From Chaucer to Trevisa

Exploring Language Using The Oxford English Dictionary

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Chapter 1 Introduction

To date, a clear and transparent method to investigate the influx of loanwords into the English language has not yet been presented. While authors¹ often describe the influx of loanwords into English by presenting the reader with numbers and percentages, or they use even less specific phrases like "flood of loan-words" (Barber 145), full disclosure about the method used to come to these conclusions is never given.

Up to now the most transparent method to look at the influx of French loans in the English language after 1066 was utilised by the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen. In his work *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, first published in 1905², he takes a closer look at this development on a semantic level, i.e. by looking at the different genres of words entering the language, as well as the influence of common speech on the adoption of this large amount of new foreign words. In addition to this, he also used a draft version of the *New English Dictionary* (1922) to monitor the spread of new French loans entering English in order to create a table that is useful for the comparative chronology of the language.

In order to create a representative chronological overview, Jespersen limited himself to one thousand French loans, "the first hundred French words in the *New English Dictionary* for each of the first nine letters and the first 50 for *j* and *l*" (1982, 86). This limitation was mostly due to the fact that the *New English Dictionary* was not completed until 1922, and the volumes containing the other letters had not been published by the time his work first came out. In a later

¹ See for example Barber 1993; Baugh 1951.

² Jespersen published 9 editions during his lifetime, in which he made minor tweaks, reorganisations and updates to statistics (Quirk 1982).

edition he added the corresponding numbers found in the volumes that were later released. He also decided to exclude derivative words "that have certainly or probably arisen in English" and "those perfectly unimportant words" (1982, 86) for which fewer than 5 quotations were given by the dictionary.

Although this method brought forth a list that gave a good general overview, it was by no means complete or fully representative; in particular considering that only 1,988 words were used to compile this list and in the period he looked at (before 1050–1900) approximately 21,855 words entered the language from French, according to the Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED). The distribution of loanwords across the different centuries were not correctly represented in Jespersen's table either, since, according to his revised data, only 74 French loans entered the language in the period of 1800–1900, while in reality 3,651 French loans were attested according to the OED. Of course, this discrepancy is in all probability mainly caused by the fact that Jespersen used the first edition of the New English Dictionary and the dictionary has been revised excessively since its first publication. While the strict limitations can be explained by the fact that Jespersen only carried out a brief field study, from a present-day perspective the strict limitations applied does not reveal the full extent of the influence of Norman French on English. Since limiting the number of words taken into consideration to a comparatively low number of 1000, when nearly twenty-two times as many words entered the language, does not offer a full overview, an extended study might draw a clearer picture. Additionally, by excluding words that were not attested in more than 5 quotations in the New English Dictionary, Jespersen overlooked a distinguishing trait of the dictionary, namely that it relies solely on written accounts of the language, and the fact that a word has only been attested once in a manuscript says more

about the selectiveness of written language rather than about the status of the word in question in the vernacular.

Following Jespersen, this study focuses on the influence of Norman-French on the English language in the period following the Norman Invasion. In order to provide a clearer picture of the influx of Norman-French words into English, and open up more possibilities for future research, it is important to introduce a degree of transparency to Jespersen's method, because a more extensive method, in terms of description and the amount of data that will be gathered, will provide a wider array of options to use to gather and analyse data.

In this study, I hope to introduce a method of researching the influx of French loans into English, which will partly be modelled on Jespersen's approach as well as revised so that greater transparency concerning the process is guaranteed. Much like Jespersen, who "owe[d] more than [he] could say [...] to the authors of the *New English Dictionary*" (*Preface*) for the purpose of his study, this method will rely heavily on the extensive use of the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. For the purpose of this study the Timelines feature offered by the online version of the OED is especially useful. This feature allows the user to get a visual overview of the influx of words by adjusting several different parameters. Since the timeline already offers the number of loans that enter the language, this method will not focus on creating an overview featuring just the number of words entering the language, like Jespersen's method finally produced, but a more extensive overview with easily adjustable parameters. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the word classes of new loans and the sources in which they are first attested. This will provide a view of the channels through which the words made their way into the English language and which word classes were most frequently borrowed. Considering the scope of this study, it is impossible to look at loans from French throughout the history of the English language; after all, this is roughly 950 years worth of data (approximately 1066-2012). In order to find a more suitable, but still interesting timeframe in terms of influence and importance, the OED again proved to be a vitally important tool. When parameters of the timeline has been set to the right setting for French (European languages > Italic > Romance > Italo-Romance > Gallo-Romance > French), it becomes evident that there was a peak in the influx of French during the period 1350–1399. For this reason this timeframe has been chosen as the focal point of this study. Not entirely without surprise, this is the time in which Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400) wrote his most famous works. The proposed method and additional choices that had to be made will be further elaborated on in the next chapter.

Chapter 2 Method

Considering the premise of this study is to add transparency to a method of analysing the influx of loanwords from any language, and French in particular, to English, this chapter will highlight all the different considerations that had to be made while conducting this study.

Since the scope of this study is quite limited, a selection of features to analyse had to be made. This was done based on information provided in the word entries of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Every entry provides information on the first attestation of the word, quotations illustrating the use, word class, etymology, whether a word is obsolete or not and many more different factors. For the purpose of this study the features Word Class and Sources will be focused on, since they will likely offer the most interesting results which can be analysed within the scope of this essay, while illustrating the usefulness of this method. An additional factor which contributed to the selection of these particular features was the ease with which data concerning these features could be gathered.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main tool used for this study was the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. This particular reference work was selected based on the fact that Jespersen used its predecessor *The New English Dictionary* for his method, and this method is modelled on his model posed in 1905. The decision was made to use the online version over the printed version published in 1989 because of availability of the material, accuracy of the data and the additional features offered by the web version. Considering the OED Online is updated every quarter, results may vary depending on the version used to gather data. The data for this study was gathered using the March 2012 online version, though additional research on individual

words was conducted using the June 2012 version; then again, the entries in question had not been updated during the June update. Additionally, since words are not updated chronologically nor alphabetically the data contains words from both the 1989 Second Edition and the Third edition, which is the edition being created by the quarterly revisions.

As pointed out earlier, the feature that was heavily utilised in this study was the Timelines feature. By adjusting the Origin parameters to French, which was done by selecting the following choices in the dropdown menu: European languages > Italic > Romance > Italo-Romance > Gallo-Romance > French, the Timeline offered an overview of the influx of French loans from 1050 to 2012. However, it is important to note that the OED does not make a distinction between loans from Norman French or Central French in the origin of the word. In the selection process there is the option to go one step further to Norman, but that only yields two results. Words were often borrowed twice, first from Norman French (e.g. "warranty" in 1338) and later again from Central French (e.g. "guarantee" in 1679), but according to the filters in the Timeline feature they are all considered to be of French origin. Since the default setting of the graph is 50 years, and this offered too broad a spectrum, the parameters for the graph were set to 10 years which allowed for a more convenient arrangement of data.

The decision was made to limit this study to a timeframe of 50 years. This limited timeframe was chosen because of the suspected difficulty of processing data for a broader timeframe, but 10 years was deemed too limited to produce any meaningful results. As mentioned before in Chapter 1, the chosen timeframe was 1350—1399, because the graph created by the timeline showed a distinct peak in the influx of loanwords. This seemed like an interesting era to illustrate the uses of this method, since the expected outcome was that there

was a great variety in word classes acquired during these 50 years and the end of the fourteenth century produced some of the most distinct (literary) works of the Middle English period.

Data concerning both word classes and sources were obtained by carefully documenting every occurrence in tables subdivided per decade. Data concerning Word classes was tallied and put into a graph which provided an overview for the entire decade, while the names of the sources were copied directly from the entries and put into a table, as to provide an accurate representation of the way sources are presented in the OED. The results per source were then tallied and put into a table which provided an overview per year. This subdivision offered the most extensive representation of the data gathered per decade and allowed for an easier analysis of both word classes and sources. When clicking on a decade in the timeline graph the online dictionary provides a list of words first attested in that decade in alphabetical order. Again, to increase the ease with which data could be processed, the parameters were changed so the words were sorted by date instead.

In order to decrease the number of limitations, the decision was made to include every word provided by the timeline rather than introduce extra conditions the words had to fulfil. This decision was made because written language will never fully represent spoken language and the fact that a word might only appear once in a manuscript only means that only one scribe found use for it in a written work, but it does not necessarily say anything about the use in spoken language. Moreover, not every single manuscript has been checked or found yet. In order to provide a complete as possible overview of the loans every word was included.

