	
S1	Feonlandes	Noun	marshy land	Germanic	
S1	Wendon	Verb	to suppose	Germanic	
S1	Winnon	Verb	to succeed	Germanic	

S1	Herdon	Verb	hearsay	Germanic	
S1	Munecas	Noun	monk	Latin	Early borrowing used in OE, Old Frisian, Old High German
S1	Burh	Noun	fortified town	Germanic	
S1	Sægen	Verb	to say	Germanic	
S1	Heora	Verb	to hear	Germanic	
S1	Agene	Adjective	own	Germanic	
S1	Menn	Noun	men	Germanic	
S1	Wolden	Verb	would	Germanic	
S1	Hergon	Verb	to plunder	Germanic	
S1	Hereward	Proper noun	army guard	Germanic	
S1	Genge	Noun	gang	Germanic	
S1	Heafde	Noun	head	Germanic	
S1	Gifen	Verb	to give	Germanic	
S1	Abbotrice	Noun	abbacy	Latin	
S1	Frencisce	Adjective	French	Latin	Early borrowing
S1	Turold	Proper noun	Thorold	Scandinavian	
S1	Gehaten	Verb	to name	Germanic	
S1	Swiðe	Adjective	strong	Germanic	
S1	Styrne	Adjective	hard	Germanic	
S1	Stanforde	Proper noun	Stanford	Germanic	
S1	cyrce	Noun	church	Germanic	
S1	Weard	Noun	guardian	Germanic	
S1	Yware	Proper noun	Yware	Germanic	
S1	Nam	Noun	Seizure of other's property	Germanic	
S1	Nihte	Noun	night	Germanic	
S1	Mihte	Verb	to be able	Germanic	
S1	Cristes	Adjective	of Christ	Latin	Old Greek, early borrowing
S1	Bec	Noun	book	Germanic	
S1	Mæssa	Noun	mass	Latin	
S1	Hakeles	Noun	hackles	Germanic	
S1	Cantelcapas	Noun	cantel-copes	Latin	
S1	Reafes	Noun	mantle	Germanic	
S1	Swilce	Adjective	such	Germanic	
S1	Litles	Adjective	little	Germanic	
S1	Ferde	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S1	Sona	Adverb	soon	Germanic	
S1	Dæg	Noun	day	Germanic	
S1	Sohte	Verb	to seek	Germanic	
S1	Griðe	Noun	protection	Germanic	
S1	Cydde	Verb	tell	Germanic	

S1	Utlages	Noun	outlaw	Scandinavian	Old Norse
S1	Dyde	Verb	to do	Germanic	
S1	Ræde	Noun	lesson	Germanic	
S1	Morgen	Noun	morning	Germanic	
S1	Fela	Adjective	many	Germanic	
S1	Scipe	Noun	ship	Germanic	
S1	Woldon	Verb	wish	Germanic	
S1	Wiðstoden	Verb	withstand	Germanic	
S1	Lægdon	Verb	put	Germanic	
S1	Forbærndon	Verb	burn up	Germanic	
S1	Huses	Noun	house	Germanic	
S1	Tun	Noun	town	Germanic	
S1	Fyre	Noun	fire	Germanic	
S1	Bolhiðe	Proper noun	Bull-hithe	Germanic	
S1	Geate	Noun	gate	Germanic	
S1	Beaden	Verb	to ask	Germanic	
S1	Rohten	Verb	to care	Scandinavian	
S1	Ping	Noun	thing	Germanic	
S1	Geodon	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S1	Clumben	Verb	to climb	Germanic	
S1	Halge	Adjective	holy	Germanic	
S1	Rode	Noun	rood	Germanic	
S1	Kynehelm	Noun	diadem	Germanic	
S1	Drihtnes	Adjective	of the Lord	Germanic	
S1	Smeate	Adjective	refined	Germanic	
S1	Golde	Noun	gold	Germanic	
S1	Fotspure	Noun	foot-rest	Germanic	
S1	Read	Adjective	red	Germanic	
S1	Stepel	Noun	steeple	Germanic	
S1	Brohton	Verb	to bring	Germanic	
S2	Geare	Noun	year	Germanic	
S2	Cyng	Noun	king	Germanic	
S2	Willelm	Proper noun	William	Germanic	
S2	Heold	Verb	to hold	Germanic	
S2	Hired	Noun	court	Germanic	
S2	Cristesmessan	Noun	Christmas (holy mass)	Latin	Old Greek, early borrowing
S2	Wæstmynstre	Proper noun	Westminster	Germanic	
S2	Candel-mæssan	Noun	Candlemas	Latin	Early borrowing
S2	Ferde	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S2	Broðær	Noun	brother	Germanic	
S2	Unþearfe	Noun	annoyance	Germanic	
S2	Englalande	Proper	England	Germanic	

