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ANGLO-NORMAN
DICTIONARY

Anglo-Norman, Medieval Latin, and Words of Germanic Origin

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1. Introduction

AS TONY HUNT OBSERVED A NUMBER of years ago with regard to the multi-lingual situation in medieval Britain, ‘historical attestations of individual lexical items rarely begin with the presumed donor language’ (Hunt 2003: 384). Thus, we may well find early attestations of words in texts in another language, something which on the one hand may seem surprising, but on the other is unastonishing when one considers how normal mixed-language texts were. In lexicographical terms, not only will a dictionary ostensibly of one language contain words from other languages, but the corollary: not all the known words in one language will be in the ‘right’ dictionary. A case in point, and the one under examination here, is the *DMLBS*, not only as a dictionary but also, in a way, as a convenient proxy for, and in effect a huge compendium of, ‘Medieval Latin’. Specifically, this chapter will concern itself with the particular case of words of Germanic origin in the *DMLBS*, and the etymo-logical, semantic, and lexicographical problems which they present. Germanic words are at once part of a multilingual heritage in Medieval British Latin, and a reality of the continuing (Middle English and Anglo-Norman) proximity of Germanic material to Medieval Latin as it evolved, and their transmission (and significance) is not always straightforward.

The *DMLBS* as a major resource for Medieval Latin is invaluable to the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (*AND*): it not only helps the *AND* editors to elucidate senses of words which the two languages share, but also often (and increasingly, because of its extensive use of multilingual texts) supplies attestations for Anglo-Norman words which are not thus far available in strictly Anglo-Norman texts (such as *tribulage*, a type of tax, attested under *tribulagium* in the *DMLBS*). Less often, but even more importantly, Medieval Latin contains lexemes formed on lost Anglo-Norman originals, and thus the *DMLBS* supplies the only evidence for words which must once have been extant in Anglo-Norman (e.g. *gupillerettus*, ‘fox-hound’, which must derive

from an unattested **gupilleret* < Anglo-Norman *goupil*, ‘fox’ (Trotter 2013: 146)). From the same root comes GULPHER (Suffolk p.n.), a rare Anglo-Norman p.n. in *DB*, which appears to mean ‘fox’s den, earth’.¹ Words like these constitute what might be called ‘implied’ attestations of Anglo-Norman words, whereas *tribulage* is explicitly attested albeit in a Latin text: ‘tribulagium nostrum sive consuetudinem vocatam *le tribulage*’ (*DMLBS* s. *tribulagium* (Trotter 2013: 144)).

The capacity of the *DMLBS* to confirm *AND* words, or vice versa, is well known (cf. Trotter 2013: 144–152). In later fascicles it seems to have increased markedly as the Dictionary has shown itself to be ever-more hospitable to words from other languages which less-informed editors might well have considered not to form part of their remit. In part the state of language-mixing is an artefact of the documentary record, necessarily imperfect but usually more extensive in British Medieval Latin than in Anglo-Norman, and of course by definition, extending back into an earlier pre-Conquest period. An important subsection of *DMLBS*-consigned lexis derives from Anglo-Norman, Old French, or Middle English, or a combination of all three. (Re)-Latinisation of vernacular terms is typical: for example, *DMLBS* *gordus* < Anglo-Norman *gort*, itself a reflex of *gurgitem*, “‘gorce”, weir, fish-trap”; ‘seit 12. jh.’ in French (*FEW* 4,331a), ‘a1032’ (in a text from Normandy: *Norm. Inst.*) in *DMBSL*, and again from c.1045 in Medieval Latin documents from Normandy (*DEAF* G1023) ‘jetty, projecting story of building; jetty, breakwater’ is visibly back-formed on Anglo-Norman *getee*, *jactata*, with *geticium* as a Latinised Anglo-Norman *getiz* < *jacticium*. Neither is attested in *DMLBS* until the 14th or 15th century; earlier attestations are found in Anglo-Norman and Old French. *DMLBS* *glana* 1201 and *glaneta* 1238, both glossed as ‘sheaf (of arrows)’, derive respectively from Anglo-Norman *gléné* < **glanata* (first *AND*, *DEAF* G837 attestation 1265) and Anglo-Norman *glane*, *glene* (*AND*: c.1253; but cf. *DEAF* G836: 1227 [norm.]). The *DMLBS* routinely antedates what must be Anglo-Norman terms by producing evidence of a Latin form which is itself a derivative of Anglo-Norman:

TERRARIUS ‘terrier, type of dog used for hunting animals underground’: iij gupillerettos bonos et baldos et j terrarium (‘four good brave fox-hounds and a terrier’) *DMLBS* s. *terrarius* (*Pipe Roll*, 1210) from AN *terrer*, literally an ‘earther’, i.e. a dog that digs, not attested in monolingual AN until 1354; *AND* s.

¹ *Gulpelea* in *DB* (Keith Briggs thinks the suffix ‘probably corrupt’, p.c.), < OF *goupil* ‘fox’ < Latin *vŪLPĒCŪLA*; unattested in medieval French, except in place-names (*La Vulpillière* 1490, Côte d’Or, *Gdf* 4,319c; *FEW* 14,644b ‘*vualpelira* Schweiz’, ‘weit verbreitet als Ortsname’ n.7; bearn. *boupilhère*; nfr. *goupillière* f. ‘tanière de renard’, Mén[age] 1694). *Goupil* itself was largely lost in OF and gave way to *renard*, from the well-known romance about Reynard the fox; just as *goupil* survives in archaic and humorous/literary usage in French, so dialect forms of English still preserve the name (cf. *SED* IV.5.11.).