Further limitations regarding the use of the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 Limitations of The Oxford English Dictionary

When conducting research, it is always important to keep in mind the limitations of the sources used, since the limitations of a source may greatly affect the outcome of a study. When working with human subjects it is important to look at factors that may have affected results of a test, like social background, level of proficiency or even disturbances while a test was being conducted. That is no different when working with a tool like the *Oxford English Dictionary*. While the data gathered from a source like the OED may not be affected by background noises while research is being conducted, the OED is certainly without its limitations. This chapter will explore different factors which need to be taken into consideration when the OED is used as a data source and research-tool and elaborate on the origins of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the limitations that arise from the decisions that have been made early in the collection-process.

3.1 The Origin of the Oxford English Dictionary

In order to get a better overview of the *Oxford English Dictionary* it is important to consider how it all began. It all started in 1857, when Richard Chenevix Trench presented two papers to the Philological Society, which were later published as *On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries*. According to Trench (1857) the English language dictionaries that were available up to that point demonstrated a number of flaws. They were "frequently [...] unsystematic in modes of inclusion and exclusion, in the kinds of data deployed, in their treatment of obsolete words and of word families, as well as in features such as the accurate dating of words and the distinguishing of synonyms" (Mugglestone 2). In addition he felt that "Many passages in our

literature are passed by, which might be usefully adduced in illustration of the first introduction, etymology and meaning of words" (Trench 3 1860). Trench argued in favour of a dictionary which could provide a full inventory of the language. In turn, this meant a redefinition of the role of the lexicographer was in order. He felt it was "no task of the maker [of the dictionary] to select the *good* words of a language" (Trench 4) and a lexicographer's sole task was to collect words without passing judgement on the quality of speech it represents. "He is an historian of [language], not a critic" (Trench 4). So in short, Trench's philosophy relied heavily on the idea that descriptivism was favourable over the prescriptivism prevalent in for example Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755).

As a result of these papers, the Philological Society passed a resolution in 1855 to compile a complete *New English Dictionary*. In 1860 the final plan was passed and a team of readers and editors started preparations. The readers were volunteers who studied manuscripts in order to contribute words and illustrative quotations to the Philological Society on paper slips, which were kept in the files. In 1868 James A.H. Murray joins the Philological Society and he would eventually become chief editor for the *New English Dictionary* in 1875.

Since manuscripts were stored in libraries and private collections all over Europe, the organisation of data was not without issues. The collection of slips was problematic and often entire collections of slips for one letter would get misplaced (Mugglestone 7). The spread of texts made it very difficult to supervise the readers, which resulted in a lack of quality control for the data that was gathered. Works were not being read exhaustively enough, something Henry Bradley, one of the editors, noticed to his dismay, which resulted in works having to be revisited often (Mugglestone 9). In order to compensate for the inadequate first group of readers, an additional reader's programme was started so they could process more texts (Mugglestone 7).

In 1879 An Appeal to the English-speaking and English-reading Public in Great Britain, America and the Colonies was published after Murray's appointment as editor, which was accompanied by a "List of books for which Readers are Wanted" (Brewer 45). The books listed for the sixteenth and seventeenth century were "overwhelmingly literary in character" (Brewer 45), and while the readers were encouraged to read "any eighteenth-century book they can lay their hands on" (Appeal qtd. in Brewer 45), the "books that ought to be read" were again "overwhelmingly literary" (Brewer 45). Although other works were accepted as well, this tendency to focus on literary works contributed to an imbalance in the results (Mugglestone 8). The imbalance was further caused by a lack of proper instructions for the readers. At first they were instructed to "make a quotation for *every* word that strikes you as rare, obsolete, oldfashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a peculiar way" (Mugglestone 8), though they failed to acknowledge the effects of such an instruction, namely that the normal words would be overlooked. This caused more basic words to have very little quotations, while more peculiar words had a great deal too many. Later this was corrected by putting the emphasis on regular words instead of the peculiar.

What the editors also realised fairly early on in the process was that they could not be as exhaustive in their results as they set out to be, because of practical and moral reasons. First of all, it was impossible to document every word in existence in the language. The reason for this is that not everything could be attested in manuscripts. Also Murray had made the early decision not to include all the words in the vernacular, such as obscenities and slang, though this was soon changed after critique was expressed by fellow editors and readers (Mugglestone 10).

Since the start of the *OED* many things have changed. The introduction of the Internet has improved the availability of manuscripts, e.g. through online collections of old manuscripts

like *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and even *Google Books*. This development has made the revision of entries and ante-dating words easier compared to the early twentieth century (Oxford). The editors of the OED continue to revise the entries and update the dictionary four times a year. The OED also continues to use its Reading Programmes, similar to the ones set up by Murray in 1879, to assemble material for revising the dictionary. Several different programmes are in place, like the OED's UK and North American Reading *Programmes*, which focuses on gathering data from novels, newspapers, magazines, poetry and other texts mainly from the nineteenth and twentieth century. In addition the OED utilises the Historical Reading Programme, for which the main focus is scrutinizing old texts in order to find words not yet recorded in the OED and ante-dating existing entries.

While these emendations have improved the overall quality of the entries, they are still not without faults. An important issue a researcher using the OED has to be aware of is that the dictionary does not feature words from every available manuscript yet, and will most likely never be able to. When the collection of words first started, choices have been made in the selection process that are likely to influence the outcome of any investigation involving the sources provided by the OED, though they have partly been amended since then.

Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the simple fact that the *Oxford English Dictionary* is a database which records the first *written* instance of a word in the English language, and that the dates offered are a very broad approximation of when a word first came into use. Murray was only too aware of this. Since a word is spoken before it is written, Murray stressed that "the written instance is, in most cases, evidence, not that the word was then coming into use, but that it was already established and known to readers generally" (qtd. in Mugglestone 8). This makes it more difficult for scholars to determine the exact circumstances of the loans entering the language.

3.2 Dating

One of the issues that might arise while conducting research using a medium like the *Oxford English Dictionary* is the issue of incorrect information regarding the source. In this study this was the case with the dating of the first attestation of the words "garter, n." and "glean, v.". According to the attestations on OED "glean, v." was attested in a version of "Wynnere and Wastoure" in a volume by I. Gollancz · *Parl. 3 Ages* · 1350, which might explain why the OED lists both of them as c1350. On the other hand, "garter, n." shows only "Wynnere and Wastoure" in the source list instead of a secondary source, though it is likely that this is attested in the edition by Professor Gollancz as well. What makes the issue regarding dating even more interesting is that "Wynnere and Wastoure" is cited in a third entry in the same decade: "sable, n² and adj." What is striking is that for this quotation they have used yet another source for the poem: *Winnere and wastoure* · 1352 (Roxb. Cl. 1897) with another date. These inconsistencies in the dating are possibly a result of the fact that there have been several adjustments to the date over the years.

There has been a debate among scholars about the exact dating of "Wynnere and Wastoure". When Professor Israel Gollancz first edited the poem in 1897, he argued that the date of the poem was "1347 or early in 1348" (Hulbert 34), because while it does refer to Edward III as king, it fails to refer to the Black Death of 1348-1350, which was an event that would not have gone unmentioned in works written so shortly after the events (Hulbert 34). In the second edition Gollancz was forced to adjust this dating to "not much later than 1350" (qtd. in Hulbert 34),

because Mr George Neilson pointed out that the poem alludes to the length of the King's reign, which disqualifies the date 1947 or 1948. In lines 205–206 of "Wynnere and Wastoure" it says "Wele knowe we the kyng; he clothes us bothe, / And hase us fosterde and fedde this fyve and twenty wyntere", which implies that the king has been on the throne for 25 years. Considering Edward III's reign started in 1327, dating the poem at 1347 or 1348 means he had only been on the throne for 20 or 21 years at the time of writing, so Gollancz rightly adjusted the date. This does not, however, mean that the date 1350 is correct, as J.R. Hulbert points out in his article written in 1920. J.R. Hulbert points out that the poem seems to allude to a period of time when England was not at war with France, since he sends one of his knights, Wynnere, to Rome instead of using him to fight France. According to Hulbert this might refer to the "truces at the end of the fifties or even after the signing of the Treaty of Brétigny in 1361" (37), and he argues that this means that "any date between 1351 and 1366 would accord with the reference in Wynnere" (1920, p37). While Hulbert offers a compelling argument, he seems to miss many allusions in the text which lead to a more specific date. J.M. Steadman Jr. (1921) lists a great number of allusions in the text to "contemporary events [that] not only fit the winter of 1352— 1353, but that they fit this date and no other" (1921). Among these allusions are references to important laws being passed, the weather, Edward III's reign, the food prices and the new gold coinage (Steadman 214). One of the laws that is alluded to in the poem is the Statute of Treasons, which was passed in 1352 as a direct result of social uprising following the Black Death (Ginsberg). The date 1352 has since been adopted as the most correct dating for "Wynnere and Wastoure."