		noun			
S2	Sehte	Noun	reconciliation	Scandinavian	Old Icelandic, Old Norse
S2	Togædere	Adverb	together	Germanic	
S2	Eode	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S2	Gerad	Adjective	considered	Germanic	
S2	Eorl	Noun	earl	Germanic	
S2	Handan	Noun	hand	Germanic	
S2	Let	Verb	to allow	Germanic	
S2	Uescam	Proper noun	Fécamp	Old French	
S2	Kiæresburh	Proper noun	Cherbourg	Old French	
S2	Men	Noun	men	Germanic	
S2	Sacleas	Adjective	innocent	Scandinavian	Old Icelandic
S2	Beon	Verb	to be	Germanic	
S2	Moston	Verb	must	Germanic	
S2	Castelan	Noun	castle	Old French	
S2	Unþances	Noun	disfavour	Germanic	
S2	Begiten	Verb	to acquire	Germanic	
S2	Hæfdon	Noun	head	Germanic	
S2	Ongean	Adverb	again	Germanic	
S2	Manige	Adjective	many	Germanic	
S2	Behet	Verb	to promise	Germanic	
S2	Fæder	Noun	father	Germanic	
S2	Gewann	Verb	to win	Germanic	
S2	Gebogen	Verb	to submit	Germanic	
S2	Donne	Verb	to do	Germanic	
S2	Geunnen	Verb	to consent	Germanic	
S2	Land	Noun	land	Germanic	
S2	Forluron	Verb	to lose	Germanic	
S2	Habban	Verb	to have	Germanic	
S2	Sceoldan	Verb	should	Germanic	
S2	Eallswa	Adverb	also	Germanic	
S2	Mycel	Adjective	much	Germanic	
S2	Forewarde	Adverb	forward	Germanic	
S2	Forðferde	Verb	to die	Germanic	
S2	Sunu	Noun	son	Germanic	
S2	Rihtre	Adjective	right	Germanic	
S2	Æwe	Noun	God's law	Germanic	
S2	Yrfenuma	Noun	heir	Germanic	
S2	Normandig	Adjective	Normans	Old French	Previously Scandinavian
S2	Swulte	Verb	to die	Germanic	
S2	Gesworan	Verb	to take an oath	Germanic	
S2	Betste	Adjective	best	Germanic	