*terrer*², *Sz Med* only (1354); *DMLBS* [CL = *one who works on shore*, LL = *earthly*]; *OED* s. *terrier*¹: '< Anglo-Norman *terrer* (noun) denoting a breed of dog originally bred to kill, flush out, or pursue vermin and burrowing animals such as rabbits or foxes into their earths (1354) and Middle French *terrier* (adjective) designating this breed of dog (a1376 in *chien terrier*; the use as noun is not paralleled in continental French until considerably later (1690)) < post-classical Latin *terrarius* (1210 in a British source in this sense), use as noun of *terrarius* earthly (see *terrier* n.²); *MED* [OF]

The separation between Anglo-Norman and Old French is far from complete or clear in many of these cases. Anglo-Norman was after all simply a form of Medieval French, in use in Britain from the Conquest until the end of the 15th century (Short 2013²: 17–44; Trotter 2013 and bibliography there). Broadly speaking, it started as a vernacular (of the conquering elite) and subsequently both expanded as a language of record (being used much more widely) and reduced its functionality (being increasingly a written and acquired language). Yet throughout this time, Anglo-Norman remained in contact with French, and subject to influence (and lexical transfers) from it (e.g. Ingham 2006a; 2006b; 2009; 2011; Trotter 2003a; 2003b). *DMLBS* cites *gercia* (< Old French *gerce*) in the sense of 'gimmer, maiden ewe' (*Domesday of St. Paul's*, c.1160). The term is attested in Anglo-Norman but the first attestation is not until the second quarter of the 13th century, in Robert of Gretham (absent from *AND jerce* (cf. *DEAF* and Möhren 1986: 107 n.2)). The Latin form is thus either directly Norman, whence it came into the *Domesday* text, or a reflection of an unattested early Anglo-Norman form. It is ultimately Germanic (**germia*: *FEW* 16,31b; *DEAF* G575), as is *gimmer* itself (< ON *gymbr*).² Finally, like the *OED* which has English forms of otherwise lost Anglo-Norman words (Durkin 2012; 2014; and Durkin & Schad, this vol.), the *DMLBS* has traces of words not otherwise attested in at least the *AND* even if some have been recorded in other lexicographical resources: *petour*; *mombles*, *triblage*; *tirelire* (cf. Trotter 2013: 144–152). Here the deficiency is obviously not the record itself, but the recording of Anglo-Norman in the *AND*.

This pattern of language distribution, and the fact that words turn up in the 'wrong' dictionaries, is of course simply a reflection of the comfortable and productive coexistence of the different languages of medieval England.³ If Anglo-Norman no doubt readily provided 'Latin' words—not least because

² *Gimmer* itself (*OED gimmer* n.²) is absent from the strictly English record until the 15th century, although the postulated Norse etymology obviously suggests much older forms, now lost. *OED*'s attestation from Wright's *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (also in *DMLBS* s. *gercia*) may of course preserve an older (AS) form

³ This discussion will be limited to England (and to Latin, English, and Anglo-Norman) because of the additional complexities of the Celtic-speaking parts of the British Isles.

the Anglo-Norman forms themselves came from Latin—it is obvious too that a more directly Germanic strand (Anglo-Saxon and Middle English) plays a role. Anglo-Saxon provides a sizeable number of loanwords to British Medieval Latin, just as (say) Old High German does in German Medieval Latin (for which, cf. *MltWb*).

2. Words of Germanic Origin

It is this sub-area of British Medieval Latin with which the present chapter is concerned, and with certain quite specific problems associated with words of Germanic origin. Not all of these come from ‘English’ and Anglo-Saxon: some come from Anglo-Norman. *Gerce* (above) may be a case in point. The question which then arises is how they got into Anglo-Norman. Here too the problem is quite complex. Multiple routes of transmission exist for Germanic words to make their way into Anglo-Norman itself: from English (Anglo-Saxon), but also directly into the emergent Gallo-Romance dialects which developed into Early Medieval French. In other words, Germanic words arriving in Gaul as a consequence of Germanic settlement in the 5th to 8th centuries fed directly into French. Anglo-Norman, as a hybrid dialect of Medieval French, will have absorbed such terminology; and in its more specifically Norman form, it also acquired a small but significant number of Norse words (in some cases generalised in French), many of which resurface in Anglo-Norman texts of the 12th century. In particular, French nautical and maritime terms, perhaps predictably, often come from Norse. This means, then, that within Anglo-Norman itself, there is a dual route of transmission of Germanic words; and this inevitably has implications for the subsequent acquisition in Medieval Latin of those words.

British Medieval Latin was itself exposed to different forms of Germanic at different times, and indeed often, to several forms of Germanic at once. Thus, before 1066, Latin sits alongside Anglo-Saxon (Old English), but also came into contact with other West Germanic varieties from the Continent (Old Low and Old High German dialects). Post-Conquest, the contact situation is not dissimilar although nomenclature changes as part of the periodicisation of language history and (notably) Old English (Anglo-Saxon) becomes henceforth (Early) Middle English, whilst remaining, of course, substantially the same linguistic variety, albeit slightly evolved. Thus it is not always obvious quite which stratum of Anglo-Saxon/Middle English is responsible for a given word in Medieval Latin.

This does not of course imply that Medieval writers or speakers were necessarily aware of (or for that matter, concerned about) etymology. Except

where words are explicitly identified as borrowings, we do not even know whether an Anglo-Norman or Latin writer knew that the term used was anything other than part of 'his' language. Latin writers may or may not have noticed that words with initial *w*- had this form, with which they would (in the case of words taken over into Latin from Anglo-Norman) have been familiar already. Distinguishing between Germanic words direct from Anglo-Saxon or Middle English, and those coming along the indirect route via Anglo-Norman, would probably have been neither important nor feasible.

Modern scientific lexicography (and linguistics more generally) nevertheless need to make such distinctions because etymology is fundamental to how words are classified. It is not impossible for us now to determine the etymological route adopted by Germanic words, with varying degrees of certainty, but always a clear awareness that we are at the mercy of surviving evidence. Chronology is an obvious initial pointer, but more reliable perhaps is form. Transparently Anglo-Saxon forms like *geresgieva* (*DMLBS* s.v.) 'gift to official at beginning of year of office', though attested only from 1156, point to derivation from the earlier period, with the practice (presumably) and the compound (certainly) simply being carried over intact into the mid-12th century. It must have been formed much earlier. Attestations from the c. 1114 *Quadripartitus* (*GAS*) of *gethincta* < Anglo-Saxon *geþingþu* 'court, legal assembly', *gewitnessa* 'witness', are equally obvious calques on the Anglo-Saxon.