Considering these developments in the debate took place in the 1920s one would not expect that the *Oxford English Dictionary* would still date this source as c1350, since 1352 as

seen in the entry for "sable" would be a more plausible option. A possible explanation of this discrepancy is that the OED is currently being revised, a process which takes a very long time, and "sable" might be an already revised entry. Further investigation shows that all three entries are still from the Second Edition, published in 1989. Since the editors of the OED are currently working on the Third Edition, this shows that none of the entries have been updated as of yet, and it is a valid discrepancy.

This example only signifies that, while the editors of the OED go through great lengths to ensure the dictionary is as complete and correct as possible, it is not without its faults. Luckily the inconsistencies shown in this example are easily amended. Dating a text depends on a great number of factors and to conclusively date a text is not always possible, it might very well be that the numbers presented in this study might be different in 25 years time, as a direct result of the developments in the field. Considering the editors of the OED do not have any research time they are directly dependent on what academic studies are available. The dating of texts might be adjusted, possibly resulting in a shift in numbers and slightly different results. Despite all this, the power of the OED is that they welcome corrections to the material available on their website if it proves to be incorrect, since they are constantly revising the entries on the website.

Chapter 4 Word Classes – Results and Discussion

4.1 Data Analysis

The results obtained from the preliminary analysis of the influx of the word classes found in the 50-year period under scrutiny are presented in Table 4.1. The data was collected per year, but in order to increase the readability of the table the data is presented per decade. The raw data per year can be found in Appendix A.

	1350-1359	1360-1369	1370-1379	1380-1389	1390-1399	TOTAL
Noun	75	72	252	708	671	1778
Verb	32	24	100	210	190	556
Adjective	6	15	63	154	162	400
Adverb	1	0	0	3	16	20
Prefix	0	1	0	1	0	2
Interjection	0	0	0	0	3	3
Preposition	0	0	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	114	112	416	1076	1043	2761
				Т	able 1 1	Word Classes

Table 4.1 Word Classes

Table 4.1 shows how many French loanwords belonging to a specific word class were first attested in an English manuscript in each decade. It is apparent from the table that the amount of loanwords entering the language remains relatively steady in the 1350s and 1360s, but the increase from 112 in the 1360s to 416 in the 1370s indicates an increase of 371%. The influx peaks in the 1380s with 1076 new words that were first attested in the language. This is a 258% increase in comparison to the previous decade. The influx stabilises at the end of the period in the 1390s with a relatively similar number of loanwords entering English. The enormous peak in the last three decades of the period can be explained by taking a closer look at the sources, which will be done in the following chapter.

If we now turn to the results concerning the actual word classes, some interesting conclusions may be drawn. One of the most striking, though not entirely unexpected, results of the data is that the number of nouns that have entered the language is considerably higher than the other word classes. 1774 out of 2761 words, which is roughly 64.39% of the total amount of loanwords of the period were nouns. This was followed by a considerably lower number of verbs; a mere 556, which is roughly 20.13%, and 400 adjectives, which accounts for ~14.48% of the words. While the remaining word classes only have a very limited amount of attestations, their presence should not be ignored since they can be seen as indications of the close contact between the Norman-French and the English.

What is especially surprising is the presence of interjections amongst the loanwords in the 1390s (1392, 1395 and 1399 to be more precise). As has been pointed out before, the OED draws its data from purely written sources, so it cannot be said that the dictionary is a fair representation of spoken Middle English. Interjections, however, are a typical marker of spoken language, which makes it an unusual appearance in written speech. The three interjections in question are "adieu" (1392), "Nowell" (1395) and "Maldathait" (1399). Taking a closer look at the sources these interjections were attested in might provide some answers as to why they would appear in written form.

➤ "Adieu" (1392)

"Adieu" was first attested in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which is dated ante 1393. That date has been interpreted as 1392 for the sake of this study, though this might change in the future when there is more certainty about the exact date. In Middle English, "adieu" has the same function and meaning as in Anglo-Norman; it was used in both languages as "an expression of farewell: 'goodbye'" ("Adieu" def. 1). The nuance of this has changed over

time though, since it was originally used to emphasize fondness or sorrow at parting, but in later usage it was sometimes used as a more final parting. The interjection has not become obsolete and the latest attestation mentioned in the OED entry is dated 2010.

➤ "Nowell" (1395)

"Nowell" was first attested in Geoffrey Chaucer's "Franklin's Tale" in c1395. The definition given by the OED is as follows: "A word shouted or sung: expressing joy, originally to commemorate the birth of Christ. Now only as retained in Christmas carols." It remained in use throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, before falling into disuse (or it simply has not been found in a manuscript yet) in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, before it re-emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

As for the source, the "Franklin's Tale" is told by the Franklin, who describes himself in the prologue as a "burel man" (716), burel meaning unlearned in this context, and asks to be "excused of my rude speche. / I lerned nevere rethorik, certeyn; / Thyng that I speke, it moot be bayre and pleyn" (718-720). This may be interpreted as an indication that his speech does not conform to the high-class rhetoric that is omnipresent in other manuscripts of the time, because he is only a simple man. It can be argued that his social status and the lack of education makes the Franklin's speech a more accurate representation of spoken language. Since he is uneducated in the art of rhetoric, he is unlikely to embellish his speech, which might explain why his narration contains a previously unattested interjection in line 1255 of the tale.

➤ "Maldathait" (1399)

Unlike the other two examples, both of which are still present in Present-day English, "maldathait" only has one attestation that we know of. Its only attestation was in the *Cursor*

Mundi in roughly 1399. It was used as a curse, meaning "May he have misfortune!" according to the OED. The *Cursor Mundi* was a distinctly Christian text, and has been translated in 4 different Middle English dialects. According to the OED, "Maldathait" has been attested in the Cotton ms. Vesp. A.3, which is "thought to have originated in the north or north-east Midlands" (Cursor 518). In the entry the OED points out that in line 16290 of the Göttinger MS a variation of the phrase has been attested, but a closer look at the southern version of the *Cursor Mundi* shows that the phrasing is different and there is no trace of "maldathait". Considering the Cotton MS is the earliest surviving manuscript containing the Cursor Mundi, "maldathait" may have been part of the original manuscript that is unfortunately lost. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that a different manuscript has copied a similar form in the same line. It seems very unlikely that this interjection was added by two different scribes if there was not already some indication of a similar form in the original copy.

As can be seen from the analysis of the interjections it is difficult to determine a clear pattern in the use of interjections in written language. The main conclusion that can be drawn is that interjections are likely to be found in poetry and fiction, since situations that resemble spoken speech are more likely to occur in works of fiction rather than, for example, official Church documents. Considering only three occurrences were first registered in manuscripts dating to the late fourteenth century, it is necessary to extend the timeframe and take a more specific look at interjections in Medieval manuscripts in order to collect more conclusive evidence.

4.2 Language Impact

If we consider the data presented above, it might be possible to draw further conclusions about the influence of French on the English language. In order to do this, models have been developed to measure the intensity of contact between two languages. In 2001 Sarah G. Thomason proposed a model to determine the level of impact on a language by looking at the type of borrowings. Thomason based her model on a full analysis of the type of borrowings found in a target language in order to assess the extent of language contact and the impact it had on the language under scrutiny.

Thomason has formulated a four-point approach to measure the level of impact of language contact. She measures the impact by looking at the vocabulary that enters the language, and the level of syntactic and morphological structure that transfers into the borrowing language. The premise of this model is that "vocabulary is borrowed before structure" (Thomason 69), which holds true for many languages. She argues that "all aspects of a language's structure are susceptible to borrowing [...] but since you cannot borrow what you do not know, control of the source language's structure is certainly needed before structural features can be borrowed" (Thomason 69). This argument certainly gives rise to the distinction between lexical and syntactical borrowing. While Thomason admits that language impact is "a vague concept" (69) and it cannot be measured conclusively, her borrowing scale does provide a sufficient framework for scholars in order to draw a conclusion. Thomason's model is included in Appendix B for further reference.