S2	Healfe	Noun	side	Germanic	
S2	Syððan	Adverb	since	Germanic	
S2	Litle	Adjective	little	Germanic	
S2	Hwile	Noun	while	Germanic	
S2	Stode	Verb	to stand	Germanic	
S2	Wearð	Verb	to come to be	Germanic	
S2	Eadgar Æpeling	Proper noun	Edgar Etheling	Germanic	
S2	Belandod	Adjective	Deprived of land	Germanic	Middle Dutch
S2	Handa	Noun	hand	Germanic	
S2	Gelæten	Verb	to allow to have	Germanic	
S2	Aðume	Noun	son-in-law	Germanic	
S2	Scotlande	Proper noun	Scotland	Latin	
S2	Swustor	Noun	sister	Germanic	
S2	Willelm	Proper noun	William	Germanic	
S2	Melcolm	Proper noun	Malcolm	Old Irish	
S2	Hider	Adverb	hither	Germanic	
S2	Englum	Proper noun	England	Germanic	
S2	Dæl	Noun	deal	Germanic	
S2	Oferhergode	Verb	to overrun	Germanic	Old Norse
S2	Gode	Adjective	good	Germanic	
S2	Bewiston	Verb	to govern	Germanic	
S2	Fyrde	Noun	army	Germanic	
S2	Sændon	Verb	to send	Germanic	
S2	Gecyrdon	Verb	to return	Germanic	
S2	Gehyrde	Verb	to hear	Germanic	
S2	Gearcode	Verb	to prepare	Germanic	
S2	Fare	Noun	travel	Germanic	
S2	Com	Verb	to come	Germanic	
S2	Rodbeard	Proper noun	Robert	Germanic	
S2	Sona	Adverb	soon	Germanic	
S2	Ut	Adverb	out	Germanic	
S2	Abeodan	Verb	to announce	Germanic	
S2	Mihte	Verb	to be able	Germanic	
S2	Ælmæst	Adverb	almost	Germanic	
S2	Earmlice	Adverb	miserably	Germanic	
S2	Forfor	Verb	to perish	Germanic	
S2	Feowan	Adjective	few	Germanic	
S2	Dagon	Noun	day	Germanic	
S2	Sancte Michæles	Proper noun	Saint Michael	Latin	Previously from Greek and Hebrew
S2	Secean	Verb	to seek	Germanic	
S2	Wolde	Verb	would	Germanic	

S2	Loðene	Proper noun	Lothian (Scottish region)	Celtic	
S2	Abad	Verb	to wait	Germanic	
S2	Genealehte	Verb	to move nearer	Germanic	
S2	Gemacedon	Verb	to make	Germanic	
S2	swilcre	Adjective	such	Germanic	
S2	gehyrsumnisse	Noun	obedience	Germanic	
S3	Gear	Noun	year	Germanic	
S3	Wunode	Verb	to reside	Germanic	
S3	Cyng	Noun	king	Germanic	
S3	Henri	Proper noun	Henry	Old French	Previously from Old High German
S3	Normandig	Proper noun	Normandy	Old French	Previously from Norse
S3	Unsehte	Noun	hostility	Scandinavian	Old Icelandic, Old Norse
S3	Hæfde	Noun	head	Germanic	
S3	France	Proper noun	France	Latin	Early borrowing
S3	Eorl	Noun	earl	Germanic	
S3	Angeow	Proper noun	Anjou (French province)	Old French	
S3	Mannie	Proper noun	Maine	Old French	
S3	Heold	Verb	to keep	Germanic	Anglian, West Saxon
S3	Wæs	Verb	to be	Germanic	
S3	Belænde	Verb	to deprive of land	Germanic	Middle Dutch
S3	Eureus	Proper noun	Évreux (French commune)	Old French	
S3	Willelm	Proper noun	William	Germanic	
S3	Crispin	Proper noun	Crispin	Latin	
S3	Adraf	Verb	to drive	Germanic	
S3	Philippe de Braus	Proper noun	Philip of Braus	Old French	
S3	Ageaf	Verb	to give up	Germanic	
S3	Let	Verb	to allow	Germanic	
S3	Rotbert	Proper noun	Robert	Germanic	
S3	Bælesme	Proper noun	Bellême (French commune)	Old French	
S3	Niman	Verb	to seize	Germanic	
S3	Prisune	Noun	prison	Old French	
S3	Don	Verb	to do	Germanic	
S3	Swiðe	Adjective	very	Germanic	
S3	God	Adjective	good	Germanic	
S3	Wistfull	Adjective	productive	Germanic	
S3	Wudan	Noun	wood	Germanic	
S3	Feldan	Noun	field	Germanic	
S3	Hefigtyme	Noun	heavy time	Germanic	
S3	Sorhfull	Adjective	sorrowful	Germanic	

