

## V ante E.

vaporosus/a/ū. 3tē vapeto as.	<b>Venger.</b> s. v̄geur. l. hic vltor is. 3dē hic hec hoc vindex is. 3tē hec vltre cis. g. vengeresse. b. vengeres
<b>Variabl.</b> s. variable. lat. variabilis hoc le. 3tē hec variabilitas tis. g. va- riete. b. variabider. 3tem varius/ a/um. g. diuerso. b. variabl.	<b>Venget.</b> s. venge. la. vlt <sup>o</sup> ta/um.
<b>Variass.</b> s. varier. la. va- rio/as. act <sup>o</sup> gnis.	<b>Veniel.</b> s. idē. l. hic a h̄ ve nialis et hoc le.
<b>Varlen.</b> s. cest vne herbe l. verdena ne.	<b>Venim.</b> s. venin. l. hoc vi rus inde. 3dē hec aconita te. 3dē hoc venenū ni. itē hic hec hoc venter cis. g. faiseur de venin. b. neb a gra venim. id venificus/a/ū. 3tē hec venificina ne. gal. le lieu a faire venim. b. an lech maz grear venim. 3tē vene- rarius a um. d̄ parat vel conficit/ aut vedit venenū. 3tē venenosus a um. qd̄ venenū h̄j. 3tē venificū cū. ipse actus venādi. 3tē venifi- co as. g. empoisoner. b. ampoeso naff. itē veneno as. ac. itē venifi- catus a um. g. empoisonne. b. am poesonet. 3d̄ venenatus a um. itē virilctus a um. 3tē hec verulēna tie. g. enuelmeure. v. venumadur 3tē hec hippomanes is.
<b>Vase.</b> s. la Lulico ad. 3dem ibi. 3tem ibidem.	<b>Verius.</b> s. verut. sa. hoc ga. verutū n.
<b>V ante E</b>	<b>Vermillon.</b> s. idem. l. hoc mint um n̄j. Un̄ hec minographia te. s. escripture de vermillon. b. scrip- tur a vermillon. 3tē hic minogra- phus phi. g. escripueur de vermil- lon. b. scriuauer a vermillon.
<b>Veag.</b> s. voyage. l. hoc via gū h̄. 7 mēss <sup>o</sup> us ut.	<b>Versiffiaff.</b> s. v̄sifier. la. v̄sificoz ars.
<b>Vegetatiff.</b> s. idē. l. hic et h̄ vege- tabilis a hoc le. 3tē vegeto as. re creo/foenico/er vegetū facio/ cō feruo/ seu lōgo tpe in sanitate esse facio. 3tē hec vegetatio is. 3tem vegetat <sup>o</sup> a ū. et vegetatū <sup>o</sup> a um.	<b>Versifier.</b> s. v̄sifier. l. h̄ v̄sificatoz/ ris
<b>Vellin.</b> s. idē. vide i parchemi	
<b>Vellis.</b> s. cest vne herbe. l. mellissa/te.	
<b>Vendag.</b> s. v̄dage. la h̄ v̄ndemia/te.	
<b>Vēdagaff.</b> s. v̄dager. 3a. v̄dager. l. v̄demiao as n. 3tē racemoz/ r̄j. de. 3tē h̄ v̄de miatoz is. g. v̄dageur. b. v̄dager	
<b>Vendicaff.</b> s. v̄diquer acquerir. l. vendico as. ac.	
<b>Vengeaff.</b> s. venger. l. v̄dico/as. i. vim vico. 3dem vltiscoz/eris.	
<b>V̄geācc.</b> s. v̄gāce. l. h̄ v̄ndictale	

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My time in the RMA Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Studies has been everything but 'normal'. Partly, this was self-inflicted. I began studying in Leiden in 2019, where I enrolled in the RMA Linguistics, with a specialization in Indo-European. Come the graduation ceremony for my BA's, however, I had already decided to jump ship back to Utrecht, to enroll for the research master for which I am handing in this thesis, namely Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Studies. I had, to cite Peter Schrijver, 'de dwaling mijner wegen ingezien'.

I was adamant to not let this result in any study delays. This meant that because I would start in February 2020, I had to complete the RMA in three semesters instead of four. Courses had to be switched around, the 30 EC's worth of electives had to be peppered throughout these three semesters, as did the research school courses. This made for a wonderfully hectic experience on its own; but another reason that my time in the RMA felt 'abnormal' is, as the reader has surely already guessed, the COVID-19 outbreak. I need not elaborate on why this drastically changed my experience of completing the RMA.

The people I would like to thank have not necessarily helped me directly with the thesis. You might have helped in other courses, or in extracurricular endeavors. However, all of you have been so helpful and understanding throughout these trying times, and this thesis, which is the culmination of my time as a student, felt like the best place to thank you all:

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Dank je dat je er altijd voor me bent.

In the summer of 2017, I set out on a two-week adventure that would no doubt change my life. I participated in the Summer School in Breton Language and Culture, organized by the Université de Bretagne Occidentale, which is where I was first properly introduced to the Breton language. Upon my return, I had gained enough knowledge about the language that I felt comfortable writing my term papers on Breton matters.

One year later, in the third year of the Bachelor's program in Celtic Studies at Utrecht University, I followed the course Language Contact and Language Change, which was part of the Linguistics track of the BA. For this course, I wrote a paper titled '/v/: the phoneme that confuses Breton speakers', which dealt with much the same issues as the present RMA thesis, but of course on a far smaller scale.

My instructor for the course at the time, Nike Stam, informed me—once I had handed in my first draft for said paper—that since she felt that Breton was not particularly her strong suit, she had passed it along to Peter Schrijver, so that he could check my paper for any language-specific points of improvement. I felt quite nervous about this, to put it mildly, as to all my classmates, I was 'the one student who knows about Breton', but to any expert on the language, it was certainly clear that I had only just been introduced to Breton linguistics. Thankfully, and to my surprise, my paper was sent back to me with the five most reassuring words a student can hear: "Je hebt het goed gedaan".

Looking back on that paper, many things come to my mind about how the research questions could have been reformulated, how the corpus could have been more well-defined, or how the writing style should have been entirely different. That is only natural; I now have four years more experience under my belt. But that is also why it feels quite satisfying to be able to revisit an idea I have had for years, and execute it better than I could four years ago—at least, that is the intention.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS	i
TEXTUAL ABBREVIATIONS	ii
LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS	viii
<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	9
<b>CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.1 CELTIC INITIAL CONSONANT MUTATION (ICM)</b>	<b>12</b>
1.1.1 ICM: PHONOLOGY OR MORPHOLOGY?	13
1.1.2 ICM AND LOANWORD MORPHOLOGY	14
1.1.3 THE PLACE OF ICM-NONCONFORMITY IN LANGUAGE CONTACT: CODE-SWITCHES, OR IMPERFECTLY INTEGRATED LOANWORDS?	16
<b>1.2 LOANWORDS IN ICM: OBSERVATIONS IN PAST LITERATURE</b>	<b>19</b>
1.2.1 OLD IRISH	19
1.2.2 MODERN IRISH	20
1.2.3 SCOTTISH GAELIC	22
1.2.4 MODERN WELSH	23
1.2.5 REVIVED AND MIDDLE CORNISH	25
1.2.6 MIDDLE AND MODERN BRETON	26
1.2.7 SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS OBSERVATIONS	27
<b>1.3 RECONSTRUCTING THE SYSTEM OF ICM IN MIDDLE BRETON</b>	<b>28</b>
1.3.1 ICM IN PROTO-BRITISH	29
1.3.2 ICM IN MODERN BRETON	31
1.3.3 ICM IN MIDDLE BRETON	32
1.3.4 FURTHER DIFFICULTIES IN THE MIDDLE BRETON PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM: INITIAL <i>v-</i> IN THE NATIVE LEXICON	33
<b>CHAPTER 2: METHOD AND CORPUS</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>2.1 METHODS</b>	<b>39</b>
2.1.1 ESTABLISHING AND MAKING USE OF A MB NORM FOR THE SPELLING OF MUTATION	39
2.1.2 THE SPELLING OF MUTATION IN <i>BOUT</i> , <i>BEZOUT</i> ‘TO BE’	41
2.1.3 USE OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	44
<b>2.2 THE DATABASE</b>	<b>44</b>
2.2.1 LAYOUT	44
2.2.2 DATA ENTRY	47
2.2.3 INTERPRETING THE DATA	49
<b>2.3 THE CORPUS</b>	<b>52</b>
2.3.1 TEXTUAL SOURCES	54
2.3.2 A TIMELINE FOR THE TEXTUAL SOURCES	61
2.3.3 AUTHORS, PRINTERS, EDITORS, AND PATRONS	63
2.3.4 DIALECT IN THE TEXTUAL SOURCES	68
2.3.5 THE PLACE OF PRINTING	70
2.3.6 TEXTUAL GENRE	70

<b>CHAPTER 3: DATA ANALYSIS</b>	72
<b>3.1 INITIAL CATEGORIZATION OF LEMMATA: AMOUNT OF V-SPELLINGS AND BEHAVIOR IN ICM</b>	72
<b>3.1.1 A: NO V-SPELLINGS (0%)</b>	76
<b>3.1.2 B: FEW V-SPELLINGS (&gt; 0%, ≤ 25%)</b>	82
<b>3.1.3 C: MODERATE AMOUNT OF V-SPELLINGS (&gt; 25%, ≤ 75%)</b>	90
<b>3.1.4 D: MANY V-SPELLINGS (&gt; 75%, &lt; 100%)</b>	94
<b>3.1.5 E: ONLY V-SPELLINGS (100%)</b>	96
<b>3.1.6 PARTIAL SUMMARY</b>	113
<b>3.2 THE FATE OF V-INITIAL WORDS AFTER MB</b>	115
<b>3.2.1 PATTERNS IN THE DELENITION OF OFr. v-</b>	125
<b>3.2.2 REVISITING THE THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AROUND LOANWORDS</b>	128
<b>CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION</b>	131
<b>4.1 CONCLUSIONS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF FR. V-INITIAL LOANS IN MIDDLE BRETON ICM</b>	131
<b>4.2 CONSEQUENCES FOR MB HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY</b>	134
<b>4.2.1 ON THE ADDITION OF AN ONSET [v]- TO DIPHTHONGS WITH A LABIAL FIRST ELEMENT</b>	134
<b>4.2.2 THE DATE OF THE DENASALIZATION OF /μ/-</b>	136
<b>4.2.3 THE QUESTION OF PHONOLOGICAL DISTANCE</b>	137
<b>4.3 SECONDARY FINDINGS</b>	139
<b>4.4 CLOSING REMARKS</b>	140
<b>SUMMARY</b>	141
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	142
<b>APPENDIX 1: INDEX</b>	151
<b>APPENDIX 2: PRESENTATION OF THE FILEMAKER SOLUTION</b>	214
<b>APPENDIX 3: A SELECTION OF VISUALIZATIONS</b>	224

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

- ALBB** LE ROUX, Pierre (1927-1963). *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*, 6 vols. Rennes: Plihon et Hommay.
- ALF** EDMONT, Edmond, and GILLIÉRON, Jules (1902-1910). *Atlas linguistique de la France*. Paris: Champion.
- DEAF** [Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français](#). Heidelberg: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- DEB** DESHAYES, Albert (2003). *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton*. Douarnenez: Le Chasse-Marée.
- DEVRI** MENARD, Martial (2016-). [DEVRI – Le dictionnaire diachronique du breton](#). Rennes: Université Rennes 2.
- DLD** [Database of Latin Dictionaries](#). Turnhout: Brepols.
- DGVB** FLEURIOT, Léon (1964a). *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- DMF** [Dictionnaire du Moyen Français](#). Paris: CNRS; Université de Lorraine.
- eDIL** [Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language](#). Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- EEW** PARRY-WILLIAMS, Thomas H. (1923). *The English Element in Welsh. A study of English loan-words in Welsh*. London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.
- FavG** FAVEREAU, Francis (2016). *Geriadur bras: brezhoneg-galleg & français-breton*. Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.
- FavY** FAVEREAU, Francis (2018). *Grammaire du breton contemporain/Yezhadur ar brezhoneg a vremañ*. Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.
- FEW** VON WARTBURG, Walther (1922-2002). [Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch](#). Paris: CNRS; Université de Lorraine.
- FLMB** PIETTE, Jean R. F. (1973). *French Loanwords in Middle Breton*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Gerlyver** GEORGE, Ken (2020). *An Gerlyver Meur. Cornish–English English–Cornish dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Llandysul, Ceredigion: Cornish Language Board.
- GIB** HEMON, Roparz (1979-1981). *Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg/Dictionnaire historique du breton*. Plomelin: Preder.
- GMB** ERNAULT, Émile (1895-1896). *Glossaire moyen-breton. Études grammaticales sur les langues celtiques*, vol. 2. Paris: E. Bouillon.
- GOI** THURNEYSSEN, Rudolf (1946). *A grammar of Old Irish*. Translation into English by BINCHY, D. A. and BERGIN, Osborn. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- GPC** [Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru](#). Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies.
- HMSB** HEMON, Roparz (1984). *A Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*. Mediaeval and Modern Breton Series, vol. 3. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- HPB** JACKSON, Kenneth Hurlstone (1967). *A Historical Phonology of Breton*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- LEIA** VENDRYES, Joseph (1959-1974). *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*. 3 vols: 'A', 'M N O P', 'R S'. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. — BACHELLERY, Édouard and LAMBERT, Pierre-Yves (1978-1987). *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien, de J. Vendryes*, 3 vols: 'B', 'C', 'T U'. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. — LAMBERT, Pierre-Yves (1996). *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien, de J. Vendryes*, 1 vol: 'D'. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- LHEB** JACKSON, Kenneth Hurlstone (1953). *Language and history in early Britain: a chronological survey of the Brittonic languages 1<sup>st</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

LLC	LEWIS, Henry and PIETTE, Jean R. F. (1990). <i>Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen</i> , tr. Wolfgang MEID. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. Translation into German of LEWIS, Henry and PIETTE, Jean R. F. (1966). <i>Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol</i> . Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
SBCHP	SCHRIJVER, Peter (1995). <i>Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology</i> . Leiden Studies in Indo-European 5. Leiden: Brill.
TLFi	<a href="#">Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé</a> . Analyse et Traitement Informatique de la Langue Française.
VKG	PEDERSEN, Holger (1909-1913). <i>Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprache</i> , 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

## TEXTUAL ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical information for Middle Breton textual sources are given in §2.3. For EModB and ModB, I follow the abbreviations given in *DEVRI* and *GIB*. Sources preceded by a dagger (†) are dictionaries; sources preceded by a double dagger (‡) are periodicals.

### ► MIDDLE BRETON (1450-1650)

Ba	<i>Buhez sante Barba</i>	G	<i>Buhez sant Guenole</i>
Ca	<i>Buhez an itron Sanctes Cathell</i>	H	<i>Heuryou</i>
† Cath	<i>Catholicon</i>	J	<i>An Passion + An Resurrection</i>
Cd	Middle Breton <i>credo</i> from <i>Le mistere de la Resurrection de NSJC</i>	Jer	<i>La destruction de Jérusalem</i>
Cl	<i>Cathechism hag instruction eguit and Catholiquet</i>	M	<i>Le Mirouer de la Mort</i>
Coll	<i>Dictionnaire et colloques françois et breton</i>	MCf	<i>An Mirouer a Confession</i>
D	<i>Doctrin an Christenien</i>	N	<i>Buhez santes Nonn</i>
Dag	<i>An Dialog etre Arzur Roe dan Bretonnet ha Guynglaff</i>	NI	<i>An Noelou ancien ha deuot</i>
Don	<i>Donoet</i>	† Nom	<i>Nomenclator</i>
		TPM	<i>Tremenuan an Ytron Guerches Maria / Pemzec Leuenez Maria / Buhez mab Den</i>



## ► EARLY MODERN BRETON (1650-1800)

AC	<i>Instructions succinctes sur les accouchemens, En faveur des Sages-Femmes des Provinces</i> (1774), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	† L'Arm.	<i>Dictionnaire François-Breton ou François-Celtique du dialecte de Vannes</i> , printed in Leiden in 1744; quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
BD	<i>Ar Varn Diwezhañ</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	MArtin	<i>Cantic spirituel var bue, a maro an tad Martin Relijius a Missioner a Compagnunes Iesus</i> (1687), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
CAG	<i>Choés a gannenue spirituel aveit er retraid</i> (1792), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	MD	<i>Ar mirouer divin eus a passion Jesus-Christ...</i> (1688), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
CC	<i>Le Mystère de saint Crépin et de saint Crépinien</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	MG	<i>Magasin Spirituel er Beurerion</i> (1790; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
† CHal.ms	Manuscripts of the <i>dictionnaire de Chalons</i> (ca. 1718), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	NG	<i>Christmas Hymns in the Vannes Dialect of Breton</i> (17 <sup>th</sup> c.; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
DJ	<i>Dasorc'hidigezh Jezuz-Krist</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	† PELletier	<i>Dictionnaire de la Langue bretonne</i> (1752), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
Dnal	<i>Doctrinal ar Christenien</i> (1680), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	PT	<i>Passion ha Tragérisss hun Salvér Jésus-Chrouist</i> (1787), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
EN	<i>Buez Louis Eunius</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	RO	<i>Robert le Diable</i> (1742), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
† GReg	DE ROSTRENEN, Gregoire (1732). <i>Dictionnaire françois-celtique, ou françois-breton</i> . Rennes: Julien Vatar.	RP	<i>Reflexionou Profitabl var ar Finvezou diveza</i> (1718; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
HB	<i>Heuriou Brezonec ha Latin</i> (1710; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	RS	<i>Instructionou var ... ar Rosera</i> (early 18 <sup>th</sup> c.; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
Hb	<i>Pedennou hac instructionou christen evit servichout da heuryou Brezonec ha Latin</i> (1727), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	SA	<i>Buhez Santez Anna</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
IN	<i>Introduction dar Vuez Devot</i> (1709; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	† SCger	Dictionary section of Maunoir's <i>Le sacré college de Iesvs ...</i> (1659), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
IS	<i>Instructionou Santel</i> (1780; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	SE	<i>Simpliciteou, epigrammou</i> (1763-1767), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
Ismar	<i>Instructioneu santel ar er guirionnéeu principal ag er religion</i> (1790), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	ST	<i>Sainte Tryphine et le roi Arthur. Mystère breton en deux journées et huit actes</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
JV	<i>Trajadienn Santez Jenovefa a Vrabant</i> (17 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	VEAch	<i>Ar Veac'h Devot hac Agreabl</i> (c. 1687), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
JV.II	A heavily edited version of <i>Trajadienn Santez Jenovefa a Vrabant</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> c.; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	VO	<i>Voyage misterius de inis er vertu</i> (ca. 1785), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .

## ► MODERN BRETON (1800-PRESENT)

AADM	<i>An Ankou Dimezet</i> (1900; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	BSA	<i>Miz ha buez santes Anna gant An Aotrou Peron kure e parrez Kast</i> (1877), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
AJC	<i>Avanturio ar citoien Jean Conan a Voengamb</i> (approx. 1825-1830), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BSJ	<i>Buhé hur salver Jesus-Chrouist</i> (1861), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
AMAH	<i>Amañ hag ahont</i> (1957), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BSG	<i>Buhez Sant Gwennole, Tragedienn brézonec en un dewez ha c'houec'h act</i> (1889), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
AMJV	<i>Al leanez santel Anna-Mari Javouhey hag Urz sant Joseph a Gluny</i> (1920), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BSH	<i>Buhez santez Helena</i> (1862), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
AMV	<i>Æl mad ar vugale</i> (1836), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BSTR	<i>Buhez Santes Thereza ar Mabig Jesus</i> (1932), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
ANTO	<i>An Tornaod</i> (1935), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BUAZperrot	<i>Buez ar Zent, savet gant an Aotrou Perrot</i> (1911), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
AVKA	<i>Aviel Katolik</i> (1907), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BUAZpermoal	<i>Bu ear Zent... Renket a-nevez gant E. Ar Moal Renner</i> (1912), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
‡ BAHE	<i>Barr-heol war feiz ha Breizh</i> (1953-1978), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BUE	<i>Bue sant Ervoan Landreger</i> (1867), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BAL	<i>An Ene Christen e Bali an Ee</i> (1860), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	BUZmornik	<i>Buez ar zent... gant an aotrou Morvan... great ouz al labour gant an aotrou Nikolas person Plomodiern</i> (1894), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BAM	<i>Instructionou christen, pa ar boquet eus ar mission</i> (1824), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	CBF	<i>Nouvelles Conversations en breton et en français</i> (1857; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
BAZ	<i>Buez ar Zaent</i> (1846; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	CNG	<i>Choége nehué a gannenue spirituel aveit Pedein, mêlein ha trugairécat Doué</i> (1829), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BIKA	<i>Biskoaz Kemend-all</i> (1947), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	COL	<i>Colloque français et breton</i> (1854; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
BILZ	<i>Bilzig</i> (1925), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	CTPV	<i>Chansons traditionnelles du Pays vannetais</i> (1910-1915), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
‡ BLBR	<i>Bleun Brug</i> (1951-1985), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	† DBFV	<i>Dictionnaire breton-français du dialecte de Vannes</i> (1904), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BLE	<i>Bleuniou Breiz Flor de Bretagne</i> (1879), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	† DFBP	<i>Giriadur Gallek ha Brezonek / Dictionnaire français-breton de poche comprenant 25.000 Mots</i> (1914), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BMN	<i>Buez dom Michel Nobletz missioner hag abostol braz Breiz-Izel</i> (1879), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	DGG	<i>Doctrin ar guir gristen, pe instructioneue santel</i> (1846), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
BOM	<i>Bombard Kerne Jabadao ha Kaniri</i> (1866), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	‡ DIHU	<i>Dihunamb</i> (1905-1944; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
‡ BREI	<i>Breiz</i> (1927-1939), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .		
‡ BRUD	<i>Brud</i> (1957-1976), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .		
† BRUS	<i>Le Breton usuel</i> (1934), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .		

DRAN	<i>Dremm an Ankou</i> (1942), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	GUBI	<i>Guerzennou Breih-Izel</i> (1931; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
EGBT	<i>Exercices sur la grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Tréguier</i> (1910), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	GWEN	<i>Ar Gwenan</i> (1906), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
EGRH I	<i>Evezhiadennoù war c'heriadur Roparz Hemon</i> (1962), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	HEB	<i>Hent ar Barados, pe ar guir voyen da savetei e ene</i> (1834), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
EKG.II	<i>Emgann Kergidu</i> , vol. II (1878; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	HSH	<i>Abrégé eus an histor santel hac eus a histor an ilis, gant ur guær var histor franç ha va histor Breiz</i> (1866), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
EMG	<i>Emgann Kergidu</i> (1902; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	ISV	<i>Kenteliou hag Istoriou a Skuer Vad</i> (1889; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
EN	<i>Louis Eunius ou le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice</i> (1911; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	KANgalon	<i>Kannad ar galoun-zakr a Jezuz hag ar galoun dinam a Vari</i> (1888-1899), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
EST	<i>An Est</i> (1897), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	KLBD	<i>Kenteliou Labour-Douar</i> (1914; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
‡ FHB	<i>Feiz ha Breiz</i> (1865-1884), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	KTLR	<i>Kountadennou livet ha renket gant an aotrou Jezegou</i> (1909), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
‡ FHAB	<i>Feiz ha Breiz</i> (1900-1944), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	KNOL	<i>E korn an Oaled</i> (1923), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
‡ FVR	<i>Ar Feiz hag ar Vro</i> (1847), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	‡ KROB	<i>Kroaz Breiz</i> (1948-1951), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
GAM	<i>Da ganaouen ann aotrou Morvan</i> (1872), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	KSV	An unspecified source, not given in the abbreviations; quoted from <i>GIB</i> . Perhaps = KLV?
GBI	<i>Gwerziou Breiz-Izel</i> (1868-1874; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	HBPR	<i>Hor Bro e pad ar Revolusion</i> (1915), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
GDI	<i>Gourheméneu Doué ha ré en Ilis hag er péhéd e hrér é tiaboeissein dehai</i> (1879), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	HFBI	<i>Histor eur famill eus Breis-Izel</i> (1905), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
† GERI.Ern	<i>Geriadurig brezonek-gallek, vocabulaire breton-français</i> (1927), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	HJC	<i>Histoér a vuhé Jesus-Chrouist</i> (1818), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
† GON	<i>Dictionnaire Celto-Breton ou Breton-Français</i> (1821), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	HTB	<i>Histoariou ha parabolennou an tad Bonaventur</i> (1857), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
GRSA	<i>Er Graal Santel</i> (1935), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	KMM	<i>Ar C'henta Miz Mari</i> (1868; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
HTC	<i>Histor an Testamant Coz hag an Testamant Nevez</i> (1871; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	LBM	<i>Levr Bugale Mari</i> (1893; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
IAY	<i>Instruction voar ar manq a rer deus a lesenno an abstinanç ac ar yun, gant un abrege voar an alusen</i> (1829), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	LLB	<i>Livr el Labourer</i> (1849; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
ISV	<i>Kenteliou hag istoriou a skuer vade vit ar Vretoned eleac'h ma kavint diskuis dereat ha Kelennadurez Kristen</i> (1889), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	LLMM	<i>Al Liamm</i> (1946-present), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
		L VH	<i>Livr er verdér ha hoéreséd ag end rived-urh a benigen St-Dominiq</i> (1857), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .

LVL	<i>Ann doare da lakaat ar verniz pe al liou nevez oc'h podou-pri Lannilis ha Plouvien</i> (1872), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	NOTK	<i>Notennou diwar-benn ar Gelted koz</i> (1944; KLT), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
‡ LZBg	<i>Lihereu Brediah er Fé</i> (1843-1899), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	OVD	<i>En Or ag er Vuhé Devot pé instructioneu forh pourfitable eit coduie ha sonnat en inean én devotion</i> (1838), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
‡ LZBt	<i>Lizero Breuriez</i> (1865-1899), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	OZB	<i>An Ofern ar Zul, hag ar Bloaz</i> (1892; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
MAKE	<i>Marvailhou Kerne</i> (1910), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	PBDZ	DENIS, Pierre (1977). <i>Étude structural d'un parler breton</i> . PhD thesis, Université Rennes 2. Quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MAI	<i>Mezellour an ineo, pe exposition deus an etajo different en pere en em gav an ineo dirac gaoulagad Doue</i> (1831), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	PERS	<i>Buez an den euruz Jean-Marie Vianney, Person Ars</i> (1907), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MBR	<i>Ar Marvailler Brezounek</i> (1870; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	PGAZ	<i>Ar Pevare Gourc'hemenn a Zoue</i> (1921), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MBJJ	<i>Ma Beaj Jeruzalem</i> (1903), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	PIGO II	<i>Pipi Gonto. Marvailhou Neve</i> (1908), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MBJL	<i>Ma Beaj Londrez</i> (1910), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	PIKG	<i>Pic'hirin Kala-Goañv</i> (1969), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
MGK	<i>Marvaillou Grac'h-Koz</i> (1867; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	PRO	Various texts by Prosper Proux (19 <sup>th</sup> c.; K), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
MIL	<i>Buez sant Miliou ha sant Moelar</i> (1883), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	PRPR	JAFFRENNOU, Fañch (1913). <i>Prosper Proux. 1811-1873. Studiaden var e vuez, e lizerou, e varzoniez</i> . PhD thesis. Rennes: Université de Rennes. Quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MKRN	<i>Mouez Kerne</i> (1929; South K), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	PSA I	<i>Predégueu brehonêc ar symbol en apostolêd aveit peb sul épad ar blai guet ur retrêd aveid er vugalé én achimant</i> (1854), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MMED	<i>Miz Mari an ene devot</i> (1915), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	‡ ROU	<i>Supplément aux dictionnaires bretons</i> (1872), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MMKE	<i>Mouez Meneou Kerne</i> (1912; T), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	SAB	<i>Sceul ar Baradoz</i> (1880), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MMPA	<i>Miz Mari ar parrouziou</i> (1933), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	SAG	<i>Sin ar Groaz guechall a sin ar groaz breman</i> (1869), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
† MOA	<i>Supplément lexico-grammatical au Dictionnaire pratique français-breton du Colonel A. Troude, en dialecte de Léon</i> (1890; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	SAQ I	<i>Sarmoniou an Aotrou Quere</i> (19 <sup>th</sup> c.), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MOAO	<i>Mouez an Anchou</i> (1903; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	SARO	<i>Sant Ronan</i> (1935), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MOY	<i>Trajedi Moyses, lezennour an Hebreaned</i> (1850), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	SBI	<i>Soniou Breiz-Izel</i> (1868-1890), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MRPL	<i>Mouez Reier Plougastell</i> (1905), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	SFA	<i>Buez Sant Fransez a Asiz</i> (1889), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
MSJO	<i>Mis Sant Joseph</i> (1900), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .		
‡ MVRO	<i>Mouez ar vro</i> (1919-1921), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .		

SFKH	<i>Sorbiennou ha Farseu kôh er Hornad</i> (1925; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	TLK	<i>Toull al Lakez</i> (1930; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
SIM	<i>Simon a Vontroulez pe ar marc'hadour mercer</i> (1834), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	† VALL	<i>Grand Dictionnaire français-breton</i> (1931), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
SKET	<i>Sketla Segobrani</i> (1923-1925; KLT), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	VBRU	<i>Va Buhez e Rusia</i> (1955), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
SKRS	<i>Skoueriou Kristen, eil rummad</i> (1911; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	† VNA	<i>Vocabulaire nouveau ou Dialogues français et Bretons</i> (1856; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
SKVT II	<i>Skol-louarn Veig Trebern</i> (1973), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	† VNB	<i>Vocabulaire nouveau ou Dialogues français et Bretons</i> (1863; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .
SST	<i>Science er Salvedigueah, pé Thrésor er Fé</i> (1821; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	VOTE	<i>Ar Voterez. Le Vote. Ar Gatoliged hag ar voterez. Les Catholiques et le devoir électoral</i> (1935), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
STBJ	<i>E skeud tour bras sant Jermen</i> (1955), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .	VWMZ	<i>Ar vuhez war ar maez</i> (1983), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
SVE	Popular texts and sayings collected by L. F. Sauve between 1870-1885, published in <i>Revue Celtique</i> 1-6, quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	YABA	<i>Yann er Baluhenn</i> (1974-1976), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
† TDE.BF	<i>Nouveau Dictionnaire pratique breton-français du dialecte de Léon</i> (1886; L), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	YAMV	<i>Yannig Mil Vicher, c'hoari plijadurus en eun arvest</i> (1927), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
TE	<i>Histoer en Ancien Testamand</i> , followed by <i>Histoer en Testamand Nehué</i> (18e c.; V), quoted from <i>GIB</i> .	† YBBK	<i>Yezhadur Bras ar Brezhoneg</i> (1976), quoted from <i>DEVRI</i> .
<b>► OLD IRISH</b>		<b>► VARIOUS</b>	
Wb.	Würzburg glosses, quoted from <i>GOI</i> .	CollM	A seven-language version of the <i>Colloquia et dictionariolum septem lingvarum</i> , printed by Paulus Meietus in 1592.

## LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS

B	Breton (period unspecified)	Mlr.	Middle Irish
BrLat.	British Latin	MW	Middle Welsh
CMB	Classical Middle Breton	MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Du.	Dutch	ModB	Modern Breton
Eng.	English	ModIr.	Modern Irish
EModB	Early Modern Breton	ModW	Modern Welsh
Fr.	French	NAS / <sup>N</sup>	nasalization
Ger.	German	OB	Old Breton
It.	Italian	OSWBr.	Old South-West British
K	Cornouaillais Breton	OFr.	Old French
L	Léon Breton	OIr.	Old Irish
Lat.	Latin	OW	Old Welsh
LEN / <sup>L</sup>	lenition	PRV / <sup>P</sup>	provection
L-P / <sup>LP</sup>	lenition-and-provection	RAD	radical
PBr.	Proto-British	Sp.	Spanish
PClT.	Proto-Celtic	SPI / <sup>S</sup>	spirantization
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	SG	Scottish Gaelic
PrimIr.	Primitive Irish	T	Tréger Breton
MIX / <sup>M</sup>	mixed mutation	V	Vannetais Breton
MB	Middle Breton	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
MCo	Middle Cornish	W	Welsh (period unspecified)
MFr.	Middle French		

## INTRODUCTION

*Dez mat golou, Autrou, a glan coudet*

*A pedaff **plen** dreiz quement den so en bet*

*Dichuy pepret **seul** maz vihet seder*

*Pan cleuis **flam** dinam houz **mandamant***

*E duiz tiz mat hep nep **debat batant***

***Espediant, diligent** hac **antier***

‘Je vous souhaite, seigneur, de tout mon cœur, le bonjour,

plus qu’à tout homme du monde;

salut à jamais, tant que vous vivrez !

Lorsque j’ai entendu que vous me mandiez formellement,

je suis venu aussitôt, sans nulle hésitation, ni délai,

avec activité, zèle et diligence.’

*Buhez sante Barba, stanza 53 (ERNAULT 1887a: 13).*

This excerpt is from the *Life of saint Barba*, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century mystery play written in Middle Breton, the Celtic language spoken in Brittany ca. 1100–1650. More specifically, this text stems from the so-called ‘Classical’ Middle Breton period, which is generally considered to have lasted from ca. 1450 to 1600, with the earlier material (between 1100 and 1450) being composed almost exclusively of place-names and personal names in registries, and of short lines of poetry embedded in French or Latin texts.

By the time we first encounter these substantial texts, we find a language laden with loanwords, most of them of French origin. In the excerpt I provide above, I have indicated French loans in **bold**; in these six lines, there are no less than nine words of French origin, and the last line is almost entirely composed of French words. One study in particular by Jean LE DÛ and Yves LE BERRE (1992: 42) finds that in another Middle Breton text, *Le Mirouer de la Mort*, the so-called “mots outils”, i.e. prepositions (e.g. *da* ‘to’), pronouns (e.g. *me* ‘I’), particles (e.g. verbal particle *a*), etc., are almost all of Breton origin, but that the majority of “mots référencés”, i.e. words with semantic meaning, are borrowed from French or Latin.

Thus, given the wealth of material available, it is unsurprising that the foreign lexicon in Breton has been the focus of multiple studies, such as Jean R. F. PIETTE’s (1973) *French Loanwords in Middle Breton*, which deals with the phonology of loanwords from French into Breton, and Harald HAARMANN’s (1973) *Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz im Bretonischen*, which does the same for the Latin lexicon.

This being said, there is still untapped potential in the study of loanwords in Middle Breton. One particular problem that is sometimes addressed (*FLMB* §48, *HPB* §915) but has never been systematically studied, is that French loanwords in Middle Breton often do not behave according to the rules of initial consonant mutation (ICM). For example, in *Buhez sante Barba*, stanza 374, we find the following:

*Me en goar mar breff mar he queffy  
E lazo yen gant villeny  
Hac e groay net espediat.*

'I know well that if he catches her  
he will kill her coolly and criminally  
and he will nicely make her disappear'

*Buhez sante Barba*, stanza 374 (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 424).

In Middle Breton, initial *v*- is normally only permitted as the result of lenition of *b*-, *m*-: for example, in *a vezo* 'will be' < *bezo*, where the verbal particle *a* causes *b* to become *v*. In this passage, however, we find that the French loanword *villeny* 'villainy' (< French *vilainie* 'id.') follows *gant* 'with', which does not cause mutation. This clearly breaks the norm that exists for native words, which states that /*v*/ may normally only appear as a result of lenition; we might expect French loans to be 'reverted' to a suitable radical consonant, like in *bergez* 'orchard' < French *verger* 'id.' (FLMB §48.1). We can observe, however—not only from the passage just cited, but in Middle Breton in general—that *v*-initial French loanwords receive various treatments, which have until now not been extensively documented.

Thus, the primary aim of this thesis is to document all *v*-initial French loanwords in Middle Breton and their behavior in the system of ICM compared to the native lexicon. This aim can be more specifically formulated using the following research questions:

- ▶ (1) How do *v*-initial French loans behave in the system of Middle Breton ICM, i.e. are they (eventually) incorporated into ICM, or not?
- ▶ (2) When *v*-initial French words conform or start conforming to ICM, which radical (i.e. non-mutated form) is attributed to them in Middle Breton? What about in later stages of the language?
- ▶ (3) Is there any variation in the results of (1) and (2)?
- ▶ (4) Can we attribute the variation in the results of (1) and (2) to certain factors, and if so, which ones seem to play a role?

To be able to adequately answer these questions, I have structured the thesis as follows:

Chapter 1 deals with a number of theoretical considerations. **Firstly**, the concept of initial consonant mutation: what *is* ICM, and how should we approach it? **Secondly**, how do loanwords behave in the systems of ICM? What has previous research revealed about the behavior of loans in the systems of ICM in other Celtic languages, as well as in the later stages of the Breton language? What are the possible factors at play that may cause a loanword not to behave according to ICM? **Thirdly**, the chapter deals more specifically with the development of ICM from Proto-British to Modern Breton, and I attempt to reconstruct the system of ICM that existed in the Middle Breton period. **Finally**, I address specific phonological developments in Breton that are crucial to our understanding of the adaptation of loanwords into the system of initial consonant mutation.



Chapter 2 presents the methods and sources used to carry out the research. **Firstly**, how exactly do we determine when a word behaves according to ICM in Middle Breton, and when it does not? In other words, what exactly *is* the norm surrounding the writing of mutation in Middle Breton? Furthermore, how do we select which words to include in the corpus, and which ones to omit? **Secondly**, which tools were used to collect and analyze the data? How was the data analyzed? **Thirdly**, how was the corpus constructed? Which texts were used? How can we recognize and use specific aspects of the textual sources used in the corpus in order to account for variables (e.g. use of specific words by a single author, presence or absence of certain words in specific dialects)? And how might we attempt to visualize these variables?

Chapter 3 presents and analyzes the data from the corpus. For the **first** part of the analysis, the choice was made to attempt to categorize the data based on a number of parameters: how often is the word written with initial *v*-? How often does each word appear with *v*- where mutation is not expected? Furthermore, how does the behavior of each word compare to the norms established in **Chapter 2**, and can we attribute the behavior to any of the potential factors that were discussed in **Chapter 1**? The **second** part of the analysis takes all loanwords in Middle Breton that only appear with *v*-, and traces their development into Early Modern Breton and Modern Breton: do these words eventually receive a de-lenited initial consonant (like Fr. *verger* > MB *bergez*), and if so, which consonant? What can we say about the other words, which retain *v*-?

These three chapters are followed by a discussion, in which I relate the analysis in **Chapter 3** to the previous observations on loanwords in ICM, which I discuss in **Chapter 1**; furthermore, I also reflect on what the analysis in **Chapter 3** can tell us about the historical phonology of Middle Breton, specifically about the developments I also discuss in **Chapter 1**. Naturally, the discussion also serves to report entirely new findings not directly related to the research questions.

Now that the structure of the thesis has been made explicit, we may turn to Chapter 1.

# CHAPTER 1

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1.1 CELTIC INITIAL CONSONANT MUTATION (ICM)

One of the defining traits of all living Celtic languages, as well as of their medieval ancestors, is the system of initial consonant mutation (ICM). ICM is a phenomenon by which the initial consonant of a word may be altered depending on the preceding word, or the overall syntactic position in the phrase, such as a preposition or a possessive pronoun. Within the ICM systems of the Celtic languages, there exist different kinds of mutations, which are caused by various function words (e.g. prepositions, pronouns, particles) or syntactic contexts (e.g. Welsh post-verbal lenition, Old Irish leniting and nasalizing relative clauses). Take, for example, Table 1, which shows the various results of mutation in Modern Welsh:

Table 1: The consonantal mutations in Modern Welsh. A preceding dagger (†) indicates that there is no change from the base form.

	<i>base form</i>	<i>lenition</i> ( <i>dy</i> 'your' + ...)	<i>nasalization</i> ( <i>vy</i> 'my' + ...)	<i>spirantization</i> ( <i>ei</i> 'her' + ...)
<b>p</b> /p/	<i>pen</i> 'head'	<i>dy ben</i> /də b-/	<i>fy mhen</i> /və ŋ-/	<i>ei phen</i> /ej f-/
<b>t</b> /t/	<i>tŷ</i> 'house'	<i>dy dŷ</i> /də d-/	<i>fy nhŷ</i> /və ŋ-/	<i>ei thŷ</i> /ej θ-/
<b>c</b> /k/	<i>cath</i> 'cat'	<i>dy gath</i> /də g-/	<i>fy nghath</i> /və ŋ-/	<i>ei chath</i> /ej χ-/
<b>b</b> /b/	<i>brawd</i> 'brother'	<i>dy frawd</i> /də v-/	<i>fy mrawd</i> /və m-/	† <i>ei brawd</i> /ej b-/
<b>d</b> /d/	<i>dafad</i> 'sheep'	<i>dy ddafad</i> /də ð-/	<i>fy nafad</i> /və n-/	† <i>ei dafad</i> /ej d-/
<b>g</b> /g/	<i>gardd</i> 'garden'	<i>dy ardd</i> /də Ø-/	<i>fy ngardd</i> /və ŋ-/	† <i>ei gardd</i> /ej g-/
<b>gw</b> /gw/	<i>gwas</i> 'boy'	<i>dy was</i> /də w-/	<i>fy ngwas</i> /və ŋw-/	† <i>ei gwas</i> /ej gw-/
<b>m</b> /m/	<i>merch</i> 'girl'	<i>dy ferch</i> /də v-/	† <i>fy merch</i> /və m-/	† <i>ei merch</i> /ej m-/
<b>ll</b> /l/	<i>llaw</i> 'hand'	<i>dy law</i> /də l-/	† <i>fy llaw</i> /və l-/	† <i>ei llaw</i> /ej l-/
<b>rh</b> /r̥/	<i>rhod</i> 'wheel'	<i>dy rod</i> /də r-/	† <i>fy rhod</i> /və r̥-/	† <i>ei rhod</i> /ej r̥-/

One of these mutations, lenition, originally arose from phonetic alternations present in Proto-Celtic,<sup>1</sup> which then consolidated into a phonemic *fortis-lenis* opposition (HPB §424)

<sup>1</sup> See HAMP (1951: 241-242) for examples of such reconstructions (admittedly, these are reconstructions to Proto-Brythonic and Proto-Goidelic).

that ultimately formed the basis for lenition in British Celtic and Goidelic.<sup>2</sup> The further consolidation of the ICM systems (e.g. the rise of nasalization in Irish, and of the spirant mutation in British Celtic, among others) occurred only after the split of Proto-Celtic into the various sub-branches. This phonemic *fortis-lenis* series is thought to have been established by the 5<sup>th</sup> century (*LHEB* §142; *HPB* §420).

### 1.1.1 ICM: PHONOLOGY OR MORPHOLOGY?

In many grammars of the Celtic languages—cf. for example THURNEYSSEN (1947: 140-153) for Old Irish, MORRIS-JONES (1913: 161-176) and EVANS (1964: 14-23) for (Middle) Welsh, LEWIS and PIETTE (1966: 11) for Middle Breton—ICM is discussed as a section of the phonology.<sup>3</sup> A seminal paper by HAMP (1951), however, has argued that ICM should rather be regarded as belonging to morphology (or morphophonology), and proposes that mutations are in fact bound zero-morphemes causing a phonemic change in the following syllable,<sup>4</sup> of which only the effect is visible:

Table 2: Three examples of HAMP's (1951: 241) morphological analysis of the Celtic mutations. /L/ = leniting morpheme, /N/ = nasalizing morpheme, /G/ = geminating morpheme.

ModB <i>ar verc'h vad</i>	=	/arL merχL ma:dL/
ModW <i>fy nghi</i>	=	/vəN ki/
OIr. <i>inna h-insi</i>	=	/iGnaG ins'iG/

In recent descriptions of ICM (cf. BALL and MÜLLER 1992, GREEN 2006, HANNAHS 2011, HANNAHS 2013), HAMP's morphological approach to ICM has found some recognition. It is now generally accepted that the mutations are part of the *grammar* of the Celtic languages, and are not purely phonological, though HAMP's proposed mutation morphemes have not stood the test of time. OFTEDAL (1962) further refined HAMP's initial propositions to consider ICM part of the morphological system, as they did not account for sentence-initial mutation (e.g. in the past tense of the ModIr. regular verbs *molaim* 'I praise', *mhol mé* 'I praised'). His categorization of the morphological elements behind ICM looks as follows:

- ▶ (1) 'Projected mutations', which are bound morphemes suffixed to the word preceding the mutation, and "manifest themselves phonemically in the initial of an immediately following form" (OFTEDAL 1962: 96), e.g. ModB *ma*

<sup>2</sup> Though ultimately the results of the lenition of initial voiceless stops are different in Goidelic than in British Celtic: in Old Irish, they become voiceless fricatives, whereas in British Celtic they become voiced stops.

<sup>3</sup> Even in *HMSB* (§1), a work dedicated to syntax and morphology, HEMON asserts that "[The mutations] are part of a system, the study of which belongs to phonology".

<sup>4</sup> HAMP also uses his 'mutation morphemes' to represent internal *sandhi* processes that occur in compounding and prefixation; I will not be dealing with this.

*zat* /ma<sup>s</sup> tat/. Projected mutations are thus more or less the same as HAMP's 'mutation morphemes'.

- ▶ (2) 'Incorporated mutations' are "part of the form in which they are manifested and not of any preceding morpheme" (OFTEDAL 1962: 97). These are then categorized further as follows:
  - ↳ i. 'Free incorporated mutations', which "may occur initially in an utterance and are accordingly not conditioned by any preceding forms" (OFTEDAL 1962: 98), e.g. fossilized lenition in MCo *dhe, the* 'to (prep.)'.
  - ii. 'Bound incorporated mutations', which "are not conditioned by special mutating qualities of preceding morphemes but by purely syntactic government" (OFTEDAL 1962: 100). These are also categorized further:
    - ↳ a. 'Inherent', which are "mutations which are always found in certain grammatical forms" (OFTEDAL 1962: 100), e.g. the ModIr. past tense *mhol mé*.
    - b. 'Retrospective', where the mutation "is the expression of a syntactic relationship" (OFTEDAL 1962: 101), such as the lenition of W nouns in apposition, e.g. *Dafydd frenin*.

It should be pointed out that some (if not most) 'incorporated mutations', such as the ModIr. past tense, find their origins as a 'projected mutation', cf. Mir. pretonic *do<sup>l</sup>* + preterite > ModIr. *d'*- before vowels and *f*-, but only lenition in the initial for other consonants, e.g. *d'olaim* 'I drank', but *chonaic* 'I saw'. Thus, changes in the proposed morphological system must also be accounted for when working with diachronic data.

### 1.1.2 ICM AND LOANWORD MORPHOLOGY

An unfortunately underrepresented application of this 'morphological approach' of ICM is its use in the study of loan morphology, i.e. the integration of loanwords into the morphological system of the recipient language. The only study I am aware of that fully takes advantage of this is STENSON (1990), in which the author also laments the lack of research on loanword integration into ICM:

"Loanwords in Irish have been the subject of a number of investigations over the years [...] The majority of these, however, have been primarily phonetic and lexical studies, and in none does morphological behaviour of loans receive more than passing attention. This is unfortunate, because the rather numerous differences in the morphologies of Irish and English (the principal lender language) raise many interesting questions regarding the interaction of the two systems at points of contact. One area of considerable interest in this regard is the behaviour of the initial mutations in borrowed forms." (STENSON 1990: 9)

Investigating loanword morphology in Celtic ICM is a unique opportunity. The Celtic languages have been subjected to heavy influence from outside languages (Latin, English, French), and to be able to study the integration of loanwords into languages with a system such as ICM can help elucidate the still rather obscure field of loanword morphology in Celtic. The Celtic languages are by no means the only languages that possess a full-fledged ICM system and are in contact with a dominant foreign language, cf. the Siberian language Nivkh (IOSAD 2010: 107; LUUKKONEN 2015), or the west African language Fula (IOSAD 2010: 110-111). However, the advantage that they have over any of these other languages is that they are documented so extensively and represented in writing well into the Middle Ages. Moreover, the historical development of the Celtic languages is generally very well understood, as are the developments of the languages with which they have most extensively been in contact.

Naturally, researching the interaction of loanwords with ICM in all of Celtic is beyond the scope of this MA thesis. I will instead focus my attention on a specific part of ICM in a single language, namely on the mutation patterns of *v*-initial Old French loanwords in Middle Breton. In both Middle and Modern Breton, initial *v*- represents the lenited form of a radical *b*- or *m*-; the observation can be made for Modern Breton that *v*-initial words from French are often ‘reverted’ to a suitable radical, i.e. /*v*/ → /*b*/ or /*m*/,<sup>5</sup> but not always. Below are a few examples:<sup>6</sup>

Table 3: Examples of the results of de-lenition of OFr./MFr. *v*- in Modern Breton.