Due to the scope of this study it is impossible to use the model as presented in Thomason's book and gather valid results from the data. While it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding morphology and grammar by looking at the prepositions and prefixes

among the results, not being able to assess the results in the right context makes the model as Thomasons describes it less suitable, since the distinction between the different levels is very much based on syntactic evidence. However, this might be adjusted by simplifying the model so it only requires lexical items in order to measure the level of impact Norman-French had on English. When the several different word classes that have been recorded in table 4.1 are taken into consideration it might be possible to draw some kind of correlation between the morphological and syntactical evidence, though it cannot be said with certainty that this is possible. The most important revision of an adjusted borrowing scale needs to be the switch in focus on lexical items rather than syntactic borrowings, which may be possible by focusing on the lexical aspect of the original borrowing scale. An important for this approach is to determine what conclusions can be drawn from the presence of certain word classes, based on Thomason's model.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, 7 different word classes were attested among the French loanwords between 1350—1399: the content word classes nouns, verbs, adjectives and some adverbs, but also prefixes, prepositions and interjections. While Thomason classifies the first four word classes as words that are easily borrowed in situations of casual contact, 1 on the borrowing scale, the remaining word classes are indicative of a more intense contact. As can be seen in Appendix B, the second scale classifies a slightly more intense contact under which circumstances "function words (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles like 'then') as well as content words; still non-basic vocabulary" (Thomason 70) are borrowed. The third scale, however, shows that, apart from content words, also "derivational affixes may be borrowed" (Thomason 70), which seems to be the case here considering two prefixes were borrowed during this period: "dia-" in 1362, which was mostly used for medical terms and is not productive at

present according to the OED, and "en-" in 1380, which is still very much present in Present Day English. The presence of prefixes among the borrowed words may indicate that the level of impact between French and English can be classified a three at most, but more likely between two and three since the majority of the basic vocabulary is still of Germanic origin and thus has not been borrowed from the Romance Norman-French. The contact as defined by level two is considered "slightly more intense contact (borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, but they are probably a minority among borrowing-language speakers)" (Thomason 70) and the contact defined by level 3 is "More intense contact (more bilinguals, attitudes and other social factors favouring borrowing." (Thomason 70).

What can be said with a great deal of certainty is that Thomason's borrowing scale requires some adjustments before being completely suitable for the data gathered by this method, though it may still be applicable since the conclusions that can be drawn do correlate to a degree with the linguistic situation in post-Conquest England. Furthermore, the data may serve as evidence in a broader study which takes syntax and morphology into consideration as well for a more complete application of the method.

Chapter 5 Sources – Results and Discussion

As established in an earlier chapter, the sources used by the *Oxford English Dictionary* are the most important element of the OED. Considering that the sources documented in the period under scrutiny are plentiful, it would be impossible to discuss all the data found in this chapter. All the data concerning the sources are available in Appendix A, where the tables show the sources found per year with the amount of words first attested in each manuscript listed in the tables.

	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359
# of	22	2	4	1	4	2	2	4	1	3
Sources										
	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369
# of	7	4	3	5	2	2	5	1	1	2
Sources										
	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379
# of	11	3	3	4	12	18	1	5	4	7
Sources										
	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389
# of	15	9	3	3	8	10	33	10	9	8
Sources										
	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399
# of	35	6	8	5	4	17	2	5	8	61
Sources										
						Table	51	Number	of sources	narwaar

5.1 Data Analysis

Table 5.1Number of sources per year

Table 5.1 shows the amount of sources used to gather data for the *OED* per year, e.g. in 1399 a total of 61 separate manuscripts were used to find attestations. This table is revealing in many ways, although it is important to remember that the numbers above do not represent the total number of manuscripts found in this period. Included in the data are many different manuscripts, like the texts found in *Joseph Thomas Fowler* \cdot *Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of*

Durham: from the original $MSS \cdot 1898-1901$, that consist of entries added to the manuscript over many years. Since these manuscripts were written over an extended period of time, this allowed them to introduce new French loanwords in several different years, instead of being limited to a single year. The numbers represented in Table 5.1 do not account for these manuscripts, of which there are several in this period, but they represent the number of unique sources per year.

The data presented in Table 5.1 shows that on average 8.08 sources were used to produce results per year, with peaks as high as 61 different sources in 1399. What is striking is that for the majority of the years the editors of the OED have been able to use only very few different sources, especially considering the number of attestations found in some of the years with less than 5 sources. If this table is compared with the tables for each year in Appendix A, it becomes clear that for example 1382 had only very few available sources, but still a relatively high number of words entering the language; this was mainly due to the *Wycliffite Bible*. The average number of words per source for that year is ~40.6, which is the highest for all the years under scrutiny. Sources like the *Wycliffite Bible* are of immense value for the OED because of the high number of words it produces. Next, this text and some other major contributors will be discussed in more detail.

5.2 Major Contributors

The data in Appendix A clearly show that there are some major contributors to the English vocabulary. There are a number of writers, translators or scribes who are responsible for the first attestation of a great many words, including Geoffrey Chaucer, the *Wycliffite Bible* (1380-1399), both the early and the late edition, and John of Trevisa (1342-1402). These three contributions to the corpus will be discussed in greater detail.

5.2.1 Geoffrey Chaucer

Geoffrey Chaucer is arguably one of the most prolific writers of his age and the Canterbury Tales are considered to be a major contribution to English Literature in general. Considering the importance of Chaucer's work and his position at court, it comes as no surprise that Chaucer seems to be responsible for the first attestation of a variety of French words in this period. In 1386 alone he was responsible for roughly 58.5% of all the words attested in that year, with the great majority of those words being first found in his Canterbury Tales. Examples of words he contributed are "autumn, n." (1374), "bottle, n." (c1386) and "magic, n." (c1387).

According to the OED, Chaucer's first contribution to the English corpus entered the language in 1366; in fact, it concerns 5 first attestations in his "A.B.C." Over the following 32 years Chaucer was responsible for the first attestation of 564 French words in the English written corpus. As can be seen in Table 4.1 in the previous chapter, the total number of French words entering the language during the latter half of the fourteenth century is 2764, which means that Chaucer was responsible for approximately 20,4% of all attestations. What is important to keep in mind though is that "many of the words cited as first occurring in Chaucer's works in the OED are in fact found in earlier texts, as recorded by the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED)" (Horobin 79).

The spread of his influence over such a long period of time can be explained by the fact that, due to the popularity of the Canterbury Tales, many different manuscripts containing the tales were produced. Not all manuscripts contained all the tales, which caused different tales to have versions stemming from different years. This explains that for example "the Miller's Tale" has introduced words in both 1386 and 1390.

5.2.2 John of Trevisa

One unanticipated finding was the presence of John of Trevisa (1342-1402) among the major contributors of French loans in the period. While John of Trevisa is a well-known scholar of the period and especially famed for his translations of the Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* and the *Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum*, he is also one of the more famous contemporary commentators regarding language contact between French and English. In the *Polychronicon* he blames French for the deterioration of English:

bis apeyryng of þe burþ-tonge ys bycause of twey þinges -on ys, for chyldern in scole, a3enes þe usage and manere of al oþer nacions, buþ compelled for to leve here oune longage, and for to construe here lessons and here þinges a freynsch, and habbeþ, suþthe þe normans come furst into engelond. Also, gentil men children buþ y-tau3t for to speke freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel, and conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne hamsylf to gentilmen, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch for to be more y-told of [...] (Trevisa 517)

As can be seen from this excerpt Trevisa blames the way the French language was integrated in English society, which gives rise to the idea that he may have been actively involved in promoting the English language over French. Naturally translating texts from Latin into the vernacular may be interpreted as an effort to promote the language among the educated population, but it still seems contradictory to use French words. One natural explanation of this development may be the consideration that Trevisa's texts are translations. Considering Latin and French are closely related languages it may have been easier to use a Latinate term from French to double for a previously nonexistent concept in the English language. The educated classes would probably have understood the new term, considering the persisting use of French

in official court documents which caused many educated people to still have knowledge of French (Crystal 30). Trevisa was responsible for 353 of the loans that have entered the language in this period, which is roughly 12,80% of the total. Examples of words found in his works are "adjective, adj. and n." (a1398) and "personal, adj., n. and adv." (a 1387).

5.2.3 Wycliffite Bible (1380-1399)

The extensive documentation of loanwords from the *Wycliffite Bible* can be explained by the fact that its inclusion in Alexander Crudence's *Concordance* (and the OED's use of *Concordance*) caused the *Wycliffite Bible* to be heavily quoted (Brewer 45). The *Wycliffite Bible* was a collection of Bible translations made at the instigation of John Wycliffe and it was the most important document which inspired the Lollard Movement (Urquhart).