S3	Ormætne	Adjective	severe	Germanic	
S3	Mancwealm	Noun	mortality of men	Germanic	
S3	Natiuiteð	Proper noun	Nativity	Old French	
S3	Eastron	Proper noun	Easter	Germanic	
S3	Pentecosten	Proper noun	Pentecost	Latin	Previously from Greek
S3	Sumeran	Noun	summer	Germanic	
S3	Sænde	Verb	to send	Germanic	
S3	Hider	Adverb	hither	Germanic	
S3	Lande	Noun	land	Germanic	
S3	Castele	Noun	castle	Old French	Old North French
S3	Wærham	Proper noun	Wareham (English town)	Germanic	
S3	Sona	Adverb	soon	Germanic	
S3	Com	Verb	to come	Germanic	
S3	Hired	Noun	court	Germanic	
S3	Windlesoran	Proper noun	Windsor (English town)	Old French	
S3	Nan	Adverb	not	Germanic	
S3	Ferde	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S3	Fyrde	Noun	army	Germanic	
S3	Wealon	Proper noun	Wales	Germanic	
S3	Griðedon	Verb	to make peace	Scandinavian	Old Norse
S3	Weorcean	Verb	to build	Germanic	
S3	September	Noun	September	Old French	
S3	Sæ	Noun	sea	Germanic	
S3	Æfteward	Adverb	afterward	Germanic	
S3	Mai	Noun	May	Old French	
S3	Gesewen	Verb	to see	Germanic	
S3	Selcuð	Adjective	strange	Germanic	
S3	Steorra	Noun	star	Germanic	
S3	Langan	Adjective	long	Germanic	
S3	Leoman	Noun	light	Germanic	
S3	Manege	Adjective	many	Germanic	
S3	Niht	Noun	night	Germanic	
S3	Scinende	Verb	to shine	Germanic	
S3	Ylcan	Adverb	also	Germanic	
S3	Mycel	Adjective	much	Germanic	
S3	Ebba	Noun	ebb of the tide	Germanic	
S3	Æghwær	Adverb	everywhere	Germanic	
S3	Dæges	Noun	day	Germanic	
S3	Man	Noun	man	Germanic	
S3	Æror	Adverb	before	Germanic	
S3	Gemunde	Verb	to remember	Germanic	

S3	Ridende	Verb	to ride	Germanic	
S3	Gangende	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S3	Tæmese	Proper noun	Thames	Latin	
S3	Eastan	Noun	east	Germanic	
S3	Brigge	Noun	bridge	Germanic	
S3	Lunden	Proper noun	London	Latin	
S3	Octobris	Noun	October	Old French	
S3	Windas	Noun	wind	Germanic	
S3	Monðe	Noun	month	Germanic	
S3	Octabe	Noun	octave	Old French	
S3	Sancti Martini	Proper noun	Saint Martin	Latin	
S3	Tunan	Noun	town	Germanic	
S3	Gecydde	Verb	to announce	Germanic	
S3	Arcebiscoprice	Noun	archbishop	Latin	Ancient Greek
S3	Cantwarabyrig	Proper noun	Canterbury	Latin	
S3	Raulfe	Proper noun	Ralph	Scandinavian	Old Norse
S3	Hrofeceastre	Proper noun	Rochester	Latin	
S3	Eoferwic	Proper noun	York	Celtic	
S3	Thomas	Proper noun	Thomas	Greek	
S3	Forðferde	Verb	to die	Germanic	
S3	Turstein	Proper noun	Thorsten	Scandinavian	Old Norse
S3	Capelein	Noun	chaplain	Old French	
S3	Tyme	Noun	time	Germanic	
S3	Wæder	Noun	weather	Germanic	
S3	Lætte	Verb	to prevent	Germanic	
S3	Hwile	Adverb	meanwhile	Germanic	
S4	Gear	Noun	year	Germanic	
S4	Com	Verb	to come	Germanic	
S4	Henri	Proper noun	Henry	Old French	Previously from Old High German
S4	King	Noun	king	Germanic	
S4	Land	Noun	land	Germanic	
S4	Abbot	Noun	abbot	Latin	
S4	Uureide	Verb	to betray	Germanic	
S4	Muneces	Noun	monk	Latin	Early borrowing used in OE, Old Frisian, Old High German
S4	Burch	Noun	burg	Germanic	
S4	Underþeden	Verb	to subject	Germanic	
S4	Mynstre	Noun	monastery	Latin	
S4	Clunie	Proper noun	Cluny (French commune)	Old French	