OFr. <i>veage</i> ‘journey (n.)’	>	ModB <i>beaj</i>
MFr. <i>valise</i> ‘suitcase’	>	ModB <i>balizenn, malizenn</i>
OFr. <i>vice</i> ‘vice’	>	ModB <i>vis</i>
OFr. <i>voiture</i> ‘car, vehicle’	>	ModB <i>gwetur, bwetur</i>

My intention, by studying the situation in Middle Breton, is to establish a clear picture of the behaviors with regard to ICM of these *v*-initial OFr. loans: how often are they delenited in MB, and to which consonant? How might we explain loanwords that maintain the original *v*-? In order to answer these questions, and more specifically to attempt to discover *why* *v*-initial loanwords have these various treatments, it is of interest to discuss a number of things: (1) how does the study of loanwords in ICM fit into concepts we know from language contact, i.e. ‘loan integration’, or ‘code-switching’? (2) What do we know about the integration of loanwords into ICM in the other Celtic languages? What happens to loanwords, and what does previous research conclude on the possible factors at play? (3) How exactly did ICM work in Middle Breton, and how did it differ from Modern Breton? I will now proceed to these matters in order.

<sup>5</sup> In Léon, loans with initial /*ve*/, /*ve*ε/ are sometimes reanalyzed as *gwe*-; see in particular §1.3.4a. This development is unattested in MB.

<sup>6</sup> There is some dialectal variation in the ModB results of these words (*FLMB* §48), and some dialects have competing doublets in *gw*- and *b*-, or *b*- and *m*-. I discuss this word further in §3.1.5, liv.

### 1.1.3 THE PLACE OF ICM-NONCONFORMITY IN LANGUAGE CONTACT: CODE-SWITCHES, OR IMPERFECTLY INTEGRATED LOANWORDS?

Before the phonemicization of the ICM system in the Celtic languages, a large amount of Latin vocabulary was borrowed (cf. MCMANUS 1983 for Irish, LEWIS 1943 for Welsh, and HAARMANN 1973 for Breton). This Latinate lexicon ends up conforming to ICM. Once the ICM systems were established in all Celtic languages, though, the integration of the initial consonants of loanwords no longer only consisted of nativization (i.e. the conformation of borrowings to the recipient language's phonology, cf. THOMASON 2001: 272), but also of their adaptation to the morphology (cf. STENSON 1990: 9-10, HANNAHS 2011); this is the case most notably for English loans in Irish, Welsh, and Cornish, and for French loans in Breton. We can observe that, broadly speaking, there are two outcomes: either the loanword is subject to mutation, or it retains the initial consonant from the donor language (see §1.2.7).

If the concept of nativization no longer covers the conformation of loanwords to ICM, then which concept could? One possibility is that when a foreign word does not conform to ICM, we are dealing with a type of code-switch. Of particular interest are MUYSKEN's (2000) categorization of code-switches into three types, and MYERS-SCOTTON's (2002) 'Matrix Language Frame Model', which divides any code-switched utterance into a dominant 'Matrix Language' (ML) and a subordinate 'Embedded Language' (EL). Since these have been very thoroughly discussed in a recent study on Old Irish-Latin code-switching (STAM 2017), I will limit myself only to aspects of these theories that are directly relevant for the study of ICM.

Firstly, there is the concept of 'well-formedness'. A sentence is 'well-formed' if it is perceived as acceptable or grammatical (STAM 2017: 33, n. 19). For example, *W vy nhad* 'my father' is well-formed, but *W \*\*vy tad* (without the nasal mutation) is not.

Secondly, there is the concept of 'embedded language islands':

"The ML does not have to share all the requirements for constituent structure with the source language: sometimes constituents are allowed that are not entirely integrated in the frame of the ML: these are the so-called **bare forms** and the **embedded language (EL) islands** [...] EL islands are constituents that show structural dependency relations and are well-formed according to the rules of the EL and not according to the ML" (STAM 2017: 33)

On the basis of this description, it does first seem that ICM-nonconforming loanwords could be seen as single-word 'EL islands', as they necessitate only the well-formedness of the constituent according to the EL, and that therefore the mutations may be ignored. The problem is, however, that loanwords are frequently adorned with native suffixes, e.g. MB

*da-m visitaff* ‘to visit me’ (Ba 528)<sup>7</sup> which makes them ungrammatical in the EL; thus, ‘EL islands’ cannot be used as the definition for all instances of ICM-nonconforming loans.

The same MB example disqualifies the concept of zero-morphology to be applied here, which is “a word [that] is not adapted to either grammatical system and occurs in a neutral form in the sentence” (STAM 2017: 197, cf. also MUYSKEN 2000: 104). Because the morphological aspect we are dealing with exists only in the ML, nonconformity to ICM makes that the word is *de facto* in concord with the grammatical system of the EL, which lacks initial mutation. It therefore does not truly count as a ‘neutral form’. Of course, zero-morphology also does not apply for the cited example *da-m visitaff* because the French loan *visiter* is reduced to the root *visit-* and receives a Breton infinitive suffix *-aff*.

Are we then simply dealing with imperfectly assimilated loanwords, i.e. loanwords that are not entirely integrated into the phonology and/or morphology of the recipient language? In his Cornish dictionary, GEORGE makes a distinction between three types of loanwords: *Lehnwörter*, which are fully assimilated, *Fremdwörter*, which are partially assimilated, and *Gastwörter*, which are entirely unassimilated (*Gerlyver* 16). We might see the last of these as code-switches (cf. HASPELMATH 2009: 41). While it is quite clearly the case that mutation does not occur in *Gastwörter*, which GEORGE lists separately (*Gerlyver* 676-685), the behavior of mutations in the other two classes seems not to have factored into GEORGE’s categorization of loanwords: for example, many *v-* and *w-*initial loans are marked as *Lehnwörter* and thus ‘fully assimilated’ even though they have an unassimilated initial consonant (*Gerlyver* 657-663). GEORGE’s barometers for assimilation into Cornish are not specified, other than that *Gastwörter* may sometimes appear in “wholly foreign lines, or in foreign phrases” (*Gerlyver* 16).

GEORGE’s three-way distinction is difficult to use if we have no parameter by which to classify loanwords into these categories. We might turn to other literature for help: for Latin loans in Breton, HAARMANN (1973: 14), measures the degree of assimilation by the existence of derivations from the original loan:

“Die meisten lateinischen Elemente sind nicht isolierter Bestandteil des bretonischen Lexikons. Der Grad ihrer Integration läßt sich daran ermessen, daß von den Simplexformen im Verlauf der Sprachentwicklung zahlreiche Ableitungen gebildet worden sind.”

We could attempt to combine the three-partite distinction between *Lehnwörter*, *Gastwörter*, and *Fremdwörter*, and the measurement of integration according to a single parameter. In our case, this parameter would not be the existence of derivations from the original loan, but the conformity of the initial consonant to ICM. *Lehnwörter* and *Gastwörter* are quite easily defined: *Lehnwörter* are loans that always conform to ICM, and *Gastwörter* are loans that always appear in a fully foreign (e.g. English or French) form,

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<sup>7</sup> The dependent object pronoun 1sg. *’m* causes spirantization (*HMSB* §11.4), and thus *v-* is unexpected; but according to French well-formedness constraints, it is grammatical. However, Fr. *visiter* ‘to visit’ has also been remodeled as a native Breton infinitive in *-aff*, which is grammatical only according to Breton well-formedness constraints. It therefore does not adhere completely to the constraints of the EL.

and never mutate. *Fremdwörter*, then, are words that (frequently) resist mutation, but which have received some native grammatical elements (e.g. verbal conjugations). However, the flexibility of this division also carries the risk of resulting in imprecise descriptions of the various phenomena. It may well be that in a sample of 20 attestations, one word mutates 1 out of 20 times, and another mutates 19 out of 20 times. Since neither of them is consistently either mutated, or not mutated, both are defined as *Fremdwörter*, even though their behaviors are fundamentally different; therefore, we may cast reasonable doubt on the usefulness of this solution in its current form.

A third concept we may consider is that of ‘listedness’:<sup>8</sup> Pieter MUYSKEN (2000: 72) distinguishes between ‘listed’ (when a foreign element is part of the recipient language’s core vocabulary) vs. ‘non-listed’ (when a foreign element is *not* part of the recipient language’s core vocabulary), and between ‘supra-lexical’ vs. ‘sublexical’, which has to do with the place in the sentence into which the foreign element is inserted, i.e. at the head of a clause (supra-lexical) or at the ‘word level’, where a single native word is switched with a foreign word (sublexical). In other words, supra-lexical interference is when (part of) a clause is in the embedded language, and sublexical interference means only a single word appears in the embedded language. Based on these oppositions, the following diagram can be established:

Table 4: MUYSKEN’s (2000: 72) framework, which distinguishes four types of language interference.

	<i>non-listed</i>	<i>listed</i>
<i>supra-lexical</i>	code-mixing	conventionalized code-mixing
<i>sublexical</i>	nonce loans	established loans

The problem in using this distinction exactly as is, is that I have encountered no examples of supra-lexical interference in MB: all *v*-initial OFr. words in MB appear as switches at the word level. Therefore, only a distinction between nonce loans and established loans can be made. The concept of listedness works in much the same way as the distinction between *Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter*, except that listedness is determined by the appurtenance or not to the recipient language’s core vocabulary, whereas the other distinguishes loanwords on the basis of their integration into the recipient language’s phonology and/or morphology.

Defining ‘listedness’ for OFr. loanwords in MB thus has nothing to do with the actual form of the word, but ultimately with the frequency of the word. It may thus be useful to define a ‘non-listed’ loan as a word that appears only in a single text, and a ‘listed’ loan as one that appears in more than one text. This means that the hapax in N 423 *Me eo Merlin ameux vaticinet*, the Latin verb *vaticinari* + the Breton past participle ending *-et* (cf. *vaticiner*, §3.1.5, xliv.) is non-listed, since it appears only in *Buhez santes Nonn*, and that it is a *Fremdwort*, since it is partially assimilated to the Breton morphological system.

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<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank Nike STAM for this suggestion.



In light of all these complications, we might ask ourselves whether it is indispensable to know precisely how ICM-nonconformity in loanwords fits into the generally accepted classifications of code-switching and loanwords. I believe that the answer is ‘yes’ if the primary goal of the research is to provide theoretical insight on the matter. This is not my intention, however. Rather, I hope to take a primarily descriptive approach, uncluttered by the difficult theoretical considerations. I suggest that the most appropriate solution for the moment being is not to define these types of loans as anything else than ‘ICM-nonconforming’. What we *can* do, however, is attempt to describe the conformity of loans to ICM on a spectrum, rather than as a binary categorization as ‘ICM-conforming’ or ‘ICM-nonconforming’, which I will attempt to do in §3.1.

What follows below is an overview of earlier literature specifically on the integration of loanwords in ICM, for which I will limit myself to the Celtic languages.<sup>9</sup> Among these are both purely descriptive and theoretical considerations; for the sake of completeness, I have included both. It is of interest to present these observations, as we might uncover similar phenomena in Middle Breton with which to compare.

## 1.2 LOANWORDS IN ICM: OBSERVATIONS IN PAST LITERATURE

As stated before (§1.1.2), literature specifically about the interaction between Celtic ICM and loanwords is difficult to come by. Some works that more generally discuss ICM in specific languages do include some observations on loanwords; however, these are often no more than passing remarks. Moreover, only very sporadically are comparisons made with the situation in other Celtic languages, and there is a severe underrepresentation of Cornish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx.<sup>10</sup> The section below may serve as an overview of observations that have been made about loanwords in ICM for each Celtic language individually.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.2.1 OLD IRISH

a. Lat. *p*- > OIr. RAD *p*-, LEN *ph*- /*φ*/, NAS *b*-

As is well known, PIE \**p*- was lost in Proto-Celtic, and the Goidelic branch originally had no phoneme /*p*/. As is also well known, we find in Old Irish two types of Latin *p*-initial borrowings generally dubbed the *Cothrige* and *Pádraig* groups. These refer to the change in the initial consonant due to the loss of the labial element in Primitive Irish \**k*<sup>w</sup> > OIr. /*k*/; before the change, Lat. *p*- had been borrowed as PrimIr. \**k*<sup>w</sup>- > OIr. /*k*/ *c*, and after the change, Lat. *p*- was borrowed as /*p*/, which constituted an addition to the phonemic

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<sup>9</sup> A short section on the integration of Russian loanwords in Nivkh can be found in LUUKKONEN (2015: 44-47).

<sup>10</sup> I have not found a single source that discusses Manx in this regard.

<sup>11</sup> The list is probably not exhaustive.

system after ICM was established as a morphological feature of Irish.<sup>12</sup> THURNEYSSEN (*GOI* §231.5) makes the observation that

“Initial *p*, which occurs only in loan-words, is sometimes lenited, sometimes not [...] Evidently the process, which had developed by analogy with the other stops, particularly with *b* : *β*, had not yet become universal.”

For example, we find Wb. 3b15 *do pheccad*, 24c18 *di peccad*, both of which should be lenited to *ph* /φ/ (*GOI* §231.5). This means that (1) there initially was hesitation in leniting initial *p*-, and that (2) ultimately the pair RAD /p/, LEN /φ/ was created, as well as the pair RAD /p/, NAS /b/ (cf. *GOI* §238; this latter development is not discussed but its existence is acknowledged). We might compare these developments to ModW RAD /tʃ/, LEN /dʒ/ < Eng. *ch*- /tʃ/ (see §1.2.4d below).

### 1.2.2 MODERN IRISH

**a.** Lat. *v*-, Eng. *w*-, *v*- > ModIr. RAD /b/-, /f/-

Lat. *v*- and Eng. *w*- /w/, *v*- /v/ are delenited in ModIr. to *b*-, e.g. *biocáire* ‘vicar’ < Lat. *vicārius* (*HPB* §915), Eng. *waist* > ModIr. *básta* (*CHUDAK* 2010: 64); cf. similar developments in Welsh for Eng. *v*- (§1.2.4a), and in Breton for Fr. *v*- (§1.2.6a). However, another development is attested in ModIr. *balla/falla* < Eng. *wall*, where initial *f*- seems to reflect that /w/- was reinterpreted as the eclipsis (nasalization) of *f*- /f/ > *bhf*- /w/. See further *CHUDAK* (2010: 65) and *STENSON* (1993: 114, 123).

**b.** Eng. *w*-, *v*-, *y*- /j/, *h*- /h/ > ModIr. RAD /v/, /w/, /j/, /h/

Whereas early loans from English are adopted into Irish with an altered initial consonant, more recent loans (perhaps from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> c., cf. *STENSON* 1993: 114) preserve initial /v/, /w/, and /j/ (cf. also *CHUDAK* 2010: 64, 67). Neither *CHUDAK* nor *STENSON* provides a precise explanation as to what could have caused this change, though we might take *STENSON*’s observations about the rapid increase in English lexical and morphological influence between the beginning and the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as proof of an intensified contact situation between Irish and English (cf. *STENSON* 1993: 122-123). In other words, an increased level of contact and bilingualism leads to a lesser degree of assimilation of loanwords into ICM:

“The crucial difference between the older loanwords from that period and more recent ones is that the latter tend to be less assimilated, both phonologically and grammatically, in the Irish language.” (*CHUDAK* 2010: 67)

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<sup>12</sup> This is somewhat simplified; there is a high degree of vacillation between /k/- and /p/- in OIr. loans from Latin (*MCCONE* 1996: 150-151). For the discussion of whether the Lat. loans with OIr. /k/ and /p/ can constitute two ‘waves’ of borrowing, see *LHEB* 130, 133-135, 695, *McMANUS* (1983), *SCHMIDT* (1988: 6-7, 1990: 128-31), and *MCCONE* (1996: 150-152). The importance here is that /p/ was introduced to the phonology of OIr. after the phonemicization of Irish ICM.

### c. Non-lenition of Eng. *t-*, *d-*, *s-*, *f-*

Recent loans (mid-20<sup>th</sup> c. onwards) starting with *t-*, *d-*, *s-*, *f-* have a strong tendency to resist lenition (STENSON 1990: 14, GREEN 2006: 1974); *f-* is frequently nasalized to /v/, however (STENSON 1990: 14). I discuss this in more detail below (§1.2.2d). The non-lenition of *f-* might also be the cause of Eng. *Francis* > ModIr. *Proinsias* (cf. FLMB §48.4), where its use with the leniting vocative particle *a<sup>l</sup>* was interpreted as *a Froinsias!* > \**a Phroinsias!* > *Proinsias*.

### d. General observations

STENSON (1990: 14) makes two general observations on the behavior of English loans in Modern Irish. She sorts the English loans into groups per initial consonant, and results show that none of the groups behave entirely consistently (i.e. there are no initial consonants that show either 0% or 100% mutation); moreover, she also finds that the results for lenition are more varied than for nasalization (cf. Table 2 in STENSON 1990: 10), with nasalization being applied to loanwords far more regularly across the board.

STENSON's (1990: 14) conclusion about the specific developments above (§1.2.2a-c) is as follows:

“It is also clear from some of the variations [...] that lexical considerations do not determine whether or not a mutation applies to a loanword [...] Nor does identity or age of the speaker have much to do with whether a segment is mutated or not. In fact, individuals themselves vary in whether they lenite or eclipse in certain cases.”

WATSON (1983), who studied much the same phenomena as STENSON (1990), but in a dialect of Scottish Gaelic, concluded on the basis of his data that the non-mutation of certain loanwords was to avoid ambiguity as to what the original initial consonant was. STENSON (1990: 20) rebuts these claims:

“First, the approach does not allow sufficiently for cross-dialectal differences. Since there is in many cases the same potential for ambiguity in all dialects (e.g. with *t*-prefixation), one would expect similar behaviour in those cases. Yet, as we have seen, the behaviour of the two dialects that have been investigated so far differs in a number of such cases [...] Second, as Watson himself notes, ambiguity is tolerated in native words [...] It would be hard to explain why languages which tolerate this kind of morphological ambiguity so readily in native vocabulary should resist it in loans [...] Third, the particular strategy proposed will not account for all cases of ambiguity, since some mutations produce forms which are not radical consonants, but which may nonetheless be ambiguous. Thus both *date* and *gate* would, under lenition, be pronounced /ɣ'e:t'/. Yet the principle of assuming the radical form cannot be invoked here, since Irish has no radical velar fricative, and English has none at all.”

Finally, she suggests that

“the degree of resistance to mutation that a loanword shows is a function of the degree of distortion its radical initial undergoes when the mutation applies [...] the more features changed, the greater the distortion of the radical consonant, and, in the case of loans, the greater the loss of information about the original English consonant. Although contextual information may save the actual identity of the loan in many cases, thus leaving open the possibility for mutation anywhere, I suggest that the potential loss embodied in the distortion provides the motivation for resistance to mutation.” (STENSON 1990: 22)

In other words, STENSON proposes that loanwords with certain initial consonants more frequently resist mutation because the phonological differences between the radical and the mutated consonant are so great that the original English consonant would become unrecognizable. This is the case especially with the dentals /t/, /d/, /s/, /ʃ/ (cf. Table 4 in STENSON 1990: 23), and with /f/, which is deleted through lenition.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.2.3 SCOTTISH GAELIC

#### a. Non-mutation of *f*-initial loans

WATSON (1983)<sup>14</sup> finds that initial *f*- in loans is never lenited, much like in Irish (STENSON 1990: 19). Curiously, however, *f*- is unaffected by nasalization, too (> /v/); this throws a wrench in STENSON’s theory on the connection between non-mutation and the potential loss of features through the distortion of the initial consonant (cf. §1.2.2 c), as the change in phonetic features between [f] and [v] is minimal. We must thus assume that if STENSON’s theory holds for (a dialect of) Irish, it cannot be present in exactly the same manner for the variety of Scottish Gaelic investigated by WATSON.

#### b. Verb-exclusive lenition of *s*-

WATSON apparently finds the lenition of /s/ > /h/ only in verbs, and not in nouns (STENSON 1990: 19). This represents the only example of a part of speech as a factor in determining whether or not loans are mutated.

#### c. Resistance to *t*-prefixation in vowel-initial loans

*t*- is prefixed to certain forms of vowel-initial and *s*-initial nouns when used with the article (CALDER 1972: 101-103), e.g. SG *an t-òran* ‘the song’ (nom.sg.m.); *an seòmar*

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<sup>13</sup> GREEN (2006: 1974) objects to this that this appeal to ‘faithfulness’ to the original English consonant rests on a phonological analysis of mutations: “[a]s a functional explanation, the intuition that foreign words resist lenition if the phonological changes are “too extreme” is strong; but since the mutations in general resist a formal phonological analysis, we unfortunately cannot convert that functional intuition into a formal statement.” This does not negate the observations made by STENSON, however; I fail to see another explanation.

<sup>14</sup> I cite WATSON (1983) from STENSON (1990: 19); the original article was unfortunately unavailable to me.

(nom.sg.m.) ‘the room’ → *an t-seòmar* (dat.sg.m.), *an t-seòmair* (gen.sg.m.), and is treated as part of ICM in STENSON (1990). WATSON finds that *t*-prefixation for vowel-initial loans is rare, but regular in /ʃ/-initial loans, meaning that they behave like native *s*-initial words in that regard (STENSON 1990: 19).

**d.** Denasalization of Eng. *b-* > SG /p/-, Eng. *w-* > SG /b/-

Eng. /b/- is sometimes denasalized to SG /p/-, e.g. Eng. *blanket* > SG *plangaid* (CALDER 1972: 65).

#### 1.2.4 MODERN WELSH

For Modern Welsh,<sup>15</sup> it is noted that English loans are frequently subjected to mutation, though not always (AWBERY 1986: 424; COMRIE 1979: 60, n.3). Below is a list of particularities:

**a.** Eng. *v-* > ModW RAD *b-*, *m-*; Eng. *b-* > ModW *m-* and Eng. *m-* > ModW *b-*

Eng. *v-* is frequently reanalyzed as a lenited *b-* or *m-* (EEW §83; BALL and MÜLLER 1992: 208-209), cf. ModW *bicar* < Eng. *vicar* (HPB §915). Moreover, Eng. *b-*, *m-* are sometimes swapped due to the ambiguity of the lenited product; however, this is also attested in native words (EEW §93, §94; FLMB §48).

**b.** Eng. *v-* > ModW RAD *f-*

Beside Eng. loans where initial *v-* > ModW *b-*, *m-*, there are also loans where Eng. *v-* is maintained as ModW *f-* /*v*/ (frequently alongside forms in *b-*, *m-*, cf. EEW §83, e.g. *fwltwr* ‘vulture’ (GPC s.v. ‘fwltur, fwltwr, fultur, fyltur, &c.’), *feis* ‘vice’ (GPC s.v. ‘feis<sup>1</sup>’), *ficar* alongside *bicar* < Eng. *vicar* (EEW §83).

**c.** Eng. *b-*, *d-*, *g-* > ModW RAD *p-*, *t-*, *c-*

The English initial voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ are sometimes devoiced in Welsh, i.e. *p* /p/, *t* /t/, *c* /k/, e.g. ModW *ploc* < Eng. *block*, ModW *tesni* < Eng. *destiny*, ModW *cwter* < Eng. *gutter* (EEW §78; FLMB §48.2).

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<sup>15</sup> I have encountered no information about the situation in Middle Welsh.

**d.** Eng. /tʃ/ > ModW RAD *ts* /tʃ/, LEN *ds, j* /dʒ/

W RAD /tʃ/, /dʒ/ appear only in loanwords from English. Of the two, /tʃ/ is commonly lenited to /dʒ/ e.g. ModW *tsip* '(potato) chip', LEN *jip*, (*GPC* s.v. 'tsip');<sup>16</sup> words with a radical /dʒ/ do not lenite (AWBERY 1986: 424).

**e.** Eng. *w-* > ModW RAD *gw-*

In most older borrowings from English, Eng. *w-* is reanalyzed as lenited *gw-* and is thus adopted as radical *gw-*, e.g. ModW *gwarant* < Eng. *warrant*, ModW *gwaetio* < Eng. *wait* (*EEW* §76, §89).

**f.** Eng. *w-* > ModW RAD *w-*

In more recent borrowings from English, Eng. *w-* was maintained, e.g. ModW *weir* < Eng. *wire*, ModW *wits* < Eng. *witch* (*EEW* §89). Some older forms also have initial *w-* instead of *gw-*, but these all had *gw-* + a rounded vowel, and underwent \**gwo-*, \**gwu-* > *w* /u/, e.g. *wdwart* /udwart/ 'woodward', *wdcneiff* /udkneif/ 'wood-knife' (*EEW* §89).

**g.** Eng. *l-, r-* > ModW RAD *rh-/r̥/, ll-/l̥/*

Earlier borrowings tend to have de-lenited *rh-/r̥/, ll-/l̥/*, e.g. W *llewpard* < Eng. *leopard*, W *rhymedi* < Eng. *remedy* (*EEW* §95).

**h.** Eng. *l-, r-* > ModW RAD *r-/r/, l-/l/*

Later borrowings with *l-, r-* more often remain voiced as in English, e.g. W *lili* < Eng. *lily*, W *recordor* < Eng. *recorder* (*EEW* §95).

**k.** Non-lenition of *g*-initial loans

Similarly to the frequent non-mutation of *f*-initial loans in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (§1.2.2c, §1.2.3a), Eng. *g*-initial loans in Welsh also resist mutation (COMRIE 1979: 52-54; AWBERY 1986: 424; GREEN 2006: 1974; BALL and MÜLLER 1992: 206; HANNAHS 2013: 125-126), e.g. *ei<sup>L</sup> garaets* /ej garedʒ/ 'his garage'. Both ModIr. and SG *f-* and W *g-* are deleted when lenited; cf. STENSON's proposal on the influence of phonological distance (§1.2.2d). Some vowel-initial loans are sometimes prefixed with an initial *g-*, e.g. ModW *gonest* < Eng. *honest*, ModW *gordro* < Eng. *order* (*EEW* §81).

**l.** Non-mutation of personal names and place-names

Personal names are generally not mutated, whether they are Welsh or not (BALL and MÜLLER 1992: 205; GREEN 2006: 1974). Place-names mutate only if a Welsh version of the name exists, or if the name is "considered to be common enough to be brought into the

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<sup>16</sup> Searching for a nasalized form *nhsip* < *tsip* in *GPC* does redirect to *tsip*, but this might be a ghost word; I have not encountered any mention of nasalization of /tʃ/ in the literature.

system” (BALL and MÜLLER 1992: 205), cf. also GREEN (2006: 1974-1975). A recent study by SLEEPER<sup>17</sup> (2020) investigates the mutation of place-names in Welsh and in Patagonian Welsh, and finds that there is

“no significance in how Patagonian speakers and speakers from Wales mutate [...] [but] the radical initial consonant, speaker age, and type of place-name—how geographically, linguistically, and culturally ‘Welsh the place-name is—all affect mutation behaviour.” SLEEPER (2020: 145)

On the ‘type’ of place-name, SLEEPER (2020: 167) elaborates as follows:

SLEEPER (2020: 167): “place-names that are more geographically or culturally ‘Welsh’ are more likely to be mutated, and even within Wales, names of places with special Welsh-language cultural significance—like *Cymru* ‘Wales’, *Caernarfon*, *Bangor*, and *Caerdydd* ‘Cardiff’—undergo mutation more often than predicted.”

#### **m. Variable mutation of ‘nonce borrowings’**

BALL and MÜLLER (1992: 206) report that

“[n]once borrowings, that is, not established borrowings but borrowings made on the spur of the moment by a particular speaker to fill a momentary lexical gap, are variably subject to mutation, perhaps reflecting the degree to which the borrowing is felt to be ‘natural’ or integrated by the speaker.”<sup>18</sup>

#### **n. Non-mutation of *braf* ‘fine’**

Specifically *braf* ‘fine’ < Eng. *brave* does not mutate (GREEN 2006: 1975; HANNAHS 2013: 126).

### **1.2.5 REVIVED AND MIDDLE CORNISH**

#### **a. General non-lenition of later borrowings from English**

The only observation about loans in Cornish ICM that I have encountered is the very general comment that “[l]enition does not occur when the noun is a late borrowing from English” (WILLIAMS 2011: 304); he cites only *an doctours* ‘the doctors’.

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<sup>17</sup> I thank the author for kindly making this article available to me.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Nonce borrowings’ should be taken more or less as a synonym for ‘code-switch’ according to HASPELMATH (2009: 41), though it is quite difficult to describe ICM-nonconforming loans as code-switches, cf. §1.1.3.

### 1.2.6 MIDDLE AND MODERN BRETON

Of the developments below, we may observe that §1.2.6a-c are strikingly similar to Modern Welsh (§1.2.4a-c); however, this does not take into account the frequency at which these phenomena are attested in Welsh and Breton respectively.

**a.** Fr. *v-* > MB, ModB RAD *b-*, *m-*, LEN *v-*, and also EModB RAD *gw-*, LEN *w-* [v]

Similarly to English *v*-initial loans in Welsh, French *v*-initial loans in (Modern) Breton are frequently reanalyzed with initial *b-*, *m-* (FLMB §48.1; HPB §915), e.g. ModB *bilen* ‘villain’ < OFr. *vilein*; cf. §1.1.3 above for more examples. From the Early Modern period onwards we also find spellings with initial *gw-*; this is a process that, according to PIETTE (FLMB §48.1), likely originated in the Léon dialect, where *w-* became [v] before front vowels (I return to this in §1.3.4a), and thus some French *v*-initial words were interpreted as starting with a lenited *gw-*. It is sometimes attested for loans (with *v-*, *b-*, *m-*) as well as native words (with *b-*, *m-*, *gw-*) to have competing forms with *b-*, *m-*, and *gw-*, e.g. ModB *bered/gwered* ‘cemetery’ (GIB 225, 1119), *gwerje/berje* ‘grapevine’ < Fr. *verger* (GIB 225, 1221; FLMB §48.1), *gwenodenn/minotenn* ‘path’ (GIB 1114, 1947; FLMB §48.1), *balizenn/malizenn/valizenn* < Fr. *valise* (GIB 1855, 3193).

**b.** Fr *v-* > ModB RAD *v-*

Some *v*-initial French loans are rendered with initial *v-* /v/ in Breton, e.g. *vakañsoù* ‘holidays’ < Fr. *vacances* (FLMB §48.1; HPB §915).

**c.** De-lenition of Fr. initial /b/, /d/, /g/ > ModB RAD /p/, /t/, /k/

Some French words with *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, are interpreted as lenited forms of *p-*, *t-*, *k-* in Breton, e.g. ModB *kazetenn* < Fr. *gazette*, ModB *toubier* < Fr. *doublier*. These words are all feminine in Breton (but not in French: *le doublier*); PIETTE (FLMB §48.2) argues that the forms are delenited based on a presumed lenition with the article *ar*, *an*, *ur*, *un* (e.g. *kazetenn*, *ar gazetenn*).

**d.** Lenition of Fr. initial /p/, /t/, /k/ > ModB RAD /b/, /d/, /g/

The opposite also occurs, where French loans with initial voiceless stops are lenited, e.g. ModB *goural*, *goular* < Fr. *coral* (FLMB §48.3). This is also rarely attested in native words, e.g. MB *pemdez*, *bemdez* ‘every day’ < \**pep deiz*.

**e.** Fr. *f-* > ModB RAD *p-*

In ModB *prenestr* < OFr. *fenestre* (or Lat. *fenestra*?) and EModB *peñcz* < Fr. *fesse*, French initial *f-* is taken as the result of the spirantization of /p/ (FLMB §48.4). It constitutes the only example I have found of the spirant mutation being involved in the change of a loan-word radical.



## f. Non-lenition of voiced stops in recent borrowings

LE DÛ (1986: 439-440) remarks that

“[L]enition is universal in Breton for stops and /m/, although it tends to be unproductive as far as voiced stops are concerned in recent borrowings, e.g. *eur bisiklet vraz* ‘a big bicycle’, where the first /b/ remains unmutated although the word is feminine as shown by the lenition of the adjective *braz*”.

It is rather difficult to compare this to STENSON’S (1990) explanation for the non-lenition of Eng. *t*-, *d*-, *s*-, *f*-; we can nonetheless note that like in Irish, some loanword radicals apparently resist lenition.

## g. ModB RAD *k*- > SPI *c’h*- /x/ after the article *ar*

Exceptions to RAD *k* > *c’h* /x/ in masculine singular nouns after the article are rare; they are sometimes produced, however, by speakers with an incomplete grasp of the language, or in loanwords: FAVEREAU (*FavY* §339) gives the example *ar criterium*, “prononcé alors à la française, et donc simple exemple de *code-switching*”.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.2.7 SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS OBSERVATIONS

Below is a summary of the above, of which the aim is to conceptualize the specific examples as indications of broader phenomena. The observations are classed into two main groups: observations on ICM-nonconformity, and possible explanations for ICM-nonconformity. However, while we can establish a relatively clear picture of *what* developments are attested, it is not as clear *why* certain words do or do not mutate:

### (1) Strategies for the incorporation of initial phonemes in loanwords

- ▶ (1a) Phoneme added to inventory as radical after phonemicization of ICM, and develops mutation pairs analogical to the existing system (§1.2.1a, §1.2.4d)
- ▶ (1b) Phoneme only available in mutation context is reanalyzed as mutated form of radical (§1.2.2a, §1.2.4b, §1.2.4e, §1.2.4g, §1.2.6a)
- ▶ (1c) Phoneme (generally) only available in mutation context is *not* reanalyzed, and kept the same as the initial phoneme in the donor language (§1.2.2b, §1.2.2c, §1.2.3a, §1.2.4b, §1.2.4f, §1.2.4h, §1.2.4k, §1.2.4n, §1.2.6b)
- ▶ (1d) Phoneme available as radical *and* as a mutated form is reanalyzed (§1.2.3d, §1.2.4c, §1.2.6c, §1.2.6d, §1.2.6e, §1.2.6f, §1.2.6g)

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<sup>19</sup> Though this might not be a code-switch, but a ‘nonce borrowing’.

## (2) Possible factors for resistance to mutation in loanwords

- ▶ (2a) ‘Extreme’ phonological distance (STENSON 1990: 22; GREEN 2006: 1974) between radical and outcome of mutation blocks ICM (§1.2.2c, §1.2.3a, §1.2.4k, arguably also §1.2.3b, cf. STENSON 1990: 24)
- ▶ (2b) Non-mutation of certain radicals but notably less ‘extreme’ than 2a (§1.2.4c, §1.2.6c, §1.2.6d, §1.2.6e, §1.2.6f, §1.2.6g)
- ▶ (2c) (Lack of) mutation reserved to specific lexical category (§1.2.3b = SG lenition of /s/ only in the verb, §1.2.4l = non-mutation of personal names)
- ▶ (2d) Cultural distance of lexeme; semantics? (§1.2.4l, W mutation of place-names less frequent for non-Welsh placenames)
- ▶ (2e) General lack of integration; not mutually exclusive with 2a, 2b, 2d (additionally to the phenomena listed for those: §1.2.4m, §1.2.5a)

A number of important questions remain unaddressed in the literature: nearly all mentions of loanwords in ICM, §1.2.1a and §1.2.5a excepted, deal solely with the modern languages;<sup>20</sup> the question of how loans behave in ICM in past stages of the Celtic languages has not been sufficiently posed. Moreover, we might also consider that dialect, or sociolinguistic concepts such as register and idiolect, can potentially play a role. In Chapter 2, I will address to what extent these questions can be approached within this thesis.

### 1.3 RECONSTRUCTING THE SYSTEM OF ICM IN MIDDLE BRETON

Now that we have discussed the previous observations about how loanwords behave in the systems of ICM of the Celtic languages, we may turn to matters specifically concerning Middle Breton. For the Modern Celtic languages, the ICM systems are readily observable. In Middle Breton, however, we have little information about the precise workings of the system compared to the situation in the Modern Breton dialects, because of the unfortunate fact that initial mutations are seldom represented in MB spelling. The assumption is often made that Middle Breton ICM closely resembles the system in Modern Breton (*HMSB* §4; SCHRIJVER 2011b: 387-388), but there are a number of details that merit a closer look.

In the sections below, I discuss the reconstructions of the ICM systems at stages of the Breton language before the MB period (§1.3.1: Proto-British, Old Southwest British, and Old Breton), the system(s) in literary ModB and in the ModB dialects (§1.3.2), and finally, the system as reconstructed for MB on the basis of the other stages of the language, and the difficulties that arise in reconstructions for the MB period (§1.3.3).

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<sup>20</sup> Even *FLMB*, which is dedicated to medieval Breton, only discusses (Early) Modern Breton in the material cited in §1.2.6a-f.

### 1.3.1 ICM IN PROTO-BRITISH

For Proto-British, a *fortis-lenis* alternation can be reconstructed for the consonantal system. *Fortis* consonants occurred “in absolute initial, initially after certain consonants in external *sandhi*, and internally and finally in certain consonant groups”; *lenis* consonants occurred “initially after vowels and after certain *other* consonants in external *sandhi*, and internally between and finally after vowels or in certain *other* consonant groups” (HPB §418). I will only be discussing the developments that eventually manifest themselves in the systems of ICM, i.e. those in external *sandhi*. As said in §1.1, this alternation forms the basis of lenition in British Celtic, but not of the other mutations, which stem from later developments.

Following HPB (§419, §420, §425)<sup>21</sup> and SCHRIJVER (2011a: 30-32), there was the following *lenis-fortis* alternation in initial position by the late 5<sup>th</sup> century:

Table 5: The *fortis-lenis* opposition in British (5<sup>th</sup> c.).

<i>fortis</i>	w:-	p:-	t:-	k:-	b:-	d:-	g:-	m:-	n:-	l:-	r:-
<i>lenis</i>	w-	b-	d-	g-	β-	ð-	ɣ-	μ-	n-	l-	r-

This alternation, though it had not yet been phonemicized (this happened only around the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in British, cf. LHEB §142), existed already in Proto-Celtic (HPB §419), except that in PCl. the *lenis* consonants were only differentiated from the *fortis* consonants by length (*fortis* = long, *lenis* = short) and presumably by tenseness where *fortis* = tense, and *lenis* = lax (SCHRIJVER 2011a: 31), and not by voice or mode of articulation.

Two further alternations eventually arose only in British, the first one being spirantization, which produced the following alternations word-initially (HPB §435, SCHRIJVER 2011a: 32-33, 36), and affected only the *fortis* consonants:

Table 6: Spirantization of the *fortis* consonants in British.

<i>fortis</i>	p:-	t:-	k:-	b:-	d:-	g:-	m:-
<i>spir.</i>	f-	θ-	x-	b-	d-	g-	μ-

The *fortis* voiceless stops became short voiceless spirants after \*V, \*r, and \*l, e.g. B *Pask* ‘Easter’, *Sul Fask* ‘Easter Sunday’,<sup>22</sup> and after \*-n > Ø in polysyllables, e.g. *nav*<sup>S</sup> ‘9’ < \**nawan*, see SCHRIJVER 1999: 11). The *fortis* voiced stops simply became short and thus merged with *lenis* \*b, \*d, \*g after vowels, but after \*r and \*l they became voiced fricatives (SCHRIJVER 1999: 2; SCHRIJVER 2011a: 32-33).

<sup>21</sup> JACKSON represents the *fortis* consonants with capital letters as opposed to *lenis* consonants written in lowercase. I follow SCHRIJVER’s representation of the *fortis* consonants indicated by a length mark.

<sup>22</sup> But not after \*lt (SCHRIJVER 1999: 2): *W allt*, B *aod* ‘hill’ < PCl. \**al-to-*, cf. Lat. *altus* ‘elevated’ (HENRY 1900: 14).

The second purely British Celtic consonantal alternation is provection, which only gave rise to ICM in OSWBr., and affected both the *fortis* voiced stops and the *lenis* consonants:

Table 7: Provection of the *fortis* and the *lenis* consonants in British.

<i>fortis</i>	b-	d-	g-				
<i>prov.</i>	p-	t-	k-				
<i>lenis</i>	b-	d-	g-	β-	ð-	ɣ-	μ-
<i>prov.</i>	p-	t-	k-	φ-	t̥-	x-	φ̃-

Provection in word-initial position occurred only after certain proclitics, all of which ended in \*-θ, \*-ð. Generally, it entailed that voiced consonants were simply devoiced. However, for \*ð- > \*t- instead of \*\*θ-, the reason is that the resulting groups \*-θ θ-, \*-ð θ- resulted in a geminate \*tt (HPB §453).<sup>23</sup> As for the provection of \*β-, \*μ-, JACKSON reconstructs these forms both as \*f- on the basis of literary Breton but notes that some ModB dialects preserve a difference between both \*β and \*μ-, and their provecuted counterparts (HPB §453, §732). Therefore, I have represented the provection of \*β- as a bilabial voiceless fricative \*φ-, and the provection of \*μ- as a nasalized bilabial voiceless fricative \*φ̃-, though these may have fallen together in most dialects as \*φ- > \*f already at an early date.

Since provection and spirantization both affected a different series of consonants, we can rather easily summarize the system of consonantal alternations in PBr. in Table 8. From here on, I will refer to these alternations as the mutations that they represent in Modern Breton to avoid confusion: *fortis* = RAD, *lenis* = LEN, *spir.* = SPI, and *prov* = PRV.

Table 8: Consonantal alternations in Late British.

RAD	w:-	p:-	t:-	k:-	b:-	d:-	g:-	m:-	n:-	l:-	r:-
LEN	w-	b-	d-	g-	β-	ð-	ɣ-	μ-	n-	l-	r-
SPI		f-	θ-	x-	b-	d-	g-	μ-			
PRV		p-	t-	k-	φ-	t-	x-	φ̃-			

We might now address the situation in Old Breton, of which we know equally little as of that of MB, as mutations are seldom written (FLEURIOT 1964a: 203, SCHRIJVER 2011a: 35). Identifiable developments include the velarization of PBr. \*w:- > \*ɣw:- > \*gw, sometimes dated to have been completed by the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup> (HPB §612, FLEURIOT 1964a: 91) and the shortening of *fortis* \*p:- > \*p-, \*t:- > \*t-, \*k:- > \*k-, and \*m:- > \*m (SCHRIJVER 2011a: 35-40), so that we can reconstruct the following system for OB:

<sup>23</sup> JACKSON (HPB §453) also includes words ending in \*-d in this development, i.e. that \*-d θ- > also \*t-. He gives no examples, however, and I am aware of none, either.

<sup>24</sup> Though others see the OB spellings *u-*, *uu-* for \*gw- until as late as the 11<sup>th</sup> c. not as proof that this was a later development, but that the earlier glosses used an archaic spelling, which makes it difficult to date the completion of the sound change (SCHRIJVER 2011a: 31).

Table 9: Consonantal alternations, or mutations, in Old Breton.

RAD	gw-	p-	t-	k-	b:-	d:-	g:-	m-	n:-	l:-	r:-
LEN	w-	b-	d-	g-	β-	ð-	ɣ-	μ-	n-	l-	r-
SPI		f-	θ-	x-	b-	d-	g-	μ-			
PRV		p-	t-	k-	φ-	t-	x-	φ̃-			

### 1.3.2 ICM IN MODERN BRETON

For the Modern Breton period, separate mutation systems are often described, namely one for ‘literary’ Breton (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Léon Breton, cf. *HPB* §4), and various other systems for other 20<sup>th</sup>-century dialects. I will start with the former: Table 10 below is based on the system described in *HMSB* (§§5-8):

Table 10: The initial mutations in literary Modern Breton.

RAD	gw-	p-	t-	k-	b-	d-	g-	m-
LEN	w-	b-	d-	g-	v-	z-	x-	v-
SPI		f-	z-	x-				
PRV	kw-	p-	t-	k-				
MIX	w-				v-	t-	x-	v-

For the dialects, a list of the various differences with the literary language could be made on the basis of LE DÛ (1986), *HPB* (§§428, 429, 732, 733, 914), *HMSB* (§5-8), *FavY* (§321-343), TIMM (1985), and WMFFRE (1998: 12-13) among others; however, a full account of the variation in mutation systems across the dialects would be far too expansive to represent in a table. Moreover, many of these differences are not directly relevant for this thesis. I will only address the particularities in the system that have to do in some way or another with initial [v]-.

In the literary language, OB and MB lenition-and-provection was eventually replaced by the so-called ‘mixed mutation’, which lenites  $b \rightarrow v$ ,  $m \rightarrow v$ ,  $g \rightarrow c'h /x/$ ,<sup>25</sup>  $gw \rightarrow w$  but propects  $d \rightarrow t$ . This slightly differentiates it from lenition-and-provection by the fact that the lenited consonants are not subsequently propected, i.e.  $b \rightarrow v \rightarrow f$ ,  $m \rightarrow v \rightarrow f$ . In some modern dialects, however, lenition-and-provection was maintained (*HPB* §470). In these dialects the products of lenited-and-propected  $b$  and  $m$  do not both lead to  $f$ ; instead,  $b \rightarrow v \rightarrow f$ , but  $m \rightarrow /w̃/ \rightarrow [hw]$  (*HPB* §732, §914). This implies the differentiation of the two in lenition, too, which seems to exist in these same dialects (*HPB* §914). See further §1.3.3 below, and §1.3.4a.

<sup>25</sup> PBr. initial \*y- became voiceless x- in Northern Brittany around the 17<sup>th</sup> century (*HPB* §1066.6), which is thus a later development separate from provection and cannot be compared to  $d \rightarrow t$ .

### 1.3.3 ICM IN MIDDLE BRETON

The system of ICM for the Middle Breton period, as we have seen before, is difficult to precisely describe because there are virtually no traces of it in spelling. Generally, it is assumed that it operated in approximately the same way as in ModB (*HMSB* §4, SCHRIJVER 2011b: 387-388), with the exception that *d* lenites to /ð/, as it had not yet become KLT /z/, V /h/.

Since mutations are generally not indicated in spelling, dating developments within the system is quite difficult; for instance, we do not know exactly when \**μ*- was denasalized and fell together with \**β*-, or even whether lenition-and-provection had not already been replaced by the mixed mutation (i.e. the lenition of *b*-, *g*-, *gw*-, *m*-, but the provection of *t*). HEMON (*HMSB* §8), for example, does not distinguish between the two. PENNAOD (1979: 25) assumes that the ‘mixed’ mutation had already ousted lenition-and-provection: “[a]r c’hemmerezh-mesk a c’hoarvez eus blotadur /b m g/ ha kaletadur /d/” = “the mixed mutation comes from the lenition of /b m g/ and provection of /d/” [PF], as do LEWIS and PIETTE (*LLC* §8). SCHRIJVER (2011b: 387), however, reconstructs both lenition-and-provection *and* mixed mutation as productive mutations in MB.

As for the denasalization of \**μ*- > \**β*-, opinions vary on this, too: HEMON (*HMSB* §7), LEWIS and PIETTE (*LLC* §8), and SCHRIJVER (2011b: 387) all take this change to have been completed already in MB, whereas PENNAOD (1979: 24-25) does not. JACKSON (*HPB* §915, n. 4) suggests that the merger of \**μ*- and \**β*- had perhaps not yet taken place at the time most *v*-initial loans were borrowed, i.e. before the *Catholicon*, because many OFr. loanwords with initial *v*- were de-lenited to *b*-, and only extremely rarely *m*-, which might imply that the reflexes of \**μ*- and \**β*- were still differentiated at the time of borrowing. Moreover, JACKSON also suggests (*HPB* §913) that a few compounds found in EModB attest to the nasality of lenited *m* (*diñvez* ‘shameless’ < *di* + *mez* ‘shame’, *diñvat* ‘not good’ < *di* + *mat* ‘good’), though it is unclear how old these compounds are; moreover, these forms might also reflect the same type of ‘spontaneous’ nasalization found in e.g. *gwiñver* ‘squirrel’ (W *gwiwer*) < Lat. *vīverra*.

The reconstruction of the MB system below, based on the sources cited above,<sup>26</sup> tries to take into account these two difficulties, and is built on the assumptions that MB both had productive lenition-and-provection and a ‘mixed’ mutation, and that \**μ*- had not yet been denasalized, i.e. that the lenition of *m* did not produce the same results as for *b*:<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> I do not include PENNAOD’s view that long \**n*:-, \**r*:-, and \**l*:- were kept long in absolute initial position and shortened by lenition, though based on modern dialectal evidence (e.g. TIMM 1985) this may well be true. The liquids are not included as part of the mutation system of MB in the other grammars, likely because they are entirely absent from it in the modern literary language.

<sup>27</sup> I also assume that \**β*- was no longer distinguished from /*v*/, i.e. that the bilabial articulation had become either an allophone of /*v*/ or entirely obsolete, as there is no evidence that the reflexes of PBr. \**β*- had not already become labiodental like in the modern dialects (*HPB* §914). Assuming this also implies that MB /*v*/- and /*μ*/- were only distinguished by nasality, and not by a bilabial~labiodental opposition.