Wycliffite Bible	Year	Number of words	% of Loans that year
Early	1381	172	~86
	1382	115	~94
	1383	1	25
	1384	76	65
Later	1388	9	~41
	1395	2	~4.76
	1399	1	~0.28

Table 5.2 Wycliffite Bible

Table 5.2 shows the data concerning the Wycliffite Bible, which illustrates the importance of especially the early version (1380-1385) for the OED. As can be seen in the table, especially 1381 and 1382 were fruitful for the dictionary, with the text providing respectively 86% and 94% of the words, with a substantially high number of actual attestations. Examples of the words found in *The Wycliffite Bible* are "accusation, n." (a1382) and "idiot, n. and adj." (1384). The later version (1386-1399) proved a little less useful for the editors, which may be

explained by the fact that the revisions made in the later version might not have been substantial enough to provide many new words. The high number of loans from French might be explained by the fact that the Bible was translated from Latin and, as might have been the case with Trevisa, it was easier to go with a Latinate term for new concepts. All in all, the *Wycliffite Bible* was responsible for ~13.61% of the total attestations of the period.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This thesis has set out to determine whether the implementation of a more transparent method in the research the influx of French into English would yield any results. This study has found that generally the *Oxford English Dictionary* online is a very valuable tool for investigation in the field, but it remains important to be mindful of the limitations that are inherent to the resource, due to the selections made in texts by the first editors and the limitations of the data produced from any lexicographical research. However, the usability of the suggested method, which consists of tallying different features, lies in the ease with which the parameters can be adjusted. The OED offers many possibilities to set the Timeline feature to show data for a different language, so it may be utilised to study language contact with any other language English has been in contact with. Furthermore, the use of this method to assess the influx of French into English between 1350—1399 has yielded some interesting results regarding word classes and sources. The most surprising finding in the first category was the presence of the interjections from a variety of sources, and the second category showed that, while the importance of Geoffrey Chaucer was expected, some of the major contributors came as a surprise.

Several limitations to this study need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the scope of the study made it impossible to fully analyse the results yielded by the investigation into word classes and the sources. Similar to the early ideals of Murray when he started work on the OED, this study set out to be as exhaustive as possible, but the number of ways in which the data could be approached meant that choices had to be made. As a result there are still many elements that have not yet been touched upon, but they still require further research. Secondly, as pointed out before, the *OED* itself has several limitations which are inherent to the nature of the data it may

produce. The data is merely a representation of written language of the period, and may not be considered a representation of the speech of the late fourteenth century. Not all sources available to the editors and readers have been read exhaustively and not all the information provided by the entries is 100% correct. Thirdly, since the *OED* continues to revise its data quarterly, the numbers yielded from this research may be considerably different if the same study is conducted in 10 years. While entries will never be removed from the dictionaries, words may be ante-dated to date from the early fourteenth century or even earlier, which will have its repercussions on the numbers regarding both the word classes and the sources.

This study has thrown up many questions in need of further investigations. Considerably more work needs to be done to fully assess the usability of this particular method. It needs to be utilised using different parameters, for example genre or usage, in order to see to what extent they would yield usable results. It would be interesting to look at a slightly different period regarding French, or attempt to utilise the method to assess the nature of the impact of Latin upon French. Another point of interest for future study is whether this method can be utilised to investigate the stability of loanwords, by looking at the amount of words which have become obsolete (or not) from this era and how long these words have remained active in the language. Also, a future study investigating the contribution of specific authors would be interesting. All in all, this study should be seen as a stepping stone towards a greater understanding of the importance of the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* for the study of historical linguistics and all the unanswered questions surrounding this topic.

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The Appendices

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Appendix ARaw Data1350 - 1359

	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	Total
Noun	47	3	4	1	4	2	3	6	1	4	75
Verb	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	32
Adjective	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Adverb	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Prefix	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Interjection	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	84 ¹	3	4	1	4	2	3	8	1	4	114

Source	
Midland Prose Psalter (c. 1350 – 1400) in Karl Daniel Bülbring · The earliest	27
complete English prose psalter: together with eleven canticles and a translation of	
the Athanasian Creed · EETS 97, 1891.	
Apocalypse of St. John: A-version	11
William of Shoreham Poems	16
Med. MS. In Archaeologia XXX	2
Henry T. Riley · <i>Memorials London</i> · 1868	2
Will of Palerne a1375	1
Transactions of the Philological Society 1854 -	6
Usages Winchester: English Gilds: the original ordinances of more than one	2
hundred early English gilds (c1350–1500)	
Durham Manuscript Cha. Roll · 1350	1
Ipomadon (verse) c1350 (Kölbing 1889)	1
T. Silverstein · English Lyrics before 1500 · 1971	1
London Mediaeval Studies · 1951	3
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1926	1
Gregorius · 1350	1
Ballad of Scottish Wars in Alois Brandl and Otto Zippel · Mittelenglische Sprach-	1
und Literaturproben. Ersatz für Mä tzners Altenglische Sprachproben. Mit	
etymologischem Wörterbuch zugleich für Chaucer. Herausgegeben von A. Brandl	
und O. Zippel · 1917.	
Legends of the Rood	1
Commem. Dead in Carl Horstmann · Altengl. Leg. · 1881	1
Nicholas Harris Nicolas · A history of the Royal navy, from the earliest times to the	1

¹ "garter, n." and "glean, v." have been counted as 1350, following the OED, though an analysis of the dating of "Wynnere and Wastoure" has proven this is incorrect. See Chapter 3.2.

wars of the French revolution · 1847.	
James Edwin Thorold Rogers · A history of agriculture and prices in England: from the year after the Oxford parliament, (1259) to the commencement of the continental war, (1793) · 1st edition, 1866–1902 (7 vols.).	1
Nom. GallAngl. · 1350	1
How Good Wife taught her Daughter · 1948	1
Lybeaus Desc. · 1350	1

Source	
The Midland Prose Psalter (c. 1350 – 1400)	1
Laurence Minot – Poems	2

Source	
C. Horstmann - Minor Poems of the Vernon MS	1
Political Poems and Songs relating to English History 1327 - 1483	1
Reg. Black Prince	1
Wynnere & Wastoure	3

Source	
John Palsgrave · Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse · 1st edition, 1530 (1	1
vol.).	

Source	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Memorials of the Church of Ss. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon ·	1
1886.	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
James Raine · Charters Priory Finchale · 1837	1
F. R. Chapman · Sacrist rolls of Ely · 1907.	1

Source	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1

from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Memorials of the Church of Ss. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon ·	1
1886.	

Source	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	2
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Henry T. Riley · <i>Memorials London</i> · 1868	1

Source	
John Thoresby \cdot The lay folks' catechism: or, Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for	5
the people: together with a Wycliffite adaptation of the same, and the	
corresponding canons of the Council of Lambeth · EETS 118, 1996.	
Thomas Wright and Richard Wülcker · Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabulary ·	1
1884	
M. T. Löfvenberg · Contributions to Middle English Lexicography and Etymology ·	1
1946	
Pipe Roll 32 Edward III · 1356	1

Source	
Close Rolls 4 Hen. III · 1833	1

Source	
John Henry Parker · A glossary of terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic architecture · 4th ed., enlarged., 1845.	1
R. Stewart-Brown · Accounts Chamberlains Chester · 1910	1
F. R. Chapman · Sacrist rolls of Ely · 1907.	2

	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	Total
Noun	4	4	29	4	1	1	16	2	1	10	72
Verb	2	1	11	-	-	1	4	-	1	4	24
Adjective	1	-	1	1	1	-	9	-	-	2	15
Adverb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Prefix	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Interjection	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	7	5	42	5	2	2	29	2	2	16	112

1360

Source	
Mercy 85 in Early English Poems · a1200–1450	1
Song Deo Gratias in Early English Poems · a1200–1450	1
Early Complete English Prose Psalter · 1891	1
Song of Mercy in Early English Poems · a1200–1450	1
Song of Mercy 37 in Early English Poems • a1200–1450	1
Louis Francis Salzman · <i>Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history</i> · 1992.	1
Naval Account in Bertil Sandahl · Middle English Sea Terms · 1958	1

1361

Source	
Nichols · <i>Royal Wills</i> · 1361	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> · 1898–1901.	2
M. T. Löfvenberg · <i>Contributions to Middle English Lexicography and Etymology</i> · 1946	1
Reginald Robinson Sharpe · Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688 · 1889.	1

1362

Source

William Langland · The vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, Secundum wit et resoun by William Langland, 1362 A.D · EETS 28, 1867.