S4	Welneh	Adverb	nearly	Germanic	
S4	Bepaht	Adjective	entrapped	Germanic	
S4	Sende	Verb	to send	Germanic	
S4	Godes	Noun	god	Germanic	
S4	Milce	Noun	mercy	Germanic	
S4	Biscop	Noun	bishop	Latin	Ancient Greek
S4	Seresbyri	Proper noun	Salisbury	Latin	
S4	Lincol	Proper noun	Lincoln	Latin	
S4	Opre	Adjective	other	Germanic	
S4	Rice	Adjective	rich	Germanic	
S4	Men	Noun	men	Germanic	
S4	Wæron	Verb	to be	Germanic	
S4	Wiste	Verb	to know	Germanic	
S4	Suicdom	Noun	treachery	Germanic	
S4	Mihte	Verb	to be able	Germanic	
S4	Nefe	Noun	nephew	Old French	
S4	Sculde	Verb	should	Germanic	
S4	Crist	Proper noun	Christ	Latin	Old Greek, early borrowing
S4	Suith	Adjective	very	Germanic	
S4	Lang	Adjective	long	Germanic	
S4	þerefter	Adverb	thereafter	Germanic	
S4	Dide	Verb	did (to do)	Germanic	
S4	Gyuen	Verb	to give	Germanic	
S4	Faren	Noun	travel	Germanic	
S4	Prior	Noun	prior	Latin	
S4	Sancte Neod	Proper noun	Saint Neot	Latin	
S4	Martin	Proper noun	Martin	Latin	
S4	Gehaten	Verb	to name	Germanic	
S4	Sancte Petres	Proper noun	Saint Peter	Latin	
S4	Messedei	Noun	mass	Latin	
S4	Dei	Noun	day	Germanic	
S4	Wurscipe	Noun	worship	Germanic	
S4	Sæ	Noun	sea	Germanic	
S4	Lammasse	Proper noun	Lammas (festivity)	Germanic	Mass comes from Latin
S4	Lai	Verb	to lay	Germanic	
S4	Slep	Adjective	asleep	Germanic	
S4	Scip	Noun	ship	Germanic	
S4	þestrede	Verb	to darken	Germanic	
S4	Sunne	Noun	sun	Germanic	
S4	Thre	Adjective	three	Germanic	
S4	Niht	Noun	night	Germanic	