Table 11: A reconstruction of the Middle Breton mutation system.

RAD	<i>gw-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>m-</i>
SPI		<i>f-</i>	<i>θ-/ð-</i>	<i>x-</i>				
LEN	<i>w-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>v-</i>	<i>ð-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>μ-</i> or <i>v-</i>
PRV					<i>p-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>k-</i>	
L-P					<i>f-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>hw̃-</i> or <i>f-</i>

If *\*μ-* had not been denasalized, then the product of lenited-and-provected *m* would not have, either. I follow JACKSON's reconstruction of *\*hw̃-* (HPB §732) in these cases. We may explain the lack of any trace of such a lenited-and-provected *m-* → *\*μ-* → *\*hw̃-* in Léon and most of Cornouaille by the (near-)total disappearance of lenition-and-provection in favor of the 'mixed' mutation. However, it is also quite possible that the dialects in which MB is attested had already denasalized *\*μ-*, and that the products of the mutation of *m* had already entirely fallen in line with those of *b*. This is a complicated matter which I address further in §1.3.4a. I have included both possibilities, as this development is crucial to our understanding of the adaptation of OFr. *v*-initial loans.

#### 1.3.4 FURTHER DIFFICULTIES IN THE MIDDLE BRETON PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM: INITIAL *v-* IN THE NATIVE LEXICON

In native words, the general rule is that only an unmutated consonant (RAD) can appear in absolute initial position, i.e. at the head of a sentence, where no mutation takes place.<sup>28</sup> This means that *v-*, which is a *mutated* consonant (whether it represents /v/ or /μ/), is by this rule not allowed to appear in absolute initial position. However, some developments in the history of the Breton language have resulted in native words that start with *v-* in spelling despite this rule, e.g. ModB *vi* 'egg', MB *var*, *voar* 'on, upon'. I will discuss them below.

**a.** Loss of phonemic opposition between MB /w/, /v/, /μ/, /f/, and the addition of an onset [v]- before initial diphthongs /ɔa/, /ɔe/, /ye/, /yi/

SCHRIJVER (2011b: 380-381) provides some evidence from MB rhyme and spelling, and from the ModB dialects that in the MB period, the phonemic opposition between /w/, /v/, /μ/, /f/ was lost, and merged as a single phoneme. This encompasses the question whether the reflexes of lenited *b* and *m* had already merged in MB; the loss of phonemic opposition between all of these sounds also directly led to the eventual loss of differentiation between lenited *b* and *m*, though as we have seen above (§1.3.3), the exact date for this specific development is unknown. Some dialects kept the opposition, however: SCHRIJVER mentions that northern and central Tréger distinguishes between /v/

<sup>28</sup> Except the type *bemdez* 'every day' < *\*pep + deiz* (cf. 3.1.1, viii.), in which lenition is fossilized. The question is, in these cases, to which extent the relation to *pep* was still transparent (i.e. whether *b-* was now perceived to be the unmutated initial).

and /w/. The dialects that preserve a difference between lenited(-and-provected) *b* and *m* mentioned above (§1.3.2) also maintained an opposition between /v/ and /w/.

How exactly—or even whether—/f/ fits into this development is not entirely clear: “[...] the general devoicing of final stops and fricatives caused old /β/ to merge with /f/ [word-finally]. Many details are unclear, especially in how far /ṽ/ and /f/ remained distinct” (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 380). An indication that it did fall together with /w/, /v/, /μ/ is that it rhymes with these sounds, though this may just as well be because “voice distinctions did not interfere with rhyme” (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 381). An indication that it did *not* merge with the other labials are the consistent spellings of MB *saff* = /saf/ ‘standing’, and MB *mau* = /mau/ ‘sturdy, merry’ (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 381). Word-initially, the spelling of /f/ is always *f* (HPB §730) except when /f/ is the result of the lenition-and-provection of *b* or *m*, e.g. in forms of the verb *bout* ‘to be’, where it is mostly spelled *v-* (cf. §2.1.2): J 178 *ne allhe ez ve quen* ‘it could not be otherwise’, Ba 427 *ez vezo guenn hoz bet* ‘you will be blessed’.<sup>29</sup>

Additionally, the opposition between Early MB \*w- and the rounded first elements of certain diphthongs, i.e. [ɥ] = /y/ and [ɔ] = /o/, was also lost (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 376-377): earlier /wi/, /yi/ > MB /yi/; /wa/, /oa/ > MB /ɔa/; /we/, /ye/ > MB /ye/; OSWBr. /ui/ > MB /oe/. Early MB /we/ always merged with /ye/, not /ɔe/. Word-initially, the consequences of these two mergers are visible in MB *vuy*, *uuy*, *vy*, ModB *vi* ‘egg’ < PBr. \*ɔ:ɣion < \*ɔ:uion (SBCHP 299), where PBr. \*ɔ:ɣi (falling diphthong) > MB /yi/ (rising diphthong), which appears in the dialects as K [vi], [ui], [wi], L [vi], T [u], V [ui], [u:], [wi], and [qi] (ALBB 597). What this tells us is that in Léon and parts of Cornouaille, word-initially, the rounded first element of the diphthong /yi/ is sometimes realized as a consonantal [v]. Moreover, two MB attestations are of particular interest: M 372 *vuy* and J 201 *uuyou* could potentially represent [vyi] (cf. HPB §331). I will come back to this shortly.

In MB, there was no phonemic distinction between the old labial \*gw- + vowel (\*gwV-) and \*g- plus a diphthong with a rounded first element, i.e. /gye/-, /gɔa/-, /gyi/-;<sup>30</sup> the lenited counterpart of these initial syllables was phonemically identical to the diphthongs, i.e. /ye/, /ɔa/, /yi/. This can be seen in MB *oar*, *voar* ‘on, upon’, which stems from a lenited PBr. \*gwar- (cf. Ba 593 *digoar* ‘from’, where lenition is not spelled): *oar*, *voar* reflects a phonemic representation /ɔar/, but the spellings seem to indicate phonetic realizations as [ɔar], [vɔar]. The latter realization [vɔar] would indicate that a consonantal onset was added to the diphthong, which is different from what we have seen for *vi* in the modern dialects, in which the rounded element itself has become consonantal [v]. Considering the MB forms *vuy*, *uuyou*, a possible explanation is that all these diphthongs originally had an onset [v]-, following JACKSON (HPB §639), but that since [v] and [y]/[u] are all produced at the front of the oral cavity, [y]/[u] assimilated to [v], resulting in *vi* [vi]; however, [v] may have been more easily maintained after the back vowel [ɔ], cp. e.g. ModB *oad* ‘age’, which

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<sup>29</sup> lit. ‘your world will be white’. Exceptions to *v*-spellings for initial /f/ in *bout* are relatively rare, but they do appear, cf. e.g. Nl 4 *Ha quem (sic) buhan ma-z foue ganet Doue Roue an sent* ‘and as soon as God, King of the saints, was born’.

<sup>30</sup> With the exception of \*gwe- > /gye/, and /gɔe/ < OSWBr. \*gur-, i.e. *guel* /gyel/ ‘sight’ and *goel* /goel/ ‘holiday, festival’ formed a minimal pair.



is [ɔat], [wat] in the dialects (ALBB 499), never [vat]. However, there is evidence that this was not a rule in MB and EModB: in the (EModB) 17<sup>th</sup>-century Christmas Hymns, for the same development in /ye/, we find l. 1503 *a vuélas* ‘which he saw’, l. 1561 *e vueller* ‘will be seen’, l. 1567 *e vuélaint* ‘they will see’, all from *guelout* /gyel/- ‘to see’ (cf. HPB §639), but in Coll 49 we find *me vell en mat* ‘I see well’, where it seems that [vye] > [ve], exactly like in *vi* ‘egg’. Furthermore, we can also cite M 372 *vuy*, J 201 *uuyou*, and forms such as *var* ‘on’ (found in e.g. *Buhez sant Guenole*, and in the title of Ba, *var pont bourret* ‘on the Bourret bridge’), which indicates that there was variation between [ɔa], [vɔa], and [va].<sup>31</sup>

A further consequence of the addition of an onset [v]- to initial /ɔa/, /œe/, /ye/ and /yi/ was that it had the potential to be reinterpreted as the lenited form of *b-*, i.e. *boa-*, *boe-*, etc. This is what may have happened in the imperfect of *bout*, which has an initial diphthong *oa*, and which we find in MB as 1sg. *oan*, *voan*, 2sg. *oas*, *voas*; the forms with an onset [v] could have given the impression of a lenited *boan*, *boas*, which is what we find in ModB (BD 1517) *mar boas deuet* ‘if you had come’.

In sum, the addition of an onset [v]- to the initial rising diphthongs /ɔa/, /œe/, /ye/ and /yi/ > [vɔa], [vœe], [vye] and [vyi] had two consequences. Firstly, that [v] appears as an onset in the lenited form of /gw/, leading to mutation pairs such as [gɔa]/[vɔa]; secondly, that the initial [v]- before initial diphthongs had the potential to be interpreted as the lenition of *b*, which may have led in part to the creation of *b*-initial forms in the imperfect of *bout*, which originally has an initial diphthong. The situation is overall very unstable, with *v-* sometimes being absent, sometimes being appended to the initial diphthongs, and sometimes even absorbing the initial first element of these diphthongs.

The question remains whether the reflexes of lenited *b-* and lenited *m-* had fallen together, or whether they remained distinct. As we have seen (§1.3.3), this is a rather complicated matter. What might help towards answering this question, however, is to investigate how *v*-initial loans behave in ICM: it has been remarked by JACKSON that in the MB period, when *v*-initial loans are delenited, they are almost invariably ‘reverted’ to *b* and not *m*, one exception being MB *moez* ‘voice’ < OFr. *voiz* ‘id’ (cf. HPB §914, but see §3.1.3, xxiv.). This would imply that at the time of borrowing of most *v*-initial loans, the merger had not yet taken place, since we would otherwise expect more significant variation between OFr. *v-* > MB *b-* and OFr. *v-* > MB *m-*.

This being said, we must also account for another possibility, namely that the frequency of the delenition to *b-* compared to *m-* has to do with phonological distance (cf. §1.2.7, 2a, 2b). In Irish and Scottish Gaelic, we find that lenition of *f-* is blocked, as is the case for *g-* in Welsh, because these mutations would entail the deletion of the initial consonant, which is a rather extreme phonological change. Moreover, STENSON (1990) also finds in the dialect of Irish that she researched that the dentals /t, d/ mutate less frequently as these, too, would entail heavy phonological change (/t/ > /h/, /d/ > /ɣ/). What this would mean for OFr. *v-* in Breton is that the delenition of [v]- chooses the path of least resistance,

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<sup>31</sup> PIETTE (FLMB §48.1) reports that in Léon, lenited *w-* eventually came to be realized as [v]-, which resulted in French *v*-initial loanwords being reinterpreted as having an unlenited initial \**gw-*. This may rather represent the development posited here, where the rounded elements of the rising diphthongs could disappear into the onset [v], e.g. /œe/ [vœe] > [ve].

i.e. with the fewest phonological changes: the choice is between *v-* > *b-* (voiced labial **fricative/approximant** → voiced labial **stop**),<sup>32</sup> *v-* > *gw-* (voiced labial **fricative/approximant** → **velar stop** + voiced labial fricative/approximant, or alternatively, → voiced **labiovelar stop**), and *v-* > *m-* (**voiced labial fricative** → **voiced labial nasal**). I will come back to this possibility in §4.3.3.

We may conclude this section with an overview. We know that OFr. *v-* was labiodental [v] (BRUNOT and BRUNEAU 1933: 13), and word-initially only appears before vowels.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, we might expect that any OFr. *v-*-initial loan taken into MB had the potential to be altered in a number of ways:

- ▶ (1) OFr. [v]- (before *e, a, i*) could have been interpreted as the onset [v]- before initial diphthongs. As we have seen, the original rounded element of the diphthong could be absorbed into the onset [v]-, meaning that e.g. OFr. [ve]- had the potential to be reinterpreted as MB /œ/- [ve] < [vy̥e], and thus as a lenited form of \**gwV-*. This is essentially what happens in *gwerje* < OFr. *vergier* (cf. *FLMB* §48.1). This only applies to OFr. *ve-*, *vi-*, *va-*, because any other combination of *v* + vowel would not have led to the reinterpretation as a MB rising diphthong.
- ▶ (2) Starting from the same scenario as in (1), i.e. OFr. [v]- + vowel > MB initial diphthong, we might expect e.g. OFr. [ve] to be interpreted as MB /œ/ [vœ], where the [v] is subsequently reanalyzed as a lenited *b-*, thus yielding OFr. [ve]- > MB [bœ]. However, I know of no examples.
- ▶ (3) OFr. [v]- could be interpreted directly as lenited *b-*, i.e. OFr. [ve]- > MB [ve]- > [be]-, e.g. OFr. *veage* > MB *beaj*.
- ▶ (4) If the lenition of *m*, i.e. /μ/, had been denasalized at this point (and had thus fallen together with the lenition of *b*), we may expect that OFr. [v]- could be interpreted as lenited /m/.
- ▶ (5) If (4) applied in MB, then we might also expect that the same may happen as in (2), but with *m-* instead of *b-*, i.e. that something like OFr. [ve]- > MB /my̥e/. Once again, I know of no examples.

## b. Fossilized lenition

Some prepositions and adverbials have fossilized lenition already in MB, e.g. *voar, var, oar* /*oar*/ ‘on, upon’ < PBr. \**war* (> MB \*\**goar*, which we do not find in isolation but does appear in the compound *digoar* ‘from’ = ModB *diwar*); *bemdez* ‘every day’ < \**pep deiz*. We might also cite MB *vase, vahont* (ModB *aze, ahont*) ‘here; yonder’ as such words, from \**man-se, \*man-hont* (HENRY 1900: 22), or Léon *va* for *ma* (only sporadically attested in

<sup>32</sup> That *v-* is labiodental and *b-* is bilabial does not matter, as MB does not distinguish between these features.

<sup>33</sup> One might think of exceptions in ModFr. such as *vrai* ‘true’; however, ModFr. *vr-* < OFr. /v̥r/ (cf. *DEAF*, s.v. ‘verai, adj.’). In any case, all *v-*-initial loans I have found in MB have *v-* followed by a vowel.

MB, becomes frequent in EModB texts from Léon) ‘my (poss. pron. 1sg)’.<sup>34</sup> I will return to *vase*, *vahont* in §3.1.5 (xlvi).)

### c. Spellings of /ø/, /y/

Two vowel sounds are sometimes represented by *u-*, *v-* word-initially: *ue*, *ve* = /ø/ as in *ves* = *eus* ‘out of’, and *v* = /y/, as in *vguent* ‘twenty’. These words do not imply [v] or [w].

### d. Elision of initial vowel

I know of one example in MB where initial *v-* is the result of the elision of a preceding vowel: Coll 195 *da vit* < \**da evit* ‘for’.

### e. Summary

To summarize, we can identify six reasons that native MB words may appear with initial *v-*: (1) through the lenition of *b-*, *m-*, which in some words is fossilized (e.g. *vase*, *vahont*); (2) because of the addition of an onset [v]- to words starting with an initial rising diphthong /*ɔa*/, /*œe*/, /*ye*/ or /*yi*/; (3) as a spelling of /f/ when it is the result of lenition-and-protection of *b-*, *m-* (almost exclusively attested in *bout*); (4) as a spelling of /ø/ or /y/; (5) due to the elision of a preceding vowel. This allows us to recognize these words in the corpus, and analyze them with the knowledge in mind of the developments described above. Moreover, the matters of historical phonology discussed in §§1.3.1-4 will be revisited in §4.2, where I will relate the data from the corpus to the phonological status of *v-* in Middle Breton.

Now that we have discussed previous literature on ICM, the interaction between ICM and loanwords, and the phonological developments relevant to the study of OFr. *v*-initial loanwords in Middle Breton ICM, it might be of interest to the reader to briefly return to the research questions that were established in the introduction to this thesis. The main research question is still as follows:

- ▶ (1) How do *v*-initial OFr. loans behave in the system of Middle Breton ICM, i.e. are they (eventually) incorporated into ICM, or not?

The three supplementary research questions (2-4) may hopefully address a few lacunae in the research on loanwords in ICM, which I have discussed in §1.2.7:

- ▶ (2) When *v*-initial OFr. words conform or start conforming to ICM, which radical is attributed to them in Middle Breton? What about in later stages of the language?
  - ↳ This responds to the question of how single words behave in ICM: are they immediately incorporated? Is there a period of time before

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<sup>34</sup> In the case of *ma*, *va*, the fossilized lenition is a dialectal feature of Léon, and it is attested mostly after the MB period. I will not be returning to this, but see *HPB* §427.

they start being incorporated? Moreover, it may give us insight about the chronology of phonological developments in Breton: if there is a lack of  $v > m$ , does that mean the reflexes of lenited  $b$  and  $m$  had not yet fallen together?

- ▶ (3) Is there any variation in the results of (1) and (2)?
- ▶ (4) Can we attribute the variation in the results of (1) and (2) to certain factors, and if so, which ones seem to play a role?
  - ↳ This responds to the various (sociolinguistic) factors I address in §1.2.7: can dialect play a role? Can idiolect play a role? Can register play a role?

In Chapter 2, I will elaborate on the methods and corpus used to answer these questions.

# CHAPTER 2

## *METHOD AND CORPUS*

### 2.1 METHODS

To answer the question how Old French loanwords with initial *v*- behave in the initial mutation system of Middle Breton, I have chosen to collect data from a large selection of Middle Breton texts (for which see §2.3.1). In this database, I included all words starting with /b/, /m/, and /v/ both in contexts where the mutations  $b \rightarrow v$  or  $m \rightarrow v$  take place (i.e. when lenited), and in contexts where these mutations do not take place. Including native words as well as loanwords allows us to observe differences in behavior between the native lexicon and the borrowed lexicon.

In the following sections, I will discuss how and when mutations are represented in spelling in Middle Breton, and what this means for the analysis in Chapter 3.

#### 2.1.1 ESTABLISHING AND MAKING USE OF A MB NORM FOR THE SPELLING OF MUTATION

Mutations are almost never expressed in writing during the Middle Breton period; some texts from the Early Modern Breton period lack the writing of mutations, too:

- ▶ initial *b*- can represent /b/ normally, /v/ when lenited, /f/ when lenited-and-provected, and /p/ when provected.
- ▶ initial *m*- can represent /m/ normally, /v/ when lenited, /f/ when lenited-and-provected, and /m/ when provected.<sup>35</sup>

This means that if a word is spelled with *b* or *m*, its spelling is always in concord with the spelling norms of Middle Breton mutation.

- ▶ initial *v*-, however, can only represent /v/ (or /f/ when lenited-and-provected); it never represents /b/ or /m/.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Though see also §1.3.3; based on ModB dialectal evidence, there may or may not have been a phonemic difference between radical *m* and its provocation.

<sup>36</sup> When consonantal; as we have discussed previously (§1.3.4c), *v*- can also represent the vowels /ø/, /y/.

We can turn this difficulty to our advantage if we choose to see the degree to which *v*-initial OFr. loans are attested in MB as *b*- or *m*-initial loans as an indicator for the degree to which these loans are integrated into the native lexicon. OFr. loanwords only attested with initial *v*- in MB are less integrated than loanwords attested with *b*-, *m*- alongside *v*-; the most integrated are loanwords that are attested only with initial *b*-, *m*-.

Since the norm is *not* to represent mutation in spelling, any *v*- in spelling defies the norm. However, something else to consider for words that are attested with *v*- at least once is whether these *v*-spellings are only attested in mutation contexts where they might be expected (i.e. after words that cause lenition, or lenition-and-provection), as it may be of interest to distinguish between words for which **expected** mutations are written—which violates the norm—and words for which **unexpected** mutations are written: these also do not conform to the norm, but for an additional reason, namely that they are not integrated into ICM. In the data analysis, I will make a distinction between these two types of words: words for which the *v*-spellings appear only in contexts where lenition(-and-provection) is **expected**, and words of which **at least one** *v*-spelling appears in a context where **no** lenition(-and-provection) is expected.

Thus, it may be useful to make a distinction between spelling norms on the one hand, and the actual morphophonological system of ICM on the other hand. For some words, we might find that they behave according to the underlying, often invisible system of ICM, but violate the norm by representing this in spelling; for other words, we might find that they also violate the spelling norms, but additionally do **not** behave according to the underlying system of ICM.

In a number of aspects of the database, I have used a binary distinction between ‘correct’ mutations and ‘incorrect’ mutations, which requires some explanation. The distinction relies on the lack of spelling of mutation: if a word is spelled with *b*- or *m*-, its spelling always in concord with MB spelling norms. A *v*-spelling in a context that expects lenition or lenition-and-provection is unusual according to MB spelling norms, but it is nonetheless a ‘correct’ representation of the expected mutation. Any given spelling is only perceived as ‘incorrect’ if it is *v*-initial but does not follow a word that should cause it to undergo lenition or lenition-and-provection. Thus, the distinction between ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ has to do with whether or not a word can be said to conform to **the system of ICM**, and does not directly take into account whether or not the word behaves according to the **spelling norms**:

Table 12: Working definition of ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ mutations.

	<i>v</i> -	<i>b</i> -, <i>m</i> -
lenition(-and-provection) <b>expected</b>	violates spelling norms, but is not directly indicative of non-conformation to the morphophonological system of ICM: <b>CORRECT</b>	conforms to spelling norms; spelling neither confirms nor disproves conformation to the morphophonological system of ICM: <b>CORRECT</b>
lenition(-and-provection) <b>unexpected</b>	violates spelling norms <b>and</b> is indicative that the word does <b>not</b> conform to ICM: <b>INCORRECT</b>	

These two distinctions can be made to work together to create a detailed analysis. In Chapter 3, I categorize the words from the corpus according to these two distinctions in the following way:

There are five main categories (A, B, C, D, E), which represent a spectrum: to what extent does the word behave **according to spelling norms**? Category A contains only words that are *never* attested with *v*-; conversely, category E contains only words that are *always* attested with *v*-, and categories B, C, and D contain words that are both written with *b*-, *m*-, and *v*-. These words thus defy spelling norms to varying degrees (B = > 0%, ≤ 25%; C = ≥ 25%, ≤ 75%; D = ≥ 75%, < 100%, where the percentage indicates the amount of *v*-spellings).

These five categories are each subdivided into two groups (1 and 2; e.g. B1, B2, etc.) where the distinction is made between ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ mutations. This subcategorization thus indicates whether a word behaves according to the **system of ICM**: subcategory **1** includes words where the attested *v*-spellings are only ever found in contexts where lenition(-and-provection) is expected, and subcategory **2** includes words where **at least one** *v*-spelling is found in a context where no lenition(-and-provection) should take place. In other words, the main categorization (A-E) indicates the degree to which each word disobeys **spelling norms**, and the subcategorization indicates whether each word ever disobeys the underlying **system of ICM**. I will further elaborate on the categorization of the data in §3.1.

### 2.1.2 THE SPELLING OF MUTATION IN *BOUT*, *BEZOUT* ‘TO BE’

In the section above, we have just established that the MB norm in writing mutation is to *not* represent mutations in spelling. This norm seemingly applies to all native words.

However, we find that a secondary norm exists specifically for the verb *bout*, *bezout* ‘to be’ (ModB *bezañ*), which quite regularly shows the lenition(-and-provection) of *b*- → *v*- (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 387); considering that a substantial portion of the data (3530 out of 20582 attestations, i.e. 17.2% of all words taken into the corpus) consists of forms of *bout*, it seems appropriate to specifically define this secondary norm for *bout*: after which words that should cause lenition(-and-provection) is mutation written, and at which rate? Is there variation between texts? Doing this is especially useful for the analysis of words that fall into categories B, C, and D, i.e. lemmata for which there is variation between *b*- or *m*-, and *v*-, as we can then compare these with the tendencies for the writing of mutations in *bout*.

Mutation is regularly indicated after the verbal particles *a*<sup>L</sup> and *ez*<sup>LP</sup>, after the negations *ne*<sup>L</sup> and *na*<sup>L</sup>, after the optative particles *da*<sup>L</sup> and *ra*<sup>L</sup>, after *maz*<sup>LP</sup> ‘if, when, that’ and after *pa(n)*<sup>L</sup> ‘when’. Initial *b*-spellings are rare after these words, but they do occur, e.g. Dag 44 *An beth a bezo quen tanau* ‘the world will be so sparse’, Ba 268e *Hac aman en dez ez beziff* ‘and here I will be by day’. We may note that after these words we only ever find finite forms of *bout*.

At the other end of the spectrum, we can observe that mutation is only very rarely written after the possessive pronoun *e<sup>L</sup>* ‘his’; once in Ba 804bc *A te na goar ez lauarer / E-uezaff eff doe an croer* ‘and you do not know that it is said / that he is God the Creator [lit. his being God the Creator]’, and once in Cl 220 *ouzpen é vezafu oan* ‘while being a lamb [lit. against the end of his being a lamb]’. The possessive pronoun *da<sup>L</sup>* seems to cause lenition more often than the possessive *da<sup>L</sup>*, but there happen to only be three attestations of poss. pron. *da<sup>L</sup>* + *bout*, in which mutation is written for two of them: once in Cl, and once in M. The verbal particle *o(u)z* happens to be relatively infrequently used with *bout*; nonetheless, we can still see that whether mutation is written after *o(u)z* varies per text. The writing of mutation after the prepositions *da<sup>L</sup>* ‘to’ and *a<sup>L</sup>* ‘from’ is also subject to variation from text to text, but constructions with these prepositions + *bout* are more frequent across the corpus, and so they can give us a slightly more detailed view of the variation of mutation spellings between texts. The forms of *bout* that we find after the function words just mentioned are always non-finite; thus, the norm for *bout* seems to be that mutation is regularly indicated in *finite* forms of *bout*, but that in *non-finite* forms of *bout*, there exists variation between the texts in the notation of mutation.<sup>37</sup>

Some patterns can be attributed to specific authors and editors. Firstly, we see that Gilles de Keranpuil is very consistent in writing mutation for *bout*, not missing a single notation of lenition(-and-provection) in either Cl or H even in non-finite forms.<sup>38</sup> Secondly, J and TPM, which appear in the same print editions,<sup>39</sup> both show the same pattern in the mutation of *bout*: lenition is written at least once after *da<sup>L</sup>* ‘to’, but the general tendency is not to indicate lenition after *da<sup>L</sup>* ‘to’; moreover, lenition is never written after *a<sup>L</sup>* ‘from’, and both texts have at least one instance where lenition is not indicated after the negation *ne* or *na*.

An overview of the patterns of mutation in finite and non-finite forms of *bout* can be found in Table 13. I exclude a number of texts from this overview: Nom, because I was not able to confirm the context of each attestation (cf. §2.3.1); and Cd, Don, and the *Catholicons*, because none of the function words (except the verbal particles *a<sup>L</sup>*, *ez<sup>Lp</sup>*) appear before *bout* in those texts. Not included in the overview are the preposition *goude<sup>L</sup>*, after which mutation is never written,<sup>40</sup> and the optative particles *da<sup>L</sup>*, *ra<sup>L</sup>*, after which mutation is always written.

Thus, the secondary norm for spelling of mutation that we find in *bout* can be formulated as follows: (1) lenition(-and-provection) is **regularly** indicated in **finite** forms of *bout*; (2) lenition(-and-provection) is **irregularly** indicated in **non-finite** forms of *bout*, with some

<sup>37</sup> Particularly interesting is *dre* ‘through’, which can precede both finite forms and non-finite forms. There are 10 attestations of *dre* + *bout* in the corpus in total (excluding *drez* = *dre* + ‘z’, *drem* = *dre* + ‘m’). We find that the same applies: mutation is always indicated for *dre* + finite forms of *bout* (5 out of 5), but never for *dre* + non-finite forms (0 out of 5).

<sup>38</sup> Forms of *bout* written with *b-* are attested in Cl and H, cf. H 136 *Mar fell dimp bezafu saluet* ‘If we want to be saved’, Cl 250 *Gourchemennou doué, peré à dlé bezafu miret en pep amser* ‘The Commandments of God, which must be kept at all times’.

<sup>39</sup> The one referenced in the editions I have consulted is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Y 6183.

<sup>40</sup> *HMSB* §13.3 has *pe* ‘or’ as a leniting conjunction, but we know from ModB that *pe* lenites irregularly (*FavY* §332). In any case, mutation is never written for *bout* after *pe*.



indication that the notation of mutation in non-finite forms of *bout* varies between authors, and not just between texts.

Table 13: Amount of *v*-spellings for *bout* after certain function words, indicated per text. An empty cell means that the context is unattested. The various colors help indicate frequency of *v*-spellings after each function word:  
 ■ = 100%, ■ = 67~99%, ■ = 33~66%, ■ = 1~32%, ■ = 0%.

	finite forms of <i>bout</i>						non-finite forms of <i>bout</i>				
	v.p. <i>a</i>	v.p. <i>ez</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>na</i>	conj. <i>pa</i>	conj. <i>ma(z)</i>	poss. <i>e</i>	poss. <i>da</i>	prep. <i>da</i>	prep. <i>a</i>	v.p. <i>o(u)z</i>
Ba	24/24	42/43	31/31	22/28	11/11	22/22	0/1		22/37	2/3	0/2
Ca	11/12	25/25	1/1	4/4	3/3	6/6	0/1		2/6	0/1	
Cl	14/14	8/8	3/3	2/2	1/1	9/9	1/1	1/1	8/8		2/2
Coll	26/26	16/16	5/5	12/12	17/17				5/6	1/1	
D	4/4	3/3	1/1	6/6	3/3				1/1	1/1	0/1
Dag	12/13	16/16	2/2	1/1	6/6	3/3			1/1		
G	13/13	16/16	3/3	1/1	9/9	1/1	0/1		0/3	0/2	
H	5/5	4/4	2/2	2/2	9/9	7/7			1/1		1/1
J	30/30	57/57	23/23	17/19	18/19	28/29	0/2		2/22	0/2	
Jer	11/11	11/11	3/3	5/5	5/5	3/3	0/1		0/2	0/1	
M	49/49	62/62	50/50	30/33	39/39	17/17	0/9	1/1	5/62	1/1	0/1
MCf	9/9	11/11	2/2	3/3	3/3	9/9	0/1		2/7	0/1	3/13
N	24/24	25/25	7/7	12/12	9/9	40/40	0/4		0/16		
Nl	28/28	67/67	12/12	10/11	35/35	12/12	0/4		2/35	3/3	0/1
TPM	5/5	13/13	8/9	3/3	12/12	7/7		0/1	1/6		

Guillaume Quiquer, the author of *Coll* and *Nom*, makes a number of apparent mistakes in the mutation of *bout*—more specifically in the forms meaning ‘to have’—namely *Coll* 27 *mem voa* instead of *mem boa* ‘I had’, 75 *Nho voa* (\**Nho poa*) ‘you did not have (imperf. 2pl.)’, 253 *ho veza pliget guenoch* (\**ho peza...*) ‘that it has pleased you (2pl.)’ (beside 93 *ho beza*, which may be [o peða]). Nothing of the sort, i.e. that lenited forms appear in the 1sg. and 2pl. of ‘to have’, seems to be attested elsewhere in the language (*ALBB* 85, 86; *FavY* §256, §340, §341, §421, §425; *HMSB* §140).

Peter SCHRIJVER has suggested to me (p.c.) that initial *v*- in the paradigm of *kaout* ‘to have’ might be explained as follows: the original form of the imperfect is *oa* /*qa*/, i.e. 1sg. -*m oa*, 1pl. *hon oa*. Initial *v*- appears for the same reasons as in MB *voar* /*qar*/ = ModB *war*, i.e. that initial /*qa*/ could be pronounced [vqa], with an onset *v*-. During the MB period, initial *b*- is added to the imperfect of *kaout* from the preterite and the subjunctive, yielding e.g. 1sg -*m boa*, at which point the initial [v] from earlier *oa* [m vqa] could be reinterpreted as the lenition of *boa* (cf. *HMSB* §139.2, n. 2). This may have created the perception that the paradigm had the lenition of *b*- everywhere in the imperfect, which Quiquer then extends

to the infinitive in Coll 253 *ho veza*.<sup>41</sup> Quiquer unexpectedly lenites one more word in Coll, *virviff* (= *birviff*) in absolute initial position, where we expect /b/-, and one in Nom 253b-1 *mæñ vez* ‘tombstone’ (ModB *maen-bez*, cf. *GIB* 1843).

The norm for *bout* that we have just established—i.e. that mutation is regularly indicated in finite forms, but irregularly in non-finite forms—may be used to compare with other verbs in which lenition(-and-provection) appears in spelling. It is less useful to compare, say, adjectives to this norm, as we do not find them in the same syntactic positions as verbs. Thus, I will—when possible—compare mutation in verbs to the norm for *bout*, but mutation in other word classes will be compared to the overall MB norm, which states that mutations are not written.

### 2.1.3 USE OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before we turn to the description of the database, it should briefly be noted in which manner the analysis deals with the theoretical considerations discussed in Chapter 1. The observations from the past literature (§1.2) are taken into consideration directly in the analysis of the corpus (§3.1.1-5); I will refer to these observations (as formulated in §1.2.7) where Middle Breton exhibits any similar behaviors. Moreover, in §3.1.6, which is a summary of the first part of the analysis, I will give an overview of the referenced observations. The various theories on code-switching and loanwords, which I discuss in §1.1.3, will be revisited in §3.2.2, once the entirety of the data has been discussed. Lastly, a discussion of the relevant phonological developments in the history of Breton (§1.3) in light of the data analysis will take place in §4.2.

## 2.2 THE DATABASE

In the various sections below, I will discuss various aspects of the database I created: the layout (§2.2.1), the processes of data entry (§2.2.2), the interpretation of data (§2.2.3), and finally, the corpus of texts used for this research (§2.3.1).

### 2.2.1 LAYOUT

I created a database using FileMaker Pro 17, a dedicated software for the creation of large-scale databases; FileMaker has a far greater range of possibilities than e.g. Microsoft Access when it comes to options for storing and visualizing the inserted data. FileMaker has been used for Celtic historical linguistics before in GRIFFITH (2013), which is a searchable database of the Old Irish glosses in the Milan Codex Ambrosius C 301 inf.; I have taken inspiration from its layout, and used it to become acquainted with the

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<sup>41</sup> The full context is *ho veza pliget guenoch*, lit. ‘your (2pl.) being pleased with you (2pl.)’; the construction here is dependent (possessive) pronoun + infinitive + past participle, where the pronoun takes the role of the object; the subject is unexpressed. See *HMSB* §53. We may also note that Quiquer does correctly produce provection in Coll 249 *mar ho pez affer achano me* ‘if you have business with me’.

software. What follows is a rudimentary description of my FileMaker ‘solution’, i.e. program I have created; the interested reader may find a more in-depth description in Appendix 2. In total, the database contains 20,582 separate attestations of words with initial *b-*, *m-*, and *v-*.

FileMaker works with ‘Tables’, ‘Records’, ‘Fields’, ‘Layouts’, and ‘Relationships’. Each Table, visually represented on one or multiple Layouts, contains multiple Fields in which data can be stored; such data is stored per individual Record.

Tables can also be connected to one another via Relationships, in which one or multiple fields from Table A are connected to one or multiple fields from Table B. This allows for Records from these Tables to have relationships, too, provided the contents of the connected Fields are identical.

In the most rudimentary description possible of this database, Table A is named ‘Attestations’, and Table B is named ‘Lemmata’. I will refer to records in the respective Tables as ‘attestation’ and ‘lemma’:

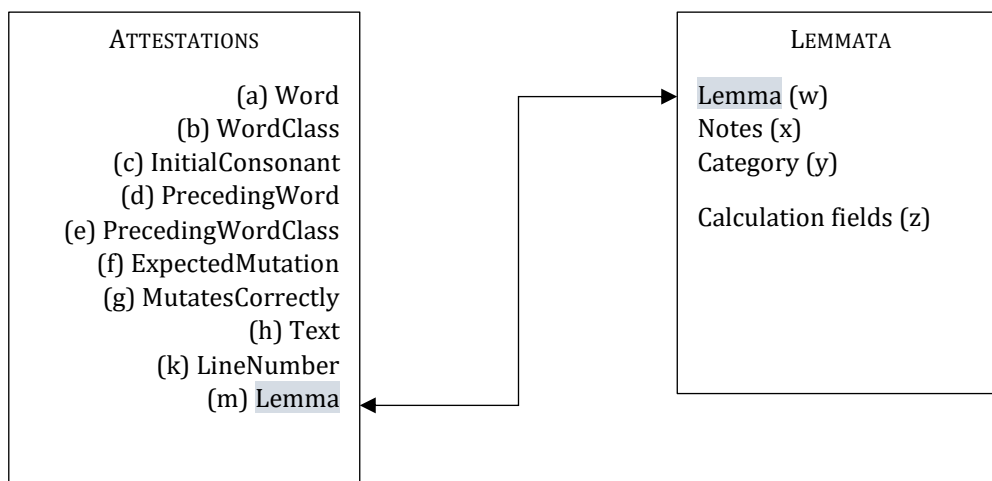


Figure 1: a simplified representation of the relationships between the tables in the database.

The Attestations Table is the one I used for data entry. Each attestation is a single instance of a word in a text, represented in the database in its original spelling (a). Moreover, I have indicated (b) the word class of each attestation, i.e. ‘verb’, ‘noun’, ‘adjective’, etc., and (c) the initial consonant of the attested spelling. I have also recorded information about the mutation context of each attestation by indicating (d) the preceding word(s), i.e. words that may or may not cause mutation, (e) the word class of the preceding word, (f) the mutation that the preceding word is expected to cause, and (g) whether the attestation (i.e. the spelling of the word stored in (a) shows the ‘correct’ type of mutation according to the conventions of Middle Breton.<sup>42</sup> I have included information about the location of

<sup>42</sup> For example, if the recorded spelling is *volontez*, and it is preceded by *ho* (poss. pron. 2pl ‘thy’), then field (f) contains “provection”, and field (g) contains “no”, because the spelling *volontez* does not represent a *b-* or *m-* affected by provection.

each attestation by recording the name of the text (h) and the line number<sup>43</sup> (k). The last field (m) is used to connect each attestation to the lemma to which it belongs.

<b>WORD</b> <i>mat</i>	<b>WORDCLASS</b> adjective	<b>INITIALCONSONANT</b> m
<b>PRECEDINGWORD</b> <i>ha</i>	<b>PRECEDINGWORDCLASS</b> conjunction	<b>EXPECTED MUTATION</b> none
		<b>MUTATES CORRECTLY?</b> yes
<b>TEXT</b> N	<b>LINENUMBER</b> 570	<b>DATEOF TEXT</b> late 15th to early 16th c.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <b>LEMMA</b> <i>mat</i>		<b>Attestation ID</b> 8829

Figure 2: an example of a record from the Attestations Table: N 570 *ha mat*, which expects no mutation.

The Attestations Table is in a so-called many-to-one relationship with the Lemmata Table, meaning that a single record from Attestations may have only one related record in Lemmata (i.e. one attestation can only belong to a single lemma), but a single record from Lemmata may have multiple related records in Attestations (i.e. one lemma may have multiple attestations). This effectively makes it possible to group every record in Attestations per lemma.

Each record in Lemmata contains (w) a name for said lemma, (x) fields for various notes, and (z) a large number of calculation fields, which are used in the various visualizations of the data, and not directly in the Lemmata Table; I will come to these in a separate section. Calculation fields in FileMaker do not allow for the manual entry of data; instead, lines of code can be written for these fields to calculate specific values based on data entered in other fields.<sup>44</sup> The Lemmata Table also contains a so-called ‘portal’, which shows all related attestations to the currently selected lemma.

<p><b>LEMMA</b> <i>mat</i>      N. 750</p> <p>Category B1, few v-spellings, mutate correctly</p> <p><b>ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES</b> good (adj.); well (adv.)</p> <p><b>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES</b></p> <p><b>MISCELLANEOUS NOTES</b> often lenites as direct object of a verb (not as predicate, though, so ober vat, vezo mat) see HMSB \$13.15</p>	<p>Attestations    <b>Index</b></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>TEXT</th> <th>PREC. WORD</th> <th>WORD</th> <th>EXPECTED MUTATION</th> <th>MUTATES CORRECTLY?</th> <th></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>eal</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>raue</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>pesquet</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>pesquet</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>Ael</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>roe</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>auel</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>a</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>lenition</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>apret</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>prouinc</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>lenition</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>tut</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>lenition</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>quehezl</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>digaret</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>lasou</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>mab</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>en</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>mintin</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> <tr><td>N</td><td><i>compsou</i></td><td><i>mat</i></td><td>none</td><td>yes</td><td>Q</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	TEXT	PREC. WORD	WORD	EXPECTED MUTATION	MUTATES CORRECTLY?		N	<i>eal</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>raue</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>pesquet</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>pesquet</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>Ael</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>roe</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>auel</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>a</i>	<i>mat</i>	lenition	yes	Q	N	<i>apret</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>prouinc</i>	<i>mat</i>	lenition	yes	Q	N	<i>tut</i>	<i>mat</i>	lenition	yes	Q	N	<i>quehezl</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>digaret</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>lasou</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>mab</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>en</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>mintin</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q	N	<i>compsou</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q
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N	<i>apret</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>prouinc</i>	<i>mat</i>	lenition	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>tut</i>	<i>mat</i>	lenition	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>quehezl</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>digaret</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>lasou</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>mab</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>en</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>mintin</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														
N	<i>compsou</i>	<i>mat</i>	none	yes	Q																																																																																																														

Figure 3: an example of a record in the Lemmata table, *mat* 'good (adj.), well (adv.)'.

<sup>43</sup> Or stanza or page number; this is all specified per text in §2.3.1.

<sup>44</sup> For in-depth information about the calculations used in these fields, see Appendix 2.

### 2.2.2 DATA ENTRY

The first phase of data entry consisted of going through all texts and recording each instance of all words written with initial *b-*, *m-*, *v-*, and *u-*. This was a rather lengthy, but straight-forward process, and data about each attestation was collected in the ways described above.

The second phase consisted of checking the mutation contexts. This proved necessary, as there were some inconsistencies in the data<sup>45</sup> that needed to be corrected, (e.g. mistakes I had made during data entry, such as ExpectedMutation set to 'none' when the preceding word is *da* 'to', which causes lenition). Using FileMaker's built-in search function, I was easily able to filter records based on values in the PrecedingWord field, which allowed me to edit mutation contexts efficiently and quickly.

The third phase took place in the Lemmata Table, where I adjusted the grouping of Attestations in Lemmata. During the first phase of data entry, I had not yet settled on a clear system by which to group attestations under lemmata, which meant that the conventions concerning this (e.g. are the singular and the plural of nouns separate lemmas?) were inconsistent in places. Checking the relationships between these tables also aided me in correcting a few mistakes in grouping, e.g. *bet* 'until' (ModB *betek*) under the lemma *bet* 'world'.

The grouping of lemmata on which I eventually settled is more or less based on LE MENN'S (2000) conventions in his index to the *Nomenclator*, and works as follows:<sup>46</sup>

- ▶ Nouns: the form given as the lemma is the singular, unless the word is only attested as a plural. Plurals and diminutives are grouped under the same lemma, e.g. *map* 'son, boy' also includes *mabic* 'little son/boy' and *mybyen* 'sons, boys'. Not included, however, are any other derivations, e.g. *mab* → *mibiliez* 'childhood', *mestr* 'master' → *mestres* 'mistress', etc.
- ▶ Adjectives: the comparative and superlative are included under the same lemma as the regular adjective, e.g. *bras* 'great' → *brassoeh* 'greater', *brassaff* 'greatest'.

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<sup>45</sup> This resulted from a number of factors. First, I was still learning about the possibilities that FileMaker offers: I learned how to script certain automatizations halfway through the first phase of data entry. For example, I later added a script to be performed upon exiting the PrecedingWordClass field that checks whether the PrecedingWord is equal to "a", and whether the PrecedingWordClass is equal to "verbal particle". Meeting these requirements would automatically set the value of ExpectedMutation to "lenition". I did not create automatic scripts for all known mutating particles, though, and I decided to continue with data entry as before, opting to check the mutation contexts once all the data had been collected.

<sup>46</sup> Any mistakes in grouping lemmata, or in filing attestations under the correct lemma, naturally remain my own.

- ▶ Verbs: the infinitive is given as the lemma, and all forms of the verb (including the past participle) are included.

Another aspect of data entry was the decision to omit some words, even though they are written with initial *m-*, *v-* or *u-*.<sup>47</sup> These words never mutate in Modern Breton, and it can be safely assumed that they never mutated in Middle and Early Modern Breton, either. Below is a full list of such words I have encountered:

- ▶ (1) possessive pronoun 1sg. *ma, va* (*HMSB* §53.1, §54.1, §55.1) and personal pronoun 1sg. *me* (*HMSB* §51), including e.g. *men* (indep. pers. pron. 1sg. + dependent pronoun 3sg), *myza(ff)* ‘me, then/though’ (indep. pers. pron. 1sg. + *eza* ‘thus’), *-me* or *-ve* (emphatic pers. pron.). While there is variation in the initial consonant of these pronouns, this represents a dialectal feature, with *v-* mostly confined to the Léon dialect (see *ALBB* 041 ‘mon frère? (où est...); à mon (frère) (donnez cela...)', 572 ‘mon père; des pères’).
- ▶ (2) demonstrative pronoun *-man* ‘this, these’ = ModB *-mañ* (*HMSB* §75a).
- ▶ (3) conjunction *mar* ‘so’ (*HMSB* §33).
- ▶ (4) conjunction *ma, mar* ‘if, where’ (*HMSB* §198).
- ▶ (5) relative particle *ma(z)* ‘that’ (*HMSB* §84).
- ▶ (6) 1sg. forms of the verb *kaout* ‘to have’,<sup>48</sup> where the verbal component has initial *m-*, e.g. pres. ind. 1sg. *me meus* ‘I have’, imperf. ind. 1sg. *me moa* ‘I had’; these are actually affixed pronouns 1sg. connected to an elided verbal particle. See *HMSB* §140.
- ▶ (7) preposition *ves* ‘out of’ = *eus /øʂ/*, cf. *GIB* 778, *GMB* 737, and *FavG* (s.v. *ves*).
- ▶ (8) words with initial *v-* as the result of contraction, or elision of the initial vowel, e.g. Coll 195 *da vit* < \**da evit* ‘for’.
- ▶ (9) words where initial *v-* represents /y/, e.g. *vsag* ‘use’ < OFr. *usage*.
- ▶ (10) words where the initial *v-* is the spelling of an onset [v]- before an initial diphthong (cf. §1.3.4a), i.e. preposition *var, voar* ‘on, upon’ (ModB *war*), *vi* ‘egg’. I include the preterite forms of *bout* (i.e. 1sg. *voan*, 3sg. *voa*, etc.), as these were often reanalyzed as \**boan*, \**boa*, at least partially under influence from *b-*forms in other tenses (cf. §1.3.4a, §2.1.2).

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<sup>47</sup> It should be specified that these words were not omitted if they were the preceding word; many of them even cause mutation. No such words started with a *b-*.

<sup>48</sup> Which itself is made up of dependent personal pronouns and forms of *bout* ‘to be’.

### 2.2.3 INTERPRETING THE DATA

Within FileMaker, so-called ‘calculation’ fields are used to perform calculations using values found in other fields, for example:

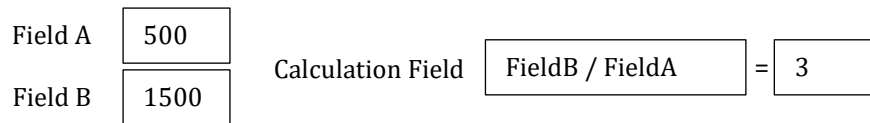


Figure 4: a simplified visual representation of calculation fields.

In my database, I use more complex calculations using SQL, which is a computing language supported in FileMaker that allows data to be looked up in calculations, without the need for relationships between tables, and to be produced in a single text string. Each calculation field recalculates its formula based on the record the user is viewing: in my case, the calculation fields are part of the Lemmata Table, which means that each lemma has a different value for each calculation field.

The Lemmata Table contains 66 calculation fields; these can be subdivided into three different calculations, for which each text in the corpus has a separate calculation. In these calculations, I distinguish between ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ mutations, as described at the beginning of this chapter (§2.1.1).

Taking the lemma *visaig* ‘face’ and the text *Buhez sanctes Cathell* as an example, the three calculations can be summarized as follows:

- ▶ (1) the percentage of correct mutations for the lemma *visaig*, i.e. *b*- or *m*-spellings, or *v*-spellings in contexts of lenition(-and-provection), as a percentage of all attestations of *visaig* in *Buhez sanctes Cathell*.
- ▶ (2) the percentage of *v*-spellings for the lemma *visaig* as a percentage of all attestations of *visaig* in *Buhez sanctes Cathell*.
- ▶ (3) the percentage of correct mutations for the lemma *visaig* that are spelled with initial *v*- as a percentage of all attestations where *visaig* is spelled with initial *v*- in *Buhez sanctes Cathell*.