•••

Louis Francis Salzman · Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history ·	1
1992.	
P. Pl. · 1362	1

Source	
Louis Francis Salzman \cdot Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history \cdot 1992.	1
Devon · Iss. Exchequer James I · 1604	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> · 1898–1901.	1
Ministers Accounts Rye · 1363	1
Cockersand Chartul. · 1363	1

Source	
Accounts of the Exchequer of the King's Remembrancer	1
Cosmo Innes · Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis · 1856	1

Source	
Louis Francis Salzman \cdot <i>Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history</i> \cdot 1992.	1
Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts • a1200–1800	1

Source	
The Romaunt of the Rose · 1532	19
Mandeville's Travels · a1425	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · A.B.C. · 1366	5
Robert Boyle \cdot A continuation of New experiments physico-mechanical: touching the spring and weight of the air, and their effects. The second part. wherein are contained divers experiments made both in \cdot 1682.	1
The statutes of Ireland v.d. (ed. Sir R. Bolton 1621)	1

Source	
Eulog. History · 1863	2

Source	
Geoffrey Chaucer · Complete Pite · 1368	2

Source	
Geoffrey Chaucer · The book of the duchesse (= Dethe of Blaunche)	15
Accounts of the Exchequer of the King's Remembrancer	1

	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	Total
Noun	8	3	2	3	138	27	1	58	3	9	252
Verb	2	-	-	1	72	9	-	16	-	-	100
Adjective	1	-	1	-	47	3	1	9	1	-	63
Adverb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Prefix	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Interjection	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	11	3	3	4	257	40	2	83	4	9	416

1370

Source	
Inscr. in Cawston Church · 1370	1
John Wycliffe · The English works of Wyclif: hitherto unprinted · EETS 74, 1998.	1
John Wyclif · <i>English works</i> · c1380 (E.E.T.S. 1880)	1
Lay folks mass book · a1375, a 1450 (E.E.T.S. 1879)	1
John Lydgate · <i>Pilgr. of Sowle</i> · 1483	1
Robert Cicyle · 1370	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Memorials of the Church of Ss. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon</i> · 1886.	1
James Orchard Halliwell · Nugæ Poeticæ. Select Pieces of Old English popular Poetry, illustrating the manners and arts of the fifteenth century. Edited by J. O. H · 1844.	1
James Raine · Inventories & Account Rolls Benedictine Houses Jarrow & Monk- Wearmouth · 1854	1
James Raine · The fabric rolls of York minster · 1859.	1
Samuel Tymms · Wills and Inventories of Bury St. Edmunds · 1850	1

Source	
Henry T. Riley · Memorials London · 1868	1
Close Roll, 45 Edward III · 1371	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	

Source	
Nicholas Harris Nicolas \cdot A history of the royal navy: from the earliest times to the wars of the French Revolution \cdot 1847.	1
Rolls of Parliament · 1278–1503	1
Contract Fotheringhay Church · 1841	1

Source	
Exchequer rolls of Scotland · 1264– (Scott. Record series 1878–)	1
M. A. Devlin · Sermons of Thomas Brinton · 1954	1
Henry T. Riley · <i>Memorials London</i> · 1868	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler \cdot <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:</i>	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	

Source	
Geoffrey Chaucer · Troilus and Criseyde · c1374 (Parallel-text print, Chaucer Soc.)	101
Geoffrey Chaucer · Boethius' De Consol. Philosophy · 1374	106
Geoffrey Chaucer · The hous of fame · c1384	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Anelida and Arcite · c1374	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · Complete Mars · 1374	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · The former age · c1374	2
Walter William Skeat · The romance of William of Palerne (otherwise known as	34
the romance of "William and the Werwolf"), translated from the French at the	
command of Sir Humphrey de bohun, about A.D. 1350; to which is • EETSES 1,	
1867.	
Robert Willis and John Willis Clark \cdot The architectural history of the University of	2
Cambridge · 1st edition, 1886 (4 vols.).	
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Acc. John de Sleford (Publ. Rec. Off.) · 1374	1
Oliver · Exeter Cath. · 1861	1
Foreign Acc. 49 Edward III · 1374	1

Source	
Geoffrey Chaucer · The hous of fame · c1384	1
John Wyclif · <i>English works</i> · c1380 (E.E.T.S. 1880)	1

John Wyclif · Antecrist · 1375	1
English Wycliffite Sermons (c1375–1380) in Selected Works · 1869	4
John Barbour · St. Baptista · 1375	1
John Barbour · St. Cristofore · 1375	1
John Barbour · <i>Troy-book</i> · 1375	3
Quoniam Attach. · 1375	1
Myrour of Lewed Men · 1375	1
Promptorium Parvulorum · c1440	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Monk's Tale</i> · 1386	14
A. H. Cooke · Early Hist. Mapledurham · 1925	2
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1926	1
Lay folks mass book · a1375, a 1450 (E.E.T.S. 1879)	1
Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian poem of the 14th century · a1400–1450	4
Exchequer rolls of Scotland · 1264– (Scott. Record series 1878–)	1
Cant. Creat. in Carl Horstmann · Altengl. Leg. · 1878	1

SourceE. W. W. Veale · Great Red Book Bristol · 19382

1377

Source	
William Langland · The vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, Secundum wit et resoun by William Langland, 1362 A.D · EETS 28, 1867. B.	79
Political Poems and Songs relating to English History • 1327–1483	1
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1926	1
Inquisition Miscellany	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler \cdot <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> \cdot 1898–1901.	1

Source	
Inventory in Promptorium Parvulorum · c1440	1
Reginald Robinson Sharpe · Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of	1
Husting, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688 · 1889.	
Rolls of Parliament · 1278–1503	1
C. M. Woolgar · Household accounts from medieval England · 1992.	1

Source	
Patent Roll Rich. II · 1379	1
Nicholas Harris Nicolas · Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York · 1830	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Memorials of the Church of Ss. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon</i> · 1886.	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> · 1898–1901.	2
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	1
St. Augustine in Horstm. · Altengl. Leg. · 1379	2
St. Ambrosius in Horstm. · Altengl. Leg. · 1379	2

	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389	Total
Noun	117	117	85	2	85	31	207	34	17	13	708
Verb	52	55	28	1	16	12	32	9	2	3	210
Adjective	24	27	9	1	15	8	61	5	2	2	154
Adverb	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Prefix	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Interjection	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	196	199	122	4	116	51	301	48	21	18	1076

1380

Source	
Sidney John Hervon Herrtage · Sir Ferumbras · EETSES 34, 1879.	69
John Wyclif · <i>General</i> · 1382	1
John Wyclif · <i>English works</i> · c1380 (E.E.T.S. 1880)	31
John Wyclif · Selected Works · 1871	67
Antecrist in R. B. Todd · 3 Treatise Wyclif	8
Thomas Wright and James Halliwell · Reliquiae Antiquae · 1845	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Complete to his Lady · 1380	1
Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript · c1300–1400	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · To Rosemounde · 1380	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Second Nun's Tale · 1386	8
Speculum: a journal of medieval studies · 1926–	3
William Fraser · The douglas book · 1885.	2
Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue · 1931–2002	1
Laura Wright · Sources of London English: medieval Thames vocabulary · 1996.	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> · 1898–1901.	1

Source	
The Wycliffite Bible (early version) · a1382	172
Geoffrey Chaucer · Parl. Foules · 1381	7
Thomas Wright · Political Poems and Songs · 1859	1
Diuersa Servicia in C. B. Hieatt & S. Butler Curye on Inglysch (1985)	14
Statutes of the Realm · 1235–1713	1
L. Morsbach · Mittelenglische Originalurkunden · 1923	1
William Greenwell · Boldon Book. Boldon buke: a survey of the possessions of the	1

see of Durham, made in 1583 · 1852.	
The Forme of Cury	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	

Source	
The Wycliffite Bible (early version) · a1382	115
John Wyclif · <i>Psalms</i> · 1382	6
Durham Manuscript Sacr. Roll. · 1382	1

Source	
John Wyclif · Selected Works · 1871	2
The Wycliffite Bible (early version) · a1382	1
John Gower · Confessio amantis · 1390 (R. Pauli 1857; Eng. Works, E.E.T.S. 1900)	1

Source	
The Wycliffite Bible (early version) · a1382	76
Geoffrey Chaucer · The hous of fame · c1384	30
Geoffrey Chaucer · Moder of God · 1384	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Lenvoy to Scogan · c1393	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Raymond Chambers and Marjorie Daunt · Book of London English · 1931	4
J. Slater \cdot An edition of early Scots texts from the beginnings to 1410 \cdot 1952.	2
Acts of Parliament of Scotland · 1124–1707	1

Source	
Geoffrey Chaucer · The legend of good women · c1385	17
Ranulf Higden · <i>Prolicionycion</i> (transl. William Caxton) · 1482. John of Trevisa	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Doctor's Tale</i> · 1386	1
William Dugdale · Monasticon anglicanum · 1846.	1
D. Macpherson · Rotuli Scotiae · 1819	1
Award between Robert Earl of Fyfe & John of Logy · 1385	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Knight's Tale</i> · 1385	25

Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts • a1200–1800	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	2
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
William Fraser · The red book of Menteith · 1880.	1