S4	Ald	Adjective	old	Germanic	
S4	Mone	Noun	moon	Germanic	
S4	Sterres	Noun	star	Germanic	
S4	Ofluendred	Adjective	astonished	Germanic	
S4	Ofdred	Adjective	terrified	Germanic	
S4	Sæden	Verb	to say	Germanic	
S4	Ded	Adjective	dead	Germanic	
S4	Sancte Andreas	Proper noun	Saint Andreas	Latin	
S4	Normandi	Proper noun	Normandy	Scandinavian	
S4	Æuric	Adjective	every	Germanic	
S4	Ræuede	Verb	to rob	Germanic	
S4	Frend	Noun	friend	Germanic	
S4	Brohten	Verb	to bring	Germanic	
S4	Lic	Noun	body	Germanic	
S4	Bebirie(den)	Verb	to bury	Germanic	
S4	Redinge	Proper noun	Reading (English town)	Germanic	
S4	Æie	Noun	awe	Scandinavian	Old Norse
S4	Durste	Verb	to dare	Germanic	
S4	Misdon	Verb	to do wrong	Germanic	
S4	Time	Noun	time	Germanic	
S4	Pais	Noun	peace	Old French	
S4	Makede	Verb	to make	Germanic	
S4	Bare	Adjective	bare	Germanic	
S4	Byrthen	Noun	burden	Germanic	
S4	Gold	Noun	gold	Germanic	
S4	Sylure	Noun	silver	Germanic	
S4	Stephne	Proper noun	Stephen	Latin	
S4	Blois	Proper noun	Blais	Old French	
S4	Lundene	Proper noun	London	Latin	
S4	Folc	Noun	people	Germanic	
S4	Underfeng	Verb	to collect	Germanic	
S4	Willelm	Proper noun	William	Germanic	
S4	Curbuil	Proper noun	Corbeil	Old French	
S4	Halechede	Verb	to hallow	Germanic	
S4	Midewintre	Adjective	midwinter	Germanic	
S4	Unfrið	Noun	dissentation	Germanic	
S4	Yfel	Noun	evil	Germanic	
S4	Risen	Verb	to rise	Germanic	
S4	Balduin	Proper noun	Baldoin	Old French	
S4	Reduers	Proper noun	Redvers (French commune)	Old French	

S4	Held	Verb	to hold	Germanic	
S4	Execestre	Proper noun	Exeter	Latin	
S4	besæt	Verb	to beset	Germanic	
S4	acordede	Verb	to accord	Old French	
S4	tokan	Verb	to take	Scandinavian	
S4	castles	Noun	castle	Old French	Old North French
S4	Dauid	Proper noun	David	Hebrew	
S5	Gær	Noun	year	Germanic	
S5	Wærd	Verb	to be	Germanic	
S5	King	Noun	king	Germanic	
S5	Stephne	Proper noun	Stephen	Latin	
S5	Ded	Adjective	dead	Germanic	
S5	Bebyried	Verb	to bury	Germanic	
S5	Wif	Noun	wife	Germanic	
S5	Sune	Noun	son	Germanic	
S5	Fauresfeld	Proper noun	Faversham (English town)	Latin	
S5	Minstre	Noun	monastery	Latin	
S5	Makeden	Verb	to make	Germanic	
S5	Eorl	Noun	earl	Germanic	
S5	Sæ	Noun	sea	Germanic	
S5	Durste	Verb	to dare	Germanic	
S5	Man	Noun	man	Germanic	
S5	Don	Verb	to do	Germanic	
S5	God	Adjective	good	Germanic	
S5	Micel	Adjective	much	Germanic	
S5	Eie	Noun	fear	Germanic	
S5	Engleland	Proper noun	England	Germanic	
S5	Com	Verb	to come	Germanic	
S5	Underfangen	Verb	to collect	Germanic	
S5	Wurtscipe	Verb	to worship	Germanic	
S5	Bletcæd	Verb	to bless	Germanic	
S5	Lundene	Proper noun	London	Latin	
S5	Sunnendæi	Noun	Sunday	Germanic	
S5	Midwintre	Adjective	midwinter	Germanic	
S5	Held	Verb	to hold	Germanic	
S5	Curt	Noun	court	Old French	
S5	Martin	Proper noun	Martin	Latin	
S5	Abbot	Noun	abbot	Latin	
S5	Burch	Noun	burg	Germanic	
S5	Sculde	Verb	should	Germanic	
S5	Faren	Noun	travel	Germanic	