The transmission sequence is not always so straightforward. *Gibettus* (*DMLBS* s.v.) from a1175 is listed as from Old French, yet *DEAF* G1597 (cf. Möhren 2000: 72) both suggest Anglo-Saxon ('aangl.') *wibba* as the etymon: the Old French attestations are predominantly in *w*- (19/32); the earliest example of the word is from the *Oxford Psalter* (*FEW* 17,575b = *Gdf* 4,381a); nevertheless, the term obviously made its way via Anglo-Norman into Old French and became established there. *DMLBS* *grithserviens* ('serjeant of the peace' [cf. Middle English *grithserjeant*]; 1291–) is one of a number of compounds whose first element is ultimately Anglo-Saxon *grīd* (cf. *grithbricha*, '(fine for) breach of the peace', 1185; *grithmannus*, 'refugee in sanctuary', 1429–), considered to come from Middle English *grithman*. In both British Medieval Latin and Middle English, of course, *grithserviens* is a mixed compound from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman (*serjeant*)—and all the *MED* citations for *grith-serġeaunt* are of forms where the second element ('serjeant') is quite distinctly of Anglo-Norman origin:

(1227) *Chart. R. PRO* 1.45: [If at any time serjeants shall be appointed to keep the common peace in that county, who are called] *grithserjanz*

(c1300) *Havelok* (LdMisc 108) 267: Schireues he sette, bedels, and greyues, *Grithsergeans*, wit longe gleyues

c1320(1293) *Yrbk.Edw.I* in RS 31.2 (Cmb Dd.7.14) 49: Locutum [*read*: Licitum] est ipsis ad conservationem pacis in partibus illis constituere servientes qui vocantur *Grissergans* ... [Iter Roll: Guthserjauns].

There are of course hundreds of obviously Germanic words which surface in British Medieval Latin: *garizonabilis* [*cf.* Middle English *gerizoun*, variant spelling of Middle English *gersume*, *gersuma*] ('(of land-holding) liable to pay *gersume*'), 1476-; *gardus* ('fish-garth') < Middle English *garth* (= *garþ*, spelt possibly *garþ?*), 12th cent.-; *garthonum* [*cf.* Middle English *garthen*, variant spelling of Middle English *gardin*], 1553-; *grasgropa* ('metal plate to reinforce wheel', 1372- (Middle English form unattested); *grenefinca* ('greenfinch'), 1544-; *wardemotum* < Middle English *ward(e) mot* ('ward assembly, ward-moot'), c1215-; *gimbra* [*cf.* Middle English *gimber*] ('gimmer, maiden ewe'), 1364. But for obvious reasons—the massive influx of Anglo-Norman lexis into Middle English—the immediate source of a Latinised vernacular item cannot always be stated with certainty, since in the case of what might be Middle English, either Anglo-Norman or Middle English < Anglo-Norman can often be involved. Typically, in all probability, the distinction is blurred, and I have indicated elsewhere some reservations about the reality of the distinction at the level of lexis between the two distinct languages (Trotter 2013: 144, 154–5). Modern lexicographers are required to make decisions on matters which may have well been more nuanced for speakers at the time, for whom many words could plausibly have formed part of the lexis of more than one language at the same time. The *DMLBS*, confronted by these aspects of language contact and its consequences, often has little choice but to indicate multiple possibilities.

Closer investigation can sometimes but not always get a little nearer understanding what took place. Thus *gaiola* in British Medieval Latin (1151–) may be regarded as deriving from Anglo-Norman or Middle English; its ultimate etymon is—for the etymologist—LL *caveola*. *Wikettum* (1198–) is presented as a composite from 'AN, ME *wiket*' and 'Anglo-Norman *guichet*', presumably in order to take account of the fluctuating initial consonant. *DEAF* G1591 [Dörr] suggests—against *FEW* 17,428b's ON *vik*—that *guichet* is a variant of *huisset* < *ōstium* (cf. Möhren 2000: 72). If that is so, and the arguments are persuasive, then *wikettum* is also basically Latin, and an Anglo-Norman < Latin etymology becomes more plausible. In the case of 2 *werra*, a composite Anglo-Norman/Middle English/Old French origin is postulated. It seems (*OED* *war* n.¹) that OE *wyrre*, *werre* is itself drawn from 'North-eastern Old French' and the usual explanation (*FEW* 17,567a) is that it comes from Frankish **werra*. The *DMLBS* proposal ('AN, ME *werre*, OF *guerre*') seems to take account of these disparate but convergent elements.⁴

⁴ *Werre* is not attested in *AND* although it features in the list of variants under *guerre*.

That, indeed, is just the point: many of the phenomena which in a strictly linear etymology would be distinct, in fact overlap at some point in their chronological development. At some stage, for example, discrete sub-varieties of Western Germanic and especially (for our purposes) Ingvaemonic were much closer together and displayed parallel evolutions. Later, within the Old French period, Old French and Anglo-Norman coexist so closely that the attempt to distinguish them (at least as far as form is concerned) as immediate sources of Latin is probably doomed to failure. Morphophonetic, or more accurately, morpho-orthographic, criteria have been clearly shown to be less than reliable indicators of provenance (Durkin 2014: 269–71). And whilst it is logical to look to Anglo-Saxon for the etymon of a Latinised Germanism in Britain, particularly of course pre-Conquest, and Middle English thereafter, other routes are available, from continental Germanic via (or not) Anglo-Norman. The *DMLBS* registers uncertainties of this type by suggesting various etymologies. Competing etymologies are adduced according to where it is thought the etymon originated—in both time and space.