Ranulf Higden · <i>Prolicionycion</i> (transl. William Caxton) · 1482. John of Trevisa	
	116
Almanac · 1647	5
Geoffrey Chaucer · Nun's Priest's Tale · 1386	9
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Knight's Tale</i> · 1385	8
Geoffrey Chaucer · Canon's Yeoman's Prol. & Tale · 1386	25
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Clerk's Tale</i> · 1386	10
Geoffrey Chaucer · Man of Law's Tale · 1386	6
Geoffrey Chaucer · Sir Thopas · 1386	5
Geoffrey Chaucer · Wife of Bath's Prol. · 1386	7
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Wife of Bath's Tale</i> · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Parson's Tale · 1386	33
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Melibeus</i> · 1386	14
Geoffrey Chaucer · Friar's Tale · 1386	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Monk's Tale</i> · 1386	6
Geoffrey Chaucer · Merchant's Tale · 1386	8
Geoffrey Chaucer · Prol. · 1386	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Doctor's Tale</i> · 1386	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · Summoner's Tale · 1386	6
Geoffrey Chaucer · Manciple's Prol. · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Pardoner's Tale · 1386	11
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Cook's Prol.</i> · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Cook's Tale</i> · 1386	2
T. Madox · Formulare Anglic. · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Shipman's Tale · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Squire's Tale</i> · 1386	7
Geoffrey Chaucer · Second Nun's Tale · 1386	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Franklin's Tale · 1386	2
Rolls of Parliament · 1278–1503	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Miller's Prol. · 1386	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Miller's Tale</i> · 1386	1
Pat. Roll 9 Rich. II · 1386	1
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1932	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Reeve's Tale · 1386	1

Source	
Raymond Chambers and Marjorie Daunt · Book of London English · 1931	4
Geoffrey Chaucer · Canterbury Tales Prol. · 1387	11
John of Trevisa - Ranulf Higden · <i>Prolicionycion</i> (transl. William Caxton) · 1482.	24
John Trevisa · <i>Descr. Britain</i> · 1387	1
St. Giles Charters · 1859	1
Foreign Accounts (Publ. Record Office) · 1387	1
T. Wimbledon · <i>Serm</i> . · 1967	1
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1932	2
James David Marwick · Charters and other documents relating to the City of	2
Edinburgh. A.D. 1143-1540 · 1871.	
Frederick James Furnivall · The fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate,	1
London., A.D. 1387-1439: with a priest's of 1454 · EETS 78, 1882.	

Source	
James H. Ramsay · Bamff Charters A.D. 1232-1703 · 1915.	2
The Wycliffite Bible (later version) · c1425	9
Joseph Robertson · Illustrations of the topography and antiquities of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Vol. 3 · 1857.	2
Thomas Wright · Political Poems and Songs · 1859	1
John Wyclif · <i>Psalms</i> · 1388	1
Political Poems and Songs relating to English History • 1327–1483	1
Inquisition Miscellany	3
Charter Edinburgh Reg. House · 1388	1
Inventory of Westminster Abbey in Archaeologia; or, Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity · 1770–1992. [Vol. 51- also called: 2nd. ser., v. 1] [Society of Antiquaries of London]	1

Source	
English gilds: the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English	11
guilds (ed. Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith) · E.E.T.S. edition, 1870	
(1 vol.). [Early English Text Society. Original Ser. vol. 40.]	
Acts of Parliament · 1266–	1
Cosmo Innes · Liber Sancte Marie de Melros · 1837	1
J. Slater · An edition of early Scots texts from the beginnings to 1410 · 1952.	1
William Fraser · Mem. Family Wemyss · 1888	1
Raymond Chambers and Marjorie Daunt · Book of London English · 1931	1
John Wyclif · <i>Sel. English Works</i> · 1869	1
John Wyclif · <i>Psalms</i> · 1388	1

	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	Total
Noun	112	4	88	49	11	32	1	86	55	233	671
Verb	23	2	24	23	3	2	-	16	16	81	190
Adjective	22	-	27	19	1	6	1	37	16	33	162
Adverb	3	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	16
Prefix	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Interjection	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	160	6	145	91	15	42	2	139	88	355	1043

Source	
Talkyng of Love of God · 1390	4
William Langland · The vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with	11
Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, Secundum wit et resoun by William Langland,	
1362 A.D · EETS 28, 1867.	
Carl Horstmann · The minor poems of the Vernon MS · EETS 98, 1892.	14
Carleton Brown · Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century · 1924	5
Form of Cury	10
Carl Horstmann · Sammlung Altengl. Legenden · 1878	9
Samuel Pegge · The forme of cury, a roll of ancient English cookery, compiled	1
about a.d. 1390, illustrated with notes · 1780	
Richard Warner · Antiquitates culinariae; or Curious tracts relating to the culinary	6
affairs of the old English: with a preliminary discourse, notes, and illustrations \cdot	
1791	
John Gower · The English works of John Gower · EETSES 81, 1900–1901.	39
Earl Derby's Expeditions	4
Lucy Toulmin Smith · Exped. Prussia & Holy Land Earl Derby · 1894	1
Pistel of Swete Susan	7
Geoffrey Chaucer · Parson's Tale · 1386	15
Vernon Manuscript Homilies in Archiv fur das Studium der Neueren Sprachen ·	2
1846–	
Vision St Paul in Carl Horstmann · <i>The minor poems of the Vernon MS</i> · EETS 98,	1
1892.	
Cosmo Nelson Innes · Registrum honoris de Morton, a series of ancient charters of	1
the earldom of Morton with other original papers · 1853.	
Charter Abbey Holy Ghost in Carl Horstmann · Yorkshire Writers · 1895	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Man of Law's Tale · 1390	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · Physician's Tale · 1390	1
Englische Studien · 1877–	1

Geoffrey Chaucer · Sir Thopas · 1390	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Reeve's Tale · 1390	1
Gast of Gy (Vernon) in Carl Horstmann · Yorkshire Writers · 1895	1
James Raine · The fabric rolls of York minster · 1859.	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Pardoner's Tale · 1390	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Miller's Tale · 1390	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · Melibeus · 1386	1
Cato's Distichs in Frederick James Furnivall · The minor poems of the Vernon MS	1
with a few from the Digby MSS 2 and 86 · EETS 117, 1901.	
Geoffrey Chaucer · Shipman's Tale · 1390	1
Proprium Sanctorum in Archiv fur das Studium der Neueren Sprachen · 1846–	2
Frederick James Furnivall · The minor poems of the Vernon MS with a few from	5
the Digby MSS 2 and 86 · EETS 117, 1901.	
J. Slater \cdot An edition of early Scots texts from the beginnings to 1410 \cdot 1952.	1
Ancrene Riwle · c1225	1
Carl Horstmann · Yorkshire Writers · 1895	1
Walter William Skeat · Joseph of Arimathie: otherwise called the Romance of the	1
Seint Graal, or Holy Grail: an alliterative poem written about A.D. 1350, and now	
first printed from the unique copy in the Vernon MS · EETS 44, 1871.	

Source	
Manuscript Reg. Test. Ebor. · 1391	1
Lucy Toulmin Smith · Exped. Prussia & Holy Land Earl Derby · 1894	1
Francis Collins · <i>Register of the freemen of the city of York: from the city records.</i> <i>Vol. 1. 1272-1558</i> · 1897.	1
Joseph Robertson · Illustrations of the topography and antiquities of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Vol. 3 · 1857.	1
John Gower · The English works of John Gower · EETSES 81, 1900–1901.	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler \cdot <i>Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham: from the original MSS</i> \cdot 1898–1901.	1

Source	
John Gower · The English works of John Gower · EETSES 81, 1900–1901.	133
Equatorie of Planetis	5
William Langland · Piers Plowman · 1393	1
Earl Derby's Expeditions	2
Proclamation Richard II in Edgar Powell and George Macaulay Trevelyan · <i>The peasant's rising and the lollards</i> · 1899	1
William Fraser · Lennox · 1874	1
Laura Wright · Sources of London English: medieval Thames vocabulary · 1996.	1

Source	
William Langland · Piers Plowman · 1393	19
John Gower · The English works of John Gower · EETSES 81, 1900–1901.	69
Earl Derby's Expeditions	1
Lucy Toulmin Smith · Exped. Prussia & Holy Land Earl Derby · 1894	1
A. H. Thomas · Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of London Guildhall · 1932	1

Source	
James Raine · Testamenta Eboracensia · 1836	3
Pierce Ploughman's Crede	7
Proclamation in The York Plays · a1450	1
Collectanea Topographica and Genealogica	4