A number of additional parameters can be added to these calculation fields so that they appear as colored squares. The colors of these squares depend on the value of the field, so that the percentages from 0 to 100 can be represented as a red-yellow-green color gradient. The results for the specific calculations above can be presented as follows:

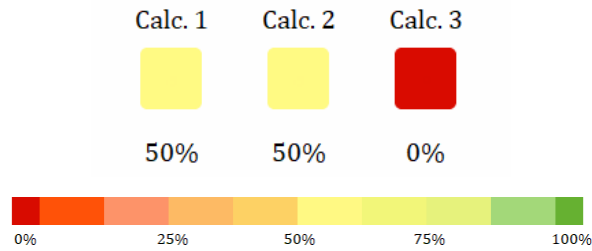


Figure 5: *visaig* in *Buhez sanctes Cathell*, with all three calculations shown.

In the complete visualizations, in which each of the 22 texts is represented by a colored square, only one calculation at a time is shown in a single image; moreover, the percentages provided by the calculations are given for all texts. These different visualizations, six in total, differ from one another based on a number of variables present in the texts; I discuss them in more detail below (§§2.3.2-6) when discussing the appropriate aspects of the textual sources, such as dialect, authorship, and genre.

With these three types of calculations, I aim to describe the precise behavior of specific words per text. In the earliest version of the database, only the first calculation was included, which tells us how often a word mutates ‘correctly’. For example, the first calculation produces the following timeline for attestations of *volontez* ‘will’:

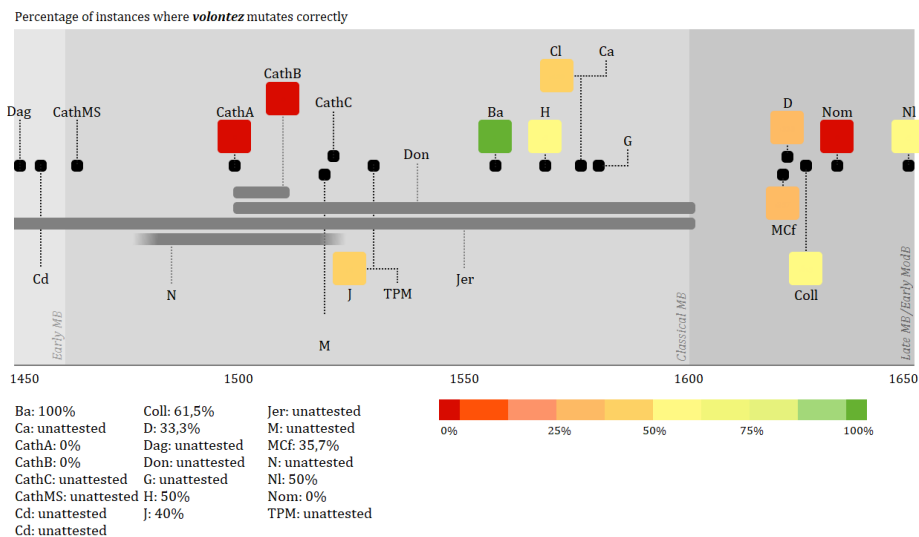
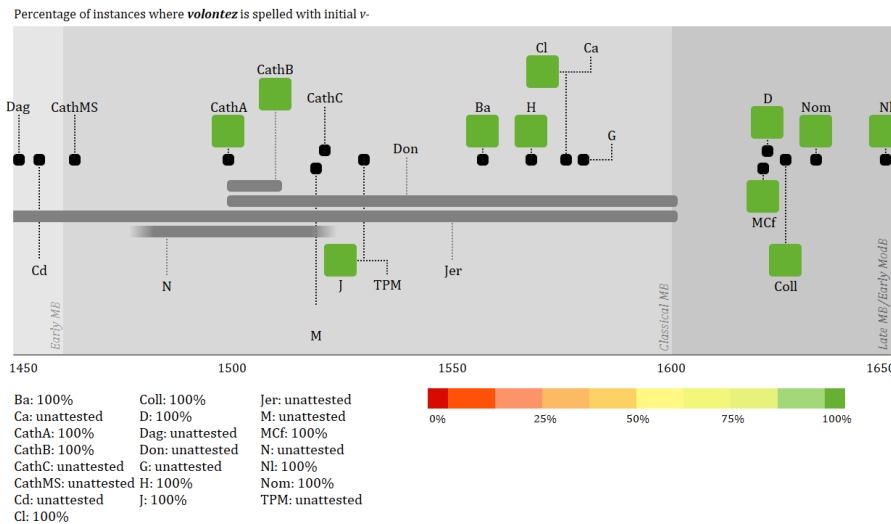


Figure 6: In this diagram and the ones below, the black squares represent precise dates, and the grey bars represent approximate dates; some texts are grouped together because they are dated to the same year. The timeline goes from 1450 to 1650, and the different shades of the background indicate different periods: 1450-1464 = Early MB (pre-*Catholicon*), 1464-1600 = Classical MB, 1600-1650 = Late MB or EModB.

What this tells us is that, for example, *volontez* always mutates correctly in *Buhez sante Barba* (Ba), but frequently mutates incorrectly in *Burzud bras Jesus* (J). The inconvenience with the sole use of this calculation is that it does not tell us whether the attestations all

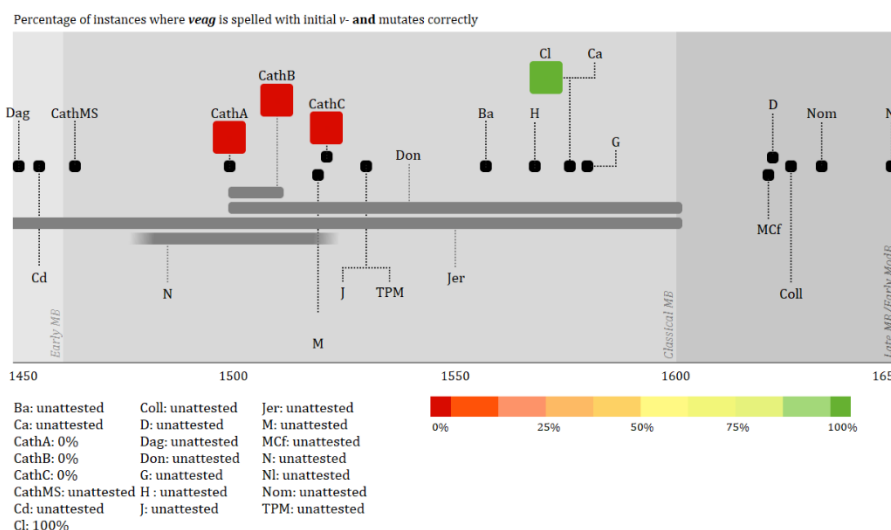


have *b-*, *m-*, or whether they are all *v*-initial spellings that happen to be found in context where they constitute a ‘correct’ mutation. Therefore, we need a second calculation that indicates how often a lemma is attested with *v*-spellings; for *volontez*, it looks as follows:



This calculation now provides us with the useful information that the attestations in Ba are all *v*-spellings in contexts where they constitute a ‘correct mutation’. In fact, it tells us that in the corpus, *volontez* is only ever found with initial *v*-.

Some words are attested both with *b-* and *m*-initial spellings, and *v*-spellings, such as *veag* ‘journey’. For such words, it may be of interest to know how frequently specifically the *v*-spellings represent correct mutations. Because the first calculation also includes *b-* and *m*-spellings, which are all ‘correct’, the percentages calculated there will be higher if there are *b-* and *m*-spellings alongside *v*-spellings; therefore, a third calculation is required that only takes into account *v*-spellings:



These three calculations, especially when combined, provide a detailed overview of the behaviors in ICM of words starting with *b-*, *m-*, and *v-*. The third calculation, however, is only truly useful for words attested with *b-*, *m-*, and *v-*: if the word is attested exclusively with *b-* and *m-*, it always returns ‘unattested’ (there are no *v*-spellings that can or cannot mutate correctly), and if the word is only attested with *v-*, the third calculation returns identical results to the first calculation (since there are only *v*-spellings, the total amount of *v*-spellings and the total amount of attestations are the same, giving the same percentage).

The timeline above is only one of a number of visualizations for the data: I will discuss all of the visualizations in more detail in §2.3. The intent in making these visualizations was, in the first place, to represent the data in a detailed manner, in which each visualization is able to show potential correlations with a number of specific variables (which I will discuss in §§2.3.2-6).

We must reflect, however, on the actual usefulness and usability of these visualizations, which—because of their focus on detail—are visually very dense and sometimes difficult to understand. However, increasing the intelligibility of the visualizations by simplifying them means that we lose some, if not much of the detail, which defeats the original purpose of the visualizations. On the other hand, visualizations also have to be interpretable by the reader without too much effort. Thus, we must unfortunately conclude that these highly detailed, and therefore complex visualizations are unfit to be used in Chapter 3. However, as I will also argue below (§2.3.2), it is nonetheless of interest to discuss the details of the variables that are represented in these visualizations. Before we turn to the rest of the visualizations, however, we must first present the textual sources included in the corpus.

## 2.3 THE CORPUS

As stated before (§2.1), the corpus of texts for this research consists more or less of the same material used in *FLMB*, which covers all major texts from the Middle Breton period as well as some later texts belonging to the Early Modern Breton period.

This being said, I have chosen to omit a number of texts from PIETTE’s corpus: the cartularies of Quimper, Quimperlé, Landevennec, and Redon, as they mostly contain Breton personal and place-names which do not appear in the rest of the corpus and thus bring little comparative value. Moreover, since my research is based so fundamentally on the non-indication of mutations in spelling, I limit myself to texts from the MB period, and to a few texts from the EModB period in which mutations are *not* indicated in spelling. Thus, the *Amours du Vieillard*, a lost comedy cited in Le Pelletier’s dictionary, is omitted in this corpus because initial mutation is expressed in writing.

I have also made two additions to the corpus: firstly, the *Mirouer an Confession*, which completes the trifecta<sup>49</sup> of books attributed to Tanguy Gueguen in SCHRIJVER (2011b)—PIETTE only includes the *Doctrin an Christenien*<sup>50</sup> and the *Noelou ancien ha deuot*—and secondly, the *Donoet*, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Latin grammar in Middle Breton, of which the first edition was published in 1975, two years after PIETTE'S *FLMB*.

It must be noted that the collection of texts consulted here is not comprehensive, as a number of minor texts that were not already included in *FLMB* were not added here. However, all major texts from the Middle Breton period are included, which gives us ample material to represent the period as a whole. For the transitory period between Middle Breton and Early Modern Breton (see SCHRIJVER 2011: 364), I have included the few works used for *FLMB* supplemented only by the *Mirouer an Confession*, which all follow the general MB convention of the non-representation of mutation in spelling.

For general information about the texts in question, I refer to SCHRIJVER (2011b: 360-364), whose abbreviations I follow.<sup>51</sup> What follows below is a comprehensive list of all texts included in the corpus, in alphabetical order of the abbreviations I provide for them. Under each description follows the main edition(s) used for data entry (•), secondary editions consulted for further notes and commentary (◦), and the original print represented in the main edition (►). In some instances, I consulted the original manuscript or print directly as the main source for data, in which case it is the first listed source: these were all made available to me in the form of non-searchable PDF files.

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<sup>49</sup> A number of further texts can be attributed to Gueguen: (1) a reproduction of the works contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Y 6183 from 1623, which is not included here as an older copy is available; (2) *Buhez sant Eüzen*,

<sup>50</sup> PIETTE erroneously lists this work as *Doctrinal an Christenien*, which is another, later translation from 1680 of the same French source (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 364).

<sup>51</sup> With some exceptions: I have separated the four versions of the Catholicon as does PIETTE, and given abbreviations where SCHRIJVER does not, e.g. 'Cl' for the *Cathechism hag instruction equit an Catholiquet*, 'Cd' for the *Credo*.

### 2.3.1 TEXTUAL SOURCES

- Ba *Buhez sante Barba*, 1557, printed by Bernard de Leau, Paris; anonymous author.
- ▶ ERNAULT's edition of the text is based on a transcription by HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ of the edition from 1557 listed below. Because that printed edition is incomplete, ERNAULT used the 1647 Morlaix edition to supply *variae lectiones*. I have used an unpublished transcription of this print by LE BIHAN, which is entirely searchable; LE BIHAN, like ERNAULT, uses the incomplete 1557 edition, and the 1647 edition for the missing lines (of which an overview exists in LE BERRE 2018: 27). Considering the length of the text, I opted to use this searchable transcription for data entry over ERNAULT's and LE BERRE's editions. Numbers in citations refer to stanzas.<sup>52</sup>
    - Unpublished transcription by Hervé LE BIHAN.
    - ERNAULT, Émile (1887a). *Le mystère de Sainte Barbe, tragédie bretonne, texte de 1557, publié avec traduction française, introduction et dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen*. Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles bretons.
    - LE BERRE, Yves (2018). *La Vie bretonne de sainte Barbe / Aman ez dezrou buhez sante Barba dre rym*. Brest: Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique.
      - ▶ London, British Library, C 40 B 49
      - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. YN 16.
- Ca *Buhez an itron Sanctes Cathell*, 1576, printed by (or for?) Bernard de Leau, Cuburien (near Morlaix); anonymous author.
- ▶ A prose translation of the Latin *vita* of St. Catherine from the *Legenda aurea*. SCHRIJVER (2011b: 362) names Gilles de Keranpuil as the author; I am unsure what his source is, as it is mentioned nowhere in the introduction of the edition.<sup>53</sup> The copy we have was apparently printed for (or by?) Bernard de Leau. ERNAULT's edition was the only one known to me. Numbers in citations refer to the numbered paragraphs in the edition.
    - ERNAULT, Émile (1887b). 'La vie de sainte Catherine, texte moyen breton'. In: *Revue Celtique* 8, pp. 76-95. Paris: F. Vieweg.
      - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. J 3007.

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<sup>52</sup> A third edition exists, dated 1608, and printed by P. Marcigay. It was edited by WIDMER et al. (2013), but I have not used this edition for data entry.

<sup>53</sup> Through personal communication with Peter SCHRIJVER, he has admitted to be unsure, too, what his source was for attributing Ca to Keranpuil. I will add the observation that in works attributed to Keranpuil, a particularity is that word-final  $-\mu$  is most commonly written  $-fu$  (cf. also HPB §857), e.g. Cl 218 *an quentafu articl* 'the first article', Cl 220 *Tretifu a ra* 'it is about ...', H 139 *Vn guez an bloaz da bihanafu* 'at least once a year', whereas Ca spells it  $-ff$ , e.g. Ca 5 *an puyantaff* 'the mightiest', Ca 31 *an porz en eff digoret dit* 'the gates of Heaven opened to you'.

- CathA *Catholicon*, 1499, printed by Jehan Calvez, Tréguier; edited by Auffret de Quatqueveran.
- ▶ The first printed Breton dictionary. The *Catholicons* present virtually no mutation contexts, being long lists of words, but they all (with the exception of CathMS) have words listed under *v* and written with initial *v-*, i.e. in non-mutation contexts. I have not used numbers in citation for any of the *Catholicons* as the words are generally easy to find.
    - ▶ Quimper, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés.
    - LE MEN, René-François (1867). *Le Catholicon de Jehan Lagadeuc, dictionnaire breton, français et latin*. Lorient: Corformat.
    - LE MENN, Gwennole (2001). *Le vocabulaire breton du Catholicon (1499). Le premier dictionnaire breton imprimé breton-français-latin de Jehan Lagadeuc*. Saint-Brieuc: Skol.
- CathB *Catholicon*, undated, printed by Jehan Corre, somewhere in Treger; auth. Jehan Lagadeuc.
- ▶ Different datings have been proposed (c. 1500, LE MENN 2001: 8; c. 1510, TRÉPOS 1964: 512), but with no surety.
    - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. X 946.
- CathC *Catholicon*, 1521, printed by Yves Quilleveré, Paris; auth. Jehan Lagadeuc.
- ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. X 2059.
- CathMS *Catholicon*, 1464, auth. Jehan Lagadeuc.
- ▶ This is the oldest existing copy of the *Catholicon*, upon which the subsequent printed editions (CathA, CathB, CathC) are based. Unfortunately, many folios are missing, which means nearly all entries for the letter *m* (only starting from *molestaff* onwards) and all entries for the letter *u/v* have been lost. I have consulted photocopies of the manuscript directly. I have included it for comparison with the other *Catholicons*, even though no words with initial *v-* are listed.
    - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 7656.
- Cd *Credo* from 'Le Mistere de la Resurrection de NSJC', 1456, anonymous author.<sup>54</sup>
- ▶ Found as part of the French-language *Mystère de la Résurrection*, during the scene where the Apostles are tasked in writing the *credo* in multiple languages; it is found alongside Latin, Hebrew, French, and German at f<sup>o</sup> 313v-314r of the manuscript. A more recent edition of the integral text exists (SERVET 1993, for the Breton *credo* see specifically p. 896), but the sometimes faulty Breton is left uncommented on. Numbers in citations refer to lines in the edition.

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<sup>54</sup> At least for the Breton.

- LE NESTOUR, Pierre (1899). 'Un *credo* en breton du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle'. In: *Revue Celtique* 20, pp. 184-90. Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon.
- SERVET, Pierre (1993). *Le Mystère de la Résurrection : Angers, 1456*, 2 vols. Geneva: Droz.
- Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, ms. 632.

Cl *Cathechism hag instruction eguit an Catholiquet*, 1576, printed for Jehan Kerver, Morlaix; auth. Gilles de Keranpuil.

- A translation into Breton of a Latin catechism by Canisius, published in Paris for Jacques Kerver (DELISLE 1895: 53). It is often mentioned alongside *Heuryou* as 'the works of Gilles de Keranpuil' and edited as a collection by STOKES (1876) and ERNAULT (1928, 1930a), but should be taken as a separate text (as do e.g. DELISLE 1895; SCHRIJVER 2011b: 362). I have used ERNAULT's edition, who makes a number of corrections to STOKES. Numbers in citations refer to the page number in the edition.
  - ERNAULT, Émile (1928). 'Le breton de Gilles de Keranpuil'. In: *Revue Celtique* 45, pp. 202-271. Paris: F. Vieweg.
  - ERNAULT, Émile (1930a). 'Le breton de Gilles de Keranpuil'. In: *Revue Celtique* 47, pp. 72-126. Paris: F. Vieweg.
  - STOKES, Whitley (1876). *Middle-Breton Hours. Edited, with a translation and glossarial index*. Calcutta.
    - Unspecified ms. once held by the countess of Kergariou, supplemented with another ms. then in the possession of M. Pol de Courcy, now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, B 27185.

Coll *Dictionnaire et colloques françois et breton*, 1626, printed by George Allienne, Morlaix; auth. Guillaume Quiquer.

- This is a conversation French-Breton conversation manual that includes a small vocabulary, the conjugation of *bout/bezout* 'to be', and a French-language treatise on the pronunciation of Breton. The original text, a French-Dutch conversation manual,<sup>55</sup> was composed in Flanders by Noël de Berlaimont, a French teacher from Antwerp (LE GOAZIOU 1950: 9; VAN DER SIJS 2004). It has a long history of being copied, even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (for which see LE GOAZIOU 1950: 3-7, 14-31 and LE MENN 1980). Numbers in citations refer to page number in the 'dialogue' portion of the text; numbers preceded by *d* refer to the pages of the dictionary, and numbers preceded by *g* refer to the grammar.
  - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. X 2054.
  - LE GOAZIOU, Adolphe (1950). *La longue vie de deux "Colloques François et Breton" (1626-1915). Essai de bibliographie bretonne*. Quimper: Le Goaziou.

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<sup>55</sup> Full title *VOCABULAIRE DE NOUVEAU ORDONNE ET DE RECHIEF RECORRIGE POUR APPRENDRE LEGIEREMENT A BIEN LIRE, ESCRIPRE ET PARLER FRANCOIS ET FLAMENG LEQUEL EST MIS TOUT LA PLUS PART PAR PERSONNAIGES*. An edition of this Flemish original exists in VERDEYEN (1925).

- D *Doctrin an Christenien*, 1622, printed by George Allienne, Morlaix; auth. Tanguy Gueguen.
- ▶ A Christian doctrine followed by the *Stabat Mater*. HEMON's edition was the only one available to me. Numbers in citations refer to the numbering of paragraphs in the edition; when preceded by 's', they refer to the *Stabat mater*, for which the numbering in the edition restarts from 1.
    - HEMON, Roparz (1977). *Doctrin an christenien. Texte de 1622 en moyen-breton accompagné de la version française et du texte en breton moderne de 1677, avec préface et notes*. Mediaeval and Modern Breton Series, vol. IV. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
    - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D 14604.
- Dag *An Dialog etre Arzur Roe dan Bretonnet ha Guynglaff*, 1450, copied by Louis le Pelletier; anonymous author.
- ▶ An incomplete copy (LARGILLÈRE 1928: 629) of this text is found in Louis Le Pelletier's dictionary. The author and place of origin are unknown, though there is some evidence to consider. Firstly, Le Pelletier had access to a copy of the *Dialog* that was from the abbey of Daoulas, which is slightly southeast of Brest. LE BIHAN (2013: 16-17) has argued that because a number of orthographic conventions and lexical choices (e.g. *auber* for *ober* 'to do', *berzut* for *burzut* 'miracle', specifically the use of *Bretoneri* ≈ 'the Bretons') liken this text to *Buhez santes Nonn*, there is some reason to believe that the two texts were composed in the same scriptorium; moreover, the *Buhez santes Nonn* was found in Dirinon (a neighboring commune directly north of Daoulas). That these two texts found in the same vicinity have such specific coincidences is striking—but the link is admittedly still tenuous. Another potential dialectal factor to be aware of is that one of the scribes working on the *Dialog* was possibly from Treger (LE BIHAN 2013: 17), or had extensive knowledge about the region. I have used LE BIHAN's edition as it is the most recent amongst the ones I had access to, and because it is accompanied by a detailed introduction discussing the origins of the text. Numbers in citations refer to line number.
    - LE BIHAN, Hervé (2013). *An Dialog etre Arzur Roe d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff. Texte prophétique breton en vers (1450) édité et présenté avec commentaires et notes*. Rennes: Tir.
    - LARGILLÈRE (1928). *Le dialogue entre Arthur et Guinclaff*. In: *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 38-4, pp. 627-674. Paris: H. Champion.
    - ▶ Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, 1007.
- Don *Donoet*, 16<sup>th</sup> c., anonymous printer; anonymous author.
- ▶ Fragments of this Breton-language Latin grammar were found in Plougrescant, which ERNAULT used directly to establish his notes. Afterwards, the fragments were apparently filed in the *Archives départementales des Côtes-du-Nord* (LE DUC 1975: 527), nowadays *Côtes-d'Armor*, but no shorthand reference is specified by LE DUC or ERNAULT. I

have used LE DUC's edition as it presents the text most faithfully. Numbers in citations refer to the numbering of paragraphs in the edition.

- LE DUC, Gwenaël (1975). 'Le *Donoet*, grammaire latine en moyen-breton'. In: *Études Celtiques* 14:2, pp. 525-65. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- LE DUC, Gwenaël (1979). 'Le *Donoet*, grammaire latine en moyen-breton (suite)'. In: *Études Celtiques* 16, pp. 237-59. Paris: Éditions du CNRS.
- ERNAULT, Émile (1930b). 'Petits textes et notes sur le moyen breton'. In: *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 39-1, pp. 457-496. Paris: H. Champion.
- Unspecified ms. kept at the *Archives départementales des Côtes-d'Armor*.

G *Buhez sant Guenole*, 1580, copied by Louis Le Pelletier; anonymous author.

- A hagiography of Saint Gwenôlé copied by Dom Le Pelletier as part of his dictionary. Le Pelletier claims to follow a printed edition from 1580, with additions from a later edition dated 1608 and written by "un Prêtre de Cornwaille", which can be confirmed and specified further to a Southeastern Cornouaille dialect bordering the Lower Vannetais area—likely somewhere along the river Ellé, south of Quimperlé—thanks to a number of dialectal traits present in the text (JØRGENSEN and WIDMER 2011: 26, 29-30). I have used JØRGENSEN and WIDMER'S edition as it is available online, and is more recent. Numbers in citations refer to line number.
- JØRGENSEN, Anders Richardt and WIDMER, Paul (2011). *An Buhez Sant Gwenôlé. Das Leben des heiligen Gwenole. Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*. Vienna: Praesens Verlag.
- ERNAULT, Émile (1932). 'L'ancien mystère de saint Gwenole, avec traduction et notes'. In: *Annales de Bretagne* 40:1, pp. 2-35. Rennes: Plihon, Paris: H. Champion.
- ERNAULT, Émile (1934). 'L'ancien mystère de saint Gwenole, avec traduction et notes'. In: *Annales de Bretagne* 41:1-2, pp. 104-141, 318-379. Rennes: Plihon, Paris: H. Champion.
- Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, 1007.

H *Heuryou*, 1568, printer unknown; auth. Gilles de Keranpuil.

- A Breton-language breviary. Two copies of this book are known to have survived: one was held by the mayor of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and one was in the possession of the Countess de Kergariou (DELISLE 1895: 42). I have used ERNAULT'S edition for the same reasons as described for Cl above. Numbers in citations refer to the page number in the edition.
- ERNAULT, Émile (1930a). 'Le breton de Gilles de Keranpuil'. In: *Revue Celtique* 47, pp. 127-159. Paris: F. Vieweg.
- STOKES, Whitley (1876). *Middle-Breton Hours. Edited, with a translation and glossarial index*. Calcutta.
- Unspecified ms. once held by the countess of Kergariou, supplemented with another ms. then in the possession of M. Pol de Courcy, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, B 27185.

J *An Passion + An Resurrection*, 1530. printed by Yves Quilleveré, Paris; anonymous author.

- These two texts are commonly taken as parts of a single text, the *Burzud bras Jesus* (Great Mystery of Jesus), which deals with the crucifixion and



resurrection of Christ. It is found in the same manuscript as three poems, which are listed under TPM. HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ's edition was the only one available to me. Unmentioned in both this edition and HEMON'S (1981) edition of TPM is that this is printed by Yves Quilleveré (RENOUARD 1898: 309). Numbers in citations refer to the page number in the edition.

- HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ, Théodore (1866). *Le grand mystère de Jésus, Passion et Résurrection*. Paris: Didier et Co, libraires-éditeurs.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Y 6183.

Jer *La destruction de Jérusalem*, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c., copied by Louis Le Pelletier; anonymous author.

- Loose fragments of this lost tragedy play are cited in Dom Le Pelletier's dictionary. Enough of it is cited that we can place it in the tradition of pseudo-historical retellings of the sacking of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD, but that is the extent to which we can identify the original story of the piece (HEMON and LE MENN 1969: x.). HEMON AND LE MENN's edition is the only one of which I am aware. Numbers in citations refer to the numbering of paragraphs in the edition; when preceded by 'a', they refer to citations from the appendix (HEMON and LE MENN 1969: 351-410).

- HEMON, Roparz and LE MENN, Gwennole (1969). *Les fragments de la destruction de Jérusalem et des Amours du Vieillard*, pp. 1-202, 351-410. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, 1007.

M *Le Mirouer de la Mort*, 1519. anonymous printer, Cuburien; auth. Jehan an Archer Coz.

- A long poem containing gruesome descriptions of death. The text is written in a Treger dialect (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 362), by an author from Plougonven. According to ERNAULT (1914: 8), its contents are based on a Latin text originally composed in Dutch Limburg. ERNAULT's edition was the only one available to me. Numbers in citations refer to line number.

- ERNAULT, Émile (1914). *Le Mirouer de la Mort, poème breton du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié d'après l'exemplaire unique, traduit et annoté*. Paris: H. Champion.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, M 7384.

Mcf *An Mirouer a Confession*, 1621, printed by George Allienne, Morlaix; auth. Tanguy Gueguen.

- A prose translation of French work by reverend Emery de Bonis containing *horae*, doctrines, and other religious didactic material. LE MENN's edition was not available to me on short notice, and the original manuscript is available online at gallica.bnf.fr, which is why I have consulted it directly. Numbers in citations refer to page number.

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D 13843.

- N *Buhez santes Nonn*, late 15<sup>th</sup> c. to early 16<sup>th</sup> c., anonymous printer; anonymous author.
- ▶ A long poem that recounts the *vita* of saint Non. For the same reasons as *Buhez Sante Barba*, I have used an unpublished, searchable transcription by LE BIHAN, which is based on the manuscript listed below. Numbers in citations refer to line number unless preceded by *s*, in which case they refer to the opening stanzas (1-25).
    - Unpublished transcription by Hervé LE BIHAN.
    - LE BERRE, Yves, TANGUY, Bernard, and CASTEL, Yves-Pascal (1999). *Buez santez Nonn. Mystère breton, Vie de sainte Nonne*. Treflevenez: Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique; Mihini-Lenevez.
    - ERNAULT, Émile (1887c). 'La vie de sainte Nonne'. In: *Revue Celtique* 8, pp. 230-301; 405-91. Paris: F. Vieweg.
    - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, R 25189.
- NI *An Noelou ancien ha deuot*, 1650, printed by George Allienne, Quimper; auth. Tanguy Gueguen.
- ▶ A collection of Christmas hymns attributed to T. Gueguen printed posthumously. Individual hymns were edited by HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ across four consecutive volumes of *Revue Celtique* (10-13), all of which are available online, but the original manuscript is also available on gallica.bnf.fr; in this case, using the original manuscript for data entry was more practical. Numbers in citations refer to page number.
    - ▶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. YN 17.
    - HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ, Théodore (1889). 'Anciens noëls Bretons'. In: *Revue celtique* 10, pp. 1-49, 288-319. Paris: F. Vieweg.
    - HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ, Théodore (1890). 'Anciens noëls Bretons'. In: *Revue celtique* 11, pp. 46-67. Paris: F. Vieweg.
    - HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ, Théodore (1891). 'Anciens noëls Bretons'. In: *Revue celtique* 12, pp. 20-51. Paris: F. Vieweg.
    - HERSART DE LA VILLEMARQUÉ, Théodore (1892). 'Anciens noëls Bretons'. In: *Revue celtique* 13, pp. 126-169, 334-343. Paris: F. Vieweg.
    - PENNAOD, Goulven (1984). *An novelov ancien ha devot / Les noëls anciens et dévots. Texte de 1650 accompagné d'une traduction française*. Plomelin: Preder.
- Nom *Nomenclator communium rerum propria nomina gallico idiomate indicans, multo quam antea breuior & emendator, auctore Hadriano Ivnio Medico*, 1633, printed by George Allienne, Morlaix; auth. Guillaume Quicquer.
- ▶ Earlier, purely Latin-French editions of this vocabulary exist (e.g. one from 1608, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, X 26810); Quicquer's edition adds Breton equivalents to the existing Latin-French vocabulary. The original text was from the hand of a Dutch historiographer and physician, Hadrianus Junius.
- Unfortunately, only vol. 2 of LE MENN's edition was available to me, which consists of a full index of words in the 1633 *Nomenclator*, as well as variant spellings for each word; the first volume contains the edited text in its

original spelling. In vol. 2, LE MENN chooses to cite example sentences from the original text, but he modernizes the spelling of these sentences in doing so. This means that the context of certain words is not entirely accurately represented in the portion of the edition that I had to my disposal. Therefore, I decided to record mutation contexts only in words starting with *v-*, as this meant I had to make fewer approximations concerning the original spelling based on the modernized sentences given by LE MENN. Fortunately, however, LE MENN almost always gives the original spellings per single word, though at times he only lists a number of variants without specifying which variant is found at which locus.<sup>56</sup> Numbers in citations refer to stanza (first string of numbers), column ('a' or 'b'), and line number (second string of numbers), e.g. Nom 280b-3 *bleïzy* 'wolves'.

- LE MENN, Gwennole (2000). *Le Nomenclator Latin-Français-Breton de Guillaume Quiquer de Roscoff (1633)*, vol. 2. Saint-Brieuc: Éditions Skol.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. PX 13.

TPM      *Trois poèmes en moyen-breton*, 1530, printed by Yves Quilleveré, Paris; anonymous author.

- These three poems, *Tremenuan an Ytron Guerches Maria*, *Pemzec Leuenez Maria*, and *Buhez mab Den*, are found in the same print edition as *An Passion* and *An Resurrection*. HEMON (1981: xiv) argues, on the basis of style and versification, that *Buhez mab Den* was written by a different author than the other two poems. I have not directly taken this into account, as I have grouped the three poems together as is customary. I have chosen HEMON's edition over that of LE BIHAN, as *Pemzec Leuenez Maria* is absent from the latter. Numbers in citations refer to the page number in the edition.

- HEMON, Roparz (1981). *Trois poèmes en moyen-breton*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- LE BIHAN, Hervé (2018). 'Tremenuan an Ytron Guerches Maria & Buhez Mab Den'. In: *Hor Yezh 294 (Mezheven)*, pp. 3-49.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Y 6183.

### 2.3.2 A TIMELINE FOR THE TEXTUAL SOURCES

Now that we have discussed all the texts present in the corpus, we may turn to a more detailed discussion of a number of variables that exist in the texts. As previously stated (§2.2), the original intent for these visualizations was to provide detailed insight on possible correlations between the behavior in spelling norms and ICM of single words, and a number of extralinguistic variables. However, for two main reasons, I will not be using these visualizations in Chapter 3: firstly, while the visualizations are certainly detailed, this is ultimately to their own detriment, often being too complex to represent

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<sup>56</sup> For example, *moneiz* apparently appears as *mouneiz* (without trema) and *mouneïz* (with trema). Such differences are usually not truly significant, but it is regrettable nonetheless that I was not able to verify which spelling can be found where.

the data in a quickly comprehensible manner; and secondly, the visualizations have simply not led to the discovery of any perceivable influence from any of the external factors I will discuss below.

Nonetheless, I will still present the visualizations below in full detail, because they were a crucial aspect of the construction of the database. Moreover, the actual variables within the MB textual sources are still worthy of thorough discussion, even though in the end, no correlations were found. In Appendix 3, I provide a full list of visualizations for three examples (*bisaig/visaig* ‘face’, *vertuz* ‘virtue’, and *volontez* ‘will’; these words all have a rather high number of attestations) to demonstrate the lack of any meaningful correlations.<sup>57</sup>

The first variable is time, for which I have established a timeline (Figure 7) based on the information given above.

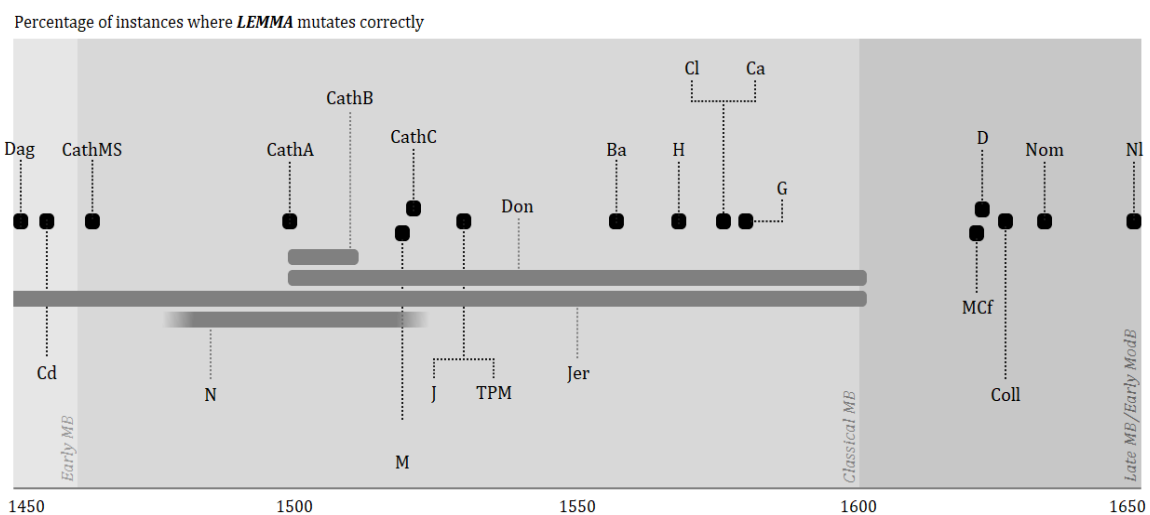


Figure 7. Textual sources represented on a timeline. Black squares represent precise dates, and the grey bars represent approximate dates; some texts are grouped together because they are dated to the same year. The timeline goes from 1450 to 1650, and the different shades of the background indicate different periods: 1450-1464 = Early MB (pre-Catholicon), 1464-1600 = Classical MB, 1600-1650 = Late MB or EModB.

With this timeline, I attempted to provide an answer to the question how individual words behave over time. It must be noted, though, that the temporal span of the texts included in the corpus is relatively short at only 200 years. To truly take into account the variable of time, it is of interest to trace the development of words across multiple stages of the language into the modern period. Therefore, a comparison with EModB and ModB is desirable; however, constructing entire corpora for these periods is something that exceeds the scope of this thesis. I will nonetheless attempt a comparison in §3.2, where I cite from *DEVRI* and *GIB*.

<sup>57</sup> In the interest of the readability of this chapter, I have decided not to include them here. The visualizations are rather large, and providing all visualizations for even one word requires 9 pages.

### 2.3.3 AUTHORS, PRINTERS, EDITORS, AND PATRONS

Besides time, a second variable to keep in mind is authorship and the editing process. Certain authors, editors, or printers might favor certain spellings, or mutate certain words, while others do not. I will account for this by grouping the texts by the manuscript or print (that I have either directly consulted, or that was used in the modern edition) as well as grouping these manuscripts and editions per ascribed author, editor, and printer, to the extent that such information is available. In this way, I hope to be able to address the question whether dialect, idiolect, and register can play a role in the potential variation of the ICM-nonconformity of *v*-initial loanword; I will specify for each next visualization (discussed here and in §§2.3.3-5) which question I attempted to address using it. Below is a list of identifiable people involved in the production of the texts from the corpus:

- ▶ (1) Don, Cd, N = Anonymous. We have no information about anyone involved in the production of these texts.

Numbers 2 to 6 are directly identifiable to specific authors:

- ▶ (2) CathMS = Jehan Lagadeuc (see FALC'HUN 1981: 123-127) was a parson from Plougouven, who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He is mentioned in the introduction to CathMS: *Ego johannis lagadeuc parrochie de ploegonven diocesis trecorensis* 'I, Jehan Lagadeuc [in] the parish of Plougouven of the diocese of Trégor'.
- ▶ (3) M = Jehan an Archer Coz. Not much is known about this author other than what is said on f<sup>o</sup> 71v: *Maestr IEHAN an Archer coz, à parhos Ploegonven*. What exactly *maestr* 'master' is supposed to qualify him as is unclear, but LE BIHAN (2013: 18) has proposed that this could perhaps refer to a function in bardic schools, called *skoldi* 'school-house[s]', and that Jehan an Archer Coz was thus a "maître dans l'art de la rime", i.e. a graduate from (or teacher at?) a *skoldi*. I am not entirely convinced by this, as the use of Lat. *magister* and OFr. *maistre* in the *Catholicons* (see (7) and (8) below) denote parsons, rectors and canons; if the Middle Breton use of *maestr* mirrors its Latin and French equivalents, there is no reason to assume that Jehan an Archer Coz was not a cleric.

Léon DUROCHER<sup>58</sup> suggests that Jehan an Archer is a 'Bretonified' name, and that he belonged to a 15<sup>th</sup>-to-16<sup>th</sup>-century family of printers from Nantes called *Larcher*, and that he "profita des leçons de Lagadeuc, en celtifiant son nom"; ERNAULT (1914: 11) presents this theory without further comment; we would do best to proceed in similar fashion. However, we might make

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<sup>58</sup> From an article cited by ERNAULT (1914: 7-12) throughout the introduction; it was supposedly published in a volume of the *Fureteur Breton*, but I fear it has been lost to time.

an exception for the suggestion that Jehan an Archer Coz could have studied under Jehan Lagadeuc, if we suppose that he was a cleric rather than—or on top of—being a graduate from a *skoldi*. The two could well have been contemporaries, and since they both wrote from Plougouven, they might even have worked and lived in the same parish. There must have been a considerable difference in age, though, as there are 55 years between the dates of composition of CathMS and M. By the time of the *Mirouer's* 1575 print, Jehan an Archer Coz had passed, as indicated by a short tribute by the printer (ERNAULT 1914: 10).

- ▶ (4) Cl, H = Gilles de Keranpuil (see JÉGOU DU LAZ 1895, PONDAVEN 1924: 42-49) was born between 1530-1535 in Saint-Martin-des-Champs, near Morlaix, and died in Rennes in 1578. De Keranpuil lost his parents at an early age and was raised in a French-speaking environment. He then probably studied in Paris along with his two brothers Jean and Pierre. Between 1568 and 1569, he was canon in Carhaix; by 1572, he was parson of the parishes of Cléden-Poher, Motreff, and Tréaugan, all around Carhaix. Right before his death, he was likely preparing to move to Vannes, where he had just been named its bishop. Whether Keranpuil's originally 'Morlaix' Breton was influenced by his studies in Paris, or by his clerical function in the vicinity of Carhaix, has to my knowledge not been studied; therefore, I assume that his Breton might have been representative of the Morlaix area, where he was born.
- ▶ (5) D, MCf, Nl = Tanguy Gueguen. Gueguen was a preacher and organist from Saint-Pol-de-Léon; he was the parson of Plouguerneau (KERVILER 1907: 266), and from 1590 onwards he was (also?) parson of Saint-Martin-de-Morlaix. George Allienne, see (13), published all five of the works of which Gueguen was the translator or editor, all of them except for the *Noelou* dated between 1621 and 1623; the *Noelou* were published posthumously in 1650. Gueguen spent the last years of his life as the director for a children's choir, until his passing in July 1632 (LE MENN 2002: 10-11). LE MENN (2002: 12-20) makes note of some aspects of rhyme and spelling in Gueguen's texts; I will not repeat them here as they are not directly relevant for this research.
- ▶ (6) Coll, Nom = Guillaume Quiquer (see LE GOAZIOU 1950: 11-13). Quiquer was responsible for the translation of two works (Coll in 1626, Nom in 1633) originally from the Low Countries, both printed in Antwerp. One might wonder whether he, or the printer who enlisted him—George Allienne, see (13)—had ties there.

A number of mistakes in mutation in the *Colloques* are rather difficult to explain: Coll d5 *viruiff* 'to boil', given as the translation to *boüillir* 'to boil', is written with lenition where it should not mutate; Nom 253b-1 *mænz vez* 'tombstone' should be *maenz bez*. Supposedly, Quiquer was from Roscoff (LE GOAZIOU 1950: 11-12), which makes it difficult to argue that these mistakes are indicative of an incomplete grasp of Breton.

Numbers 7 to 9 include people potentially (7, 8) or definitely (9) involved with the production of the texts as editors or copyists:

- ▶ (7) CathA = Auffret Quatqueveran. We know Quatqueveran was likely to be the editor of CathA thanks to the following passage on the last page:

*Cy finist ce present libure nōme le catholicon le quel contient  
trois langaiges Scauoir/breton/franczoys/& latin le quel a este  
[con]struit cōpile et intitule par noble & venerable Maistre  
auffret quoaatqueueran en son temps chanoine de treguier.  
recteur de Ploerin pres morlaix*

‘Here finishes the present book named the Catholicon, which contains three languages, that is to know Breton, French, and Latin, [and] which has been constructed, compiled, and titled by the noble and venerable Master Auffret Quatqueveran, then canon of Trégor, [and] rector of Ploerin, near Morlaix.’  
[PF]

Whether Quatqueveran or Lagadeuc should be considered the original author of CathA is a difficult question. I have opted to keep both possibilities in mind, and included both names in the visualization below.

- ▶ (8) CathB = Jehan Corre. The incipit to CathB indicates that Corre held a clerical role in Tréguier: it mirrors the incipit of CathA, but with the name changed to Corre’s instead of Lagadeuc: CathA *superaddita a M. I. lagadec diocesis trecorensis*, CathB *superaddita a magistro Iohanne corre Trecorensis*. The similarities between these sentences are so striking that it seems likely to me that Corre replaced Lagadeuc’s name with his own to promote himself as the author. Corre’s name substituting Lagadeuc’s possibly means that he was involved as an editor in this edition, and not necessarily as a printer.
- ▶ (9) Dag, J, G = Louis Dom Le Pelletier (see LE PELLETIER 1752: ix-x). He was born in 1633 in Le Mans, and died in 1733 in Landévennec. He joined the Congregation of Saint-Maur<sup>59</sup> at a young age, and spent a “long séjour” in Lower Brittany, where he decided to learn Breton. His precise whereabouts for most of his life are unknown, but he likely sojourned in Brittany quite often or even lived there, as the preface to his dictionary states that after a brief visit to Paris, he “retourna en Bretagne”—thus Brittany was probably where he spent most of his time. It is known that he stayed at the abbey of Landévennec, which is where he passed. While Le Pelletier was not the original composer of the texts found in his manuscripts (Dag, J, G), he is the

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<sup>59</sup> This is the name of a Benedictine monastic order founded in 1618 in Paris.

only 'copyist' whose name can faithfully be linked to the copies that we have.

Numbers 10 to 14 include identifiable printers or patrons. Bernard de Leau (see 12) was either the printer of, or the patron for Ba, which makes it difficult to discern between these two roles for the other printers, too: were they printers, or patrons?

- ▶ (10) CathA = Jehan Calvez. Calvez, a printer active in Tréguier, can be identified as the printer of CathA through two ink stamps captioned *I.CALVEZ* and a mention on the last page of the print: *Et Imprime ala cite de lantreguier par Jehan caluez* 'and printed in the city of Tréguier by Jehan Calvez'.
- ▶ (11) CathC, J, TPM = Yves Quilleveré. Like in CathA, the printer is known to us thanks to an ink stamp captioned *YVO.QVILLEVERE*, as well as another mention just below it: *CathC Venundatus Pharrisius ab yuone Quilleuere commorante in vico sic nuncupato La bucherie* 'Sold in Paris by Yvon Quilleveré, [who] lives in the quarter<sup>60</sup> named La Bucherie.' Quilleveré was born in Léon and was active in Paris from 1498 to 1530 (RENOUARD 1898: 309; the starting date of 1498 is rather doubtful, see VEYRIN-FORRER and MOREAU 1965: 358). Quilleveré likely had connections in Morlaix through his son-in-law, Bernard de Leau, with whom he had founded a publishing company (LE BERRE 2018: 21) for which see (9).
- ▶ (12) Ba, Ca (?) = Bernard de Leau. De Leau (or De Leau) was a librarian from Morlaix, and is listed by RENOUARD (1898: 216) and VEYRIN-FORRER and MOREAU (1965: 243) as a printer active in Paris from 1543 to 1557. However, the situation is somewhat more complicated (see LE BERRE 2018: 21): the title page for Ba contains two contradictory sentences, namely *E Paris neuez imprimet gant Bernard de Leau* 'Newly printed in Paris **by** B. de L.' at the top of the page, and *Imprimet e Paris euit Bernard de Leau pe hiny a chom e montroulles var pont Bourret* 'Printed in Paris **for** B. de L., who lives in Morlaix on the *Pont Bourret*'. We thus cannot be entirely sure about his role in the printing of Ba. The title page for Ca, too, has De Leau as the patron: *en Brezonec neuez Imprimet, e Cuburien, euit Bernard de Leau, peheny a chom e Mon-trolles, voar pontz Bouret: en bloaz M. D. LXXVI*. 'Newly printed in Breton, in Cuburien, **for** B. de L., who lives in Morlaix, on the *Pont Bouret*: in the year 1576.'

Whatever the case may be, it does seem Bernard de Leau was a trained and active printer, since he founded a publishing company with Yves Quilleveré, his father-in-law. However, we are unsure whether he was also involved in

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<sup>60</sup> This refers to the *Rue de la Boucherie* in the 5<sup>th</sup> *arrondissement*.



the printing process for the prints in which he is mentioned.<sup>61</sup> For the visualization below, I have considered the possibility that he was.

- ▶ (13) Cl = Jehan (?) Kerver. ERNAULT (1928: 205) writes that “sur le nom de l'imprimeur [of Cl], on peut noter qu'un Jehan Kerver reçut la tonsure à Vannes en 1476”. Obviously, this cannot refer to the same person, who printed this book one hundred years later, in 1576.<sup>62</sup>
- ▶ (14) D, Nom, Nl = George Allienne. Allienne, or Alline, born in Rouen (LE GOAZIOU 1950: 1), was active from 1620 to 1666. He apparently moved his publishing company a number of times, as we find him in Morlaix for D and Nom, but in Quimper for Nl. We do not know whether he spoke and/or wrote Breton well enough to also be involved in the editing processes of these works.