Whilst chronology may plausibly be determined by attestations (with all the scope for evidential lacunae which these imply), localisations of etyma are more tricky still, since a sizeable portion of the postulated Germanic evidence is of course unattested anywhere. So, for example, *DMLBS* traces *wafra* (s.v.) to a Middle Low German etymon *wāfel*, but *DEAF* and *FEW* note that there are no Middle Low German attestations before the 13th century. The appearance of the word in Old French from the 12th century (*FEW* 17,448b; *DEAF* G402) supports rather an old Frankish **wāfla* as the more credible source. Either way, given the vernacular chronology, the likelihood is that the word came to British Medieval Latin via Anglo-Norman, a hypothesis given some assistance by some distinctly vernacular graphies in *v-*, *g-*, *gw-* (a point to which I return below). An apparently much later Dutch borrowing is in the form of *DMLBS wafitor* (< MDu. *wachter* ‘watchman’, not found in British Medieval Latin until 1482 and so a clear case of influence not of an early Germanic superstratum, but of a late(r) adstratum). From Norse but seemingly via Anglo-Norman comes *wreccum* ‘wreck’, even though the earliest British Medieval Latin attestation (1107) antedates the first vernacular (AN) one by sixty years (*Romance of Horn*, c.1170); some of the derivatives of *windáss/vinda* (Möhren 2000: 75; *DEAF* G1640 [Dörr], 1641 [Städtler]) appear to be from Norse too in *DMLBS*’s *windasius* (‘[ME *windas*, OF *windas*, *guindas*’]—although the picture is complicated by the coexistence of Anglo-Saxon and perhaps Middle English forms behind *windagium*, *windare*, and *windarium*, where Anglo-Saxon *windan* comes into play (*OED* s. *wind* v.¹). Early Germanic contact with continental Latin intrudes in the cases of CL *gans* (*DMLBS* 1 *ganta*) analysed by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* X 54) as < Germ. *ganta* (André 1967: 83; *DEAF* J128; *FEW* 16,12b; Green 1998: 186), *wantum*

< Anglo-Norman *gant* < Frankish **want* (*DEAF* G121; *FEW* 17,505b), or *DMLBS grafio*, ‘official, reeve’, identified as Frankish on the authority of *MLLM* (first attestation c743, Boniface); for the last, the alternative (and cognate) Anglo-Saxon *gerefa* (> ‘reeve’) is also a possible source (*OED reeve* n.¹). Finally, amongst words of mixed early Germanic provenance, the twelfth-century Anglo-Saxon loanword *gelima* ‘sheaf, bundle’ (*DMLBS* s.v.), also Frankish, and cognate with Anglo-Saxon *gelm* and which evolved to Middle English *zelm*, is also attested in continental Medieval Latin sources as *gelimalgelinal(geliba)* in the Limousin, in western Switzerland, and in northern France and in Belgium (*FEW* 22²,48b), and could perhaps (Hubschmid, *FEW*) ultimately be a derivative of Celtic **gel-*, ‘to cut’.⁵

Medieval Latin, like Anglo-Norman, offers an obvious array of words beginning with *w-*, of Germanic origin, and typically displaying a *g-/gu-* variant. Formal criteria regarding the alleged difference between initial *g(u)-* and *w-* have been shown to be rather less diagnostic than had hitherto been supposed (Möhren 2000)⁶ and with that realisation, in part, comes a weakening

⁵ *gelimas*: gerbes *TLL* ii 78; ii 116 (Alexander Nequam).

⁶ Möhren rejects what is in effect a key tenet of the discussion of the arrival of Germanic words in Romance, namely that Germanic [w-] was unfamiliar to Romance (or Proto-Romance) speakers following the disappearance of [w], a process seemingly under way as early as the 1st century AD. The consequence (so the traditional view goes) is that [w-] was pronounced as [gw], and later (in some Romance languages and words) as [g]: thus, for example, **werra* > Fr. *guerre* [g], Spanish *guerra* [gw], etc. A further element of the argument is that the same process was applied to even Latin words in *v-* (= *w-*) such as Latin *vadum* ‘ford’, which produces (perhaps because of the influence of Germanic **wa*) Fr. *gué* [g], Italian *guado*, but Castilian *vado*, Sardinian *bá u*, etc. (cf. Maggiore & Buchi 2014: 318–20 (p. 319); Möhren 2000: 69). Some areas of northern Gaul retained *w-* in Germanic words as a result of Germanic influence. A classic formulation of the traditional ‘Germanic’ explanation is in e.g. Bourciez (1923: §170): ‘Les mots germaniques comme *wardón*, *wërra*, *wísa*, etc. avaient à l’initiale un *w* bilabial et sonore, que les populations romanes ne purent prononcer qu’en le faisant précéder d’un élément guttural occlusif: lorsqu’ils furent adoptés vers le V^e et VI^e siècle, ils devinrent donc dans tout l’Occident **gwardare*, **gwerra*, **gwísa*. D’autre part, ce changement fut étendu à certains mots latins comme *vadum*, *vastare*, *vespa* (it. *guado*, *guastare*, fr. *gué*, *guêpe*, etc.), qui avaient des types similaires dans les idiomes germaniques. La prononciation primitive du *w* ne se conserva que dans le Nord et l’Est de la Gaule, aux confins des pays germaniques ...’ (‘Germanic words like *wardón*, *wërra*, *wísa*, etc. had an initial voiced bilabial *w*, which Romance-speaking peoples could only pronounce by preceding it with a guttural occlusive: when these words were absorbed in the 5th and 6th centuries, throughout the West they thus became **gwardare*, **gwerra*, **gwísa*. Moreover, this change was extended to certain Latin words like *vadum*, *vastare*, *vespa* (It. *guado*, *guastare*, Fr. *gué*, *guêpe*, etc), which were close to similar words in Germanic languages. The original pronunciation of *w* was only preserved in the north and east of Gaul, in areas bordering Germanic-speaking regions...’); cf. Möhren (2000: 36). Möhren (2000: 51) argues persuasively (not least because the same process seems to be at work with words not of Germanic origin, including Arabic: e.g. *wadi* > *guad-* [gw] in the place-name *Guadalajara*) that we should instead ‘reformuler carrément une loi phonétique connue, mais cette fois-ci avec une ouverture vers le second “itinéraire bis” des cheminements possibles: le latin *v-* [w-] devient normalement en français et dans d’autres langues romanes *v-* [v-], parfois *g(u)-* [gw-/g-], et (en français très

of the long-standing formally based allocation of ‘loanwords’ to English at different periods, and from different forms of French (Anglo-Norman or continental French, according simply to the initial consonant which English retains). The whole question of ‘loanwords’ in English, when it coexisted with languages with which it was in intimate contact, has long been recognised as difficult, and much of what is conventionally thought about ‘loanwords’—that they arise either because of necessity (a deficit in the borrowing language’s vocabulary) or prestige (because the source language is socially superior) is inapplicable to English and Anglo-Norman at this time (Rothwell 1980). What is in all likelihood a purely orthographic alternation is probably unimportant: what Frankwalt Möhren says for Anglo-Norman must be doubly true for Medieval Latin:

L’anglo-normand a dû hériter du normand de beaucoup de mots avec *w-*, même si ces mots se présentent en normand, surtout ou uniquement, avec *gu-* [...]. D’autre part, il semble y avoir eu une tendance à écrire le *v-* comme *w-*, sans que l’on sache affirmer l’existence d’une prononciation correspondante [...]. Cette variation graphique se rencontre aussi en picard [...], en anglo-normand [...] et ailleurs.