Source	
John Purvey · Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions · 1851	11
Frederick James Furnivall · The fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate,	5
London., A.D. 1387-1439: with a priest's of 1454 · EETS 78, 1882.	
John Gower · The English works of John Gower · EETSES 81, 1900–1901.	1
The Wycliffite Bible (later version) · c1425	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Summoner's Tale · 1395	2
J. Purvey 12 Concl. Lollards (Trin. Hall Cambr.) in English Historical Review · 1886–	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Canon's Yeoman's Tale · 1395	4
Geoffrey Chaucer · <i>Clerk's Tale</i> · 1395	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Franklin's Tale · 1395	3
Geoffrey Chaucer · Friar's Tale · 1395	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Squire's Tale · 1386	3
James H. Wylie · History of England under Henry the fourth · 1884–98	1
Geoffrey Chaucer · Wife of Bath's Tale · 1395	2
Geoffrey Chaucer · Merchant's Tale · 1395	1
Reginald Robinson Sharpe · Calendar of Letter-books of London · 1909	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Archaeologia XXIV · 1770–	1

Source	
Inquisition Miscellany	1
Scott. Antiq. · 1396	1

Source	
John Trevisa · Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum · 1397	133
Geoffrey Chaucer · Lack Stedf. · 1397	1
Rolls of Parliament · 1278–1503	2
Acts of Parliament of Scotland · 1124–1707	1
The records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707 (ed. Keith M. Brown) \cdot 2007.	2

Source	
John Trevisa · Bartholomew de Glanville's De Proprietatibus Rerum · 1495	78
Chaucer - Th' enuoye of Fortune.	1
W. G. Benham · Oath Book Colchester · 1907	3
James Raine · Testamenta Eboracensia · 1836	2
Duchy of Lancaster Records in James Wylie · Hist. English Henry IV · 1898	1
J. Slater \cdot An edition of early Scots texts from the beginnings to 1410 \cdot 1952.	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Extracts from the account rolls of the Abbey of Durham:	1
from the original MSS · 1898–1901.	
Will J. Asshebom (Comm. Crt. London) · 1398	1

Source	
Robert Mannyng · Chron. · 1399	28
Robert Mannyng · <i>Robert of Brunne's Handlyng synne and its French original</i> · EETS 119, 1973.	14
Thomas Wright and James Halliwell · Reliquiae Antiquae · 1845	6
Carl Horstmann · Yorkshire Writers · 1895	2
Clensyng Mannes Sowle in English Misc. presented to Dr. Furnivall · 1901	2
Robert Von Fleischhacker · Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie." Edited from the	52
Bodleian Ashmole MS. 1396 and the British Museum Additional MS. 12,056 by	
R. V. Fleischhacker. pt. 1. Text · EETS 102, 1894.	
Rolls of Parliament · 1278–1503 Henry IV	6
H. Hupe \cdot Cursor Mundi. The Cursur of the World. A Northumbrian poem of the	39
XIVth century, in four versions Edited by R. Morris. (Glossary by M. Kaluza.)	

(On the filiation and the text of the MSS. of · EETS 57, 1874–1893.	
Ludus Coventriae · ?a1475	13
The Chester Plays	5
Pistill of Sw. Susane · 1399	1
William Langland · Richard Redeles · 1399	12
Manuscript Cantab. · 1399	1
Legends of the Rood	2
Rich. Redeless · 1399	1
Thomas Wright ed. · A volume of vocabularies v.d. (1857); a second volume (1873)	1
Sir Perceval	3
Morte Arthure · c1440–1500	45
Cato's Morals in Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian poem of the 14th century \cdot a1400–	1
1450	
The Wars of Alexander · c1450–1500	36
Octouian	6
J. Mirfield · Sinonoma Bartholomei · 1882	8
Burgh Lawis · 1399	1
Joseph Thomas Fowler · Memorials of the Church of Ss. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon ·	4
1886.	
Childh. Jesus · 1399	1
Richard Rolle · Psalter · 1400	1
Political Poems and Songs relating to English History · 1327–1483	1
Arthur	1
Religious Pieces from the Thornton Manuscript	2
Coventry Myst., Assump. (Shakespeare Society) · 1399	1
<i>St. Katherine</i> · c1225–1450	1
Holy Rood · 1399	1
Pety lob in Hampole's Works · 1399	1
Richard Coer de Lyon · c1330–1450	6
Bevis of Hampton · c1330–1500	4
Pistel of Swete Susan	3
Med MS. In Archaeologia · 1770–	2
Isumbras · 1399	1
Alphita	2
Prose Life Christ • 1399	3
The Wycliffite Bible (later version) · c1425	1
Northern Homily: Serm. Christmas Day Eve & Morn (Coll. Phys.) in Middle English	2
Dictionary	
Tony Hunt · Plant names of medieval England · 1989.	1
St Bonaventura · Meditations on the supper of our Lord, and the hours of the	2
<i>passion</i> · EETS 60, 1875.	
K. W. Engeroff · Untersuchung Usages of Winchester · 1914	2
Thomas Frederick Simmons · The Lay Folk's Mass Book, or the manner of hearing	2
mass, with rubrics and devotions of the people. [An English metrical translation of	
the work of Dan Jeremy.] In four texts. And Offices in · EETS 71, 1879.	

James Raine · The fabric rolls of York minster · 1859.	1
Lucy Toulmin Smith · Common-place Book 15th Cent. · 1886	1
A. Watkin · Archdeaconry Norwich – Inventory Church goods · 1947	1
William Langland · Piers Plowman · 1399	1
Stockholm Medical Manuscript	6
<i>Owain Miles</i> · c1330 (ed. D. Laing 1837)	1
James Orchard Halliwell · Rara Mathematica, or a collection of treatises on the	1
Mathematics and subjects connected with them, from ancient inedited	
Manuscripts · 2nd ed., 1841.	
Kyng Alisaunder · c1400–1425	4
Harting · Perfect Book Keping of Sparhawkes · 1886	1
Sir Degrevant	1
Sloane Manuscript No. 5 · 1399	1
Will W. West (Comm. Crt. Lond.) · 1399	1
The Seege of Troye (a1400–1475) in Archiv neu. Spr. · 1399	1
The Seven Sages · c1330–1500	3
Parl. Three Ages · 1399	1

Appendix B Thomason's Borrowing Scale

- Casual contact (borrowers need not be fluent in the source language and/or few bilinguals among borrowing—language speakers): only nonbasic vocabulary borrowed. *Lexicon* Only content words – most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. *Structure* None
- 2. Slightly more intense contact (borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, but they are probably a minority among borrow-language speakers): function words and slight structural borrowing.
 - *Lexicon* Function words (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles like 'then') as well as content words; still nonbasic vocabulary.
 - *Structure* Only minor structural borrowing at this stage, with no introduction of features that would alter the types of structures found in the borrowing language. Phonological features such as new phonemes realized by new phones, but in loanwords only; syntactic features such as new functions or functional restrictions for previously existing syntactic structures, or increased usage of previously rare word orders.
- 3. More intense contact (more bilinguals, attitudes and other social factors favouring borrowing): basic as well as nonbasic vocabulary borrowed, moderate structural borrowing. *Lexicon* More function words borrowed; basic vocabulary the kinds of words that tend to be present in all languages may also be borrowed at this stage, including such closed-class items as pronouns and low numerals as well as nouns and verbs and adjectives; derivational affixes may be borrowed too (e.g. –able/ible, which
 - originally entered English on French loanwords and then spread from there to native English vocabulary).
 - *Structure* More significant structural features are borrowed, though usually without resulting major typological change in the borrowing language. In phonology, the phonetic realisations of native phonemes, loss of some native phonemes not present in the source language, addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary, prosodic features such as stress placement, loss or addition of syllable structure constraints (e.g. a bar against closed syllables), and morphophonemic rules (e.g. devoicing of word-final obstruents). In syntax, such features as word order (e.g. SVO beginning to replace SOV or vice versa) and the use of participial constructions instead of constructions that employ conjunctions). In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories may be added to native words, especially if they fit well typologically with previously existing patterns.
- 4. Intense contact (very extensive bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers, social factors strongly favouring borrowing): continuing heavy lexical borrowing in all sections of

the lexicon, heavy structural borrowing.

Lexicon Heavy borrowing.

Structure Anything goes, including structural borrowing that results in major typological changes in the borrowing language. In phonology, loss or addition of entire phonetic and/or phonological categories in native words and of all kinds of morphophonemic rules. In syntax, sweeping changes in such features as word order, relative clauses, negation, coordination, subordination, comparison, and quantification. In morphology, typologically disruptive changes such as the replacement of flexional by agglutinative morphology or vice versa, the addition or loss of morphological categories that do not match in source and borrowing languages, and the wholesale loss or addition of agreement patterns.