To briefly summarize the above: the identifiable people involved in the production of these texts had varying roles, which likely came with varying amounts of influence on the form of the text, i.e. spelling, word choice, and overall composition. We could subdivide these roles into two: first, authors and editors, who are closest to the (re-)production of the text; it is difficult to distinguish between the two, as we have at least one case of an editor presenting himself as the author (Jehan Corre, for CathB). This effectively means that we cannot be entirely sure that the other people we perceive as ‘authors’ of the texts, were not in fact editors. Secondly, we must group together printers and patrons, even though printers were directly involved in the production of the text (or at least of the material containing the text), whereas patrons were not directly involved in the production of the text. The reason for this is that Bernard de Leau is ambiguously presented as both the printer and the patron of the text; therefore, we also cannot be entirely sure that the people involved as printers were not actually the patrons, and vice versa. Therefore, the visualizations concerning authorship (Figures 8 and 9) are divided into two: one for authors and editors, and one for printers and/or patrons.

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<sup>61</sup> LE BERRE (2018: 21) remarks that the *Mirouer de la Mort* is also printed in Cuburien, like *Buhez santés Cathell*, and that Bernard de Leau might have been involved with its printing in one way or another. He is not mentioned at all in M, however (see ERNAULT 1914: 2), which is why I have not taken this possibility into consideration.

<sup>62</sup> Perhaps ERNAULT sees a relative of the printer in this Jehan Kerver?



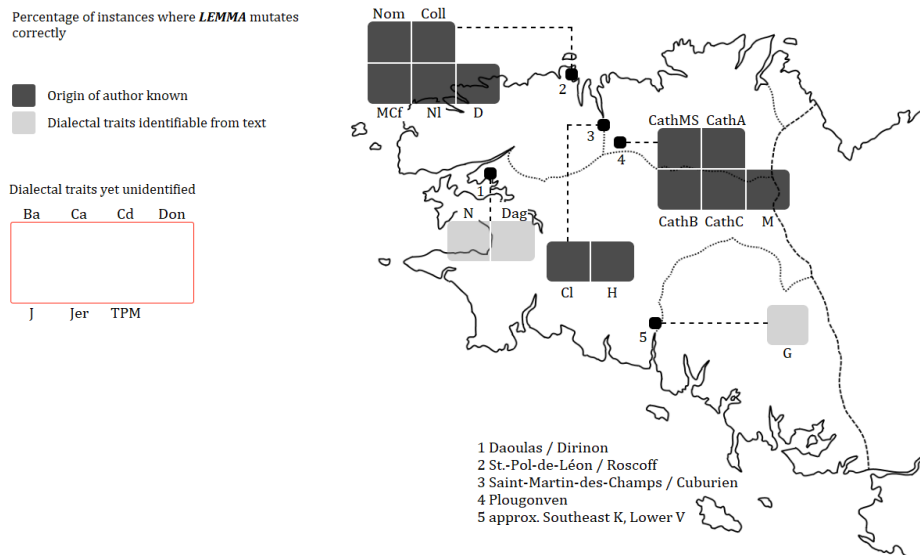


Figure 10. Textual sources represented on a map of Lower Brittany. Sources with a black background have an author whose place of origin is directly known; sources with a grey background have no identifiable author but have been argued to show certain dialectal traits. The sources shown on the left side, circled by a red border, have to my knowledge not been identified as belonging to one specific dialect.

Most of the relevant information about dialect has already been discussed above per text and per author. Due to the small size of the image, multiple locations are sometimes represented by a single point. The placement of some texts also requires some further information. For example, Dag is placed at Daoulas, because I follow LE BIHAN'S (2013: 16-17) suggestion that the compositions of Dag and N are so similar that they are likely to come from the same scriptorium. I have placed all the *Catholicons* at Plougonven, as they are all based on CathMS to a large extent.

There are some difficulties with the interpretation of this map. We must keep in mind that any function in the clergy could be fulfilled by someone from outside the region: for example, Gilles de Keranpuil was not originally from the Carhaix region, but he did write his books there. It is only because we know where he was born that we can 'override' this information in the visualization and place him near Morlaix on the map. Some necessary caution is thus required in the interpretation of this visualization, especially for Dag and N.

With this dialect map, I attempt to address the question of dialect as a potential factor on ICM-nonconformity of specific loanwords. It is far from perfect, however. For example, Vannetais is not represented in texts from this period; however, we know for at least one word that Vannetais has a different initial consonant than the rest of Brittany (MB *moez* 'voice' but *V boéh* < OFr. *voiz*,<sup>63</sup> cf. *HPB* §915). We must thus sometimes refer to what is known of the modern dialects, though there is only very little available dialectological material for originally *v*-initial French words.

<sup>63</sup> See §3.1.2 (xxiv.) however, as KLT *moez*, *V boéh* cannot come directly from OFr. *voiz*.



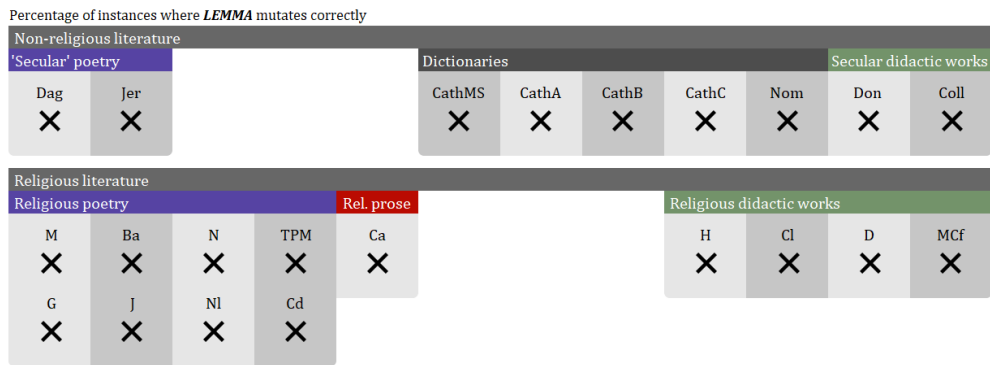


Figure 12. Textual sources sorted per genre. The colors of the bars serve a purely aesthetic purpose.

With this last visualization, I attempt to answer the question whether we can take the sociolinguistic concept of linguistic register as a factor on variation in ICM-nonconformity. Specifically, I am taking into account the variable of textual genre to discern between texts written in *brezhoneg beleg* ‘Priest’s Breton’, which is a register of Breton used mainly by the clergy, and which is characterized by the “indiscriminate admission of French words” (SCHRIJVER 2011b: 419), and between texts written with a less French-influenced vocabulary.

This concludes the description of the corpus; in the following chapter, I present the results of this research.

# CHAPTER 3

## *DATA ANALYSIS*

### 3.1 INITIAL CATEGORIZATION OF LEMMATA: AMOUNT OF *v*-SPELLINGS AND BEHAVIOR IN ICM

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the data collected from the corpus, i.e. all words (both native and foreign) that are written with *b*-, *m*-, *u*-, *v*-, with the exception of a few words that never mutate, even in ModB (see §2.2.2). In the interest of the reader, let us first reiterate the research questions that were established in the introduction:

- ▶ (1) How do *v*-initial Fr. loans behave in the system of Middle Breton ICM, i.e. are they (eventually) incorporated into ICM, or not?
- ▶ (2) When *v*-initial Fr. words conform or start conforming to ICM, which radical (i.e. non-mutated form) is attributed to them in Middle Breton? What about in later stages of the language?
- ▶ (3) Is there any variation in the results of (1) and (2)?
- ▶ (4) Can we attribute the variation in the results of (1) and (2) to certain factors, and if so, which ones seem to play a role?

I will attempt to answer these questions in order. In §§3.1.1-5, I will present the data in such a way that we may answer part of question 1, ‘how do the words behave in MB?’. The question whether they are eventually incorporated, and to which radical initial *v*- is delenited, is another matter, which I will address in §3.2. As for questions 3 and 4, I will conclude on answers for them in Chapter 4.

We may start with the observation that there exist varying degrees of ‘conformity to the norm’ in MB. Many words—both native and foreign—do not indicate mutation; other words are *always* written with *v*-, and a select few words show both *b*-/*m*-spellings *and* *v*-spellings. This is a complex situation, and it is therefore important to obtain the most detailed picture that we can. Thus, I have chosen to present the data from the corpus (for which see §2.3.1) as part of a number of categories. I have already briefly discussed the way in which the lemmata are categorized (§2.1.2), which I will reiterate here:

There are five main categories (A, B, C, D, E), which represent a spectrum: to what extent does the word behave **according to spelling norms**? Category A contains only words that are *never* attested with *v*-; conversely, category E contains only words that are *always* attested with *v*-, and categories B, C, and D contain words that are both written with *b*-, *m*-, and *v*-. These words defy spelling norms to varying degrees (B = > 0%, ≤ 25%; C = ≥

25%,  $\leq 75\%$ ; D =  $\geq 75\%$ ,  $< 100\%$ , where the percentage indicates the amount of *v*-spellings).

These five categories are each subdivided into two groups (1 and 2; e.g. B1, B2, etc.) where the distinction is made between ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ mutations. This subcategorization indicates whether a word behaves according to the **system of ICM**: subcategory **1** includes words where the attested *v*-spellings are only ever found in contexts where lenition(-and-provection) is expected, and subcategory **2** includes words where **at least one** *v*-spelling is found in a context where no lenition(-and-provection) should take place. In other words, the main categorization (A-E) indicates the degree to which each word disobeys **spelling norms**, and the subcategorization indicates whether each word ever disobeys the underlying **system of ICM**.

It may also be useful to reiterate the working definition of ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ mutations:<sup>64</sup>

<i>v</i> -		<i>b</i> -, <i>m</i> -
lenition(-and-provection) <b>expected</b>	violates spelling norms, but is not directly indicative of non-conformation to the morphophonological system of ICM: <b>CORRECT</b>	conforms to spelling norms; spelling neither confirms nor disproves conformation to the morphophonological system of ICM: <b>CORRECT</b>
lenition(-and-provection) <b>unexpected</b>	violates spelling norms <b>and</b> is indicative that the word does <b>not</b> conform to ICM: <b>INCORRECT</b>	conforms to spelling norms; spelling neither confirms nor disproves conformation to the morphophonological system of ICM: <b>CORRECT</b>

Two cut-off points were chosen to divide words into category B, C, or D: if the percentage of *v*-spellings  $\leq 25\%$ , but the lemma is attested at least once with initial *v*-, it falls into category B; if the percentage of *v*-spellings is between 25% and 75%, the lemma belongs to category C; if the percentage of *v*-spellings  $\geq 75\%$ , but the lemma is attested at least once with *b*- or *m*-, it belongs to category D. This subdivision of words that have variation in initial *b*-, *m*-, and *v*- into three categories was made with the intent to provide a more detailed picture of their behavior in ICM, rather than group them all as one category of lemmata in which there is variation in the initial between *b*- or *m*-, and *v*-. That being said, the inevitable consequence of a categorization based on percentages is that e.g. a word that is attested twice and spelled with *v*- once, and a word that is attested 60 times and spelled with *v*- 30 times both fall into the same category, since they both have 50% *v*-spellings. Therefore, I also give the absolute number of attestations for each lemma I discuss.

Aside from the primary categorization (A-E) according to conformity to spelling norms, and the subcategorization according to the behavior in ICM (1-2), lemmata are further subdivided according to the original consonant of the word: **a** (original *b*-, *m*-), **b** (original *v*-), and **c** (original *p*-, only category A), so that a precise picture emerges of how each

<sup>64</sup> This distinction means that words with a fossilized lenition of *b*-, *m*-  $\rightarrow$  *v*-, e.g. *va* ‘place’, or with *v*- as a spelling for e.g. /f/ like in *vetez* ‘today’, will technically be presented here as an ‘incorrect mutation’. I address this for each of these words individually.

original consonant behaves. What follows is a table in which all three of these subcategorizations are represented:

*Table 14:* An overview of the categories, with one example per subcategory. — \*Category A only exhibits correct mutation spellings (as these words are never spelled *v-*); category D happens only to have words that all exhibit at least one incorrect mutation spelling. Words with initial \**p-* are never spelled with *v-*.

category (% of <i>v-</i> spellings)		a ( <i>b-, m-</i> )	b ( <i>v-</i> )	c (* <i>p- &gt; b-</i> )
A (0%)	1	<i>burzud</i>	<i>bescont</i>	<i>bepret</i>
	2	*	*	*
B (> 0%, ≤ 25%)	1	<i>buhez</i>	<i>moez</i>	*
	2	<i>birviff</i>	<i>bergez</i>	*
C (> 25%, ≤ 75%)	1	<i>braech</i>	<i>beronic</i>	*
	2	<i>belly</i>	<i>bisaig</i>	*
D (> 75%, < 100%)	1	*	*	*
	2	<i>velis</i>	<i>veag</i>	*
E (100%)	1	<i>va</i>	<i>vocation</i>	*
	2	<i>vangounellat</i>	<i>valabl</i>	*

This categorization (cf. Table 14) will serve as the structure for each of the following sections (§§3.1.1-5). The data from the corpus will be presented in tables with statistics for each lemma that falls into that subcategory. Below is an example:

<i>belly/velly</i> 'power' [36]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				0/1/1		1/0/1	3/4/4		1/0/1	13/0/13	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	NI
3/0/3	2/0/2				1/0/1					10/9/10	

These tables contain two types of information: (1) per text, I give three numbers (a/b/c), which represent (a) the amount of 'correct' mutations, (b) the amount of *v*-spellings, and (c) the total amount of attestations. Under the headword, on the left, the total number of attestations in the corpus is indicated between square brackets. These numbers are extracted directly from the database, for which I have only employed the distinction between 'correct' and 'incorrect' mutations. However, since the objective of these tables is to inform us whether a word conforms to MB norms, *only* violates spelling norms, or violates spelling norms *and* the system of ICM, these numbers on their own do not provide enough information. Therefore, I also provide a second type of information, which is (2) whether the lemma follows the norm<sup>65</sup> of MB spelling: ■ **green** = adherence to the norm, which is *not* to indicate mutation; ■ **orange** = **violation** of the norm, but all *v*-spellings

<sup>65</sup> The norm referenced here is always the general norm, not the one for *bout*: I compare with *bout* systematically in the discussion of specific verbs.



occur where lenition(-and-provection) is **expected**; ■ blue = **violation** of the norm, and **at least one** *v*-spelling occurs where lenition(-and-provection) is **unexpected**.

In this example, we see that *belly* ‘power’ is spelled with initial *v*- once in N, and that it also mutates incorrectly once; we find it 4 times in M, where it is spelled with *v*- all four times, but mutates correctly only 3 times. Thus, one of the attestations of *belly* in M has *v*- where there should be no lenition. In Nl, we find *belly* spelled with *v*- 9 times out of 10, but here all 10 attestations mutate correctly, meaning that all 9 *v*-spellings appear where lenition is expected. In all other texts in which *belly* is attested, it is always spelled with *b*-, and thus conforms to spelling norms.

Presenting the data in this way—i.e. in the multiple subcategories presented in Table 14, and with the statistics per word as shown above—is useful for a number of reasons:

- ▶ The dimension of the initial consonant (a = *b*-, *m*-, b = *v*-, c = \**p*- > *b*-) ensures that we can distinguish between lenition (for initial *b*-, *m*-, \**p*-) and delenition (for initial *v*-). For example, both *bisaig/visaig* ‘face’ and *belly/velly* ‘power’ fall into category C2 (> 25%, ≤ 75% *v*-spellings; ≥ 1 incorrect mutation); however, the crucial difference between these two words is that MB *bisaig* exhibits delenition of OFr. *visage*, and that *velly* exhibits lenition of MB *belly*.
- ▶ Distinguishing between words where *v*-spellings only appear in contexts where lenition(-and-provection) is expected (1), and words where *v*-spellings (also) appear where they are unexpected (2) is also achieved by the color scheme established for the statistical tables (if ■ blue appears, the lemma falls into subcategory 2, otherwise it falls into subcategory 1). However, the distinction has to be kept so that I am able present certain summaries, e.g. the amount of loanwords in each category; in this way, we can see whether loanwords more often show incorrect lenitions (i.e. whether they more often fall into subcategory 2).
- ▶ The statistical tables contain absolute numbers, which gives a better representation than percentages. As stated above, *v*-spelling ratios of 30:60 and 1:2 both equal to 50%, which gives the false impression that they exhibit similar behaviors, while there is a far greater element of chance involved with a word that is only attested twice, than with one that is attested 60 times. When dealing with absolute numbers, it is more immediately clear whether we are dealing with a well-attested, or a poorly-attested word.
- ▶ On the whole, it is more useful to present the data in these categories, than to provide a long table which lists them in alphabetical order, or by number of total attestations. The intent of the analysis is to describe the extent to which *v*-initial loanwords conform to spelling norms surrounding ICM, as well as ICM itself, for which it is useful to establish some sort of spectrum.

The objective of these tables is primarily to provide the reader with the most complete overview of the precise behavior of each individual lemma in the corpus. However, a

complete overview is not necessarily one that is easy to interpret. Therefore, I will conclude the next few sections with a partial summary of the findings purely based on the MB data (§3.1.6) before moving on to §3.2.

For some words, it is of interest to discuss the etymology to ascertain the origin of the word (e.g. whether it originally has *b-*, *m-*, *gw-*, or *v-*, whether it is a loan from French or Latin, or native Breton), or to discuss individual attestations because they point to specific phenomena. I do so after giving the statistics for all words in the category. We may presently turn to the analysis. For convenience, all words I discuss are also preceded by a lowercase Roman numeral (i.-lvii.).

### 3.1.1 A: NO *v*-SPELLINGS (0%)

#### A-a. No *v*-spellings; original *b-* or *m-*

As previously stated, for nearly all native words and loanwords with *b-*, *m-*, the norm is to not indicate mutation; this is what we find for 1079 out of 1252 lemmata (86.2%). Examples include *mab* ‘son’, *burzud* ‘miracle’, *malicc* < OFr. *malice*. As there is little to say about most of these words, I will not deal with them further. However, the word *banel* (attested in N 1488) merits some attention:

#### i. *banel* ‘judgment?’

**ATT:** N 1488 *nep banel*.

**REF:** LE BERRE et al (1999: 176); *DEAF* s.v. ‘banlieue’; *DEB* 90; *FLMB*, gloss. 80; *GIB* 198, 199; *TLFi* s.v. ‘BANLIEUE, subst. f.’.

HEMON lists this word under *banell* ‘venelle, passage, couloir’, and translates the passage in N 1488 *e nep banel* as ‘en aucun lieu’. This would be from OFr. *venelle* ‘alleyway’. However, LE BERRE proposes that “[c]e mot ne semble pas être le *banell* ‘venelle’ bien connu par ailleurs, mais plutôt un équivalent du français *banlieue* ‘ressort d’un tribunal’”. The broader context of this word is that it appears in a description (ll. 1428-1491) of a sword that is used in judgments; below are the relevant lines (ll. 1488-1491):

*Me ne grifquen bede menell / Tam an dra-man e nep banel / A diabell me m-eux sellet / Da auber justicc, propicc mat / Voar an douar peur hegarat*

“Pour moi, je n’agirai pas autrement jusqu’à ma mort. C’est à cela seulement qu’en chaque **jurisdiction**, j’ai veillé depuis toujours: rendre justice avec la plus grande mansuétude en ce bas monde, et beaucoup d’humanité.” (LE BERRE 1999: 176)

I see no immediate problems with translating *banel* as ‘place’ as does HEMON, i.e.:

*Tam an dra-man e nep banel / A diabell me m-eux sellet*

‘It is only to this that I have paid heed everywhere [lit. in each place]’

but a translation as something along the lines of ‘judgment’ would indeed be more fitting. I am unsure about LE BERRE’s suggestion that *banel* means approximately the same as OFr.

*banlieue*, as *banlieue* refers specifically to the area of jurisdiction; however, perhaps this is a formation from the same Latin source as *banlieue* < MedLat. *bannileuga*, with the first element Lat. *bannus* ‘judgment’ > MB \**bann* ‘id.’ (attested in EModB as ‘judgment’, cf. *GIB* 199) extended with the feminine nominal suffix *-ell*.

### A-b. No *v*-spellings; original *v*-

The following words are *v*-initial loans, and they are only attested with initial *b*-, *m*-, or *gw*-:

<i>balisenn, malisenn</i> ‘briefcase’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										2/0/2	
<i>bescont</i> ‘viscount’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>bescontes</i> ‘viscountess’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>bescontelez</i> ‘viscounty’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>burtul</i> ‘vulture’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>beagiff</i> ‘travel (v.)’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										1/0/1	
<i>bitailaff</i> ‘revitalize’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										1/0/1	
<i>guinaegr</i> ‘vinegar’ [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
										1/0/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					1/0/1					2/0/2	

### ii. *balisenn, malisenn* ‘briefcase’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘malle’; *DEB* 89; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘malizenn’, ‘balizenn’, ‘mal .A’; *DMF* s.v. ‘MALLE, subst. fém.’; *GIB* 1855, 3193; *TLFi* s.v. ‘VALISE, subst. fém.’.

Nom 119a-3 *balisen*, 119a-4 *malisen*. From Fr. *valise*, extended with the Br. singulative suffix *-enn*. It constitutes the first and only example in the corpus where Fr. *v*- results in both a form in *b*- and in *m*-; while it is possible that this is indicative that the reflexes of lenited *b* and *m* had fallen together, we might also think of initial *m*- as analogous with the

semantically close MB *mal* ‘chest, trunk’ < OFr. *malle* ‘id.’. *Valise* is first attested in French in 1475, meaning that *balisen* / *malisen* is a borrowing from after the OFr. period.

iii. ***burtul*** ‘vulture’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘voutor’; *DEB* 146; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘bultur’, ‘vaotour’; *GIB* 339; *HPB* §216; *TLFi* s.v. ‘VAUTOUR, subst. masc.’.

Likely not from OFr. *voutor*, *voltor*, *voltoir* etc., but from VLat. or BrLat \**vultōre*, as /y/ in the second syllable can come from VLat. \**ō* (cf. VLat. *cōsilium* ‘counsel’ > MB *cusul*) but not from any of the OFr. words. It is attested only in dictionaries, always with initial *b-*, cf. SCger 134b *burtul*, Greg 949b *Bultur*, *p. bultured*. Doublet of *vaotour*, which is also attested only in dictionaries (cf. §3.1.5, §3.2), and which is a later loan from Fr. *vautour*.

iv. ***beagiff*** ‘travel (v.)’

**REF:** *DEVRI* s.v. ‘beajiñ’; *GIB* 213.

The verb *beagiff* < OFr. *veager* is only attested once in MB, in the dictionary section of Coll; it is later attested in EModB with *b-*, *v-*, and *gw-*: SCger 126a *veagi*, GReg 966b *Béaji béajet. güeaichi*. Cf. *veag* (§3.1.4, xxxix.), of which spellings between *b-* and *v-* alternate in MB. We cannot compare this to mutation in *bout*, as it does not appear in a mutating context.

v. ***bitaillaff*** ‘revitalize’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘vitaille’; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘bitailhañ’.

Verbalized from MB *bitaill/vitaill* < OFr. *vitaille*, attested once in Jer 168 *ma noz em bytayllet* ‘if you do not revitalize yourself’, in the pres. ind. 2pl. Cf. *bitaill/vitaill* ‘food, provision’ (§3.1.3, xxxviii.), which is more frequent, and of which spellings alternate between *v-* and *b-*. The reflexive pronoun *en em* is supposed to cause lenition (*HMSB* §13.2), but this is never written for *bout*, either. The noun, *bitaill*, eventually becomes masculine in Breton; the gender, as well as initial *b-*, may well be analogical to MFr. *bétail*, *bestail* ‘livestock’, which were obviously kept for sustenance.

vi. ***guinaegr*** ‘vinegar’

**REF:** *DEAF*, s.v. ‘vinaigre’; *FLMB* §48.1; *GIB* 1139.

MB *guinegr* < \**vinegr* < OFr. *vinaigre* could be an example of OFr. *v-* > MB *gw-*, but considering that the only other attestations of this development in MB are found in Nom (see *vestl*, *vinien*), we might rather see *guinegr* as analogous to *guin* ‘wine’ < Lat. *vīnum* (but which is likely not the case for *guinien* ‘vine’, which might rather come directly from Lat. *vīnea*, cf. §3.1.2, xxv.).

All of these words show the development described in §1.2.7, 1b: a phoneme (/v/), which is normally available only in mutation context, is reanalyzed as a mutated form of a radical (/b/), with the exception of *guin aegr* ‘vinegar’ (vi.), which is analogous to *guin* ‘wine’. Moreover, with the exception of *bitaillaff* (v.) and *guin aegr* (vi.), these words all appear

only once in MB, and specifically only in dictionaries (Cath, Nom, and the dictionary in Coll). I discuss this further below, after A-c.

### A-c. No *v*-spellings; original *p*-

Collecting all words written with initial *b*- also includes some words in which the lenition of *p*- > *b*- was fossilized, and represented in spelling in MB. Not all lenitions of *p*- > *b*- in these words occur in the expected contexts; however, we are concerned only with the mutation of *b*- → *v*-, and we can observe that the latter is never represented in spelling in MB for these words, even though a word like *paradoz* > *baradoz* ‘paradise’ may also lenite to *varadoz*, as we find in some EModB texts (see vii. below).

<i>baradoz</i> ‘paradise’ [40]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1	2/0/2	1/0/1	1/0/1	2/0/2	1/0/1	4/0/4	1/0/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		6/0/6	3/0/3				4/0/4	4/0/4		2/0/2	10/0/10
<i>bemdez</i> ‘every day’ [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	2/0/2	1/0/1	2/0/2	
<i>bepret</i> ‘always’ [71]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			2/0/2	18/0/18						4/0/4	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		1/0/1	4/0/4		1/0/1	3/0/3	6/0/6		17/0/17	5/0/5	14/0/14
<i>ben</i> ‘head, end’ [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
									1/0/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		1/0/1									
<i>bennac</i> ‘some..., a certain..., a little... (adj.)’ [94]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
						35/0/35	4/0/4	11/0/11	44/0/44		
<i>bolod</i> ‘ball’ [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										5/0/5	
<i>bret</i> ‘time’ [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					3/0/3						
<i>byou</i> ‘possession’ [39]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					1/0/1				4/0/4		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		5/0/5	3/0/3						1/0/1		25/0/25
<i>bertuz</i> ‘lid of a vat (?)’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										1/0/1	

vii. **baradoz** ‘paradise’

REF: ALBB 26; DLD s.v. ‘paradisus’; GIB 202; GMB I 54; HPB 306, 685, 950; SBCHP 236-237.

From BrLat. \**paradēsus* < Lat. *paradisus*; with the expected lenition of /d/ > /ð/ in CathMS *barazoes*, but with *d* = /d/ in other attestations, perhaps under influence of Fr. *paradis* or MedLat. *paradisus*. In MB we sometimes find forms with *p*-, e.g. N 573 *en paradoes he quifi* ‘you will find it’,<sup>66</sup> but in the ModB dialects (see ALBB), it is attested only with initial *b*- as a base consonant. We know from EModB sources that it was later variably interpreted as masculine, and sometimes as feminine, if we look at mutation after the definite article. For example, it is feminine with *p*- in GReg 691 *Paradas, an Baradas*, but feminine with *b*- in RS 351 *gloar e [leg. er] varados* ‘glory in paradise’, and masculine with *b*- BD 23 *kent ma vije biken barados evitañ* ‘before he might never go to paradise’,<sup>67</sup> 2357 *d’ar Baradoes*. This uncertainty probably stems from the Lat. and Fr. forms being masculine, while in Breton the word was turned feminine, hence *p*- > *b*-, and from frequent use with the article.<sup>68</sup>

viii. **bemdez** ‘every day’, **bepret** ‘always’

REF: GIB 220, 224; GMB II 478-479; HENRY 1900: 30; HMSB §14.10; VKG §413.

From MB \**pep deiz*; HENRY (1900: 30) explains the *-md-* in *bemdez* as the retention of a “une finale casuelle” from PCl. \**pepon dijeseñ* ‘each day’, which would mark a temporal accusative.<sup>69</sup> For *bepret* < MB \**pep pret*, however, this old \**n* was apparently not retained; perhaps it represents a later formation. Lenition of *p*- > *b*- was fossilized for both words already in MB though some forms with initial *p*- do appear, e.g. J 55 *pepret ez chommo e-n bro man* ‘he will forever dwell in that land’, CathA *pemdez*.

ix. **bolod** ‘ball’

REF: FLMB gloss. 83; GIB 280.

From Fr. *pelote*; the lenition of initial *p*- to *b*- corresponds with the gender of the word in French, in which it is feminine. The word was kept feminine after the lenition of *p*- > *b*- was fossilized, and we find *b*- > *v*- after the article in EModB: IN 316 *c’hoari ar volot* ‘play ball’.

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<sup>66</sup> The fem. pronoun refers to *carantez doe* (l. 571), which LE BERRE translates as “l’amour de Dieu”, and thus “C’est au paradis que tu le trouveras” (LE BERRE et al. 1999: 144).

<sup>67</sup> lit. ‘before there may never be paradise for him’.

<sup>68</sup> After all, there is only one paradise.

<sup>69</sup> This is followed by PEDERSEN (VKG II §413).

x. **byou** ‘possession’; *pronoun + b.* ‘possess (v.)’

REF: DEB 580; GIB 2198-2199; HENRY 1900: 222.

Native form; verbalized as *piaouañ* in EModB; in MB, chiefly found in combination with a dependent pronoun, where it fulfils much the same role as a verbal noun. It is written with *b-* in MB but forms with *p-* become more common from EModB onwards.<sup>70</sup>

xi. **bertuz** ‘lid of a vat (?)’

REF: DEAF s.v. ‘pertuis’; LE MENN 2000: 479.

Nom 161a-6 *bertuz* has an uncertain etymology: according to LE MENN (2000: 479) it is probably not to be read as a delenited form of OFr. *vertu* ‘virtue’, but perhaps as a lenited form of OFr. *pertuis* ‘hole’. The word appears in a passage about words for barrels and vats; LE MENN suggests that *bertuz* might either refer to a type of barrel, or the lid of a vat. He also remarks that the *b-* is unexpected as the Fr. word is masculine (fossilized lenition would probably mean the word was made into a feminine noun when it was originally taken into Breton); however, cf. *baradoz* (vii.), which also received permanent lenition of *p-* > *b-* despite Lat. *paradīsus* and Fr. *paradis* both being masculine nouns. The main problem with LE MENN’s etymology, however, is that OFr. *pertuis* < VLat. *pertusium* (TLFi, s.v. ‘PERTUIS, subst. masc.’) does not explain final [ð] in MB *bertuz*, as we find in e.g. *moneiz* < OFr. *monoie* < Lat. *Moneta*. I propose that *bertuz* does partially come from OFr. *pertuis*, as LE MENN’s considerations on the semantics of the word do make sense, but that this form is analogous to the semantically unrelated, but phonologically close *vertuz* ‘virtue’, for which final [ð] can be explained by an early loan from OFr. [vertyð] < Lat. *virtutem* (cf. §3.1.5, lii.)

A few generalizations can be made from the lemmata given above: words with an original initial *v-* from (O)Fr., but which never appear in MB with initial *v-*, are very rare; with the exception of *vinegr* = *guin aegr* (which is analogical anyway, cf. vi.), they only ever appear in dictionaries (the *Catholicons*, the *Nomenclator*, and the dictionary section of the *Colloques*). While words with initial *v-* are by no means uncommon in dictionaries—i.e. there seems not to be a general tendency to give initial *v-* as *b-* or *m-*—it is quite striking to note that these few de-lenited words are never found outside the dictionaries before the EModB period. This might indicate that the delenition of these specific words was constructed specifically for the dictionaries, and that these forms are not necessarily representative of the status of their initial consonant in the rest of the language. However, this is completely speculative, and begs the question why there are also many words that only ever appear in the dictionaries, but have an initial *v-* (see §3.2.1). I have no clear answer for this question.

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<sup>70</sup> The etymology for MB *biou*, EModB *piaou*, W *pieu* is rather difficult: while it is clear that *\*pi-* ultimately < PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>eso* (genitive of the interrogative pronoun), the problem lies with MB *-(a)ou* / MW *-eu* < PBr. *\*ou* ‘is’; the expected forms of ‘is’ are B *eo*, MW *yw* < PBr. *\*ui* (with metathesis in B, cf. HPB §303), from whence also MB *edy*, *idy*, MW *ydyw* (SCHRIJVER, p.c.; see also HMSB §153).

As for words with original *p-*, we see that the bulk of attestations that have original *p-* but are attested with *b-* even outside mutation contexts, are formed with a pronoun (*bemdez*, *bepret* (viii.) are related to *pep* ‘each’; *byou* is related to *piou* ‘who’ (x.). An exception is *baradoz* (vii.), which is also quite well attested in MB; its initial *b-* can be explained through a seemingly arbitrary change of gender from masculine to feminine, which is paired with the lenition of *p-* > *b-*.

### 3.1.2 B: FEW *v*-SPELLINGS (> 0%, ≤ 25%)

#### B1-a. Few *v*-spellings (> 0%, ≤ 25%); only correct mutations; original *b-*, *m-*

	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
<i>bale</i> ‘walk (v.)’ [10]							1/0/1		3/1/3		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		3/0/3				3/0/3					
<i>barn</i> ‘judge (v.)’ [54]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
		2/2/2		1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	19/0/19		9/0/9	1/0/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	4/0/4	1/0/1	2/0/2	3/0/3		1/0/1	2/0/2	1/0/1	1/0/1		5/0/5
<i>batant</i> ‘immediately, presently’ [9]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
									2/0/2		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		6/0/6									1/1/1
<i>bet</i> ‘world’ [929]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1	75/0/75	1/0/1	1/0/1	250/0/250	1/0/1	121/0/121	33/0/33	1/0/1
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	8/0/8	176/1/176	15/0/15	12/0/12	3/0/3	51/0/51	10/0/10	6/0/6	13/0/13	9/0/9	130/0/130
<i>bev</i> ‘alive’ [98]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
		1/1/1	1/0/1	7/0/7	1/0/1	1/0/1	11/0/11	1/0/1	17/0/17	2/0/2	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	3/0/3	23/0/23	2/0/2	10/0/10		9/0/9		4/0/4	2/0/2	1/0/1	2/0/2
<i>beviff</i> ‘live (v.)’ [86]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1	6/3/6	1/0/1	1/0/1	20/0/20	1/0/1	13/0/13	2/0/2	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	1/0/1	5/0/5	5/2/5	14/0/14	1/0/1	3/0/3		2/0/2	2/0/2	4/0/4	
<i>bihan</i> ‘small’ [224]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			2/0/2	14/0/14	2/0/2	1/0/1	23/0/23	1/0/1	26/0/26	4/0/4	1/0/1
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	5/0/5	19/3/19	4/0/4	7/0/7		9/0/9	3/0/3	1/0/1	13/0/13	55/0/55	19/0/19
<i>bronn</i> ‘breast’ [13]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		2/0/2								5/1/5	
<i>buhez</i> ‘life’ [162]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
		1/0/1	1/0/1	16/0/16	1/0/1	1/0/1	28/0/28	1/0/1	8/0/8	4/0/4	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	1/0/1	26/1/26	8/0/8	30/0/30	2/0/2	2/0/2	6/0/6	12/0/12	4/0/4	1/0/1	8/0/8
<i>mat</i> ‘good’ [790]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				77/0/77	1/0/1	1/0/1	79/0/79	1/0/1	93/0/93	13/0/13	2/0/2
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	47/0/47	106/0/106	11/0/11	25/0/25	3/0/3	31/0/31	29/0/29	17/0/17	175/1/175	30/0/30	48/0/48



	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
<i>mennout</i> 'want (v.)' [164]				27/0/27			19/0/19		35/7/35	1/0/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	8/0/8	52/1/52				15/1/15					7/0/7
<i>menel</i> 'stay, dwell (v.)' [105]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	1/0/1			8/0/8	1/0/1	1/0/1	12/0/12	1/0/1	23/0/23	8/0/8	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	9/0/9	17/0/17				9/0/9			3/1/3		12/0/12

## xii. *bale* 'walk (v.)'

REF: *DEAF* s.v. 'baler'; *DEB* 88; *GIB* 195.

From OFr. *baler* 'dance (v.)'. We find it with initial *v-* in J 206 *Ouz vale* 'walking' = /uð<sup>LP</sup> fale/, but J 193 *Maz bale* /mað<sup>LP</sup> fale/; we do not know whether this notation of mutation in J 206 is in concord with the general tendencies of *bout* in the text, as *ouz<sup>LP</sup> + bout* is not attested in J; overall, however, mutation is only sporadically written after *ouz<sup>LP</sup>*.

## xiii. *barn* 'judge (v.)'

REF: *GIB* 204-205.

The native verb *barn* is lenited twice in Cd 16-17: *Ahane ez duy dez ez varno / de varne an re veuff han re marue* 'from there the day will come that he will judge / to judge the living and the dead'; note that *veuff* 'living' is also lenited (cf. xvi.). It is rather striking that these three forms occur in the same two lines, but this cannot be explained through rhyme.<sup>71</sup> Comparing this to *bout*, we may note that *v-* after the verbal particle *ez<sup>LP</sup>* is very common; *v-* after *da<sup>L</sup>* 'to' (here *de*) is uncommon, but attested.

## xiv. *batant* 'immediately, presently'

REF: *DEAF* s.v. 'batre'; *GIB* 211; *FLMB* gloss. 80.

Absent from both the contemporary and the modern dictionaries;<sup>72</sup> from OFr. *batant*, present participle of *batre* 'to hit'. We find written lenition once in Nl 53 *Eno ez chomas, seys bloaz bras assant / Iesu map dou'en tat, dereat vatant* 'He dwelled there for six years [with] great consent; Jesus son of God the Father, in the right manner [and] presently'; we might explain the appearance of lenition as the indicator of an elided adverbial particle, e.g. *ez<sup>L</sup>*.

## xv. *bet* 'world'

REF: *GIB* 214-215, *HMSB* §13.13.

We find the native noun *bet* (m.) lenited twice in MB: in Ba 504 *guen da vet* 'lit. white your world',<sup>73</sup> which is a rather common collocation: we also find Ba 427 *guenn hoz bet*, 518 *guenn ma bet*, 629, 807 *guenn da bet* (the context is the same as Ba 504, but without *v-* in

<sup>71</sup> Middle Breton rhyme schemes do not make use of alliteration (cf. ERNAULT 1892).

<sup>72</sup> *GIB* 211 refers to *vatant*, but that word is not listed in *GIB*.

<sup>73</sup> The meaning is something along the lines of 'you are happy, blessed, etc.'

writing). The other case is Ba 184 *Guñ vet ma speret en bet man*, where lenition occurs because the noun *bet* follows the adjective *guenn* ‘white’ (HMSB §13.13).

xvi. **bev** ‘alive’

REF: GIB 235-236.

Native Breton word; cf. *barn* above (xiii.); the same remarks apply here for Cd 17 *an re veuff*. We find another instance of mutation written for *bev* in N 286 *delcher ez veo*<sup>74</sup> *lempereuet* ‘take living rabbits’, after the adverbial particle.

xvii. **beviff** ‘live (v.)’

REF: GIB 236.

The native verb *beviff* is found with initial *v-* eight times in MB, in four different texts:

Dag 1 *Dre Gracz Doe ez veve* ‘he lived through the grace of God’;

H 136 *Her maz vefuo he priet* ‘while her husband will live’;

H 136 *An fals test [...] a vefu an gaou* ‘The false witness ... gives life to the lie’;

H 144 *nep a pedo eguyte, a ueuo pell en bet man* ‘whoever will pray with it<sup>75</sup> will live long in this world’;

N s4 *Ma vevas parfet / E Dirinon net* ‘when he lived perfectly in Dirinon’;

N 476 *Ha ma veohimp dre-z vizimp beo* ‘and that we will live (well) as long as we are alive’.

Considering the general lack of mutation in verbs other than *bout*, the fact that we find *beviff* with initial *v-* more than once is remarkable, let alone eight times. The mutations appear only for finite forms of *beviff*, which is where *bout* is also normally lenited(-and-protected) across all texts (cf. §2.1.2). I suspect that the semantic (and phonological) proximity to *bout* ‘be’ may play a role in the fact that we find comparatively more slips in this verb than in other verbs.

The interpretation of the eighth instance is less clear. ERNAULT (1887a: 102) translates Ba 436 *Sellet pe en fez ez veffuet* as “voyez quelle était son idée”, and supposes *\*ez vez quet* for *ez veffuet*. In this case, it is useful to consider the entire stanza, which is as follows:

*Pan oa maru e tat digantaff / Euit fauor da enoraff / Ez guereu forgiaff  
quentaff pret / Vn taeson bras en diasez / En faczon se voe e buhez / Sellet pe  
en fez ez veffuet*

“Quand son père fut mort, pour l’honorer particulièrement, il fit aussitôt fabriquer et poser une grande statue, tel qu’il était de son vivant; voyez quelle était son idée.” (ERNAULT 1887a: 102)

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<sup>74</sup> This is a construction with the adverbial particle, cf. SCHRIJVER 2011b: 392-393.

<sup>75</sup> Refers to *veru* ‘verve’.

I believe that there is a different way to read this, without supposing a scribal error, namely that *Sellet pe en fez ez veffuet* means ‘look [out for] how you might live in the faith’, and that this is a humoristic warning to the audience: ‘be a good Christian, in the case that anyone ever builds a statue in your likeness’. In any case, I read *veffuet* as a 2pl. present subjunctive. It is also of interest to note that the 1608 edition of *Buhez sante Barba* (WIDMER et al. 2013: 87) also reads *ez veffuet*, which makes it unlikely that it represents a scribal error as ERNAULT supposes.

xviii. **bihan** ‘small’

REF: GIB 258-259.

We find the superlative *bihanhaff* ‘smallest’ in collocation with *da<sup>L</sup>* ‘to’, meaning ‘at least’<sup>76</sup> four times in Ba, of which three with *v-*. We might compare the notation of lenition in other collocations, such as *roe ar velly* ‘king of power’ (cf. §3.1.3, xxxiv.) and *me venn* ‘I think’ (cf. xxii.).

xix. **bronn** ‘breast’

REF: GIB 328.

A native feminine noun; Quiquer writes lenition in Nom 11a-7 *ur memes vron* ‘the same breast’, where lenition is caused by the article; in contexts where the adjective precedes the noun, the adjective is mutated according to the gender and number of the noun it modifies, cp. in ModB (BD 642) *eur goz ween* (HSMB §13.14).

xx. **buhez** ‘life’

REF: GIB 337-338

A feminine noun; we find it with initial *v-* once in MB, in Ba 150 *Doe he vuhez ha piu vezo*, i.e. after the masculine possessive pronoun *e<sup>L</sup>*. Besides the mutation, context tells us that *he* is masculine here:

*Me a leuzro saczun vnan / Array hac à laquay poan / Dreist pep vnan e pep manier / An holl legent ma-z entento / Doe he vuhez ha piu vezo, / Oar vn dro ne fazio guer.*

“J’enverrai certainement quelqu’un qui fera en sorte, en pregnant de la peine, qu’elle comprenne en toute façon mieux que personne l’histoire sainte tout entire, **la vie de Dieu et sa nature**,<sup>77</sup> qu’elle sache tout cela sans se tromper.” (ERNAULT 1887a: 37)

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<sup>76</sup> This is almost the same construction as Fr. *au moins*, Eng. *at least*, though the preposition used is different.

<sup>77</sup> Here, *vezo* is best interpreted as a subjunctive, i.e. *Doe he vuhez ha piu vezo* ‘God, His life, and who[mever] He may be’, which is what ERNAULT captures by translating “et sa nature”.

xxi. **mat** ‘good’

REF: *DEVRI* s.v. ‘ervat’; *GIB* 1887; SCHRIJVER 2011b: 392-393.

Native adjective. Attested with *v-* once, after the adverbial particle *er*: Coll g27 *Ha rac se ne seruich nettra coummanç er vat ma na perseveret* ‘and because it is useless to begin well, if one does not persevere’. This is a rather common collocation: this eventually yields ModB *ervat* ‘well’, which we often find in MB as *en mat*, but also as *infat*, *en fat* (e.g. in Ca and D), which seems to confirm that the adverbial particle *en(t)* caused lenition-and-provection (*DEVRI* s.v. ‘ervat’; SCHRIJVER 2011b: 392-393).

xxii. **mennout** ‘want (v.)’

REF: ERNAULT 1887a: 335; *GIB* 1907.

The native verb *mennout* is spelled with initial *v-* a number of times in MB: e.g. Ba 517 *Houz seruicheres espressaff / Ez vennaff bezout heb doutaff* ‘I absolutely, without doubt, wish to be your servant’. It often appears in the construction *me venn* ‘I want’, with an elided verbal particle *a<sup>L</sup>*. Unlike *beviff* (xvii.), for which mutation is also relatively frequently attested in writing, initial *v-* for *mennout* mostly appears in a single expression. Like in *bout* (cf. §2.1.2), mutation is indicated in finite forms, though it seems that here, lenition is written because of a close collocation.

xxiii. **menel** ‘stay, dwell (v.)’

REF: *GIB* 1904-1905; *HMSB* §178.

Native verb, normally written with initial *m-*. One passage in the *Colloques* is puzzling: it gives us *venot*, which is an addition in the Breton portion of the text, as the French version has no equivalent in that passage, and neither do the other languages:

Fr.	<i>Mon maistre, ils retournent.</i>	Coll 210, 212; CollM 298
B	<i>Ma mestr, <b>venot</b> distrey à greont.</i>	Coll 211, 213
Du.	<i>Miin Meester, sy comen wederom.</i>	CollM 297
Eng.	<i>Maister, they come againe.</i>	CollM 297
Ger.	<i>Maister, sie kommen wieder.</i>	CollM 297
Lat.	<i>Here, redeunt.</i>	CollM 298
Sp.	<i>Señor, mira que bueluen.</i>	CollM 298
It.	<i>Patrone, ritornino.</i>	CollM 298

We might analyze this form as a 2pl. future/subjunctive,<sup>78</sup> with the lenition being caused by some sort of elided particle. The most fitting would be the optative particle *ra<sup>L</sup>*, which

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<sup>78</sup> With the later (Léon) ending *-ot* instead of *-(h)et*, cf. *HMSB* §131.5.

goes with the fut./subj., and would give *Ma mestr, [ra] venot, distrey à greont* ‘my master, wait; they are coming back’. The Spanish passage in CollM 298 similarly adds an imperative: *Señor, mira que bueluen* ‘Sir, look! (that) they are coming back’.<sup>79</sup> In *bout*, mutation is always written after *ra*<sup>L</sup>.

We may remark that in many of the words that were just discussed, lenition(-and-provection) appears sporadically, but specifically, in collocations (e.g. *er vat* ‘well’, cf. xxi.; *da vihanaff* ‘at least’, cf. xviii.; *guen da vet* ‘blessed are ye!’, cf. xv.). Perhaps this has something to do with the semantic distance that is created by these collocations between the regular, unlenited forms of these words, and the forms used in the collocations (i.e. lenited forms): for a speaker of Middle Breton, *bet* means ‘world’, but *guenn da vet* means ‘blessed are ye!’, not literally ‘white your world’. A counter-example, however, is *me venn* ‘I want’, which is the exact meaning of *mennout* ‘wish, want’, and for which the argument of semantic distance does not work. Thus, perhaps the appearance of lenition in writing in these collocations is indicative of something else, namely that lenition was seen as an intrinsic part of the expression, rather than as a clear grammatical rule (i.e. it might have been perceived that e.g. *da vihanaff* was not /da vi'ãñãµ/ because *da* causes lenition, but simply that one is supposed to say *da vihanaff* to mean ‘at least’). We might tentatively relate this to §1.2.7, 2d, which states that the semantics may play a role:<sup>80</sup> in this case, the collocations act as a semantic entity, which might influence the perception of the speaker on the presence of lenition being an intrinsic part of the collocation rather than a grammatical rule.<sup>81</sup> All of this may also apply to *belly/velly, beli/veli* (§3.1.3, xxxiv.).

Before we proceed to the next category, I would also like to briefly return to the notation of mutation in Cd 16-17, where lenition is indicated three times in three lines. This is highly unusual, and merits further discussion. The *Credo* is a rather different source from the rest of the corpus, not only for its length, but also because it constitutes a relatively short passage in an Old French text. I believe it may be of interest to briefly compare this to another short Middle Breton passage in the Old French *Farce de Maistre Pathelin* (for which see LOTH 1880). Two lines show the lenition of *c > g*, which is normally not indicated: *hac a gazas* ‘and he sent’ (*casas* ‘he sent (3sg.)’), and *Chetu vng gasec* ‘behold! a mare’ (*casec* ‘mare’). Moreover, another line has *quemeredol* for *quemeret oll* ‘all taken’, where the *sandhi* pronunciation [d] for /t/ between vowels is represented in spelling. LOTH (1880: 456) takes this as an indication that “ce passage a dû être écrit par un Français sous la dictée d’un Breton, au moins à l’origine”.