(Möhren 2000: 38)

Moreover, as we shall see, when words which apparently display this variation transfer across into British Medieval Latin, the distribution is often different, suggesting a closer degree of harmonisation between different spellings than is sometimes thought, and indeed supporting the idea of ‘déphonématisation’ (Möhren 2000: 47–49), where the sound distinction may not have mattered even if it was real. In the case of language contact—for example, between Anglo-Norman and British Medieval Latin or vice versa—it seems that a different approach (notably based on a semantic analysis) will in other words need to take the place of morpho-phonetic criteria. Perhaps, too, the growing amount of evidence from different languages will allow us more securely to base our analysis on chronological patterns.

3. Complex Routes of Transmission

I turn now to this approach in the case of a different category of words: elements derived from Germanic which are documented in Medieval Latin *and* in Anglo-Norman and which appear to display, in their etymology, a dual (or

rarement) aussi *b-*’ (‘simply rewrite the well-known phonetic law, but this time opening up a second “alternative route” of possible developments: Latin [w-] normally becomes *v-* [v-] in French and in other Romance languages, sometimes *g(u)-* [gw-/g-], and very rarely in French, also *b-*’).

even more) complex route of transmission. In a number of words of this type, it seems that the divergent etymologies also entail different senses. A ‘core’ sense may go back to Anglo-Saxon, but onto that is later grafted an Anglo-Norman layer, often involving a legal sense which will first have developed in Anglo-Norman prior to being Latinised (Brand 2010; Rothwell 2000). Not only etymologically, but also semantically, there are thus multiple components to the word. Thus the Latin evidence which is of Anglo-Norman origin also adds to the semantic range known to the *AND*.

The etymological indications for these words (and the processes which they record) typify, and exemplify, the inseparability of Anglo-Norman, English, and Medieval Latin. *WIMPLA* from Anglo-Saxon *wimpe* > Middle English *wimpe* is thus compared to Anglo-Norman *guimpe*; it is attested in British Medieval Latin from 1200 onwards. *DEAF* G1636 [Dörr] derives it from Frankish **wimpil* (cf. *FEW* 17,587a; Möhren 2000: 74). Thus, insofar as the Anglo-Norman form enters into contention as a starting-point for Medieval Latin, it comes ultimately from a cognate but distinct Germanic source. It may also have influenced Middle English for which it is a parallel source to Anglo-Saxon. The Old French attestations display an overwhelming predilection for *g(u)*- (more than 300 examples) against the ‘Germanic’ *w*- found only in half a dozen cases, all Anglo-Norman or Picard (i.e., in regions subjected to more—and more durable—Germanic influence).

In what follows a further selection of words displaying spelling variation, possibly indicative of different etymological processes at work, will be discussed. In the Romance etymological tradition, they could be regarded either as instances of ‘multiple etymology’ (Graur 1950) or (in a usage especially prevalent in Italo-Romance philology) of *etimologia remota* and *etimologia proxima* (Aprile 2013). The *etimologia remota* is common (west) Germanic; the *etimologia proxima* may be either Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman, in the latter case ultimately from Frankish. Thus the *wimpe* type above (sometimes with added layers of complexity) is repeated in many other words. The key to understanding what went on is to realise that formal criteria do not solve the complexities of these words in terms of semantics, chronology, or sources of (sub-)senses.

3.1. Gerulfus/Werwolfus

DMLBS has two entries for what is perhaps the same word, each with only one supporting citation: for *gerulfus*, Gervase of Tilbury’s definition from 1215: ‘vidimus enim frequenter in Anglia per lunationes homines in lupos mutari, quod hominum genus *gerulfos* (var.: verulos) Galli nominant, Anglici vero *werewulf* dicunt. *were* enim Anglice *virum* sonat, *wlf* lupum’ (*Otia Imperialia* I,15); and for *werwolfus*, the late (1480–90) *Digby Plays* line:

‘fartum cardiacolorum ... *snyguer snagoer werwolfforum*’. *Gerulfus* is important for Romance philologists (cf. *DEAF* G334 *garol* [Möhren]; *FEW* 17,571a) because it confirms the possibly corrupt readings in Marie de France: ‘*Bisclavret* ad nun en bretan, *Garwaf* l’apelent li Norman’ MARIE *Bisclaveret* 4; ‘Hume plusur *garval* devindrent E es boscages meisun tindrent’ MARIE *Bisclaveret* 7; ‘*Garvalf*, ceo est beste salvage; Tant cum il est en cele rage, Hummes devure’ MARIE *Bisclaveret* 9. Both *FEW* and TL reconstruct a form [garulf], which is plausible but of course unattested. The main point though is that both Marie and Gervase confirm that the form *gerulfus*/**garulf* is French (specifically Norman in Marie’s case). *Werwolfus* with initial *w-* is explicitly English. What the two words show, in other words, is parallelism of two routes of transmission from ultimately one Germanic form. This is a by no means uncommon phenomenon, as the following examples confirm.

3.2 Woda/wada

The proposed derivation in *DMLBS* is from Middle English *wode* < Anglo-Saxon *wad*, modern English ‘woad’ (the plant, and the dye-colour deriving therefrom). There is an array of citations (predominantly in *w-* not *g-*) from 1228. The alternative form *waida* (s. *waida*, *weida* ‘[ME *waide* < Anglo-Norman *weide*; cf. *wodal*’], from 1176, again mainly *w-*) is given as < Anglo-Norman. *OED* also alludes to this (*OED woad n.*¹: ‘cf. MHG *weit*, *weid* < **waido*, by-form of **waizdo-* (Medieval Latin *waizda*, *guaisdium*; Anglo-Norman *waisde*, OF *guesde*’). The form goes back ultimately to Germanic (Frankish) (cf. *FEW* 17,471b **waizda*) and thus displays a separate etymology despite the semantic congruence.