S5	Sæcledde	Verb	to sicken	Germanic	
S5	Nonarum	Noun	nones	Latin	
S5	Ianuarii	Noun	January	Latin	
S5	Munekes	Noun	monk	Latin	Early borrowing used in OE, Old Frisian, Old High German
S5	Cusen	Verb	to choose	Germanic	
S5	Willelm	Proper noun	William	Germanic	
S5	Walteruile	Proper noun	Waterville	Old French	
S5	Gehaten	Verb	to name	Germanic	
S5	Clerc	Noun	clerk	Old French	
S5	Wæl	Adverb	well	Germanic	
S5	Lued	Verb	to love	Germanic	
S5	Morgen	Noun	morning	Germanic	
S5	Cosan	Verb	to choose	Germanic	
S5	Ferde	Verb	to go	Germanic	
S5	Oxenforde	Proper noun	Oxford	Germanic	
S5	Iaf	Verb	to give	Germanic	
S5	Lincol	Proper noun	Lincoln	Latin	
S5	Ham	Noun	home	Germanic	
S5	Processiun	Noun	procession	Old French	
S5	Ramesæie	Proper noun	Ramsey (English town)	Germanic	
S5	Torneie	Proper noun	Thorney (English village)	Germanic	
S5	Cruland	Proper noun	Crowland (English town)	Germanic	
S5	Spallding	Proper noun	Spalding (English town)	Germanic	
S5	S. Albanes	Proper noun	St Albans (English city)	Latin	
S5	Begunnon	Verb	to begin	Germanic	
S5	Enden	Noun	end	Germanic	
S5	reuede	Verb	to rob	Germanic	
S5	læide	Verb	to levy	Old French	
S5	gelde	Noun	guild	Germanic	
S5	brohte	Verb	to bring	Germanic	
S5	Canterbury	Proper noun	Canterbury	Latin	
S5	Wimman	Noun	woman	Germanic	
S5	Hedde	Verb	to have	Germanic	
S5	Litel	Adjective	little	Germanic	
S5	Blisse	Noun	bliss	Germanic	
S5	Crist	Proper noun	Christ	Latin	Old Greek, early borrowing
S5	Lange	Adjective	long	Germanic	
S5	Rixan	Verb	to rule	Germanic	

S5	Moder	Noun	mother	Germanic	
S5	Angæu	Proper noun	Anjou (French province)	Old French	
S5	Toc	Verb	to take	Scandinavian	
S5	Cuen	Noun	queen	Germanic	
S5	France	Proper noun	France	Latin	Early borrowing
S5	Todælde	Verb	to divide	Germanic	
S5	lunge	Adjective	young	Germanic	
S5	Henri	Proper noun	Henry	Old French	Previously from Old High German
S5	Hire	Noun	court	Germanic	
S5	Peitou	Proper noun	Poitou	Old French	
S5	Færd	Noun	army	Germanic	
S5	Castles	Noun	castle	Old French	
S5	Agenes	Adjective	own	Germanic	
S5	Fuhtten	Verb	to fight	Germanic	
S5	Wise	Adjective	wise	Germanic	
S5	Sahte	Noun	reconciliation	Scandinavian	Old Icelandic, Old Norse
S5	Lauerd	Noun	lord	Germanic	
S5	Liuede	Verb	to live	Germanic	
S5	Fader	Noun	father	Germanic	
S5	Foruuardes	Noun	provisions	Germanic	
S5	Suoren	Verb	to swear	Germanic	
S5	Rice	Adjective	rich	Germanic	
S5	Wincestre	Proper noun	Winchester	Latin	
S5	País	Noun	peace	Old French	
S5	Neure	Adverb	never	Germanic	
S5	Strengere	Adjective	stronger	Germanic	
S5	Folc	Noun	people	Germanic	
S5	Iustise	Noun	justice	Old French	

Table 16. List of words analysed in this project and their origins