I believe that this suggestion may not only be valid for the passages in the *Farce de Maistre Pathelin*, but also for the *Credo*. Both of these Breton passages are riddled with spelling

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<sup>79</sup> lit. ‘Sir, see that they are returning’. I think it is unlikely that the Breton addition of *venot* is based on this Spanish passage: (1) we do not know whether Quiquer had access to anything but the French version, and (2) there is no good reason not to render the Sp. imperative *mira* ‘look!’ with the more direct equivalent *miret* ‘look!’ (2pl.)’.

<sup>80</sup> Though, of course, the example given there (non-mutation of culturally distant place-names) is completely unrelated to this.

<sup>81</sup> Perhaps this may be compared to the tendency in MB to write mutations in the second member of compounds (e.g. *gourffen* ‘end’ = *gour-* ‘on’ + *penn* ‘head’, cf. SCHRIJVER 2011b: 387: “[some] second member[s] of compounds [...] may no longer have been transparent”). Mutations in compounds were also no longer perceived as (purely) grammatical, but became intrinsically linked to the compound.

mistakes and defective spellings (by MB standards), which gives the impression that the scribes of both texts had little knowledge of Middle Breton spelling norms, or indeed of Breton at all. LOTH's suggestion that the Breton passages were dictated by Breton-speaking colleagues, which sometimes resulted in a slightly more phonetically 'accurate' representation of Breton, seems quite plausible.

**B1-b.** Few *v*-spellings (> 0%, ≤ 25%); only correct mutations; original *v*-

<i>moez</i> 'voice' [23]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				2/0/2	1/0/1	1/0/1	7/0/7	1/0/1	3/1/3	1/0/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	1/1/1					2/0/2			2/0/2	2/0/2	
<i>guinien/vinien</i> 'vine' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					5/0/5						
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
									1/0/1	2/2/2	

#### xxiv. *moez* 'voice'

**REF:** *DEB* 524; ERNAULT 1890: 353-354; *FLMB* gloss. 145; *GIB* 1987; HENRY 1900: 207; *HPB* §915.

MB *moez* (f.) is the only word in the corpus for which Fr. *v*- > only *m*- (and not *b*-), and one of only two words where delentition to *m*- is attested at all. MB *moez* is written with lenition twice: Ba 680 *Vn uoez vez net carguet a meledy* 'a pure voice full of melody', J 231 *Neuse un voez, ne fell soezaf* 'and so a voice, it did not fail to surprise [me]', both times after the article.

The suggestion that the (sole) source of MB *moez*, V *boéh* is OFr. *voiz* /*vøes*/ (like ERNAULT 1890: 353-354, *FLMB* gloss. 145, HENRY 1900: 207, *DEB* 524) cannot, on the basis of MB final *-z* /*ð*/ (and KLT *-zh*, V *-h*), be maintained.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps we must account for influence from, or merging with a native Breton word. A possible candidate would be a Breton cognate of OIr. *mé(i)de*<sup>83</sup> 'throat, lower part of the neck' (cf. *eDIL* s.v. 'méide', *LEIA* M-27-28): *mé(i)de* is unattested in Celtic outside of Irish, but an OSWBr. cognate via PCl. \**mēd*- would have been \**muīð*- (cf. SCHRIJVER 2011a: 28) > MB \*/*møeð*/, which is phonemically identical to *moez* 'voice'. Semantically, this is also a rather attractive option, as the vocal tracts are located in the neck. This being said, influence from OFr. *voiz* 'voice' must still be supposed, as the meaning 'voice' is the only semantic value that we find attributed to MB *moez*, KLT *mouezh*, V *boéh*. We may compare such a development, i.e. one where the semantic value of a loanword is applied onto a phonologically and semantically similar native word, to *veag* (§3.1.4, xxxix) below.

<sup>82</sup> This cannot be compared to e.g. MB *vertuz* < early OFr. [vertyð], which has \**-t*- > \**-ð*-; OFr. *voiz* had the evolution Lat. *vozem* > early OFr. [voits] > OFr. [vøes], cf. Lat. *nuzem* 'nut (acc.)' > early OFr. [noits] > OFr. *noiz* [nøes] (POPE 1934: §295, iii.)

<sup>83</sup> I thank Peter SCHRIJVER for this suggestion.

We see the first traces of V *boéh* ‘voice’ in EModB, e.g. GReg 968 *moëh, boüeh*, L’Arm. 405 *bouéh*; it seems to me that a (semantic) connection with OFr. *voiz* could have caused some confusion around the initial consonant of the word, which led to forms with initial *b-* in V.

xxv. **guinien/vinien** ‘vine’

REF: *eDIL* s.v. ‘fīne’; *GIB* 1139; *DGVB* 192; *FLMB* §§45, 48.1.

ModB *gwini* ‘vine’, with the feminine singulative suffix *-enn*. This is originally from Lat. *vīnea*, not from OFr. *vigne* (cf. OIr. *fine* ‘vine’, and the OB plural *guinou* (*sic*)). Neutral /n/ instead of palatal /ɲ/ < OFr. *-gn-* is not indicative of a Latin loan rather than a French one, as OFr. /ɲ/ frequently > MB /n/, cf. OFr. *signe* > MB *sin*, OFr. *borgne* > MB *born* (*FLMB* §45): rather, this is indicated by final *-i* in the suffixless form, which likely developed from BrLat \*/win'e.a/ > \*winia > eventually MB /gyini/. Initial *v-* appears only in Nom, after the article.

**B2-a.** Few *v*-spellings (> 0%, ≤ 25%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *b-*, *m-*

	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
<i>bez</i> ‘grave’ [76]			1/0/1	9/0/9	1/0/1	1/0/1	5/0/5	1/0/1	32/0/32	10/0/10	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		6/0/6				1/0/1	1/0/1			7/1/8	
<i>birviff</i> ‘boil’ [9]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1	2/0/2		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
								0/1/1	2/0/2		

xxvi. **bez** ‘grave’

REF: *GIB* 238.

Native masculine word; we have seen in §3.1.1 that the only instance in which this receives written lenition is Nom 253b-1 *mæn vez* ‘tombstone’. This should be *mæn bez* (like in Nom 199a-4).

xxvii. **birviff** ‘boil (v.)’

REF: *GIB* 263-264.

The only instance where this native verb receives initial *v-* is in the *Colloques*’ dictionary: Coll d5 *boüillir / viruiff* ‘boil’. It is not preceded by a word that should cause lenition, which thus constitutes an incorrect mutation. In *bout*, a *v*-spelling always implies some sort of elided leniting(-and-provecting) particle, which cannot be the case here for *viruiff*.

**B2-b.** Few *v*-spellings (> 0%, ≤ 25%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *v-*

	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
<i>becc</i> ‘vetch’ [7]			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1		1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										2/1/3	

<i>bergez</i> 'orchard' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/1/2	2/0/2					
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										2/0/2		

<i>bilen</i> 'villain (n.), villainous, dreadful (adj.)' ~ [26]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
			1/0/1		1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	1/0/1	5/0/5	1/0/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
	11/2/13			1/0/1							0/1/1	

xxviii. *becc* 'vetch'

REF: DEAF s.v. 'vece'; FLMB §32; GIB 223; LE MENN 2000: 477.

Only attested in the dictionaries; from Fr. *vesce*, OFr. *vece*; final *-cc* likely excludes the possibility of a loan from MedLat. *vicia*, as the graphemes *-cc*, *-cz*, etc. are virtually only found in OFr. loans (FLMB §32). The initial *v-* is reverted to *b-* in the *Catholicons*, but it is written once in Nom 76a-4. It is found from EModB onwards with the nasalization of *-ecc*, *-ecz* etc. > *-eñcc*, *-eñcz* (cf. FLMB §32) > ModB *beñs*; curiously, it is masculine in ModB, meaning it does not mutate after the article in the singular.

xxix. *bergez* 'orchard'

REF: DEB 102, 306; FLMB gloss. 81, §48.1; GIB 224.

Feminine noun in Breton, though originally from masculine OFr. *vergier* 'id.'. We find it with *v-* once in CathB *vergez aualou* 'apple orchard', where it is not preceded by any word that should cause lenition.

xxx. *bilen* 'villain (n.), villainous, dreadful (adj.)'

REF: DEAF s.v. 'vilain'; DEB 109; FLMB gloss. 81; GIB 260.

From the masculine noun and/or adjective OFr. *vilain* '(morally) ugly, not noble'. It is normally found in MB with initial *b-*, except two instances in Ba where it is written with initial *v-*: Ba 325 *En lech villain abominable* 'in an abominable, villainous place', 446 *Quen yen quen vilen ha quen stram* 'so cold, so villainous, and so detestable'. These are two contexts where *b-* should not lenite to *v-*: *lech* 'place' is masculine, and no mutation takes place after *quen* 'so, as'. Moreover, it is quite striking that the abstract noun, MB *vileny* < OFr. *vilenie*, is nearly always written with *v-*; I will discuss this below (§3.1.4, xli.).

3.1.3 C: MODERATE AMOUNT OF *v*-SPELLINGS (> 25%, ≤ 75%)

**C1-a.** Moderate amount of *v*-spellings (> 25%, ≤ 75%); only correct mutations; original *b-* or *m-*

<i>braech</i> 'pox, smallpox' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										3/1/3	



<i>gwerelaouen/ verelaouen</i> 'morning star' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					2/0/2							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										1/1/1		

xxx. *braech* 'pox, smallpox'

REF: *DEB* 134; *GIB* 309; HENRY 1900: 43.

Native feminine noun, ModB *brec'h*; attested once with written lenition after the article in Nom 264a-6 *an vreach*.

xxxii. *gwerelaouen* 'morning star'

REF: *DEB* 306; *DEVRI* s.v. 'gwerelaouen'; *eDIL* s.v. 'fáir'; *GIB* 1119; *GPC* s.v. 'gwawr'; *HPB* §207; HENRY 1900: 152; *SBCHP* 200.

Feminine noun. There exists some debate on the etymology of *gwerelaouen*. According to DESHAYES and HENRY, the first element is cognate with W *gwawr* 'sunrise', OIr. *fáir* 'sunrise, the east'; JACKSON rejects this and proposes PBr. *\*bere-lugen-* 'light-bringer' > OSWBr. *\*berlowen*, and that initial *\*gw-* and the *e* in *\*ber(e)* represent influence from *\*wōre* (> W *gwawr*). More convincing is SCHRIJVER's (*SBCHP* 200) etymology, which supposes the British word for 'morning', i.e. B *beure* (W *bore*), as the first element, but with *gw-* > *b-* through the delentation of the *lenis* form with [v]-: PBr. *\*bōrey-* 'morning' + *\*low* 'light' + feminine singulative suffix *-enn*. In ModB (cf. *DEVRI* s.v. 'gwerelaouen', *GIB* 1119) initial *gw-* is the most common form, though Vannetais has *b-* in L'Arm 144 *berleueenn*. In MB, we find it only in CathA, where it has initial *gu-*, and in Nom, where it has *v-* after the article.

**C1-b.** Moderate amount of *v*-spellings (> 25%, ≤ 75%); only correct mutations; original *v-*

<i>Beronyc/Veronyc</i> 'image of Christ' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					1/0/1							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
			1/1/1									

xxxiii. *Beronyc/Veronyc* 'Véronique (personal name); image of Christ'

REF: LE BERRE et al. 1999: 164; *GIB* 227.

We find this feminine word < OFr. *véronique* twice in MB, both times after the article; lenition is written in H 145 *dirac ymag an Veronic* 'before the image of Christ', but not in N 1131 *gant reson voar an beronic* 'with [my faith] on the image of Christ'.

**C2-a.** Moderate amount of *v*-spellings (> 25%, ≤ 75%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *b*- or *m*-

	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
<i>beli/veli</i> 'bailiff' [5]			1/0/1		1/0/1			1/0/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
									0/1/1	0/1/1	
<i>belly/velly</i> 'power' [36]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				0/1/1		1/0/1	3/4/4		1/0/1	13/0/13	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	3/0/3	2/0/2			1/0/1						10/9/10
<i>guerbl/verbl</i> 'zit, ulcer' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					1/0/1						
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
									0/1/1		
<i>bestl/vestl</i> 'gall' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1	3/1/3		0/1/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					1/0/1					1/0/1	

xxxiv. *beli/veli* 'bailiff', *belly/velly* 'power'

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. 'baillif'; *DEB* 100; *GIB* 219; *GMB* I 57; *TLFi* s.v. 'BAILLIE, subst. fém.'.

These are two words spelled in exactly the same way: we have *belly, velly* < OFr. *baillif* 'bailiff', which is masculine, and *belly/velly* 'power' < OFr. *baillie* 'seignior; power', which is feminine. The latter meaning is far more widely attested in MB, and appears frequently after the article in the collocation *roe ar<sup>L</sup> belly* 'king of power, i.e. God';<sup>84</sup> lenition is written in this construction regularly in M and Nl (compare the discussion on lenition in collocations at the end of §3.1.2, B1-a). In N 334 *hac oz roe vellj raliel* 'and destined to the king of power' the article is probably elided by mistake, resulting in an unexpected lenition. The frequent use of *belly* 'power' after the article likely prompted the use of *velly* with fossilized lenition as we find it in e.g. BD 1209 *nep velly* 'any power', which in turn may have influenced the homophonic and semantically close *belly* 'bailiff' so that it too received forms with initial *v*-, like we find in M 1917 *Velly ha lieutenant* 'bailiff and lieutenant', Nom 234a-7 *Velly* 'bailiff'.

xxxv. *guerbl/verbl* 'zit, ulcer'

**REF:** *DEB* 306; *DGVB* 189; *DLA* s.v. 'uerbera'; ERNAULT 1904: 278-282; HENRY 1900: 152.

Feminine word, cp. OB *guerp* (*DGVB* 189). According to HENRY (1900: 152), this is from Lat. *verbera* 'whip', with the semantic change to 'injuries caused by the whip', which is semantically and phonologically less favorable<sup>85</sup> than a connection to OIr. *ferb* 'blister' (cf. *eDIL* s.v. '2 ferb'), as proposed by LOTH (1887: 493, 497-498); however, the etymology is nonetheless complicated, and for a comprehensive discussion see ERNAULT (1904: 278-

<sup>84</sup> The feminine noun *bell* 'violence' is also found in this same construction in CathA *Doe an vell* 'god of violence'.

<sup>85</sup> I know of no examples where Lat. *-rb-* > B *-rbl*.

282); I will consider this to be either a native word, or a very early Latin loan shared with Irish as does ERNAULT. It is spelled with initial *v-* in Nom, but without the article.

xxxvi. *bestl/vestl* ‘gall’

REF: DEB 105; DGVB 84; GIB 231-232; VGKI 84, 116.

Feminine noun; from OB *bistl* (cf. the OB plural *bistlou*) < PCl. \**bistl-o/i*, which is cognate with Lat. *bilis*. It has a radical *v-* in CathA, CathB, and J where lenition is not expected, which might point to fossilized lenition, perhaps from use after the article.

**C2-b.** Moderate amount of *v*-spellings (> 25%, ≤ 75%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *v-*

<i>bisaig/visaig</i> ‘face’ [26]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1	4/0/4	1/1/2	1/1/2	0/2/2	0/1/1	2/2/3		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	1/0/1	3/1/3			1/1/2		2/0/2		1/0/1		2/0/2
<i>bitaill/vitaill</i> ‘food, provision’ [13]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
			1/0/1		1/1/2	1/1/2		1/1/2			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	2/2/3									2/0/2	

xxxvii. *bisaig/visaig* ‘face’

REF: DEAF s.v. ‘visage’; DEB 111; DEVRI s.v. ‘bizaj’, ‘vis’, ‘vertuz’.

From OFr. *visage* ‘face’, which is masculine. In ModB, this word became feminine, likely to accommodate for the delenition of *v-* to *b-*. It is rather interesting that CathMS has delenited *bisaig*, but that the print editions (CathA, CathB, CathC) all have *visaig*; overall, there is quite some variation in the initial consonant of this word across MB. That delenition and a change in gender occurs specifically in *bisaig/visaig* is remarkable, considering that masculine *v*-initial loanwords may also remain masculine and with *v-* (e.g. MB *vicc* ‘vice’ > ModB *viñs*, cf. DEVRI s.v. ‘vis’), and that feminine *v*-initial loanwords are not necessarily delenited at any point in the history of Breton (e.g. MB, ModB *vertuz* ‘virtue’, cf. DEVRI s.v. ‘vertuz’).

xxxviii. *bitaill/vitaill* ‘food, provision’

REF: DEAF s.v. ‘vitaille’; DEVRI s.v. ‘bitailh’; DMF s.v. ‘BESTAIL, subst. masc.’

Feminine word from OFr. *vitaille*, which is also feminine. The only attestations of this word not from dictionaries are found in Jer 157 *Vitayll da fortaracz* ‘provision for a fortress’, 169 *eguyt vytayll* ‘for provisions’, 309 *an hol bytayll* ‘all of the provisions’, which is also where we find the verbal form *en em bytayllet* (cf. §3.1.1, v.). Like *bisaig/visaig* (xxxvii.), CathMS has *b-* while CathA, CathB and CathC have *v-*. Cf. *bitaillaff* (§3.1.1, v.); these words are likely analogous to Fr. *bétail* ‘livestock’.

### 3.1.4 D: MANY V-SPELLINGS (> 75%, < 100%)

All of these words have at least one incorrect mutation.

**D-a.** Many *v*-spellings (> 75%, < 100%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *b*- or *m*-

<i>velis</i> 'lemon balm' [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
									1/0/1			

xxxviii. *velis* 'lemon balm'

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. 'melisse'; *DEVRI* s.v. 'melis / meliskr'; *DMF* s.v. 'mélisse'; *GMB* 736.

Either from OFr. or MFr. *melisse* 'melissa officinalis'. This word appears only in MB lexicons, and seems to be unattested in EModB or ModB; the gender of the MB word is unclear (*DEVRI* s.v. 'melis / meliskr'), but it is feminine in French. The initial *v*- in CathA, CathB and CathC has not been explained; it may be a generalization of the lenited form after the article.

**D-b.** Many *v*-spellings (> 75%, < 100%); at least one incorrect mutation; original *v*-

<i>veag</i> 'journey' [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don		
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1					
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl		
		1/1/1		2/1/2						1/0/1			
<i>venim</i> 'venom' [12]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don		
				1/0/1	0/1/1	0/1/1	1/2/2	0/1/1	1/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl		
		3/3/3									2/0/2		
<i>vileny</i> 'villainy' [25]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don		
							1/6/6		1/5/5	0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl		
		4/8/9					0/1/1		0/1/1	0/1/1	1/1/1		

xxxix. *veag* 'journey'

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. 'veage'; *DEB* 309; *DEVRI* s.v. 'beaj', 'gwezh/gwech'; *eDIL* s.v. 'fecht'; *GIB* 213, 1097-1098; *GPC* s.v. 'gwaith'; *HENRY* 1900: 149; *HPB* §595; *MATASOVIĆ* 2009: 419-420; *SCHRIJVER* 2011b: 368-369.

From OFr. *veage* 'journey'. Attested from EModB onwards with the meaning 'journey', but also with the meaning 'time': *JV* 198 *evit an eil beag* 'for the second time', *BD* 168 *erenquer hep douttan eur veag ol meruel* 'that without doubt we must all die one time' (cf. *GIB* 213, 1097; *DEVRI* s.v. 'beaj .1'). OFr. *veage* might have influenced the semantically and phonologically similar *guez* 'time', modern KLT *gwech* 'time', V *gueh* < PCl. \**wek-tā* or \**wex-tā*, whence OIr. *fecht* and W *gwaith*, which also have the double meaning of 'journey' and 'time'. Originally MB *guez* must have carried the same double meaning. Final -/s/ in *guez* likely stems in part from the plural: PBr. sg. \**weiθ*, pl. \**weiθjow*, where \*-θj- > -/s/- (*HPB* §595). Moreover, it may have helped that MB /ε/ diphthongized to [ea] in

monosyllables in some dialects (mostly in Léon, cf. SCHRIJVER 2011b: 368-369), which also made OFr. *veage* > MB *veag* /veaz/ > [veaf] with final devoicing, and LMB *guez* > [gyeaʃ], lenited [veaf] phonetically more similar. Then, we might explain GReg 966 *güeaichi pr. güeaichet* ‘to travel, p[articiple] traveled’, GReg 966 *güeaich p. güeaichou* ‘journey, pl. travels’, and GReg 966 *Güeaicheur. p. güeacheuryen* ‘traveler, pl. travelers’ as translations of *voiage*, *viager*, and *viageur* respectively as instances where *gwech* ‘time, journey’ and *veag* ‘journey’ had merged in form and meaning, which in turn explains the use of *veag* as ‘time’ in *an eil beag* and *eur veag ol*.

#### xl. **venim** ‘venom’

REF: DEAF s.v. ‘venin’ DEVRI s.v. ‘binim’

From OFr. *venin* ‘venom’; it is only delenited once in N 1168 *gant vn benin re creminall* ‘by a poison (that is) too potent’, and in Nom, where it appears twice. There are various realizations in ModB (*bilim*, *bunum*, *binim*, etc., cf. DEVRI, s.v. ‘binim’), but in MB the spelling is quite stable: we find mostly *venim*/*venym* up until Nom, with the exception of *velim* in J 114 and *benin* in N 1168. The overall stability of the spelling in MB, in combination with the preference for initial *v-* during this period, might indicate that *venim* was only partially integrated and was still perceived as a clear loanword; however, we do also find *venin*, *velin*, *vemin* in OFr., and in Modern French dialects (e.g. Saintongeais /vnẽ/, /vrẽ/, Gascon /belẽ/, /benĩ/, cf. ALF 1737) with the same instability in the medial consonant, which means that the perceived degree of instability may rather reflect the overall development of the word both in France and in Brittany.

#### xli. **vileny** ‘villainy’

REF: DEAF s.v. ‘vilenie’; FLMB gloss. 81; GIB 260.

See *bilen* (§3.1.2, xxx.); abstract feminine noun from OFr. *vilenie*. Despite the semantic and formal proximity to *bilen*, *vileny* is found almost invariably with initial *v-*, whereas *bilen* is almost always written with *b-*. In fact, the only instance in MB where *vileny* is written with *b-* is in Ba 441 *Da comps da den ha bileny* ‘to talk to people about villainy’.<sup>86</sup> This also means that all other texts in the corpus always have *bilen* with *b-* and *vileny* with *v-*.

It seems that a clear distinction is made between the abstract noun *vileny*, which generally does not conform to ICM, and the adjective *bilen*.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps the use of *bilen* as an adjective more frequently prompted delenition of *v-* > *b-*, as lenition of the adjective only occurs after feminine singular nouns and masculine plural nouns denoting people (i.e. *bilen* as an adjective could occur either after leniting and non-leniting contexts after nouns, both in the singular and plural), whereas a feminine noun after the article has only two options: it lenites in the singular, and not in the plural. The issue with this is that whereas *vileny* does indeed mostly appear in the singular (23 out of 26 times), it is only found after the article twice in MB, and both in the same expression (M 3398 *doen vileny*, Nl 94 *dou’en vileny* ‘God of villainy’); we cannot maintain that the retention of *v-* in *vileny* is due to

<sup>86</sup> *leg. a bileny*, i.e. preposition *a*<sup>L</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> It is sometimes nominalized, and a masculine plural *bilenet* exists (cf. Ba 479).

frequent use with the article in the singular. The lack of delenition in *vileny*, but not in *bilen*, thus seems rather arbitrary.

### 3.1.5 E: ONLY V-SPELLINGS (100%)

#### E1-a. Only v-spellings; only correct mutations; original *b-* or *m-*

<i>va</i> 'place' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl

#### xlii. *va* 'place'

**REF:** *DEVRI* s.v. 'ahont', 'avahont', 'vahont', 'aze', 'avaze', 'vaze'; *FavG* s.v. 'ahont', 'avahont', 'vahont', 'aze', 'avaze', 'vaze'; *DGVB*: 249; *GIB* 77, 179; HENRY 1900: 22; *HMSB* §84.n1.

From OB \**ma* 'place'; see *vahont*, *vase* (xlvi). We find this word without the extension by a demonstrative pronoun only once in MB, in J 112 *A ne gousode ez gallafme dre va* 'And do you not know that I can, through [my] place'; the lenition is expected after *dre* 'through', but its notation is doubtlessly analogous with the fossilized lenition in *vahont*, *vase*, which may be due to the frequency of the combinations of *a<sup>L</sup>* 'from' + \**ma-se*, \**ma-hont* > *a vase* 'from here', *a vahont* 'from there'.

#### E1-b. Only v-spellings; only correct mutations; original *v-*

<i>vadiff</i> 'make haste?' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vaticiner</i> 'fortune teller, prophet' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>viltancc</i> 'villainousness' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vocation</i> 'vocation' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vomissaff</i> 'vomit (v.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vouet</i> 'destined' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl

xliii. **vadiff** ‘make haste?’

REF: LE BERRE et al. 1999: 181; *DLD* s.v. ‘vādo’; *GIB* 190.

Attested in N 1648 *laqua euez mat na vady*. There are various interpretations of this verb: LE BERRE (1999: 181) proposes “[p]lutôt qu’à une forme mutée de *bad-*, nous pensons à un emprunt au latin *vado* ‘s’avancer en hâte’, ‘s’élancer’”, and translates “[f]ais bien attention à ne pas te précipiter”. HEMON (*GIB* 190) sees this as a mutated form of *badañ* ‘be perplexed; faint (v.)’; we find the same verb unmutated in N 1125 *ma daoulagat so ... badet*, 1796 *ha ma daoulagat so badet*, both meaning ‘(and) my eyes are perplexed’. Thus, the passage in N 1648 might also mean ‘be careful not to be perplexed’. However, LE BERRE’s interpretation seems semantically preferable, and I follow his suggestion that *vady* is a Bretonified infinitive<sup>88</sup> of Lat. *vādo* ‘I rush’. This *v*-spelling does follow the norm of *bout*, which regularly shows lenition after the negation; however, the verb originally has *v*- in Latin, which raises the strong possibility that the word is simply unassimilated.

xliv. **vaticiner** ‘fortune, prophecy’

REF: *DEVRI* s.v. ‘vatisiner’; *DLD* s.v. ‘uaticinor’; *DMF* s.v. ‘vaticiner’; *FEW* s.v. ‘vaticinari’; *TFLi* s.v. ‘vaticiner’.

Ultimately linked to MFr. *vaticiner* ‘prophesize (v.)’, but probably directly from Lat. *vātīcīnor* ‘id.’ from whence MB *vaticinet* ‘prophecized (pp.)’. Both *vaticiner* and *vaticinet* are only attested in *Buhez santes Nonn*: N 423 *Me eo Merlin ameux vaticinet* ‘It is I, Merlin, who has prophesized’, 785 *Me diuin dre vaticiner* ‘I predict by prophecy’.<sup>89</sup> LE BERRE (1999: 150) interprets this as an almost entirely Lat. verbal form *vaticinor* ‘I foretell (1sg. present indicative)’ and provides the literal translation “tandis que je vaticine”, where *-or* is likely made *-er* to rhyme with the following line *beelzebut maz persecuter* ‘Belzebuth, may he be persecuted’.<sup>90</sup> ERNAULT’s (1887a: 399) interpretation is similar, but he links it to the Lat. infinitive *vaticinari*, which is more difficult to explain in light of final *-er*. If this truly reflects Lat. *vaticinor*, then lenition of a finite verbal form after *dre* is technically in concord with the norm for *bout*, but like *vadiff* (xliii.), the verb originally has *v*- in Latin. Therefore, it is possible that the verb is simply unassimilated.

xlv. **vomissaff** ‘vomit (v.)’

REF: FAVEREAU 1992: 175; *FLMB* §55.

*Vomissaff* is an example of a French verb in *-ir* being adopted with a stem in *-iss-*, cf. OFr. *aduertir* ‘subvert, warn (v.)’ > MB *aduertissaff*; the presence of *-iss-* is traditionally explained as coming from the present participle *-issant-* of these verbs (see FAVEREAU 1992: 175; *FLMB* §55). This is a French *v*-initial loan given in syntactic isolation, where no lenition should take place; we cannot compare the attestation of this verb to *bout*.

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<sup>88</sup> Final *-y* for *-iff* is attested elsewhere in N, e.g. N 1117 *pidy hep muy* ‘pray immediately’, cf. CathA *Pidiff g. prier*.

<sup>89</sup> This line is spoken by a fellow named ‘i magus’, i.e. ‘the first mage’; thus, *vaticiner* is not a *nomen agentis* (*Me diuin dre vaticiner* ≠ ‘I predict thanks to a soothsayer’), as the mage is probably doing the foretelling himself.

<sup>90</sup> We might read *\*persecuther* for *persecuter*, i.e. a subjunctive impersonal.

All of these words are only attested in a single MB text. However, they do not all follow the same developments into EModB and ModB: *vadiff* (xliii.), *vaticiner* (xliv.), and *vouet* are only ever attested in these texts, and do not survive into (E)ModB. These seem to represent nonce loans (cf. specifically §1.2.4m, which reports the variable mutation of ‘nonce borrowings’). *Viltancc* and *vocation* end up in (E)ModB as *viltañs* and *vakasion*, respectively (*DEVRI*, s.v. ‘vakasion’, ‘viltañs’; *GIB* 3192, 3197), but are never delenited. *Vomissaff* (xlv.) is attested in (E)ModB, where it is delenited to *b-* (*GIB* 282; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘bomisañ/bomisiñ’).

**E2-a.** Only *v*-spellings; at least one incorrect mutation; original *b-* or *m-*

<i>vangounellat</i> ‘pump (v.)’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>bellyes</i> ‘female bailiff’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>vahont</i> ‘that way, over there (adv.)’ [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1		0/2/2					
<i>vase</i> ‘this way, over here (adv.)’ [27]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	0/1/1					1/1/2			0/17/17		
<i>vetez</i> ‘today’ [14]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
	0/1/1	0/5/5							0/3/3		0/3/3

xlvi. *vangounellat* ‘pump (v.)’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘mangonel’; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘bangounell’, ‘bangounellat’.

From OFr. *mangonel* ‘catapult, trebuchet’, extended with the ending *-aat* for the verbal infinitive, and attested once in Nom, where it has initial *v-* in a non-mutating context. We later find it, as well as the noun *bangounell/mangounell* ‘pump; catapult’, with initial *b-*, *m-*, and *v-*, even in the same dictionary: *GReg 77a Mangounell, p. mangounellou, 738 bangounell. vangounell. p. vangounellou*. Why *m-* is lenited to *v-* here is unclear; we know that this is not the only time Quiquer produces an unexpected lenition, but in this case the later EModB attestations seem to confirm the existence of *vangounell(aat)*. Like *viruiff* (§3.1.2, xxvii.), this cannot be compared to *bout*, as the attestation does not imply the elision of any mutating particle.



xlvi. **vellyes** ‘female bailiff’

REF: GIB 219.

Cf. *beli* ‘bailiff’ (§3.1.2, xxxiv.). Only attested once, with initial *v-*, as an example of the formation of the feminine with *-es*: Coll g67 *Baroun, Baronnes, Velly, Vellyes, Letanant, Letanantes, Procurer, Procureres, & ainsi des autres*. The initial *v-* is carried over from the masculine counterpart *veli*; see *beli/veli* above.

xlvi. **vahont** ‘that way, over there (adv.)’; **vase** ‘this way, over here (adv.)’

REF: DEVRI s.v. ‘ahont’, ‘avahont’, ‘vahont’, ‘aze’, ‘avaze’, ‘vaze’; FavG s.v. ‘ahont’, ‘avahont’, ‘vahont’, ‘aze’, ‘avaze’, ‘vaze’; DGVB 249; GIB 77, 179; HENRY 1900: 22; HMSB §84.n1.

These two adverbials have already been mentioned in §1.3.4c, as has the initial *v-* of *va* ‘place’ (xlii.); however, their relation to ModB *aze, ahont* has not yet been discussed. Spellings exclusively with *v-* are more or less limited to the MB period, and in EModB both *ahont* and *vahont* exist. Originally from OB \**ma-* ‘place’ + a demonstrative pronoun; the apparent loss of *v-* in ModB may either be explained as the loss of *-va-* in *a vahont* ‘from there’, *a vaze* ‘from here’ as a result of *allegro* pronunciation, rather than *vase* > *aze* and *vahont* > *ahont* (as do FAVEREAU, cf. FavG, references cited under REF, and HENRY 1900: 22), or as new formations *a-se, a-hont*, cf. *a-dreñv* ‘behind’ < *treñv* ‘behind’.

xlix. **vetez** ‘today’

REF: DEB 175; DEVRI s.v. ‘bite / biteiz’, ‘feteiz’; ERNAULT 1887a: 399; GIB 822; GMB I 61; HENRY 1900: 121.

Always *vetez* in MB; from EModB onwards also *fete, fette*. From \**bet-deiz* ‘lit. until-day’, which would mean that it represents a doublet of MB *biteiz* where the initial element was lenited, cf. *bemdez* < \**pep deiz*, *bepret* < \**pep pret* (§3.1.1, viii.). The subsequent devoicing of *v-* to *f-* is, as far as I know, unexplained.

**E2-b.** Only *v*-spellings; at least one incorrect mutation; original *v-*

Because of the high amount of words included in this category, I will only comment on a few words that necessitate further discussion.

<b>vacabont</b> ‘vagabond’ [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/2/2	0/2/2		0/2/2			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/1/1
<b>vacancc</b> ‘holiday’ [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/2/2
<b>vacant</b> ‘vacant (adj.)’ [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				0/1/1							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl

<b>vacilloff</b> 'vacillate (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				0/1/1	0/1/1	0/1/1					
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vaen</b> 'vain (n.); vain (adj.)' [29]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1	0/7/7	0/1/1	0/4/4		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vaguaff</b> 'stray, err? (v.)' [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				1/1/1	0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vailhant</b> 'brave, courageous (adj.)' [50]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	0/1/1			0/30/30	0/1/1	0/1/1	1/3/3	0/1/1	1/1/1	0/2/2	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vailhantiz</b> 'courage' [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				0/2/2							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vailmant</b> 'valiantly (adv.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>valabl</b> 'valuable (adj.)' [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
							1/2/2		0/1/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>Valaine</b> 'Valaine (place-name)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>Valentin</b> 'Valentin (personal name)' [15]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>valerian</b> 'valerian' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>van</b> 'winnowing' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vanegloar</b> 'vainglory' [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1	1/1/2	0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vaneson</b> 'venison' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
				1/2/2	0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<b>vanite</b> 'vanity' [10]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1	4/4/4	0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				1/1/1		1/1/1		0/1/1			

<b>vantaff</b> 'boast (v.)' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
				0/1/1		1/2/2						
<b>vantous</b> 'suction cup' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/1/1		
<b>vaotour</b> 'vulture' [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/2/2		
<b>vapor</b> 'steam, vapor' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>variabl</b> 'variable (adj.)' [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
			0/1/1							0/1/1		
<b>variaff</b> 'vary (v.)' [10]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/2/2	0/1/1	0/1/1	2/3/3	0/1/1	0/2/2		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
		0/5/5										
<b>varieson</b> 'variation' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
								0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>varius</b> 'various, varying (adj.)' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
								0/2/2				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>varlen</b> 'verbena (plant)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>varyant</b> 'varying (adj.)' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
								0/1/1	1/1/1	0/2/2		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
		1/2/2										
<b>vassal</b> 'vassal' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/1/1		
<b>vaticinaff</b> 'foretell (v.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vegetatiff</b> 'vegetative (adj.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vellin</b> 'vellum' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1						
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	

<b>vendagaff</b> 'harvest (v.)' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/2/2	0/2/2		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/1/1		
<b>vendager</b> 'grape picker' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/1/1		
<b>vendaig</b> 'vintage, grape harvest' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vendicaff</b> 'vindicate (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>venerabl</b> 'venerable (adj.)' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
			0/2/2									
<b>Venetodonet</b> 'Venetodones (tribal name)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
				0/1/1								
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vengeaff</b> 'avenge (v.)' [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/2/2	0/2/2		0/2/2				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
										0/1/1		
<b>vengeanc</b> 'revenge' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
0/1/1			0/2/2	1/2/2								
<b>venger</b> 'avenger' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>veniel</b> 'venial (adj.)' [39]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
							0/1/1		0/33/33	0/2/2		
<b>venimet</b> 'poisoned; poisonous (adj.)' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
										0/2/2		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>venimus</b> 'venomous, poisonous (adj.)' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
							0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>Venus</b> 'Venus (personal name)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
		1/2/2			0/1/1							
<b>verb</b> 'verb' [28]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/25/25	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
									0/1/1	0/2/2		

<i>verdegris</i> 'gray-green (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>verifiet</i> 'verified, checked (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1				
<i>veritablement</i> 'truly (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1						
<i>verius</i> 'verjuice' [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			0/1/1
<i>vermeil</i> 'vermillion (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>vermillon</i> 'vermillion (adj.)' [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			0/4/4
<i>vernis</i> 'varnish' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/2/2	
<i>verset</i> 'verse' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1			0/1/1	
<i>versiftaff</i> 'verify, put into verse (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
<i>versifier</i> 'versifier, one who puts into verse' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
<i>vertuz</i> 'virtue' [51]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
			1/6/6	13/19/19	2/2/2		3/3/3	0/3/3	0/1/1	0/2/2	1/1/1
<i>vertuzus</i> 'virtuous (adj.)' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				0/2/2						1/2/2	1/1/1
<i>verv</i> 'verve?' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
			0/2/2								
<i>verven</i> 'verbena (plant)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			

<i>vessaff</i> 'vex (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vessel</i> 'vessel, vase' [20]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
							0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vessellamant</i> 'dishes, cutlery' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>veturier</i> 'valet' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
						0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>viatic</i> 'viaticum' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>viber</i> 'viper' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vicaer</i> 'vicar' [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vicc</i> 'vice' [29]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	1/1/1			0/3/3	0/1/1	0/1/1	1/7/7	0/1/1	1/2/2	0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vicroue</i> 'vice-king' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>viciusamant</i> 'viciously (adv.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
							0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>victoar</i> 'victory' [15]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
					0/2/2	0/2/2	0/1/1	0/2/2			
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>victorianes</i> 'Victorienne' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vif</i> 'lively (adj.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
							0/1/1				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>vigil</i> 'vigil, abstinence' [7]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
			0/2/2				0/1/1	0/2/2	0/2/2		

<b>vigneron</b> 'winemaker' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<b>vigor</b> 'vigor' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1	1/2/2	0/1/1		0/1/1	
<b>viguiden</b> 'twist? (v.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<b>vil</b> 'vile (adj.)' [37]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				0/1/1	0/1/1	0/1/1	0/4/4	0/1/1	0/2/2		
<b>viliflet</b> 'villified (adj.)' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1			0/2/2	0/1/1
<b>villagenn</b> 'village' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										1/1/1	1/2/2
<b>Vincent</b> 'Vincent (personal name)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
<b>vindicatiff</b> 'vindicative (adj.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			
<b>violaff</b> 'violate (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				0/2/2							
<b>violanc</b> 'violence' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				2/2/2	1/2/2		0/1/1				
<b>violant</b> 'violent (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<b>violet</b> 'violet, purple (adj.)' [11]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1		0/1/1	2/7/7
<b>viorna</b> 'viburnum (plant)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<b>Virgilius</b> 'Virgilius (personal name)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1				

<i>virginite</i> 'virginity' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
			0/1/1	0/1/1	1/1/1						
<i>virgulenn</i> 'comma' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
									0/2/2		
<i>vis</i> 'screw' [5]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
									0/2/2		
<i>visaff</i> 'aim (v.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
<i>visibl</i> 'visible (adj.)' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
				1/2/2							
<i>vision</i> 'vision' [9]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		1/2/2	1/1/1							0/1/1	
<i>visiter</i> 'visitor' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1				
<i>visitiff</i> 'visit (v.)' [20]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		1/2/2	0/1/1	0/1/1	1/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1	0/1/1		1/1/1
<i>vituperaff</i> 'vituperate (insult) (v.)' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
		1/2/2			0/1/1						
<i>vivander</i> 'grocer' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>vivier</i> 'fishpond' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/1/1	
<i>vocabul</i> 'vocabulary, words' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
										0/2/2	
<i>vocalamant</i> 'expressly, with voice (adv.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
							0/1/1				
<i>vocalenn</i> 'vowel' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	Mcf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1			



<b>vocatif</b> 'vocative' [11]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1		0/1/1				0/8/8
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>voeu</b> 'wish' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
				1/2/2								
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vogaff</b> 'sail (v.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volaig</b> 'fickle, flighty (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volant</b> 'flying (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>voler</b> 'burglar' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											1/2/2	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volontae</b> 'voluntary (adj.)' [3]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
				0/1/1	1/2/2							
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volontairemant</b> 'voluntarily (adv.)' [8]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
								0/8/8				
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volontez</b> 'will' [97]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1				2/5/5		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>vols</b> 'tomb' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volum</b> 'volume (of a book)' [4]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
					0/1/1	0/1/1				0/1/1		
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>volupte</b> 'voluptuousness' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
							1/1/1					
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>voluptus</b> 'voluptuous' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
											0/1/1	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
<b>Volusian</b> 'Volusian (personal name)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don	
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl	
	0/1/1											

<i>volyer</i> 'aviary' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/1/1
<i>vomisamant</i> 'vomit' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/1/1
<i>vost</i> 'face' [2]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											1/2/2
<i>voulous</i> 'velvet' [9]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											1/7/7
<i>vout</i> 'vault' [6]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/1/1
<i>voutet</i> 'vaulted (adj.)' [1]	Dag	Cd	CathMS	N	CathA	CathB	M	CathC	J	TPM	Don
	Jer	Ba	H	Cl	Ca	G	MCf	D	Coll	Nom	Nl
											0/1/1

### i. *varlen* 'verbena'

REF: HENRY 1900: 27; *FLMB* gloss. 189.

From Fr. *verveine*; the *-l-* is apparently "due to the influence of *barlenn* 'lap'" (*FLMB* gloss. 189); according to PIETTE, ModB has *barlenn* for MB *varlen*, but I have found no corresponding attestations. The *Catholicons* also have the doublet *verven*.

### li. *veniel* 'venial (adj.)'

REF: *DEAF* s.v. 'venial'.

From OFr. *venial* 'venial, i.e. which can be forgiven'. This word is invariably given in the collocation *pechet veniel* 'venial sin', which in MCf is frequently abbreviated to *p.v.* I have taken these abbreviations as attestations of the word, as they at least tell us it began with *v-* even when abbreviated.

### lii. *vertuz* 'virtue'

REF: *FLMB* §36; POPE 1934: §335; *TLFi* s.v. 'VERTU, subt. fém.', 'MONNAIE, subt. fém.'.

Feminine word from OFr. *vertu*, *vertus*, *vertut*, etc. The OFr. is originally from Lat. *virtutem*, acc. sg. of *virtus*, which means that the early Old French form was [vertyð] (cf. POPE 1934: §335); we find other loans in MB that preserve this final [ð], e.g. *moneiz* 'money' < OFr. *monoie* < Lat. *Moneta* (cf. *FLMB* §36), which may point to an early date of borrowing.

liii. *vessaff* ‘vex (v.)’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘vessier’; *DEVRI* s.v. ‘veseañ’; *DMF* s.v. ‘vessier’; *FEW* s.v. ‘vexare’; *FLMB* gloss. 189; LE MENN 2001: 202.

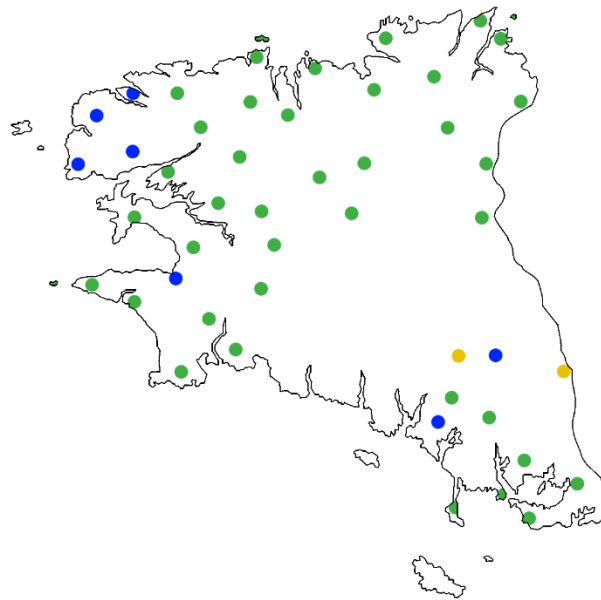
From the attestation in CathA *uesseaff* *g. vessier. la. uexo/as*, we can safely deduce from the Latin that this must be MFr. *vessier*, alternative spelling of *vexer* ‘vex (v.)’, and not OFr. *vessier* ‘let out a silent fart (v.)’, as LE MENN (2001: 203) and *DEVRI* both interpret. Like *vomissaff* (xlv.), this word appears in syntactic isolation, meaning it should not mutate; for the same reasons as *viruiff* (§3.1.2, xxvii.) and *vangounellat* (xlvi.), we cannot compare to *bout*.

liv. *veturier* ‘valet’

**REF:** *ALBB* 297; *FLMB* §48.1.

From OFr. *voiturier*. Ultimately linked to OFr. *voiture*, from whence ModB *gwetur*. While ModB *gwetur* is unattested in MB,<sup>91</sup> it is nonetheless an important word to discuss as it constitutes the only *v*-initial French loan that is included in the *ALBB*. In Figure 13 below, I show the distribution of *gwetur* in the ModB dialects, where ■ = [gwetyr], [wetyr], ■ = [bwetyr], and ■ = [vetyr] (always with the article *ar<sup>L</sup>*); there might not be a phonemic difference between ■ and ■, i.e. [v]- and [w]-.

Figure 13: Distribution of the forms of ModB *gwetur* < Fr. *voiture*; ■ = [bw]-, ■ = [gw]-, [w]-, ■ = [v]-.



<sup>91</sup> ERNAULT (*GMB* 737) cites *voetur* from CathB (which is followed by *DEVRI* s.v. ‘gwetur’), but I have not been able to locate this word.

We can see that [bwetyr] appears sporadically both in Western Léon and Upper Vannetais. Most dialects in Southern and Eastern Cornouaille have a variant of *karr* instead.

It is important to discuss the adaptation of the OFr. diphthong in the case of *voiture* and *voiturier*: for most OFr. loanwords with *-oi-* the result in MB is *-oe-*, e.g. OFr. *boiste* ‘box’ > MB *boest*, OFr. *coiffe* ‘cap’ > MB *coeff*. PIETTE remarks that certain Fr. loans with *-oi-* are borrowed from dialects or sociolects where *-oi-* had become [ɛ]; while this might be the case for *veturier* ‘valet’, this does not explain the EModB attestations SCger 126a *vitur*, GReg 968a *vytur*, *p. vyturyou*. What may have happened is that the combination of initial *v-* and the diphthong *-oi-*, i.e. OFr. [vœɛ], was adapted into MB as /œ/ (cf. *voa* /œa/ ‘was’, *voar* /œar/ ‘on’; see §1.3.4a),<sup>92</sup> which resulted in three different realizations: (1) in most modern dialects, /œ/ was subsequently reinterpreted as the lenited form of *gw-*, yielding *gwetur*; (2) in western Léon and a few dialects in Cornouaille and Vannetais, [vœ] was interpreted as the lenited form of /bœ/, yielding *bwetur* (cf. *boa* ‘was’ < *voa*, §2.1.2). Finally, (3) the EModB forms *vitur*, *vytur*, *vyturiou* are rather difficult to explain as /œ/ never > /yi/ or /i/, and /e/ > /i/ only in Vannetais and sporadically in Trégor (HPB §§162-134, §167); I have no solution for these forms.

PIETTE reports that in Léon, lenited *\*w-* eventually came to be realized as [v]-, which resulted in French *v-*initial loanwords being reinterpreted as having an unlenited initial *\*gw-*, and cites *gwerje* < OFr. *vergier* ‘orchard’, *gwernis* < OFr. *vernis*, and *gwetur* < OFr. *voiture*. About *gwetur*, PIETTE argues that because the Breton word “presupposes a borrowing with *oi* pronounced [œ]”, this points to an early borrowing, and thus an early date for the Léon development *w-* > [v]. As I mention in §1.3.4a, I believe this may rather represent a slightly different development where the rounded elements of the rising diphthongs disappeared into the onset [v], e.g. /œ/ [vœ] > [ve].