3.3 Wosa

Wosa ‘mud, slime, ooze’ comes, it is suggested, from ‘[ME *wose* < Anglo-Saxon *wase*, cf. OF *vase*’]. The ‘cf.’ is doubtless prompted by two factors: the first, the cognate etymon of Old French *vase* (*FEW* 17,545a < **waso* ‘erd-scholle’); the second, the existence in one citation of the form (in the ablative) ‘de *waso*’ in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (*DCCant.*) from 1252. The *OED* (third edition, 2004) consigns the word sub *ooze n.*¹ and notes the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon word and its Germanic cognates (not including Frankish): ‘a OE *wase*, ME *waise* [...] cognate with Old Frisian *wáse* “mud” [...]’. In the light of the possible confusion between initial *v-* and *w-* in Anglo-Norman and in other north-eastern French varieties (Möhren 2000), it is by no means impossible that the Old French *vase* has played a part in the development of the Middle English and thence British Medieval Latin word. The apparently exclusively Essex variant *wagessum*

[cf. ME *wose*, *woise* < Anglo-Saxon *wase*], '(Essex) stretch of muddy land, mudflat, 'ooze' (v. *et wosa*)' does not allow for the Old French possibility.

3.4 2 Warda

I come, finally, to perhaps the most complicated word to be examined. The etymology of this word is listed in *DMLBS* as '[AS *weard*, AN *warde*, *garde*, ME *ward(e)*']'. As the existence of an Anglo-Saxon etymon in this list implies, the proposed sources of the British Medieval Latin word are not all contemporary and thus we need to be alert to a chronological differentiation within the senses attributed to the word *warda* (under which, *DMLBS* subsumes *garda*, which has no separate entry). Compounds and derivatives are *wardagium* (*g-*) (1068-), *wardare* (*g-*) (1283 RGasc only);⁷ *wardarius* (*g-*) (c.1232); *wardator* (*g-*) (1293; 1305). All of these also have *g-* forms. The *OED* entry *ward n.*² < *weard* comments as follows: 'Some of the senses below are derived from the Law French *warde* (whence Anglo-Latin *warda*, which appears to be in part an adoption of this English word, and in part the north-eastern Old French form' [1921]. 'North-eastern' and Anglo-Norman forms are both in fact possible candidates. Within Old French (cf. *DEAF* G151), *warda*, attested in 813 in medieval Latin, derives from Frankish **warda*, with other Germanic cognates including but not limited to Anglo-Saxon *wearde* (*FEW* 17,510a **wardôn*). The etymology in British Medieval Latin is thus a priori likely to be double: from Anglo-Saxon, and via Anglo-Norman. The key to how to make sense of this, however, lies in the *OED*'s emphasis not on form, but on senses: and in the relationship between what British Medieval Latin offers (and the *DMLBS* describes in a longish article of nearly a full page), and what the corresponding vernacular words mean in Anglo-Norman and Middle English/Anglo-Saxon as well as the chronology of semantic development across the three languages. In other words, to establish where the component elements of the composite *DMLBS warda* article come from, it is necessary also to look at vernacular evidence. In that respect, this entry is a microcosm and an exemplification of the processes of language contact and language merger which characterise medieval England and thus inevitably British Medieval Latin. The complexity of this in the case of just one word is visible below in both figure 13.1 and table 13.1.

⁷My own attention was originally drawn to the importance of Anglo-Norman in Gascony (see Trotter 1997; 1998; 2003e) by the *DMLBS*'s inclusion (and highlighting) of Gascon sources.

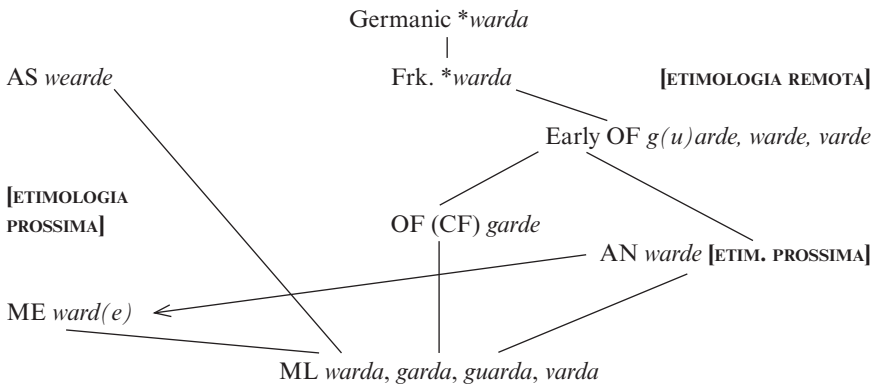


Figure 13.1. Etymology of the word *warda*.

Table 13.1 calls for comment, not least because the early *DEAF* article needs revision.

(a) It is evident (notably from the *DEAF* G151 article *garde*) that British Medieval Latin (and Anglo-Norman/Middle English) offer a range of senses of *warda/garda*—and in particular of specific locutions and technical terms involving them—which are absent from continental Old French. This wealth of meanings may of course be a lexicographical artefact, i.e. the dictionaries of medieval England may simply be more comprehensive than those for continental varieties.

(b) Despite this, the overlap between British Medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English senses is far from complete or perfect. The way in which the dictionaries represent senses is very divergent and British Medieval Latin (our main object here) has both senses and usages which turn out to be only sporadically attested in one or other of the vernaculars. Some such (e.g. *waccha et warda* c.1205 in *DMLBS*) are not credible as originally British Medieval Latin forms: the alliteration and the double Anglicism can only make sense in a phrase coined in English, yet both the Middle English and Anglo-Norman first attestations are almost two centuries later than the Latin first attestation. Given the early date, indeed, a reasonable suspicion must be that the expression is of Anglo-Saxon provenance, though the dictionary to Liebermann's *GAS* (II.i) does not record *wacce* at all.