#### lv. *viguiden* ‘twist (v.)’

REF: *FavY* s.v. ‘tordre’; *GIB* 1099.

Given in Coll d40 *viguidē* as the translation for Fr. *tordre* ‘twist (v.)’, alongside *nezaff* ‘id.’. It looks like this is a singulative noun, which is odd considering it is given as the equivalent of a French verb,<sup>93</sup> but we might identify *-guidē* as ModB *gwedenn* ‘bundle of twigs; twisted branch’. What *vi-* represents is unclear.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> The opposite happened in OFr. *oisif* ‘lazy’ > Cath *oesiff*, MCf 12, 55, 102 *voesiff*.

<sup>93</sup> Though Quiquer does sometimes give a translation in the wrong word class, e.g. the noun *buanequez* ‘anger, irritability’ as a translation of the adjective *courroucé* ‘angry’.

<sup>94</sup> Entirely speculative, but perhaps *vi-* was the beginning of *\*vidē*, i.e. lenited *guidenn*, upon which the author or printer realized the mistake and continued with the base form *guidenn*. No effort seems to have been made to conceal the *vi-*, however, and a later version from 1738, printed in Quimper by “la Veuve de Jean Perier, & Simon-Marie Perier fils”, also translates Fr. *tordre* as *nerz*, [sic] *viguiden*. A later version still, from 1759 and printed by the same Simon-Marie Perier, does not give *nezaff* but retains *viguiden*.

lvi. **vilifiaff** ‘vilify (v.)’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘vil’; *DMF* s.v. ‘viler’.

From OFr. *\*vilifier*, which seems to be unattested, even though it would make for a perfectly fine OFr. verb. A borrowing from MedLat. *vilificāre* seems unlikely, as that would yield MB *\*\*vilificaff*. It appears as a past participle in M 3325 *Ez deuhent y da bout vilifiet* ‘they would come to be vilified’, in a context where no lenition should take place; thus, no comparison to *bout* can be made.

lvii. **vocatif** ‘vocative’

**REF:** *DEAF* s.v. ‘vocatif’; *FLMB* gloss. 190; *LE MENN* 2001: 203.

From OFr. *vocatif*. CathA has *uocaff*, but this must be *\*vocatif* considering the other dictionaries: CathA *Unuent penac*; *Uocaff*; *Uogalēn*, CathB *Unuent penac*; *Uocatiff*; *Uogalēn*; CathC *Unuent*; *Uocatiff*; *Uogalēn*.

We might now make a few observations about this category (E2). First of all, it is evident that most *v*-initial French loanwords fall into this category. Many of these words are rare, being attested only one or two times in MB. We might thus ask the question whether frequency has any bearing on the delenition of initial *v*-. In Table 15 below, I provide statistics for the number of attestations of the *v*-initial loanwords in each category:

Table 15: Amount of *v*-initial loanwords per attestation count (rows) and per category (columns).

<i>n. of attestations</i>	A	B	C	D	E
1	2				41
2			1		18
3					23
4	6			1	4
5					5
6					9
7		1		1	5
8		1			4
9					2
10					2
11					2
12				1	
13			1		
15					2
20					2
25				1	

26	1	1
28		1
29		2
37		1
39		1
50		1
51		1
97		1

What we can observe is that Category A only includes words that are rather rare (which, as we have established, appear almost exclusively in dictionaries). Categories B, C, and D all include very little words, of which the number of attestations varies quite heavily (between 7 and 26 for B, between 2 and 26 for C, and between 4 and 25 for C). Finally, Category E contains the greatest range (between 1 and 97 attestations). Due to the imbalance in sample size for these categories, a statistical analysis is out of the question; however, we can nonetheless conclude a few things. First, rare words (difficult to define, but perhaps 1-10 attestations) tend to fall into category E (113 times vs. 13 times in categories B, C, D). The words that are somewhat more frequent (11-30 attestations) appear in categories B, C, and D 5 times, and in category E 9 times; this seems to show that a higher number of attestations leads to a higher chance that the word is delenited. However, besides 14 words being too little material to allow for this conclusion, it is also directly challenged by the fact that all five of the highly frequent *v*-initial loans fall into category E. Thus, the results here are inconclusive; in any case, they do not point towards frequency playing a role in the delenition of *v*-initial loanwords in the MB period.

Another question we might pose, on the basis of all categories, is whether the gender of the French nouns has any effect on the delenition of these loans in MB. This can rather easily be answered with the following table:

*Table 16: The gender of v-initial loanwords in French, per category.*

	A	B	C	D	E
masc.	2	1	3	2	32
fem.	3		3	1	27

There is no preference for either gender in any of the categories: we may thus conclude that the gender of the word in French has no influence on the initial consonant of the word in Middle Breton. This does not tell us, however, what may become of the gender of these words in Middle Breton or in later stages of the language. I will address this later, in §3.2.1, after having traced the development of these OFr. loanwords into EModB and ModB.

### 3.1.6 PARTIAL SUMMARY

We can summarize the data presented in §§3.1.1-5 as follows:

- ▶ I have shown (§2.1.2) that mutation in *bout* is only written consistently for the finite forms, and that mutation is rarely written in non-finite forms. The verb *beviff* ‘live (v.)’ (§3.1.2, xvii.) shows lenition in spelling on eight occasions, all in finite forms, like *bout*, which I argue might be due to the semantic and phonological similarity to *bout*. *Mennout* ‘want, wish (v.)’ (§3.1.2, xxii.) is also attested with *v-* a number of times, though it is likely that *v-* appears in a collocation (see below). A few other verbs (*bale* ‘walk’, §3.1.2, xii.; *menel* ‘stay, dwell (v.)’, §3.1.2, xxiii.; *barn* ‘judge’, §3.1.2, xii.) are attested with *v-* once each; the likely reasons for these differ, for which I refer the reader to the respective discussions. In any case, the appearance of lenition in these verbs does not have to do with the norm for *bout*. Finally, Quiquer gives two verbs with *v-* as a radical (*viruiff*, §3.1.2, xxvii.; *vangounellat*, §3.1.5, xlvi.), which likely represent mistakes.
- ▶ In certain collocations, i.e. phrases that are perceived to be a semantic entity,<sup>95</sup> mutation is sometimes indicated in spelling: *er vat* (ModB *ervat*) ‘well’ = adverbial particle *en*<sup>L<sup>P</sup></sup> + *mat* ‘good’ (§3.1.2, xxi.), *me venn* ‘I want’ < *mennout* ‘want, wish (v.)’ + elided verbal particle *a*<sup>L</sup> (§3.1.2, xxii.), *da vihanhaff* ‘at least’ < *bihan* ‘small’ (§3.1.2, xviii.), *roue ar velly* ‘king of power’ < *belly* ‘power’ (§3.1.3, xxxiv.), *guenn vet*, *guenn da vet*, lit. ‘white (your) world’ (beside *guenn ma bet*, etc.) ≈ ‘I am/you are/he, she, it is blessed’ (§3.1.2, xv.). I have argued that the writing of lenition(-and-protection) in these cases might be indicative that in these collocations, mutation was perceived to be intrinsic to the expression, and only secondarily a grammatical rule.
- ▶ Some loanwords seem to have merged with native words, or with other loanwords, which has an effect on the initial consonant: *belly* ‘power’ < OFr. *baillie* and *belly* ‘bailiff’ < OFr. *baillif* might show a fossilized initial *v-* because of frequent use in the collocation *roue ar velly* ‘king of power’ (§3.1.3, xxxiv.); OFr. *veage* ‘journey’ > MB *veag* ‘journey’ but also EModB *gweach* ‘journey, time’ and ModB *beaj* ‘journey, time’, which indicates that it may have merged with MB *guez* ‘time; (journey?)’ (§3.1.4, xxxix.). I also argue that MB *moez* ‘voice’ is such a word, and that it supposes influence from OFr. *voiz* ‘voice’ on an unattested MB *\*moez* < OSWBr. *\*muið*, cognate with OIr. *mé(i)de* ‘lower part of the neck’ via PCl. *\*mēd-* (§3.1.2, xxiv.). This is a phenomenon which has not been commented on in the previous literature on loanwords in ICM (§1.2.7), though this might be because

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<sup>95</sup> This excludes e.g. *vase*, *vahont*, which I consider to be compounds.

deletion ( $v- > b-, m-$ ) and analogy are seen as two different mechanisms. I share this view.

- ▶ The frequency of a  $v$ -initial loanword seems to have no discernable effect on its likelihood to be delenited. For example, *bisaig/visaig* ‘face’ (§3.1.3, xxxvii.) is attested 26 times, and is attested both with  $b-$  and with  $v-$ , but *volontez* ‘will’ is attested 97 times, and is always written with  $v-$ .
- ▶ In *FLMB* §48.2, PIETTE mentions that French loanwords with an initial voiced stop ( $b, d, g$ ) may sometimes be provented in Breton, and how this turns them into feminine nouns (which are lenited after the article in the singular; cf. §1.2.6c). PIETTE does not comment on the frequency of this development. What we find for  $v$ -initial loanwords is that  $v-$  is very often maintained in MB, whatever the gender of the French word is: *vacabont* ‘vagabond’ is masculine, and even retains  $v-$  and its masculine gender in ModB (see §3.2 below), and *vengeancc* ‘vengeance’ is feminine in French, but retains  $v-$  in ModB. I will come back to the gender of nouns in §3.2.1.
- ▶ Two very short MB passages in French-language texts (Cd and the phrases in the *Farce de Maistre Pathelin*) show proportionally more lenition than is expected from MB spelling norms ( $b > v$  in Cd, and  $c > g, t > d$  in *Pathelin*), which could indicate that these passages were dictated to a non-Breton-speaking scribe unaware of the spelling norms of MB.

Table 17 gives an overview of the categories established above, and the amount of native words and loanwords they contain:

category		B $b-, m-, gw-$	Fr. $b-, m-$	Fr. $v-$	MedLat. $v-$	?	total
0% $v-$	A	1073 <sup>a</sup>		4	1		1078
> 0%, ≤ 25% $v-$	B1	12 <sup>b</sup>	2				14
	B2	2		3			5
> 25%, ≤ 75% $v-$	C1	2		1			3
	C2	4	1 <sup>c</sup>	1			6
> 75%, < 100% $v-$	D	1 <sup>d</sup>	1	2			4
100% $v-$	E1	1		4	2		7
	E2	3	2	114	5	1 <sup>e</sup>	125
total		1104 <sup>a</sup>		129	8	1	1242 <sup>f</sup>

Table 17: Amount of native Breton words and loanwords in each category. B1, C1, E1 = only correct mutations; B2, C2, E2 = at least one incorrect mutation. — <sup>a</sup> sum of B  $b-, m-, v-$  and Fr.  $b-, m-$  in category A; includes BrLat.  $v-$ , and forms that are analogous to native words or loanwords with  $b-, m-, gw-$ , i.e. *guin aegr* (analogous to MB *guin*), *malisenn* (which



is likely analogous to Fr. *malle*) and *bitaillaff* (which is likely analogous to Fr. *bétail*).<sup>96</sup> This excludes words with original \**p*-. — <sup>b</sup> Includes *moez* (which is likely analogous with OSWBr. \**muīð*). — <sup>c</sup> Represents *bitaill* (which is likely analogous with Fr. *bétail*). — <sup>d</sup> Represents *veaj* (in which some analogy with MB *guez* ‘time’ may have occurred). — <sup>e</sup> Represents *viguiden*. — <sup>f</sup> Words with original \**p*- are excluded from the total.

From Table 17, we can conclude the following:

- ▶ Category A contains almost exclusively Breton words with initial *b*-, *m*-, and French loans with *b*-, *m*-, with French *v*-initial loans making up only 0.4% of the category (4 out of 1078).
- ▶ Categories B, C, and D contain both native Breton words (21 out of 32, i.e. 65.6%) and French loans (11 out of 32, i.e. 34.4%), but contain very little words overall.
- ▶ Categories D and E are populated almost exclusively by *v*-initial French (and Latin) loans (119 out of 125, i.e. 95.2%), with Medieval Latin loans only appearing in category E (with the exception of *burtul* ‘vulture’ (§3.1.1, iii.), which falls into category A).

Now that the data has been presented in its entirety, we may turn to the second part of the analysis, which consists of tracing the development of the *v*-initial loans from MB to (Early) Modern Breton.

### 3.2 THE FATE OF *v*-INITIAL WORDS AFTER MB

Table 18 below provides an overview of all French<sup>97</sup> *v*-initial loanwords that appear in MB, supplied with a list of attestations in EModB and ModB. For these later attestations, I indicate the following: ■ = Fr. *v*- > B *v*-, ■ = Fr. *v*- > B *b*-, ■ = Fr. *v*- > B *m*-, ■ = Fr. *v*- > B *gw*-. Words given in the standard font type represent a *v*-spelling in the context of lenition(-and-provection) or mixed mutation. I indicate the same for the MB period, for which I provide only one standardized spelling for each type (e.g. *bisaig*, *visaig*). If a word in the MB column is preceded by a dagger (†), this means that the word is only ever found in dictionary sources regardless of the time period.<sup>98</sup> The standardized spellings for MB more or less follow SCHRIJVER’s (2011b: 368, 379) standardization; for OFr., they follow DEAF, and for MFr., they follow DMF.

<sup>96</sup> I have not separated native words with *b*-, *m*- from loanwords with *b*-, *m*- that fall into category A, as they all exhibit the exact same behavior.

<sup>97</sup> This thus includes *burtul* < MedLat. \**vultōre*, which was adapted with *b*- < \**v*-.

<sup>98</sup> This is done to account for the possibility that it is a ghost word.

Table 18: OFr. v-initial loanwords in MB, with subsequent attestations from EModB and ModB.

OFr. (900~1300) MFr. (1300~1550)	MB (1450~1650)	EModB (1650~1800)	ModB (1800-present)
MFr. <i>valise</i>	<i>balisenn, malisenn</i>	GReg 947 <i>balizenn, malizenn</i> • SCger 76a <i>malisen</i> , 158a <i>malisen</i> • SE <i>da valisen, valisen</i>	ANTO 31 <i>o malizennou</i> • SBI II 112 <i>ma balisenn</i> • TLK 8 <i>ur valizenn</i> • VBRU 158 <i>un tamm malizenn</i> • YAMV 36 <i>Va balisenn</i>
OFr. <i>visconte</i>	<i>bescont</i>	GReg 190 <i>Bescondt</i> , 190 <i>ar Vescondted</i> • SCger 124a <i>Bescont</i> , 132a <i>bescont</i>	FHAB (September 1923) 329 <i>beskonted</i> • FHB (242) 260a <i>bescont</i> • GERI.Ern 44 <i>beskont</i>
OFr. <i>visconte(sse)</i>	† <i>bescontes</i>	GReg 190 <i>da'r vescondtès</i>	
OFr. <i>visconte</i>	<i>bescontelez</i>		GERI.Ern 44 <i>beskontelez</i> • LLMM (147) 282 <i>ha beskontelezh</i>
MedLat. * <i>vultōre</i>	† <i>burtul</i>	GReg 949 <i>Bultur, p. cultured</i> • SCger 134 <i>burtul</i>	GERI.Ern 76 <i>bultur</i>
OFr. <i>veager</i>	<i>beagiff</i>	GReg 966 <i>Béaji, pr. béajet. güeaichi pr. güeaichet. bégein. pr. et</i> • SCger 126 <i>veagi</i>	BREI (394) 1b <i>Beaji</i> • BSA 64 <i>Evit beachi</i> • GUBI 36 <i>ret eo beajein</i> • LZBt (July 1917) 34 <i>pegen brao eo beaji</i> • MBJJ 2 <i>evit beaji</i> • SAG 44 <i>da veaji</i> • SFA 229 <i>o veaji</i> • SVE.IV 84 <i>a veach</i>
OFr. <i>voiz</i>	<i>moez, voez</i>	GReg 968 <i>moüez, moëh, boüeh, e voüez</i> • Pelletier <i>moëz, Moüés, Moüez, moëziou</i> • L'Arm 405 <i>bouéh</i> • RP 153 <i>ur vouez</i> • BD 713 <i>ur voes</i> • DJ 53 <i>ur voes</i> • EN 2554 <i>dre moegou</i>	LLB 757 <i>ur voeh</i> • SST 95 <i>an oeh</i> • EKG.II 62 <i>a savas mouez</i> , 165 <i>a vouez uhel</i> , 272 <i>mouez</i> • MGZ 112 <i>ur vouez</i> • HTC 8 <i>ur vouez</i> • DIHU (1910) 18 <i>ur voéh</i> , 22 <i>c'hwi a glevo boéh</i> • SKET.III 59 <i>o moueziou</i> • PIKG 87 <i>safar mouezhiou</i> • SKRS 13 <i>da glask moueziou</i> • DIHU (1910) 46 <i>kement a voéhieu</i> • MBR 134 <i>en ur vouez</i>
OFr. <i>vece</i>	<i>becc</i>	SCger 124a <i>bencç</i>	BLE 238 <i>Bens</i> • FHB (17) 140a <i>ar bins</i> • HJC 382 <i>bence</i>

OFr. vergier	<b>bergez, vergez</b>	SCger 123b <b>bergiez</b> , 132a <b>bergiez</b> • ST 330 e <b>berjez</b>	BRUS 279 <i>ur verjé -ieü</i> • DBFV 21a <b>berjé, verjé</b> • EST 64 <i>ur verjé</i> , 68 <b>berjeieü</b> • FHAB (December 1921) 331 <i>ha verjidi</i> , (June 1943) 308 <i>ar gwerjezou</i> • FHB (247) 301b <b>gwerjez</b> • GWEN 4 <i>ar</i> <b>gwerjeou</b> • LLB 866 <i>hur berjéieü</i> • SKVT II 54 <i>ar verjez</i> , 57 <b>gwerjezoù</b> • STBJ 9 <i>he</i> <b>gwerjezou</b> , e <b>gwerjez</b>
OFr. vilain	<b>bilen, vilen</b>	NG 1077 <i>daou laer</i> <b>villain</b> • SCger 106b <b>bilen</b> , 132a <b>bilen</b>	FHAB (April) 132 <b>bilen</b> • GERI.Ern 48 <b>bilen</b>
OFr. veronique	<b>Beronyc, Veronyc</b>		
OFr. visage	<b>bisaig, visaig</b>	BD 427 <i>em bisaig</i> • GReg 963 <b>Bisaich</b> . <i>ar</i> <i>visaich</i> . p. <b>bisaichou</b> • IN 9 o <b>bisaich</b> , 194 <i>da</i> <i>visaich</i> • NG 1457 <i>e</i> <i>visag</i> , 1546 <i>e visage</i> • SCger 55a <b>bisaich</b>	AJC 3557 <i>rein bigag</i> • AMV 114 <b>bisaich</b> • BMN 315 <i>he bizach</i> • EMG 26 <b>bisach</b> • ISV 196 <i>he bizach</i> • KANgalon (May 1906) 114 <i>ho bizach</i> • OZB 22 <i>ho pisach</i> • PERS 69 <i>he</i> <b>vizaj</b> • ROU 108a <b>Bizach</b>
OFr. vitaille	<b>bitaill, vitaill</b>	GReg 184 <i>an bitailh</i> , 209 <b>bytailh</b> , 785 <b>Bitailh</b> , 964 <b>Bytailh</b> • L'Arm 401b <b>Vitaill.. ieü</b> • VO 24 <i>a vitaill</i>	AMAH 110 <i>da brenañ</i> <b>bitailh</b> • DRAN 128 <i>Ar</i> <b>bitailh</b> GBI II 182 <i>ar</i> <b>betail</b> • NOTK 334 <i>ar</i> <b>bitailh</b> • SBI II 162 <i>ar</i> <b>betail</b>
OFr. veage	<b>beag, veag</b>	BD e <b>beag</b> • CC 1706 <i>d'ar veach</i> , 1822 <b>beach</b> • GReg 966 <b>Béaich</b> . p. <b>béaicheu. güeaich</b> p. <b>güeaichou. béch</b> . p. <b>béchéü. béich</b> . p. <b>béchéü</b> • IN 15 <i>er</i> <i>veaich</i> , 115 <i>e beaich</i> 261 <i>ur veich</i> • JV 96 <i>ur</i> <i>veage</i> • L'Arm 407 <b>Baige.. geü</b> RS 226 <i>em</i> <b>beach</b> , 296 <i>hor</i> <b>beachou</b> • SA f25 <i>ho</i> <b>peag</b> • SC 60 <i>vr veaich</i> • SCger 126a <b>beach</b> , 131b <b>bech</b> • ST <i>ho</i> <b>péach</b>	BSA 172 <i>he beachou</i> • CNG <b>Baige</b> • EKG II <i>va</i> <b>beach</b> • LZBt (March 1896) 21 <i>ar beajo</i> • SFA 231 <i>eur veach</i>

OFr. <i>venin, velin</i>	<i>benim, venim</i>	BD 726 <i>ar veulim</i> • GReg 951 <i>Bynim</i> . <i>benym. vinyem. venym. velyn.</i> • IN 225 <i>ar vinim</i> • L'Arm 397 <i>Velim.. meu</i> • MG 341 <i>pezh vélim</i> • SCger 94b <i>binim</i> , 123a <i>binim</i>	BILZ 119 <i>ar bulum</i> • BOM 12 <i>binim</i> DGG 216 <i>bilim</i> • EMG 79 <i>ar binim</i> • FHAB (March/April 1907) 35 <i>eur vilim</i> , 35 <i>bilim</i> • KTLR 178 <i>bilim</i> • PRO 204 <i>a skuilh binim</i>
OFr. <i>vilenie</i>	<i>bileny, vileny</i>	BD 5226 <i>ar vileny</i> • IN 64 <i>ar vileny</i> • MD II 13 <i>gant vileny</i>	SAB 166 <i>peb seurt vileniou</i>
MedLat. <i>vaticinor</i>	<i>vaticiner</i>		
OFr. <i>viltance</i>	<i>viltancc</i>	GReg 74 <i>d'ar viltançz</i> , 176 <i>viltançzou</i> , 249 <i>ar viltançzou</i> , 288 <i>viltançz</i> , 960 <i>viltançz</i> • IN I 43 <i>ur viltanç</i> • PELletier <i>viltanç</i> • SCger 71b <i>viltançc</i> , 86b <i>viltançç</i> , 176b <i>viltançç</i>	BAM 27 <i>ar viltanç</i> , 48 <i>ar viltanç</i> , 52 <i>leun a viltanç</i> , 373 <i>ar viltanç</i> • EKG I 238 <i>pep viltansou</i> • GON <i>viltañs</i> • LVH 177 <i>é viltance</i> • MOAO 110 <i>ar viltansed</i> • PBDZ 749 <i>viltañs</i> • TDE.BF <i>viltañsou</i> , 652 <i>viltañs</i>
OFr. <i>vocation</i>	<i>vocation</i>	L'Arm. 394 <i>vacation</i>	VNB 135 <i>ho vacation</i>
OFr. <i>vomir</i>	<i>vomissaff</i>	IN 144 <i>nemet bomissa</i> • SCger 126 <i>vomissa</i>	
OFr. <i>voër</i>	<i>vouet</i>		
OFr. <i>vagabond</i>	<i>vacabont</i>		AMV 173 <i>evel vacabonet</i> • FHB (479) 70b <i>eur vacabant</i> , (485) 118b <i>eur vacabant</i>
OFr. <i>vacance</i>	<i>vacancc</i>	GReg 945 <i>vacqançz</i>	KROB <i>eun devez vakañsou</i> • MRPL 10 <i>Pa zigoueze vakans</i>
OFr. <i>vacant</i>	<i>vacant</i>		
OFr. <i>vacillier</i>	<i>vacillaff</i>		
OFr. <i>vain</i>	<i>vaen, vaen</i>	GReg 421 <i>vaën</i> , 438 <i>vean, væn</i> , 946 <i>vean, vaen, væn</i> • L'Arm. 160 <i>væne</i> , 166 <i>væne</i> , 394 <i>væenn</i> • RP 330 <i>ez vean</i> • SCger 176b <i>VÆn</i>	BAN 175 <i>da veza ven</i> • KZVr (1912) 419 <i>Ven</i> • LZBg (1844) 44 <i>ha væn</i>
OFr. <i>vaquer</i>	<i>vaguaff, vaguaff</i>	GReg 949 <i>vacqi</i>	
OFr. <i>vaillant</i>	<i>vailhant, vailhant</i>	BD 779 <i>den vaillant</i> • SCger 122b <i>vaillant</i>	VNB 102 <i>zo vaillant</i>
OFr. <i>vaillandise</i>	<i>vailhantiz, vailhantiz</i>	BD 1795 <i>da vaillantiz</i> • SCger 98b <i>vaillantiz</i>	BSG 58 <i>oc'h eus grêt vaillantiz</i>
OFr. <i>vaillamment</i>	<i>vaillamment</i>		
OFr. <i>valable</i>	<i>valabl, valabl</i>		

Fr. <i>Valaine</i>	<b><i>Valaine</i></b>		
Fr. <i>Valentin</i>	<b><i>Valentin</i></b>		
OFr. <i>valeriane</i>	† <b><i>valerian</i></b>		
OFr. <i>van</i>	† <b><i>van</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vaine gloire</i>	<i>vanegloar, vanegloar</i>	GReg 948 <b><i>vean-gloar</i></b> • Ismar 120 <i>a væn gloër</i> • RP 151 <i>ar vean-c'hloar</i>	
OFr. <i>venoison</i>	<i>vaneson, vaneson</i>		
OFr. <i>vanité</i>	<i>vanite, vanite</i>	Martin 3 <i>gant vanité</i> • SCger 112b <b><i>vanité</i></b>	HSH 78 <i>da guitat vaniteou</i> • SIM 186 <i>ar vanite</i>
OFr. <i>vanter</i>	<i>vantaff, vantaff</i>	BD 2337 <i>en em vantes</i> • CHal.ms ii <i>him vantein</i> • PT 41 <i>Ean hum vant</i>	BSJ 147 <i>hum vant</i>
OFr. <i>ventose</i>	† <b><i>vantous</i></b>	GReg 952 <b><i>mandoz, véntoz</i></b> • SCger <b><i>ventous</i></b>	
OFr. <i>voutor</i>	† <b><i>vaotour</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vapor</i>	† <b><i>vapor</i></b>		
OFr. <i>variable</i>	<b><i>variabl</i></b>	SCger 112b <b><i>variabl</i></b>	
OFr. <i>variier</i>	<i>variaff, variaff</i>	SCger 14b <b><i>varia</i></b> , 122b <b><i>varia</i></b> , 176b <b><i>varia</i></b>	
OFr. <i>variier</i>	<b><i>varieson</i></b>		
OFr. <i>variier</i>	<b><i>varius</i></b>		
OFr. <i>verveine</i>	† <b><i>varlen</i></b>		
OFr. <i>variant</i>	<i>varyant, varyant</i>	BD 1799 <i>bezañ variant</i> • CHal.ms II <b><i>variant</i></b> • SCger 69a <b><i>variant</i></b> , 176b <b><i>variant</i></b>	GBI I 506 <i>ez eo variant</i>
OFr. <i>vassal</i>	† <b><i>vassal</i></b>		
MFr. <i>vaticiner</i>	<b><i>vaticinaff</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vegetatif</i>	† <b><i>vegetatiff</i></b>		
MFr. <i>vélin</i>	† <b><i>vellin</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vendengier</i>	† <b><i>vendagaff</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vendengeur</i>	† <b><i>vendager</i></b>		
OFr. <i>vendange</i>	† <b><i>vendaig</i></b>	SCger 123a <b><i>vendaich</i></b>	
OFr. <i>vendiquer</i>	† <b><i>vendicaff</i></b>		
OFr. <i>venerable</i>	<b><i>venerabl</i></b>		

OFr. vengier	<i>vengeaff, vengeaff</i>	BD 2992 <i>vanget</i> • GReg 951 <i>veñji, veñgeiñ</i> • Hb 622 <i>Varnezo em venchot</i> • JV.II 1399 <i>desirout vanchin</i> • L'Arm 397 <i>vegein</i> • SCger 105a <i>en em vengi</i>	BUAZperrot 851 <i>d'en em venji</i> • BSTR 55 <i>en em venji</i> • EKG.II 86 <i>da venji</i> • FVR 234 <i>en em venji</i> • HSH 224 <i>d'en em venji</i>
OFr. venjance	<i>vengeancc, vengeancc</i>	NG 538 <i>Vangeancë</i> • SCger 105a <i>quemeret vengencç, 123a vengeancç</i>	BAM 53 <i>d'ar vengeancç</i> • HBPR 112 <i>dre venjans</i> • HTB 70 <i>eur venjans</i>
OFr. vengeor	† <i>venger</i>		
OFr. venial	<i>veniel</i>	Ismar 64 <i>er péhet viniel</i>	
OFr. venimer	<i>venimet</i>	IN 267 <i>al loenig binimus</i>	BTAH 137 <i>Bulumet</i> • KMM 3 <i>ar sar pant bilimuz</i> • MMKE xiv <i>avel binimus</i> • PRO 203 <i>an teodoù binimus</i> • TE 9 <i>Caïn velimét</i>
OFr. venimos	<i>venimus</i>	GReg 951 <i>binymus. vinyumus. velyumus.</i> • IN I 267 <i>loenic binimus</i>	AMJV 103 <i>lavarou bilimuz</i> • BLBR (85) 6 <i>binimus</i> • BOM 10 <i>teodou binimuz</i> • DIHU (13) 228 <i>ker velimus FHAB</i> (February 1910) 43 <i>louzeier binimus</i> , (May 1925) 162 <i>êzenn bunumus</i> • FHB (161) 34a <i>aeret binimus</i> , (163) 52b <i>aneval bilimuz</i> • FOV 255 <i>houlenneu valimus</i> • GAM 30-31 <i>eur gor bilimuz</i> HBPR 20 <i>he gomzou bilimuz</i> , 113 <i>An ear bilimuz</i> , 198 <i>animalet hag a flemm bilimuz</i> • KMM <i>d'ar zerpant bilimuz</i> KTLR 177 <i>toussigi binimus</i> • LLB 1885 <i>brud velimus</i> • LZBg <i>ha velimus</i> • MOY 208 <i>loened bunumus</i> • MSJO <i>ha bilimuz</i> • OVD <i>er gounar velimussan</i> • PRPR 107 <i>ken bulumus</i>
OFr. verbe	<i>verb</i>	GReg 39 <i>verb disregal. verbou direiz</i> , 953 <i>verb, verv</i> • L'Arm 398 <i>vêrbe, værbe</i>	NOTK 139 <i>ar verbou</i> • VALL 777 <i>verb</i> • YBBK 117 <i>da verboù-skoazell</i>
OFr. verdegris	† <i>verdegris</i>		
OFr. verifiet	<i>verifiet</i>		

OFr. <i>veritablement</i>	<b>veritablement</b>	SCger 123b <b>veritablament</b>	DGG 141 <i>e touit</i> <b>veritablament</b>
OFr. <i>verjus</i>	† <b>verius</b>	CHal.ms iv <i>saucen guet</i> <b>verjus</b>	
OFr. <i>vermeil</i>	† <b>vermeil</b>		
OFr. <i>vermeillon</i>	† <b>vermillon</b>	CHal.ms vi <b>vermillon</b> • GReg 954 <b>Vermylhoun</b>	
OFr. <i>vernis</i>	<b>vernis</b>	GReg 955 <b>Verniçz</b>	LVL 3 <i>eur verniz</i>
OFr. <i>verset</i>	<b>verset</b>		
OFr. <i>versefiier</i>	† <b>versifiäff</b>		
OFr. <i>versefieor</i>	† <b>versifier</b>		
OFr. <i>vertu</i>	<i>vertuz, vertuz</i>	BD 4349 <i>ar vertu</i> , 5515 <i>ar gwir vertuyo</i> • GReg 910 <i>Ar vertuz</i> , 956 <b>vertuz</b> • L'Arm 400 <b>vertu</b> • MG 188 <i>er vertu</i> • NG 1475 <i>ur vertu</i> • RP 105 <i>ar vertuziou</i> , 297 <i>a</i> <i>vertuz</i> • SCger 30a <i>ar</i> <i>vertuz</i>	BUAZpermoal 250 <i>mes</i> <b>vertu</b> • GDI 36 <i>d'er</i> <i>vertu</i> • HTC 14 <b>vertuziou</b> • LBM 195 <i>ar</i> <i>vertuziou</i> • MOA 266a <b>Vertuz</b> , 385b <b>vertuz</b> • OVD 233 <i>ur vertu</i> • ROU 82a <b>Vertuz</b> • SAB 72 <i>da</i> <i>zicuez vertuz</i> • SKRS 106 <i>ar vertuz-se</i> • TDE.BF 651a <b>Vertuz</b>
OFr. <i>vertüos</i>	<i>vertuzus, vertuzus</i>	BD 1078 <i>arc'heskob</i> <b>vertuus</b> • Dnal 21 <i>Goat</i> <i>precius vertuzus</i> • GReg 956 <b>vertuzus, vertuus</b> • HB 11 <i>Nep en em</i> <i>sonch vertuzus</i> , 623 <i>un</i> <i>nerz vertuzus</i> • IN I 131 <i>act vertuzus</i> • L'Arm 400 <b>vertuyuss</b> • SCger 123b <b>vertusus</b>	BAZ 680 <i>un denjentil</i> <b>vertuzus-bras</b> • BSH 3 <i>plac'h vertuzus</i> • BUAZperrot 830 <i>pinvidik ha vertuzus</i> • BUZmornik 211 <i>mistri</i> <i>habil ha vertuzuz</i> • PGAZ 24-25 <i>eur</i> <i>gamaradez vad ha</i> <i>vertuzus</i>
OFr. <i>verve</i>	<b>verv</b>		
OFr. <i>verveine</i>	† <b>verven</b>		
MFr. <i>vessier</i>	† <b>vessäff</b>		
OFr. <i>vaissel</i>	<b>vessel</b>	BD 1840 <i>da vessellio</i> , 1845 <i>ur vessel</i> • GReg 956 <b>veçzell</b> • RP 87 <i>ar</i> <i>Vesselyou</i> • SCGer 122b <b>vessel</b> , p. <b>iou</b> , 126b <b>vessel</b> , p. <b>iou</b>	BAHE (62) 42 <b>beseloù</b> , (86) 2a <b>Besel (-où)</b> ... <i>ha beseloù</i> • EGBT 66 <b>besel</b> • IAY 39 <i>eur</i> <i>vessel</i> • MBL 6 <i>ar besel</i> , 7 <i>ar besel</i>
OFr. <i>vaisselement</i>	<b>vessellament</b>		
OFr. <i>voiturier</i>	† <b>veturier</b>		
OFr. <i>viatique</i>	<b>viatic</b>		BUZmornik 7 <i>e viatik</i> • KANgalon 137 <i>ar</i> <i>Viatik</i> • MMED 350 <i>e</i> <i>viatik</i>

OFr. <i>vicaire</i>	<i>vicaer, vicaer</i>	GReg 958 <i>viqél</i> • L'Arm 401 <i>viquéle, viquélieu</i> • SCger 124a <i>Vicair p. ien</i>	
OFr. <i>vice</i>	<i>vicc, vicc</i>	IN I 308 <i>ar vis</i> • NG 729 <i>Ur vicë</i> • SCger 124a <i>vicç</i>	GDI 36 <i>er vinç</i>
OFr. <i>vice-roi</i>	† <i>viceroue</i>		
OFr. <i>vicieusement</i>	<i>viciusamant</i>		
OFr. <i>victoire</i>	<i>victoar, victoar</i>	CAG 180 <i>er victoère</i> • JV 145 <i>pet victoar</i> • GReg 958 <i>victor</i> • L'Arm 401 <i>victoére, victor, victorieu</i>	HEB 384-385 <i>ar victor</i> • KNOL 188 <i>peder victor</i> • PGAZ <i>eur viktor</i>
OFr. <i>victorien</i>	<i>victorianes</i>		
OFr. <i>vif</i>	† <i>vif</i>		
OFr. <i>vigile</i>	<i>vigil</i>	Dnal 77 <i>vigil</i> , 80 <i>ar Vigilou</i> • GReg 6 <i>vigil, vijil</i> , 204 <i>Ar vigel</i> , 960 <i>ha vygel</i> • L'Arm 402 <i>vigile, vigilieu</i> • SCger 124a <i>vigil</i>	FHB (177) 165a <i>deisiou vijel</i> • IAY 74 <i>ar vigel</i> • LVH xxiii <i>é vigilieu</i> • MOA 102 <i>deiz vijel</i> • PONT 67 <i>ar vijilou</i> • SKRS II 178 <i>ar boued vijil</i> • SST 170 <i>er vigilieu</i>
OFr. <i>vigneron</i>	† <i>vigneron</i>		
OFr. <i>vigor</i>	† <i>vigor, vigor</i>		
OFr. <i>vil</i>	<i>vil, vil</i>	CAG 121 <i>drè-vil</i> • JV 192 <i>un aksion vil</i> • GReg 288 <i>vil</i> , 960 <i>vil</i> • L'Arm 227 <i>dré vile</i> , 402 <i>vile</i> • MG 135 <i>hanhueu vil</i> • NG 876 <i>a zo vil</i> • RO 1517 <i>eur uil</i>	AVKA 117 <i>klasket vil</i> • BAHE (56) 67 <i>war vil</i> • BIKA 50 <i>Marc'had-mat vil</i> • LLB 119 <i>loen vil</i> • DIHU (1911) 302 <i>dré vil</i> , (1912) <i>ober vil</i> , 94 <i>dre vil</i> , 101 <i>dre vil</i> , (1938) 45 <i>dré vil</i> • GRSA 292 <i>dré vil</i> • HBPR 77 <i>hanoiou vil</i> • KTLR 170 <i>hanoiou vil</i> • LLB 119 <i>lon vil</i> • LZBg <i>dré vil</i> • MAKE 3 <i>marc'had-mat-vil</i> • PSA I 25 <i>bourdeu vil</i> SKRS 171 <i>ar pec'hed vil</i> • VNB <i>da unan vil</i> • VWMZ 83 <i>war vil</i> • YABA 03.01 <i>e ra vil</i>
OFr. <i>*vilefier?</i>	<i>vilifiet</i>		



OFr. <i>village</i>	<i>villagenn, villagenn</i>	CC 2015 en <i>bilagen</i> • GReg 960 <i>villagenn, willagenn, vilagennou, willagenno</i> • RS 296 ur serten <i>Guilagen</i> , 299 ar <i>vilagen dostañ</i> • SCger 124b <i>villagen</i>	AJC 4259 ar <i>vilagen</i> , 4521 ar <i>bilageno</i> , 4616 er memes <i>bilagen</i> • FHAB (February 1920) 242 ar <i>bilajennou</i> • LZBt (March 1884) 51 pe <i>bilajen</i> , (September 1913) 3 ar <i>bilajenno</i> • MAI 158 eur <i>vilajen</i> • MVRO (17) 1a <i>Bilajennou</i> • PIGO II 79 d'hon <i>bilajen</i> • SIM 71 ur <i>villagen</i> • SKVT II 23 ar <i>villajen</i> • SKVT III 75 d'ar <i>vilajenn</i> , 78 er <i>vilajenn</i>
OFr. <i>Vincent</i>	<i>Vincent</i>		
OFr. <i>vindicatif</i>	† <i>vindicatiff</i>		
OFr. <i>violer</i>	<i>violaff</i>	EN 17 o <i>violin</i> , 1012 e <i>violin</i>	GBI II 354 hen eus <i>violet</i>
OFr. <i>violence</i>	<i>violancc, violancc</i>		
OFr. <i>violent</i>	† <i>violant</i>		
OFr. <i>violet</i>	<i>violet, violet</i>		CDB 213 ha <i>violet</i> • SAB 40 pe <i>violet</i>
OFr. <i>virginite</i>	<i>virginite, virginite</i>		
OFr. <i>virgule</i>	<i>virgulenn</i>		AMAH 155 ur <i>virgulenn</i> • DFBP 341a <i>Virgulenn</i> • SIM 7 ar <i>virgulenn</i> • VALL 30 <i>virgulenn-grec'h</i> , 785 <i>virgulenn</i> • YBBK 55 ar <i>virgulenn-grec'h</i>
OFr. <i>vis</i>	<i>vis</i>	GReg 963 <i>Biñs. p. biñsou. ar viñs. ar viñsou</i> , 963 <i>Viçz, p. viçzou</i> • L'Arm 141 ar <i>vince</i> , 141 er <i>vince</i> • NG 729 ur <i>vice</i>	BBR 146 ar <i>vins</i> • GBI I 232 ar <i>vinz</i> • GERL.Ern 49 <i>biñs</i> • MBJL 62 eur <i>vinz</i> , 76 dre <i>vinso</i> , 163 ar <i>vinz</i> • VNB 140 a <i>vinseu</i>
OFr. <i>viser</i>	<i>visaff</i>	GReg 627 <i>Biza. pr. bizet</i> , 963 <i>Bisa. pr. biset</i> • IN 13 e <i>tleomp biza</i> • SCger 117a a <i>vis</i> 124b <i>bisa</i> , 125a <i>bisa</i>	BAL 14 <i>biza</i> , 178 a <i>biza</i> • BUZmornik 717 m'en doa <i>bizet</i> • EKG II 88 <i>biza</i> , 91 <i>biza</i> , 183 a <i>vizaz</i> • EMG 88 ne vezo ket diaes deomp <i>biza</i> , 151 a <i>vizaz</i> • GERL.Ern 50 <i>biza</i> • MGK 113 a <i>vis</i> • MIL 276 bea <i>bizet</i> • SAB 13 <i>biza</i> , 19 <i>biza</i> , 30 <i>biza</i> 105 o <i>viza</i>
OFr. <i>visible</i>	† <i>visibl, visibl</i>	SCger 125a <i>visibl</i>	
OFr. <i>vision</i>	<i>vision, vision</i>	NG 1121 <i>Visionneu</i>	

OFr. <i>visiteor</i>	<i>visiter</i>	GReg 963 <i>Bisydter. p. bisydtéryen. bisydour. p. yen</i>	BAHE (35) 2 evel <i>Bizitour</i> • EGRH I 15 <i>biziter m. -ien</i>
OFr. <i>visiter</i>	<i>visitiff, visitiff</i>	BD <i>ho pisittan</i> • IN 103 <i>bisita</i> • GReg 963 <i>bisydta. pr. bisydtet. bisyteiñ. visiteiñ. ppr. et. MG 307 visitein</i> • RS 295 <i>d'o bisita</i> • SCger 125a <i>visita</i>	BSA 214 <i>ha bizitet</i> • BUZmornik 437 <i>da vizita</i> , 48 <i>bizita</i> • FHAB (January 1933) 10 <i>e vizita</i> • HFBI 92 <i>da vizita</i> , 96 <i>a visitas</i> • KMM <i>beza bizited</i> • LZBt (January 1866) 74 <i>hon bizitan</i> • MBKJ viii <i>bizita</i> • OVD 131 <i>visitein</i> • SAB 94 <i>bizita</i>
OFr. <i>vituperer</i>	† <i>vituperaff, vituperaff</i>		
OFr. <i>vivandeor</i>	† <i>vivander</i>		
OFr. <i>viviere</i>	† <i>vivier</i>	SCger 92b <i>viuier</i>	
OFr. <i>vocalemment</i>	<i>vocalamant</i>		
OFr. <i>vocatif</i>	<i>vocatif</i>		
MFr. <i>voeu</i>	<i>voeu, voeu</i>		
MFr. <i>voguer</i>	† <i>vogaff</i>		
OFr. <i>volage</i>	<i>volaig</i>	IN I 219 <i>un tan volaich</i> , 242 <i>Vertuziou volaich</i>	
OFr. <i>volant</i>	† <i>volant</i>		
OFr. <i>voleor</i>	<i>voler, voler</i>	BD 5025 <i>ar volerien</i> • SCger 92a <i>valor</i>	RO 2764 <i>ar volerien</i>
OFr. <i>volontaire</i>	<i>volontaer, volontaer</i>		AJC 5699 <i>dou volonter</i> • EKG.II 200 <i>an div vatailhon volonterien an nasion</i>
OFr. <i>volontaire + -ment</i>	<i>volontairement</i>		
OFr. <i>volenté</i>	<i>volontez, volontez</i>	NG 1442 <i>dre volonté</i> • RS 147 <i>va volontez</i> 364 <i>ober volontez</i> • BD 352 <i>n'hoc'h eus bollante</i> , 4155 <i>p'he deus bolante</i> , 5393 <i>ur volante</i> • MG 13 <i>volanté</i> , 49 <i>a p'hor bez volante</i>	VNA 149 <i>me sell volante</i> • EMG 158 <i>bolontez</i> • AADM 4 <i>mar be bolante</i> • SFKH 4 <i>e volanté</i>

OFr. <i>volte</i>	<b>vols</b>	SCger 126a <b>vols</b>	BOM 10 <i>Dre volzou</i> • DIHU (241) 293 <b>É bolz</b> • EMG 21 <i>ur volz</i> • FHAB (January 1913) 19 <b>bolz</b> , (May 1929) 172 <i>he bolz</i> • GERI.Ern 57 <b>bolz</b> • ISV 14 <b>bolz</b> • KSV 11 <i>ar vols</i> • MBJJ 220 <i>ar volz</i> • MBJL 83 <i>ar volz</i> • MMKE 25 <i>en bolz</i> , 87 <i>ar volz</i> , 99 <i>en bolz</i> • PRO 203 <i>dre volzou</i> • SARO 34 <i>eur volz</i> • SAQ I 277 <b>bolz</b> • VBRU 126 <b>bolz</b>
OFr. <i>volume</i>	<b>volum</b>	AC 125 <i>e volum</i>	
OFr. <i>volupté</i>	<b>volupte, volupte</b>		
OFr. <i>voluptuos</i>	† <b>voluptus</b>		
OFr. <i>voliere</i>	† <b>volyer</b>		
OFr. <i>vomissement</i>	<b>vomisamant</b>	VEAch <i>vr vomissamant</i>	
OFr. <i>voste = volte</i>	<b>vost, vost</b>	CHal.ms ii <i>ober uost</i>	DBFV 238b <b>vost</b>
OFr. <i>velos</i>	<b>voulous, voulous</b>	GReg 950 <b>voulous, velous</b> • L'Arm 397 <b>velouss</b> • SCger 123a <b>voulous</b>	BRUD <i>eur porpant voulouz</i> • CTPV I 86 <i>Stropadow boulouz</i> • DIHU (1914) 20 <i>gant velouz</i> • FEZO 5 <i>hé dantér belouz</i> • MKRN 54 <i>pezhadoù boulouz</i> , 81 <i>ar voulouz</i> • MOA 513 <b>boulouz</b> • STBJ 129 <i>ha voulouz</i> , 209 <i>a damm voulous-pez pe a damm voulouz-kordonenn</i> , 224 <i>a voulouz</i>
OFr. <i>voste = volte</i>	† <b>vout, vout</b>		
OFr. <i>volter</i>	† <b>voutet</b>		

### 3.2.1 PATTERNS IN THE DELENITION OF OFr. *v-*

From Table 18 (§3.2), we can extract a number of patterns, which I have compiled below in Table 19; the same conventions are applied, with one exception: if a word is only found with initial *v-*, but always where lenition(-and-provection) is expected, this is indicated here with **L**. A blank space means that a word is unattested in that period. For example, the sequence **L** ~ **b/v** ~ **BLANK** means that the word only has *v-* in MB, but is attested only in contexts where lenition(-and-provection) is expected, that it has *b-* and *v-* in EModB, and that it is unattested in ModB.

Table 19: A list of patterns concerning the initial consonant in MB, EModB, and ModB of French *v*-initial loanwords (total number of *v*-initial loanwords: 131).

MB	EModB	ModB	<i>n. of loanwords</i>	MB	EModB	ModB	<i>n. of loanwords</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	3	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	1
<i>b</i>		<i>b</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>b</i>	2
<i>b</i>	L		1	<i>v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	3
<i>b</i>	<i>b/gw/v</i>	<i>b</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	<i>b</i>	1
<i>b/v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	2
<i>b/v</i>	<i>b/v</i>	<i>b</i>	3	<i>v</i>	<i>m/v</i>		1
<i>b/v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>b/gw/v</i>		1
<i>b/v</i>	<i>b/gw</i>	<i>b</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	14
<i>b/v</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b/gw/v</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>		12
<i>b/L</i>			1	<i>v</i>		<i>v</i>	3
<i>m/b</i>	<i>b/m/v</i>	<i>b/m</i>	1	<i>v</i>			58
<i>m/L</i>	<i>b/m</i>	<i>b/m</i>	1	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	L	6
L	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	2	<i>v</i>	L	<i>v</i>	1
L	<i>b/v</i>		1	<i>v</i>		L	2
L			2	<i>v</i>	L	L	1
				<i>v</i>	L		2

Three things are immediately clear from Table 19: (1) the delentition of Fr. *v*- is subject to a high degree of variation, both in the time at which a word is delentited (does it happen already in MB, or only in EModB? Or even later?), and to *which consonant* it is delentited. However, there is an overall tendency in delentited words that an (E)ModB form in *b*- arises, whether that is alongside other forms in *m*-, *gw*-, or *v*-, or that it represents the only attested base form in (E)ModB; (2) the greater tendency across all Fr. *v*-initial loans in MB is *not* to delentite at all, even in later stages of the language; (3) about half of the *v*-initial loans that retain *v*- in MB (i.e. the entire right column in Table 19)<sup>99</sup> are unattested in EModB or ModB (58 out of 111).