(c) This means, amongst other things, that the complete semantics of the word *warda* and its Middle English and Anglo-Norman cognates are not reflected in any one of the three languages alone. A complete conspectus of the full range of meanings available can only be gained by looking at all the languages together. Whether this means that some senses were genuinely

Table 13.1. Etymology of the word *warda*.

| <i>DMLBS</i> number | Sense or sub-sense | First att. | AS/ME first att ^a | AN first att. ^b | Other OF (<i>DEAF</i> G151 <i>garde</i>) |
|------------------------|--|---------------|--|----------------------------------|---|
| 1a | act or duty of guarding; (office of) guardianship etc. | a.1202 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ; Beowulf | c.1235 | <i>DEAF garde</i> (1) c.1100 |
| 1b | (<i>in ~a</i>) in or under protection, guard etc. | 1304 | <i>OED</i> 1290? | c.1235 (Alexis); (13); 1204 | 1226; <i>DEAF garde</i> (1); s.xi ^{es} |
| 1c | (<i>tenere ~am</i>) to keep guard | c.1300 | | | |
| 2a | feudal service of providing castle garrison | 1130 | MED 1450 replacing service) in <i>Magna Carta</i> | cf. 1215 (tax | |
| 2b | (<i>~a et wacha</i>) watch and ward | c.1205 | MED a.1387 | 1384 | |
| 2c | (<i>~a maris</i>) defence of the sea, coastguard service | 1326 | end 13th c. | | |
| 3a | wardship (feudal right), guardianship of minor | c.1188 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ; c.1290; MED <i>ward(e)</i> ; c.1230 | 1260 (<i>Brevia placitata</i>) | <i>DEAF garde</i> (14); 1174 (SThomGuern) |
| 3b | (<i>curia ~orum</i>) Court of Wards | 1583 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ; a.1601 | | |
| 3c | (<i>in or sub ~a</i>) in state of wardship | 1203 | s.xii (S Edm (R)?) or more general sense | <i>DEAF garde</i> (13); 1204? | |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|---------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| 4a | ward, division of place | 1324 | | | |
| 4b | (in castle) | c.1120 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : 1297 | | |
| 4c | (of city or borough) | 1275 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : 1337 | s.xii (London) <i>Bor Cust</i> ii | |
| 4d | (of forest of pasture as area of jurisdiction) | 1334 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : 1425 | | |
| 5a | group of people guarding, guard | 1573 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : c.1000 Ælfric; cf. BT | | <i>DEAF garde</i> (2): 1384, cf. <i>DEAF</i> G157.40, but Gdf 9,684b and TL 4,131 have cit. from PassionK c.1000, etc. |
| 5b | division within military formation | 1247 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : a.1400 | | |
| 5c | group of men who protect social group, tithing | 1130– 1135 | <i>MED</i> 1443 s. <i>ward-man</i> | | |
| 6 | act of guarding animals or impounded beasts | 1239 | c.1285 | | |
| 7 | duty of ward (w. ref. to distrained animals); place where ward is set | 1225 | | | |
| 8a | inspection | 1285 | | | <i>DEAF garde</i> (5) ('inspec teur d'un métier') : 1290 (Norm.) |
| 8b | (duty or court of) inspection of forest | 1194 | | | |
| 9 | (~ <i>am habere de</i>) to be afraid of | 1091 | <i>OED ward n.</i> ² : c.1330 | s.xii ² | <i>DEAF garde</i> (20–22): 1170 |

^a Mainly from *OED ward n.*², revised in 2004, but also taking account of *OED guard* (1900) and *MED ward(e and gard(e)*.

^b Taken from *AND*, but N.B.: *AND* is not a *historical* but a *semantically* organised dictionary, which means that whilst attestations from a given date do have evidential value, the earliest provided attestation is not necessarily the first which exists.

absent from, for example, Middle English, though present in Latin, is a moot point, and a case like ‘Latin’ *waccha et warda* points strongly to the idea of the phrase having existed in Old/Middle English and to the conclusion that the lexical record (rather than the language) is incomplete.⁸

(d) The unusual British Medieval Latin forms⁹ in *v-* appear to have no correlates in Anglo-Norman but Old French has isolated examples (‘Les Wardes de le boucherie ... Les vardes des dras’, *DEAF* G156,21, *Livre rouge d’Eu* (Normandy, s.xiii); *FEW* 17,510a).¹⁰ The most likely explanation is that this is either a misinterpretation of the normal *w-* form, but construed as representing the pronunciation [v-], or the assumption that there existed a spurious Latin **varda*. Du Cange records sub **warda** an isolated ablative pl. *vardis* from Cadore in the Veneto (*Statuta Cadubrii*, Venice, 1545) to mean ‘guards’ (‘pro Capitaneis, Vardis, Custodibus Castrorum Cadubrii’). There is no trace of the graphy in Niermeyer.

(e) British Medieval Latin (at least as far as the *DMLBS* citations go) overwhelmingly has *w-* not *g(u)-*: the statistics are as follows:

| | |
|----------------|----|
| <i>w-</i> | 65 |
| <i>g-</i> | 9 |
| <i>gu-/gw-</i> | 3 |
| <i>v-</i> | 5 |

Graphies in *g(u)* are a minority, albeit one which makes up roughly a seventh of all forms cited. Whilst there is no immediately obvious correlation between graphy and semantics, the distribution is not without interest: all three *gu-/gw-* forms are within sense (3): ‘wardship (as feudal right), guardianship of a legal minor’s person and lands [...]; estate held in wardship’ and the subsidiary ‘Court of Wards’ and *in warda*, ‘in state of wardship’. This strictly legal sense seems specifically insular although *DEAF* records (sub 14°, *DEAF* G159) ‘droit de protection sur une personne, tutelle, curatelle’, with the first attestation from Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence (1174); there is nothing then until 1267. Niermeyer 1128b sub *warda* gives as sense (6) ‘wardship of a minor or a widow’ with one attestation from Montpellier a1146; the legal sense (7) in this dictionary ‘guardianship of the estate of a minor or a widow, estate in ward’ (*ibid.*) is exclusively documented from Glanvill and thus firmly part of English legal usage.

⁸ For an attempt to produce a synthetic trilingual (onomasiological) article for the concept *bonnet*, see Trotter (2006).

⁹ 1212 per servicium quod debet facere *varidam* [l. vardiam?] in castro Salop’ cum sua balista per vij dies *Fees* 145; immune sab ... *varda* castelli *Melrose* 232.

¹⁰ *FEW* 17,515b has a number of dialectal forms in *v-* from eastern France.

(f) Conversely, the distribution in Anglo-Norman (based on the citations in *AND*, and forms in the accompanying text-base,¹¹ excluding proper names), overwhelmingly favours *g*-, with fewer than 20 cases in *w*- and three times as many in *gu*- (57) out of 1914 attestations in all:

| | Text-base | <i>AND</i> |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>ward(e)</i> | 7 | 10 |
| <i>guard(e)</i> | 31 | 26 |
| <i>gward(e)</i> | 0 | 0 |
| <i>gard(e)</i> | c.1760 | c.800 |
| <i>vard(e)</i> | 0 | 0 |

In medieval England, the low incidence of *w*- in a sociolinguistic context where there should have been the possibility of influence ('croisement'¹²) from Middle English *ward* < Anglo-Saxon *weard*, is surprising, and suggests something of a separation between Anglo-Norman forms which are ultimately < Frankish **warda* (*DEAF* G151), and the indigenous Middle English forms. This is all the more unexpected given the predominance of *w*- in British Medieval Latin. What is more, it seems to undermine the suggestion that Middle English and thus modern English forms in *w*- derive from Anglo-Norman with the later forms resulting from continental French *g*-. It is not easy to explain the diametrically opposed pattern of initial consonant distribution between British Medieval Latin and AN, and the fact that Middle English clearly has two 'phases' whereby the *w*- forms are older and the *g*- forms significantly later.

(g) Middle English *g*- and *w*- forms are (overall) chronologically separate. The *g*- forms are consistently much later in English. This tends to support the hypothesis that *ward(e)* is a continuation of Anglo-Saxon *weard*, perhaps supported by the *w*- form in Anglo-Norman, and that the graphies in *g(u)*- are directly (*etimologia proxima*) from Anglo-Norman, but ultimately of course (*etimologia remota*) from an etymon in another Germanic language.¹³

¹¹ Obviously there is some overlap between these two sources of data, since some of the forms in the text-base will have been picked up for citations in the *AND*. Duplication of frequencies of forms do not, however, substantially invalidate the general conclusions, or the obvious predominance of the *g*- forms, which is so clear as to be unlikely to be an artefact of the sources which I have used.

¹² Möhren (2000 : 44 ; cf. also 18–24) is sceptical about this explanation: 'on doit pouvoir formuler un axiome lexicographique: le nombre de croisements d'une lettre de l'alphabet du dictionnaire à une autre ou d'un son initial impliqué à un autre s'équivaut. Or, il semble que l'initiale *g* excelle dans les dictionnaires par un nombre miraculeusement accru de croisements'. In general, moreover, the evidence for *phonetic* influence of the Germanic languages on Latin/Romance is limited.

¹³ Cf. *OED guard* n. (entry compiled in 1900): '< French *garde*, earlier also *garde* (= Italian *guarda*, Spanish *guarda*) < Romance **guarda*, < Old Germanic **wardā*'.

For Anglo-Saxon, Bosworth–Toller sub *weard m.*, *weard f.* (BT 1176a) *warda* (?) *m.* or *f.* (BT 1176b) covers a number of the main senses but does not include several which are there in both the *DMLBS* (so in British Medieval Latin) and in the *MED/OED* (thus, in English).

4. The Relationship Between the Three Languages

The question that finally arises is the central one with which I am concerned: that of the underlying relationship between the three languages, as exemplified in *DMLBS*'s *warda*. Did the British Medieval Latin and Middle English senses which are *not* found in Anglo-Saxon develop in (a) British Medieval Latin, (b) Middle English, or (c) Anglo-Norman? It seems that the answer is: all three, or better: some in each. Some senses appear to have developed semantically in Anglo-Norman (notably it seems in and around the law, as the *OED* observed as long ago as 1921 (s. *ward n.*'). Thus, *DMLBS* senses (3) concerning 'wardship' and perhaps 4c ('ward in a borough or city') appear in the case of the former to be attested in Anglo-Norman before Latin. The latter is already in a set of Borough Customs for London from the 12th century (*AND garde*¹ (5)), the former in Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maixence's life of Becket from 1174 (as long as this counts as Anglo-Norman, cf. Dean ix–x; no. 508, and Trotter 2013: 164). The senses of 'guarding' *DMLBS* (1) and 'guard(s)' are complicated in all the languages concerned with respect to the choice of gender since both in Anglo-Saxon and in French, *weard* and *garde* can be either a collective 'feminine' group of guards, or a singular and usually masculine 'guard'. The evidence of Anglo-Saxon tends however to support the idea that (although the word has these senses in Romance from *c.* 1000), the British Medieval Latin derivative is a transfer from Anglo-Saxon, a logical conclusion reinforced perhaps by the dominant *w*- forms in this set of the *DMLBS*'s attestations. Yet as we have seen, the written evidence—as at most historical stages of most languages—is not always a complete record. A judicious admixture of documentary attestations and philological analysis is as always indicated.¹⁴

The Germanic heritage manifest in British Medieval Latin *warda* seems at any rate to display a distribution along the lines of *etimologia proxima* (senses from Anglo-Saxon *weard* > Middle English *ward(e)*) and *etimologia remota*

¹⁴Cf. in the context of Romance etymology, Maggiore & Buchi (2014: 321–2). I would tend to the conclusion that indeed (*mutatis mutandis*) the combined methodology is the best: 'd'aucuns seront peut-être tentés de militer en faveur d'une utilisation conjointe des deux principales méthodes de connaissance du latin global, la reconstruction comparative et la philologie latine ...' (322).

(senses from Anglo-Norman *garde* < Frankish **warda*. What this thus emphasises is the need for a comparative approach to the problem: not only drawing on different languages, but on different stages of them, an approach which the *DMLBS* itself has so admirably adopted and so richly documented.

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