In fact, some of these words (42 out of 58) are only ever attested in single texts. Table 20 below provides an overview of these words, per text:<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The two words that appear only in MB, exclusively with *v*-, and only where lenition(-and-provection) is supposed to take place (i.e. the last row of the left column) have not been included in this count.

<sup>100</sup> I treat CathA, CathB, and CathC as a single text in Table 20 (Cath). CathMS contains no *v*-initial words, as the pages after *pres* are missing.

Table 20: An overview of lemmata particular to single texts.

<i>text</i>	<i>lemmata particular to text</i>
Ba	<i>Valentin, victorianes</i>
Cath	<i>van, vapor, varlen, vegetatiff, vellin, venger, versiff, versifier, verven, vessaff, Vincent, vindicatiff</i>
Coll	<i>vaillammant, Valaine</i>
H	<i>venerabl, verv</i>
M	<i>varieson, varius, verifiet</i>
MCf	<i>viciusamant, volontairamant</i>
N	<i>vacant, vaticinaff, vaticiner</i>
Nom	<i>vouet, valerian, vassal, vendager, verdeggris, vermeil, viceroue, vigneron, violant, vivander, vogaff, volant, voluptus, volyer, voutet</i>

In fact, Table 20 presents *all* *v*-initial loans that appear in only a single MB text, and never in later stages of the language: all of these maintain initial *v*-. In other words, hapax loans with an original *v*- in French or Latin are **never** delenited.

The appearance of these hapax<sup>101</sup> legomena in dictionary sources (Cath, Nom) must be explained somewhat differently than their appearance in prose and poetry. The *Nomenclator* was originally a Latin-French vocabulary to which Breton was added (cf. §2.3); it may be that in some instances a ‘Bretonified’ French loan was given as the Breton equivalent, but that it was not truly integrated into the language. However, we cannot be absolutely sure. For the *Catholicon*, the situation is somewhat different, as it was composed with Breton as the primary language of the dictionary. The words that appear as hapaxes in the *Catholicon* might simply have been very rare.<sup>102</sup> For the prosaic and poetic sources, the same might be the case as for the *Catholicon*, though there is a second possibility: the hapaxes in Ba, Coll, H, M, MCf, and N represent spur-of-the-moment, i.e. ‘nonce’ borrowings, which are only borrowed once or twice by a single author, and are not subsequently adopted into the recipient language’s vocabulary.

Moreover, I have briefly addressed the question of the gender of nouns in §3.1.5 and §3.1.6, where I promised to take a second look at the matter once the developments of the *v*-initial loans into (E)ModB had been presented. The question now remains what happens

<sup>101</sup> For lack of a better term, as they are obviously attested in Old French. Moreover, some of these ‘hapaxes’ are sometimes attested twice in a single text (e.g. *verv*, attested twice in H). I count the attestations in the *Catholicon*s as one.

<sup>102</sup> This view might further be supported by the fact that some MB-exclusive French loanwords appear both in the *Catholicon*s, and only in a select number of other texts, e.g. *vacillaff* (Cath and N), *vituperaff* (Cath, Ba, and Ca). This could point towards these loans being relatively infrequent (compared to e.g. *volontez*), but to some degree made part of the vocabulary of contemporary Breton, as they are used by multiple authors. The practice of incorporating obscure words into dictionaries was certainly not uncommon: we might think of the many obscure words that are included in the various Old and Middle Irish glossaries (RUSSELL 2005: 821).

to the gender of OFr. loans in Breton: does it change, at any point, to accommodate delenition (e.g. to feminine, to facilitate delenition via the article)?

Table 21: the gender of French *v*-initial loanwords in MB, (E)ModB, and ModB (following *DEVRI*). Changes in gender are indicated in ■ red.

	B masc.	B fem.	B. masc/fem.
Fr. masc.	20	5	3
Fr. fem.	1	17	

We can see that, indeed, it is more common for a masculine French word to become feminine in Breton (which includes e.g. *bisaig/visaig* (§3.1.3, xxxvii.), which can both be masculine and feminine, like the native word *bresel* ‘war’) than for a feminine French word to become masculine: the only example I have found in MB is *becc* ‘vetch’ (§3.1.2, xxviii.). However, the tendency overall is to maintain the gender of the French noun. Thus, it seems that the change of gender cited by PIETTE (*FLMB* §48.2) in French loanwords with a voiced initial (*b, d, g*) does not commonly apply to *v*-initial loanwords.<sup>103</sup>

### 3.2.2 REVISITING THE THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AROUND LOANWORDS

Considering what was just discussed in §3.2.1, we might tentatively recategorize the loanwords as follows:

- ▶ (i) The loanword is **never** delenited; it always retains *v*-, and it is found in only **one** text.
- ▶ (ii) The loanword is **never** delenited; it always retains *v*-, but it is found in **multiple** texts.
- ▶ (iii) The loanword is **sometimes** delenited; we find both *v*-forms and delenited forms, but it is found in **multiple** texts.
- ▶ (iv) The loanword is **always** delenited; we only find *v*-forms, and it is found in **multiple** texts.

I would like to briefly revisit two concepts that were discussed in §1.1.3: ‘listedness’, and the three-partite distinction between *Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter*.

Listedness distinguishes between loans that have become part of the core lexicon of the recipient language (‘listed’), and loans that have not (‘non-listed’). In 1.1.3, I defined loans that appear only in a single text to be ‘non-listed’, and loans that appear in more than one text to be ‘listed’.

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<sup>103</sup> I do not know whether PIETTE believed this development to be widespread, or whether he only intended to report its existence.

*Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter*, on the other hand, define the degree of integration of the loan into the recipient language. The definition is very broad, and can apply to any single parameter we choose to represent the degree of integration. We have also seen that non-listed loans can be partially integrated; in fact, with the sole exception of N 785 *vaticiner* = Lat. *vaticinor* ‘I prophesize’ (cf. §3.1.5, xliv.), all foreign verbs (French and Latin) take Breton verbal conjugation.

I suggested in §1.1.3 that a possible parameter for the distinction between *Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter* is the degree to which a loanword respects the rules of ICM. For the present research, this means that *Lehnwörter* are originally *v*-initial loans, which appear only with a **delenited** consonant. *Gastwörter* are *v*-initial loans that always **maintain original v-**; finally, *Fremdwörter* are *v*-initial loans for which both **delenited** forms and **v**-forms are attested, i.e. words that are only sometimes delenited. An overview would look as follows:

Table 22: MUYSKEN'S (2000: 72) framework of ‘listedness’, combined with the distinction between *Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter*.

	<i>non-listed</i>	<i>listed</i>
<i>Gastwörter</i> (unassimilated)	<i>v</i> - intact, appears in 1 text (i)	<i>v</i> - intact, appears in ≥ 2 texts (ii)
<i>Fremdwörter</i> (partially assimilated)		<i>v</i> - sometimes delenited, appears in ≥ 2 texts (iii)
<i>Lehnwörter</i> (fully assimilated)		<i>v</i> - always delenited, appears in ≥ 2 texts (iv)

We have not come across *v*-initial loanwords that are delenited, and which appear in only a single text; we might thus tentatively propose two generalizations. Firstly, a loanword that appears exclusively with *v*- does not tell us anything about ‘listedness’, as non-listed *v*-initial loans (such as *vouet* ‘destined’) always appear with initial *v*- in Middle Breton, but so do some listed words (such as *vaillant* ‘courageous’). Secondly, a word that appears with *b*-, *m*-, or *gw*- is *always* listed, as no *v*-initial hapax legomena are ever delenited in Middle Breton.

In other words: non-listed *v*-initial loans are **never** delenited, and listed *v*-initial loans are variously subject to delenition: most words maintain *v*- to the present day, in some words competing forms arise (both *v*-forms and delenited forms), and some words are always delenited. *Gastwörter* (only initial *v*-) may be assimilated down the line, so that they become *Fremdwörter* (*v*- and *b*-, *m*-, and/or *gw*-) or *Lehnwörter* (*b*-, *m*-, and/or *gw*-) in (E)ModB.

One last thing to consider is the use specifically of the term *Fremdwörter*. In §1.1.3, I indicated that this category is rather vague, as it tells us nothing about the balance between forms with initial *v*- and forms with a delenited consonant. I have tried to remedy this by splitting the *Fremdwörter* in MB into three categories (B, C, and D) based on the frequency of *v*-spellings compared to the frequency of delenition. This has not led to any major discoveries, however, and we may also consider that *any* presence of delenition—however frequent or infrequent it may be—is indicative of some level of integration into

Breton ICM. Therefore, in Table 23 below, in which I show the frequency at which listed *v*-initial loans<sup>104</sup> receive a delenited initial consonant, I only distinguish between loans that invariably maintain initial *v*-, and words that are delenited at least once in the history of Breton:

Table 23: The rate of delenition in listed words, within the MB period, and from MB to ModB.

	<i>listed loan maintains v-</i>	<i>listed loan delenites v- &gt; b-, m-, gw-</i>
1450-1650 (MB only)	70 (81.4%)	16 (18.6%)
1450-present	50 (65.8%)	26 (34.2%)

Thus, once a *v*-initial loan from French becomes listed, there still is a strong tendency to maintain *v*- instead of deleniting to *b*-, *m*-, or *gw*-. When delenition occurs, *v*- almost always results in delenition to *b*- (25 out of 26); the other options, *gw*- and *m*-, are far more infrequent (4 out of 26, and 3 out of 26, respectively). Initial *gw*- is found only in EModB and ModB;<sup>105</sup> initial *m*- is found in CMB only in *moez* ‘voice’, which I have argued possibly represents a merger with a native word; definite evidence of *v*- > *m*- appears only in Late MB (Nom) and EModB. No *v*-initial loanwords that are attested since the MB period have simultaneous forms in *m*- and *gw*-.

This concludes the analysis of the data. What follows is a discussion of the results, in which I readdress the questions posed at the end of Chapter 1. I will also address further observations we can make from the analysis that do not directly answer the research questions, but which make a contribution to Middle Breton historical linguistics in other ways.

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<sup>104</sup> There are 131 *v*-initial loans in total, of which we have established in Table 20 that 42 are non-listed: this leaves us with a total of 89 total listed loanwords with an original *v*- in MB. For EModB and ModB, the numbers are different: of the 131 *v*-initial loans in the corpus, 58 are unattested outside of MB, which leaves us with 73 words. However, three words that appear with *v*- in MB are attested exclusively where lenition(-and-provection) is expected, and cannot be used in this table for the comparison in MB proper. However, they are attested *after* MB, for which we know that two of them maintain *v*- and one delenites to *b*- (with a competing form in *v*-; see Table 19). For these reasons, the total count of words for the top row (MB only) in Table 23 is 86, but 76 for the bottom row (MB to ModB).

<sup>105</sup> With the exception of MB *guin aegr*, which was modified through analogy with *guin* ‘wine’.



# CHAPTER 4

## DISCUSSION

### 4.1 CONCLUSIONS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF FR. *v*-INITIAL LOANS IN MIDDLE BRETON ICM

Now that the entirety of the data has been thoroughly analyzed, we may begin our conclusion by answering the research questions:

- ▶ Q1: How do *v*-initial OFr. loans behave in the system of Middle Breton ICM? Do they conform to ICM, or not?

→ The overall tendency in OFr. words in MB is that initial *v*- is maintained even in contexts where no lenition or lenition-and-provection is expected. The majority of words therefore do *not* conform to ICM. More specifically, the concept of ‘listedness’ (cf. §3.2.2) is of interest. ‘Non-listed’ loans, defined in this research as loans that appear in only a single MB text and are unattested in (E)ModB, are *never* delenited, i.e. always written *v*-. ‘Listed’ loans, which appear in more than one text, may or may not be delenited, though only 18.6% of listed *v*-initial loans are delenited at least once in MB. This percentage increases slightly when we follow these listed loans to the modern period, by which 34.2% are eventually delenited.

The initial consonant of *v*-initial loanwords may sometimes also be altered through confusion with a phonologically and semantically close native word or loanword: OFr. *vinaigre* > MB *guin aegr*, which is analogous to MB *guin* ‘wine’ (§3.1.1, vi.); OFr. *veage* ‘journey’ > MB *veag* ‘journey; (time?)’ > EModB *gueach* ‘time, journey’, ModB *beaj* ‘journey; time’ where *gw*- may have arisen through confusion with MB *guez* ‘time; journey’ (§3.1.4, xxxix.); Fr. *vitailles* ‘provision’ > MB *bytayll* ‘id.’ possibly through analogy with Fr. *bétail* ‘livestock’ (§3.1.3, xxxviii.); Fr. *valise* > LMB *malisenn*, which may be analogical to MB *mal* < OFr. *malle* ‘chest, trunk’ (§3.1.1, ii.); finally, it is phonologically impossible that MB *moez* is the direct result of Fr. *voiz*, and we may rather suppose analogy with an OSWBr. *\*muid̥* ‘neck?’ related to OIr. *mé(i)de* ‘lower part of the neck’ (§3.1.2, xxiv.). While the potential effect of delenition might have helped these words fall together, I believe it is probable that analogy is the primary factor at play in the change of the initial consonant.

- ▶ Q2: When *v*-initial OFr. words conform or start conforming to ICM, which radical is attributed to them in Middle Breton? What about in later stages of the language?

→ As stated in the answer to Q1, the French *v*-initial loans attested in MB are not commonly subject to delenition. When it does occur, *v*- > exclusively *b*- in CMB, with the exception of *moez* ‘voice’ (which is likely analogical to an unattested OSWBr. \**muid*, cf. §3.1.2, xxiv.); the LMB form *malizenn* ‘suitcase’ might represent the first instance of Fr. *v*- > B *m*-, if this is not also analogical to Fr. *malle* ‘chest, trunk’ (§3.1.1, ii.). The first attestations of *gw*- are from the Late MB and EModB periods: EModB *güeaichi* ‘travel (v.)’, *güeaichet* ‘traveled’ < OFr. *veager* (cf. §3.1.1, iv.; §3.2), *güeaich* ‘journey’, *güeaichou* ‘travels (pl.)’ < OFr. *veage* ‘journey’ (§3.1.4, xxxix.), *willagenn*, *guilagenn* ‘village’, *wilagenno* ‘villages’ < Fr. *village* + singulative *-enn* (cf. §3.2), ModB *gwerjez* ‘orchard’, *gwerjezoù* ‘orchards’ < OFr. *vergier* ‘orchard’ (cf. §3.1.2, xxix.; §3.2).

- ▶ Q3 + Q4: Is there any variation in the results of (1) and (2)? Can we attribute the variation in the results of (1) and (2) to certain factors, and if so, which ones seem to play a role?

→ Some variation exists, i.e. *v*- is not maintained in all attestations of all *v*-initial loanwords, and the delenition of *v*-initial loanwords does not invariably lead to initial *b*- after the CMB period. However, no influence from any external (or language-internal) factor is immediately apparent. Frequency seems to play no discernable role in the delenition of *v*-, and neither does the gender of the loans in French; moreover, none of the external factors I present in Chapter 2 (dialect, place of printing, authorship, textual genre) correlate with the delenition of B *v*-.

A second aspect of this thesis that merits discussion is the use of the various methods I describe in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. First of all, the construction of a database in FileMaker Pro proved to be instrumental to this thesis, as it allowed me to store large amounts of precise data and apply all sorts of calculations to the data. Many of these have not seen use in this thesis (e.g. in the visualizations, which I ultimately do not use). However, one of these calculations in particular is seen in §2.1.2, which deals with mutation in *bout*; I could not have reliably counted these contexts all by hand. The same is true for the three types of attestations per text (cf. §3.1) in the statistical tables given in §§3.1.1-5, which were all taken directly from the database.

In §2.2.3, I already announced that a large part of the work on the database, which was the various visualizations of the data according to specific external factors such as dialect, place of printing, and authorship, would be abandoned. While the visualizations are very detailed, that is precisely what makes them unfit for use, as this makes them difficult to interpret; moreover, no determinable correlations were found between the delenition of *v*- and any of the external factors. Nonetheless, I believe the discussions of the

visualizations in §§2.3.2-6 still merit to be included in this thesis, as they contain a great level of detail, and might be useful in some way to the reader or for any corpus research on MB.

What followed in §3.1 was an attempt to categorize the lemmata from the corpus into five main categories that would classify these words according to their adhesion to spelling norms on a spectrum (i.e. how often is a word spelled with *v*-?); this categorization was then paired with another sub-categorization, which distinguished between words that technically only violate spelling norms (*v*- is only written where lenition(-and-provection) is expected), and words that do not conform to ICM proper (*v*- is written at least once where no lenition(-and-provection) is expected). This approach proved to be useful for the description of the MB period, as it allowed us to determine that there seem to be different degrees to which *v*-initial loans receive a delenited consonant in MB, but also that some native words exhibit particular behaviors concerning mutation.

Finally, §3.2 presented a third method of analysis, which was to take only the *v*-initial loanwords from the corpus, and attempt to trace their development into EModB and ModB. This also proved to be quite fruitful, as this allowed us to see that almost a third of the *v*-initial loans in MB (42 out of 131) are unattested in later stages of the language, and that even words that are attested in EModB and ModB often retain Fr. *v*- (50 out of 76, i.e. 65.8%); this, in turn, made it possible to relate the theoretical considerations on 'listedness' and *Lehnwörter*, *Fremdwörter*, and *Gastwörter* (cf. §1.1.3, §3.2.2).

Having reflected on the methods, I will now relate the results to the theoretical considerations discussed in Chapter 1. In §1.2, I made an inventory of past observations concerning ICM-nonconformity in loanwords into the Celtic languages. With the situation in MB now well-defined, we may compare it to the situation in the other Celtic languages:

- ▶ We may link two main developments to the results: §1.2.7, 1c, which states that a phoneme generally only available in mutation contexts is *not* reanalyzed, and is kept the same as the initial phoneme in the donor language (Fr. *v*- maintained in B), and §1.2.7, 1b, which states that a phoneme only available in mutation contexts is reanalyzed as the mutated form of a radical (Fr. *v*- > B *b*-, *m*-, or *gw*-).
- ▶ In §1.2.1a, I discuss the adaptation of Lat. *p*- to OIr. RAD *p*-, LEN *ph*- /*φ*/, NAS *b*-. Initial *p*- was a sound that was completely new to Irish at the time (earlier borrowings from Lat. had undergone *\*p* > *\*k<sup>w</sup>*); we can see that *p*- mutates irregularly, or as it is phrased in *GOI* §231.5, mutation of *p*- "had not yet become universal". This implies that non-mutation of OIr. *p*- was more frequent early on, and that words with *p*- were eventually incorporated into ICM, though the rate at which this happened remains to be investigated.

The situation in Breton is somewhat comparable in the sense that *v*- is maintained more often in the MB period (81.4%) than in the EModB and ModB periods (65.8%; cf. §3.2.2). In other words, it does seem that making loans conform to ICM sometimes happens with a certain delay. The crucial

difference between the situation in MB *v-* < OFr. *v-* and in OIr. *p-* < Lat. *p*, however, is that MB *v-* > RAD *b-*, *m-* expects the *undoing* of lenition, and that OIr. *p-* > LEN *ph-* is the *application* of lenition. These are thus two separate processes; the same can be said for ModW RAD /tʃ/, LEN /dʒ/ < Eng. *ch-* /tʃ/ (§1.2.4d), where lenition is also applied, and not removed. Moreover, MB also already possessed the phoneme /v/, while /p/ was completely absent from OIr.

- ▶ In view of the notion of ‘listedness’ and its importance in the analysis of the situation in MB, we might compare the various observations on the mutation of place-names in Welsh, (§1.2.4l), which find that culturally and/or geographically Welsh place-names undergo mutation, but that place-names outside the geographical and cultural scope of Welsh generally do not. This might also be an example of a distinction between ‘listed’ and ‘non-listed’ words, where the ‘un-Welsh’ place-names are not part of the core vocabulary of Welsh, and thus ‘non-listed’. However, we cannot say at this point whether the ‘non-listed’ *v*-initial loans in MB are in any way ‘culturally or geographically distant’ to late medieval Brittany.<sup>106</sup>

Furthermore, we can make two new observations concerning the adaptation of loanwords in Breton ICM:

- ▶ Loans from a single source can exhibit completely different behaviors. The best example of this in MB is the distinction between *bilen* (§3.1.2, xxx.) and *vileny* (§3.1.4, xli.), where the former is always written *b-*, and the latter is always written *v-*, with the exception of the attestations in Ba.
- ▶ Not all loans are adapted to ICM at the same speed: some already delenite *v-* > *b-* in MB, some only do so by EModB or ModB, and some never delenite *v-*. Thus, there is more or less a ‘spectrum’ of integration, which we can see already synchronically in MB, where some *v*-initial loans are more frequently delenited than others.

## 4.2 CONSEQUENCES FOR MB HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Thanks to a full corpus of MB *v*-initial loanwords, we can also attempt to elucidate a number of problems in MB historical phonology which I discussed in §1.3.3 and §1.3.4a.

### 4.2.1 ON THE ADDITION OF AN ONSET [v]- TO DIPHTHONGS WITH A LABIAL FIRST ELEMENT

One of the observations I make, following PIETTE (*FLMB* §48.1), is that initial *gw-* is only attested as the product of delenition of *v-* *after* the MB period, starting in EModB. PIETTE

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<sup>106</sup> From my intuition, this seems not to be the case.

cites ModB *gwetur* < OFr. *voiture*, where B *gwe-* supposes OFr. *oi* = [wɛ], as evidence for an early borrowing, and therefore as evidence that lenis \*w- became [v] at an early date in Léon Breton.

As I have discussed in §1.3.4a, and in §3.1.5 under *veturier* (§3.1.5, liv.), I believe that the development that PIETTE describes is indicative of something else: there was technically the potential for OFr. *v*-initial loans to be interpreted as having a MB word-initial diphthong /œ/, /ɔa/, /yi/ or /ye/, since there existed a development whereby an onset [v]- was added to these initial diphthongs; MB seemingly also allowed this onset [v]- to absorb the first element of these diphthongs, resulting in [v(ɔ)e], [v(ɔ)a], [v(y)i], [v(y)e], respectively. Thus, e.g. OFr. [ve]- or [vœ]- might become MB /œ/, and delenited /gœe/; thus, this is likely how we obtain the form *gwetur*.

The problem is that with the exception of the clearly analogical *guin aegr* < OFr. *vinaigre* ‘vinegar’ (§3.1.1, vi.), we never find *gu-* for OFr. *v-* in MB: the first attestations of this appear only in EModB. We might cite, for example, MB *bergez/vergez* ‘orchard’, which had both a *b*-variant and a *v*-variant in MB, and which appears in ModB as *bergez*, *vergez*, and *gwerjez* (cf. §3.1.2, xxix.; §3.2). Either *gwerjez* is a form that existed since MB, but by chance never appeared in any of the MB texts, or *gwerjez* is a later development. This is odd, considering that there presumably was the possibility of *v-* > *gw-* in MB for the reasons described above.

However, I will nonetheless attempt to provide a solution. One might make the observation that the MB onset [v]- before the initial diphthongs /œ/, /ɔa/, /yi/ and /ye/, which could have facilitated *v-* > *gw-*, is a tendency but not a rule (cf. *oar* vs. *voar* ‘on’, *oa* vs. *voa* ‘was’); additionally, it seems that the [v]- could absorb the first element of the diphthong, but that this, too, was not a rule (*oar* vs. *voar* vs. *var*; we find all three forms in *Buhez sant Guenole*). The pronunciation of these diphthongs in MB is rather unstable, and it may have been unclear to speakers of MB whether e.g. OFr. *ve-* was /ve/-, or that it represented one of these diphthongs, [vœ]- = /œ/. Might we also consider that the addition of [v]- was a relatively new change, which we encounter in MB in the middle of its development?

Furthermore, the only *v*-initial loans we have encountered in the corpus with *v-* > *gw-* in EModB are *gwerje* < OFr. *vergier* ‘orchard’ (cf. §3.1.2, xxix.; §3.2), *gwilagenn* < OFr. *village* ‘village’ (cf. §3.2), *güeaichi* < Fr. *voyager* ‘travel (v.)’ (cf. §3.1.1, iv.; §3.2), *güeaich* < Fr. *voyage* ‘journey’ (§3.1.4, xxxix.); from the literature we might add *gwetur* < OFr. *voiture* ‘car’ and *gwernis* < OFr. *vernis* ‘varnish’ (*FLMB* §48.1), as well as the native *gwerelaouen* (from \**berelaouen* via *verelaouen*, cf. §3.1.3, xxxii.): all of these have *gwe-*, *gwi-*, i.e. before front vowels. As we have seen in §1.3.4a, we might only expect OFr. *ve-*, *vi-*, *va-* to become MB *gue-*, *gui-*, *goa-*. I believe that the absence of OFr. *va-* > B *gwa-* might be an indication that in EModB the realization [ve]- for /ye/ and [vi]- for /yi/ had become common and stable enough to allow for delenition of Fr. *v-* to *gw-*, but not /ɔa/ (see below).

On the other hand, there is no such variation or a phonological restriction in MB for the lenition of *b-*, which is always [v]- regardless of the following vowel, meaning that OFr. /ve/- can more straightforwardly be represented as an unlenited /be/-; might this have been perceived as a more ‘stable’ basis for the delenition of *v-*? This proposition only

functions if there was no option for OFr. [v]- to be interpreted as an unlenited MB /m/-, which I will discuss below. I thus propose the following (cf. §1.3.4a):

- ▶ (1) MB /œe/, /oa/, /yi/, /ye/ develop an onset [v]-, leading to [v(œ)e], [v(o)a], [v(y)i], [v(y)e]; these create the potential for OFr. *ve-*, *vi-*, *va-* to be interpreted as MB /oe/ or /ye/, and /yi/, /oa/, respectively, which are delenited to *gue-*, *gui-*, *goa-*. This limits the option of *v-* > *gw-* to only three vowels after OFr. *v-*, which leaves OFr. *vo-* /vo/, *vou-* /vu/, *vu-* /vy/, *veu-* /vø/, etc.
- ▶ (2) At some point in B, [v(y)e] > [ve] and [v(y)i] > [vi]; my assumption here is that since [v] and [y]/[u] were acoustically close, the [y]/[u] was absorbed into the [v] more consistently—however, this is speculative, and the evidence is inconclusive. These would have become common and stable enough that they were perceived as the lenition of *gwe-*, *gwi-*, leading to the distribution of *v-* > *gw-* only before *e*, *i*.
- ▶ (3) During all these developments, MB also has access to a completely transparent lenition pair, *b-* > *v-*, which may occur before any vowel or diphthong: *be-* > *ve*, *bou-* > *vou-*, *ba-* > *va-*, *bu-* > *vu-*, *boa-* > *voa-*, etc. The delenition of *v-* to *b-* is comparatively uncomplicated, leading to an overwhelming preference for *v-* > *b-* in the cases that delenition does occur. As previously said, this suggestion only works if there was no additional option that OFr. [v]- > MB *m-*: since *m-* may also occur before all of these vowels and diphthongs, this would have led to uncertainty whether e.g. OFr. *va-* was *ma-* or *ba-*. I will now discuss this matter.

#### 4.2.2 THE DATE OF THE DENASALIZATION OF /μ/-

A major problem in the reconstruction of the Middle Breton consonantal system is the question whether word-initial \*μ- had already been denasalized to [v]- (i.e. that it merged with the lenition of *b-* = [v]-); I have discussed this in §1.3.3. We have seen that JACKSON (*HPB* §915, n. 4; cf. §1.3.3) sees the delenition of OFr. *v-* > highly frequently *b-* as a possible indication that at the time of borrowing of most *v-*-initial French loans in MB—which is some time before the 1464 *Catholicon*—Fr. *v-* could not be delenited to *m-* because lenited *m* was /μ/, and not /v/. However, it does leave MB *moez*, which is attested as early as CathA,<sup>107</sup> and throughout CMB, with initial *m-* and *v-*, never *b-*. In V, we find *boéh*, and more sporadically *moéh* (*DEVRI*, s.v. ‘mouezh’). It constitutes the only word from the CMB period that would have initial *v-* in French, but *m-* in (KLT) Breton.

However, as I have argued (§3.1.2, xxiv.), OFr. *voiz* cannot be the direct ancestor of MB *moez*, because final *-z* /ð/ cannot come from OFr. *-z*, *-x* /s/. I have proposed a link with OIr. *mé(i)de* ‘throat, lower part of the neck’, of which a Middle Breton cognate would be *moez* /mœð/. This would not be the only example of a native word adapting its semantic

<sup>107</sup> And doubtlessly CathMS, but the page that would have included it is missing; *m-* starts at *molestaff*.

value to a phonologically similar loan, as we see a similar development in OFr. *veage* > EModB *gweach* ‘time’, which I argue was reinterpreted as one of the meanings of EModB *gwech/gwezh* < MB *guez* ‘time; journey’ (§3.1.4, xxxix.).

Apart from MB *moez*, the only other word we find in the corpus that seems to exhibit the delentition of *v-* > *m-* is *malisenn* ‘suitcase’ (§3.1.1, ii.), a loan from MFr. *valise* first attested in the *Nomenclator*, which is Late MB or EModB. Since we may cast doubt on the phonological link between MB *moez* and OFr. *voiz*, *malisenn* would become the first identifiable proof that the reflexes of lenited *b-* and *m-* had fallen together, which is significantly later than what has traditionally been assumed. However, I have also argued that *malisenn* itself may be analogous to MB *mal* < OFr. *malle* ‘coffer, trunk, etc.’, which likens the possibility that the initial *m-* is not a product of delentition, but of analogy.

Considering that the only two examples with OFr. *v-* > MB *m-* may rather be explained through analogy than as evidence for the delentition of *v-* > *m-*, we can observe that the actual process of delentition of OFr. *v-* invariably leads to *b-* in the MB period. Therefore, I believe we may take this as evidence that in the MB period, *\*μ-* had not yet been denasalized to [v]-.

#### 4.2.3 THE QUESTION OF PHONOLOGICAL DISTANCE

Finally, I would like to come back to the suggestion that phonological distance may have played a role in the delentition of *v-* > *b-* in MB (cf. §1.2.2c, §1.2.3a, §1.2.4k, arguably also §1.2.3b; see also §1.3.4a). In essence, this would mean that the delentition of *v-* > *b-* represents the path of fewest phonological changes compared to *v-* > *m-* or *v-* > *gw-*.

In §4.2.1 and §4.2.2, I have argued that the exclusive choice of *b-* as the delentition of *v-* in MB, and not *gw-* or *m-*, may have its basis in the historical phonology of the language: *b-* would have been perceived as a stable and transparent candidate for the delentition of OFr. [v]-, while there may have been more uncertainty concerning the delentition of *v-* to *gw-*; moreover, [v]- > *m-* may have been blocked considering the possibility that MB lenited *m-* was still a phonemically differentiated nasal /μ/-.

I believe that the arguments presented in §4.2.1, on the choice of *b-* over *gw-*, are compatible with the concept of phonological distance. Additionally to those arguments, we might say that *v-* > *b-* only requires one change (voiced labial **fricative/approximant** > voiced labial **stop**), but that *v-* > *gw-* requires several (voiced labial **fricative/approximant** > voiced **labiovelar stop**), or alternatively, the addition of an onset phoneme (*v-* > *g-* + *w-*). However, we must then assume on the basis of e.g. EModB *gwilagenn* < Fr. *village* (cf. §3.2) and ModB *gwerje* < OFr. *vergier* (cf. §3.1.2, xxix.; §3.2) that this strategy is abandoned after MB.

Moreover, while phonological distance might play a role in the choice of *b-* over *gw-*, I am unsure that it can provide as strong an argument for the choice of *b-* over *m-*. What this would effectively entail is that OFr. *v-* becomes MB *b-* because there is less phonological distance between these two than between OFr. *v-* and MB *m-*, and that therefore, the

choice of *b-* over *m-* is not necessarily indicative that the lenition of *m-* remained phonemically distinct from that of *b-*.

Can the view that *v- > b-* requires fewer changes than *v- > m-* be maintained? To answer this question, we must remember that Breton made no distinction between voiced labial fricatives and voiced labial approximants (cf. §1.3.4a), and I will first assume that *\*μ-* had been denasalized and merged with /v/, so that the phonemic distinction was between a voiced labial stop /b/, a voiced labial nasal /m/, and a voiced labial fricative/approximant /v/. This would yield the following table, in which the phonological changes from /v/ are indicated in red:

Table 24: Phonological changes in the delenition of *v-*, if *\*μ-* was already denasalized in MB.

	<i>voice</i>	<i>nasal</i>	<i>stop</i>	<i>velar</i>
/v/	+	-	-	-
/b/	+	-	+	-
/gw/	+	-	+	+
/m/	+	+	-	-

As we can see, these phonological distinctions would show that both *v- > b-* and *v- > m-* only require a single step. However, if we assume that *\*μ-* had **not** yet been denasalized, then this means that there was an additional opposition between a labial nasal sonorant /m/, a labial nasal fricative /μ/, and a non-nasal labial fricative /v/, which would give use the following:

Table 25: Phonological changes in the delenition of *v-*, if *\*μ-* was **not** denasalized in MB, and thus phonemically distinct. — \* Unavailable as an unmutated consonant.

	<i>voice</i>	<i>nasal</i>	<i>fricative</i>	<i>sonorant</i>	<i>stop</i>	<i>velar</i>
/v/	+	-	+	-	-	-
/b/	+	-	-	-	+	-
/gw/	+	-	-	-	+	+
/m/	+	+	-	+	-	-
/μ/*	+	+	+	-	-	-

In this phonological system, we can see that the delenition of *v- > gw-* and *v- > m-* both require three changes, but that the delenition of *v- > b-* requires only two. This could indeed mean that *v- > b-* is chosen because it requires the least amount of change; this is entirely in line with the results for the MB period, where we exclusively find *b-* apart from analogical cases with *m-*, *gw-*. We may thus argue that phonological distance might have played a role, but I believe that in any case it does not disprove that MB initial *\*μ-* remained phonemically separate from the other labial fricatives/approximants. One weakness of the argument of phonological distance, however, is that the strategy would



have had to be abandoned in EModB and ModB, where we find *ve-*, *vi-* > *gwe-*, *gwi-*, and *v-* > *m-*. The merger of /μ/- and /v/ after the MB period (cf. Table 24) could explain delentition to *m-*, as *v-* > *b-* and *v-* > *m-* would then both require only one phonological change, but it could not explain the appearance of *gwe-*, *gwi-*, which takes an additional step, namely the addition of an onset velar stop [g]-.

### 4.3 SECONDARY FINDINGS

Through the analysis not only of loanwords, but *all* words written with *b-*, *m-*, *v-* in MB, we can make a number of observations that have—as far as I am aware—not yet been put to paper:

- ▶ There seems to be a rule in writing mutation for the verb *bout* that lenition (-and-provection) has to be written only in finite forms, as the notation of lenition(-and-provection) in non-finite forms is infrequent (cf. §2.1.2). This seems not to have previously been noticed.
- ▶ Guillaume Quiquer, the author of *Coll* and *Nom*, shows a very slight tendency to overproduce lenition. In the verb *kaout* ‘to have’, the reanalysis of the older imperfect form *oa* [vɔa] as the lenition of newer *boa* gave the impression that the paradigm of the imperfect tense of *kaout* expected lenition across the board. This spread to other forms, which we can see in the infinitive *Coll* 253 *ho veza* ‘your (2pl.) being’. This development is seemingly unattested elsewhere, and unmentioned in *HMSB*. Two other unexpected lenitions (*virviff* and *mæn vez*) seem to be mistakes; perhaps *viguïden* also represents an unexpectedly lenited *gw-*.
- ▶ Two short MB passages in French texts, *Cd* and the *Farce de Maistre Pathelin*, show lenition at a proportionally higher rate than is normally expected from MB writing norms (*Cd* *b* > *v*, *Pathelin* *c* > *g*, *t* > *d*). For *Pathelin*, it had been suggested by Joseph LOTH (1890: 456) that the writing of voicing in lenition and *sandhi*, paired with the rather high amount of mistakes in the Breton, was an indication that these passages were dictated to scribes with very little knowledge of MB spelling norms, or even of MB; I propose that we can extend this to *Cd*.
- ▶ In §3.1.2, I remark that in a number of native words, lenition(-and-provection) sporadically appears in spelling in collocations: *er vat* (ModB *ervat*) ‘well’ = adverbial particle *en*<sup>L<sup>P</sup></sup> + *mat* ‘good’, *me venn* ‘I want’ < *mennout* ‘want, wish (v).’ + elided verbal particle *a*<sup>L</sup>, *da vihanhaff* ‘at least’ < *bihan* ‘small’, *roue ar velly* ‘king of power’ < *belly* ‘power’, *guenn vet*, *guenn da vet*, lit. ‘white (your) world’ (beside *guenn ma bet*, etc.) ≈ ‘I am/you are/he, she, it is blessed’. I link this to §1.2.7, 2d, in which I conclude from SLEEPER (2020) that semantics may play a role in the ICM-nonconformity of loanwords. I believe that semantics may also have played a role in the notation of mutation in these collocations; lenition may have been perceived as being intrinsic to these specific collocations, and only

secondarily a grammatical rule. I compare this to the writing of mutation in the second member of compounds (which is admittedly more frequent, cf. SCHRIJVER 2011b: 387), but which may be representative of a similar phenomenon, where the formation of the word is no longer transparent, and the mutation is no longer perceived as a grammatical rule, but simply a regular phoneme, e.g. *gour* 'on' + *penn* 'head' > MB *gourffen* 'end'.

#### 4.4 CLOSING REMARKS

The aim of this thesis was to provide a detailed picture of the behavior of loanwords in ICM. While it had previously been noted that *v*-initial loans from French were taken into MB and ended up in ModB with a variety of consonants, there was no clear idea as to what the precise situation in MB was; nor had there been an attempt to trace this borrowed vocabulary to the ModB period in order to investigate how these loans developed over time. I hope to have provided an adequate answer for these lacunae in the history of the Breton language.

There is a great amount of similar research that still needs to be conducted for other periods of the Breton language, but also for the other Celtic languages, both modern and medieval. We have seen that with a specialized methodology, we can work around the lack of mutations represented in spelling: this opens the door to similar research on ICM in the other medieval Celtic languages, as well as to diachronic research on Celtic ICM.

## SUMMARY

Using a corpus of 22 texts from the Middle Breton period, I have described how *v*-initial French loanwords behave in the Middle Breton system of ICM. The findings show that most French *v*-initial loans from this period do not conform to ICM. Delenition is relatively rare, and when it does occur, *v*- exclusively becomes *b*- in MB, and variously *b*-, *m*-, *gw*- from EModB onwards, though there is still the tendency in these later periods to delenite to *b*-. Moreover, when delenition occurs, this is almost never immediately after borrowing, as some words attested with *v*- since MB only start deleniting by the (E)ModB period.

Two developments in MB historical phonology can be addressed knowing the above: (1) the denasalization of initial *\*μ*- likely did not happen until after the CMB period, and (2) the development where *lenis \*w*- > Léon [v] described by PIETTE (*FLMB* §48.1) is possibly indicative of a different development, where the onset [v]- in the MB word-initial diphthongs /*œ*/, /*œa*/, /*yi*/, and /*ye*/ could absorb the first element of the diphthong; I propose that this may have happened more frequently in /*yi*/ and /*ye*/ due to the acoustic proximity of [v] and [y]/[y], which in turn created the lenition pairs [gyi]/[vi] and [gye]/[ve], and with this provided a stable enough base to delenite OFr. *ve*-, *vi*- to EModB *gue*-, *gui*-. Moreover, there is the question of phonological distance as a factor for the delenition of *v*- exclusively to *b*- in MB, for which I argue that it may only have applied to MB if *\*μ*- had not been denasalized, and was thus kept phonemically distinct.

While the data does not permit us to answer any large-scale questions about the workings of loanwords in ICM as a whole, the analysis of MB data nonetheless contributes to a better understanding of the interactions between the Celtic languages and their borrowed lexicon.

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## APPENDIX 1: INDEX

Below is a full index of the lemmata included in the database. The lemmata are given in **bold**, followed by a definition; moreover, the category for each lemma (as defined in Chapter 3) is indicated. Variant spellings are given in *italics* and supplied with sources and line numbers, and given in alphabetical order. I do not give grammatical information about the various derivations. Due to the sheer amount of material, which had to be entered by hand, there are bound to be mistakes; they all remain my own.

## B

- Babilon** 'Babylon'  
*babilon* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- babouin** 'baboon (n., m.)'  
*babouin* Ba 290
- babouinaff** 'stammer (v.)'  
*babouinaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- babu** 'sweet cherry (n., coll.)'  
*babü* Nom 69a-1
- bacc** 'pack saddle (n., m.)'  
*bacc* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d6,  
*baçc* Coll d2,  
*bace* CathMS
- bach** 'tight space (n., m.)'  
*bach* G 1224
- bachelor** 'bachelor (n., m.)'  
*baçelyer* Nom 291a-2, 304a-2,  
*bachelor* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- bacin** 'basin (n., f.)'  
*bacin* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 51,  
*bassin* Nom 157b-7, 157b-8, 158a-3, 162a-7, 209b-4
- bacinet** 'helm (n., m.)'  
*bacimet* CathA,  
*bacinet* CathB, CathC, CathMS
- baculaff** 'baculate (v.)'  
*baculaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*baculiff* Nom 195b-2
- badalenn** 'dagger (n., f.)'  
*badalen* CathA, CathMS
- badeziant** 'baptism (n., f.)'  
*badeziant* Cl 72,  
*badezyant* Cl 78, 86, 92, H 153,
- badizant* Ca 17,  
*badiziant* D 36, 39, 41,  
*badizient* N 980, TPM 137,  
*badizyant* Nom 198a-4,  
*badizyent* CathA, CathC, CathMS,  
*badizyēt* CathB,  
*badyziant* M 702,  
*badyzyant* Nom 224b-7
- badeziff** 'baptize (v.)'  
*badez* Ba 169, 177, 661, H 153, N 467, 971, 1120,  
*badezaff* Ba 170, 173, 174, CathA, CathB, CathC, N  
916,  
*badezas* Ba 18, J 104, Nl 58,  
*badezat* TPM 279,  
*badezet* Ba 146, 147, 155, Cl 78, 118, 228, D 6, 42, G  
26, H 153, N 914, 919, 925, 944, 954, 989, 1010,  
1031, Nl 36, 64, TPM 103, 138, 164, 171,  
*badeziff* Ba 177, Coll d4,  
*badezo* N 936
- badezour** 'baptist (n., m.)'  
*badezour* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, H 145, J 104
- badiff** 'be dizzy (v.)'  
*badaf* G 1203,  
*badet* N 1125, 1543, 1796
- badou** 'strikes (n., coll.)'  
*badou* G 1251, J 147, Jer 251, N 1646, TPM 114,  
*badouet* Ba 552, 593, G 1237
- baeguel** 'bleating (n., m.)'  
*baeguel* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- baeguelat** 'bleating (v.)'  
*baeguelat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- baelegues** 'priestess (n., f.)'  
*baelegues* CathA, CathB, CathMS
- baeleguiez** 'priesthood (n., f.)'  
*baeleguiez* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bealeguiez* CathMS
- baetes** 'chard (n., coll.)'  
*baetes* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*beauttes* Nom 80a-6

**bag** 'boat (n., f.)'

*bac* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d23,  
*bacguic* Nom 148b-6,  
*bacq* Nom 151a-2, 162a-1, 318b-2,  
*bag* Nom 148a-9, 149a-3, 149a-4, 149b-1, 149b-3,  
150a-5, 150b-2, 203a-4,  
*bagic* CathMS, Nom 150b-4,  
*baguet* J 210, 220,  
*baguic* CathA, CathB, CathC

**bagaj** 'luggage (n., m.)'

*bagagaou* Nom 189b-6,  
*bagagou* Nom 192b-5

**baganaoder** 'onlooker (n., m.)'

*bagaunoder* Nom 104b-12

**baganoder** 'bladder-senna (plant) (n., m.)'

*baganoder* Nom 324a-3

**bagat** 'troop (n., m.)'

*bagat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bahu** 'coffer (n., m.)'

*bahu* CathMS,  
*bahuou* Nom 26b-8

**baill** 'tub (n., m.)'

*baill* CathMS, Nom 159b-7

**bain** 'bath (n., m.)'

*bain* Nom 135b-1, 319b-2,  
*bainnou* Nom 246b-6,  
*bayn* Nom 135a-1, 321a-4,  
*baynnou* Nom 319b-1

**bainouer** 'bathtub (n., m.)'

*baynnoüer* Nom 135a-4

**bal** 'ball (dance) (n., m.)'

*bal* Nom 8a-7

**baladenn** 'walk (n., f.)'

*baladen* Nom 8b-6

**balancc** 'balance (n., f.)'

*balācc* CathA,  
*balāçc* Nom 208a-1,  
*balanç* M 1251, 1668, 1894,  
*balancc* Ba 472, CathB, CathC, TPM 169,  
*balançc* Nom 209a-4, 209a-5, 209b-3, 209b-4,  
*balance* CathMS,  
*balançou* Nom 209a-6

**balanczaff** 'balance (v.)'

*balāczaff* CathB,  
*balanczaff* CathA, CathC, CathMS

**balauenn** 'butterfly (n., f.)'

*balauēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*balauēñ* CathMS

**balaznenn** 'broom (n., f.)'

*balaen* Nom 165a-11,  
*balan* Nom 103b-9,  
*balaznēn* CathA, CathC,  
*balazneñ* CathMS

**balbouzat** 'stammer (v.)'

*balbouzat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**balbouzer** 'stammerer, person who stammers when talking (n., m.)'

*balbouezer* Nom 270b-3,  
*balbouzer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bale** 'walk (v.)'

*bale* Ba 131, 275, 282, G 394, J 193, M 2468,  
*baleaf* G 108,  
balehemp G 1165,  
*baleo* J 42,  
*vale* J 206

**baleg** 'ledge, protrusion (of a building) (n., m.)'

*balegou* Nom 142a-3

**balen** 'whale (n., m.)'

*balen* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 44a-6

**balet** 'awning (n., m.)'

*balet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bali** 'barbican (fortified gateway) (n., f.)'

*bali* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*baly* CathC

**balir** 'ledge, protrusion (of a building) (n., m.)'

*balirou* Nom 142a-3

**balisenn** 'briefcase (n., f.)'

*balisen* Nom 119a-3,  
*malisen* Nom 119a-4

**ballin** 'tow cloth (n., f.)'

*ballin* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**balouin** 'bowsprit (n., f.)'

*balouin* Nom 154a-1

**balsamit** 'balsam (n., m.)'

*balesamit* CathMS,  
*balsamit* CathA, CathB, CathC

**Balthasar** 'personal name'

*baltasar* NI 35,  
*balthasar* NI 31, 58

**balu** 'pole (n., m.)'  
*balu* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**baluent** 'mortality (n., m.)'  
*baluent* NI 25, 42

**bam** 'balm (n., m.)'  
*bam* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**ban** 'scaffolding? (n., m.)'  
*ban* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**banc** 'bank (n., m.)'  
*bācq* Nom 157b-4,  
*bancq* Nom 207b-5, 243b-2, 244a-7,  
*bancquou* Nom 151b-40

**bandaff** 'stretch, span (v.)'  
*bandaff* Nom 186a-2

**bandenn** 'troop, group (n., f.)'  
*bādenn* Nom 177a-4,  
*bandēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bandeñ* CathMS, G 696,  
*banden* NI 24, Nom 110a-5, 111a-1, 115a-8, 289b-5,  
*bandenn* Dag 181, 246, G 238, 981, M 510, N 1150,  
1405, Nom 26b-1, 26b-2, 26b-3, 150b-6, 188b-7,  
189a-6, 189a-8, TPM 238,  
*bandennou* Nom 116a-1,  
*bandennouigou* Nom 111a-2

**banel** 'judgment? (f.)'  
*banel* N 1488

**banier** 'banner (n., f.)'  
*banier* CathB, CathC, Nom 153b-5, 289b-4,  
*banier* Nom 198a-2,  
*banyer* CathA, CathMS, Nom 190b-3, 190b-4,  
*banyerou* Nom 190b-2

**banissaf** 'banish, excommunicate (v.)'  
*banissaf* N 1479,  
*banissaff* CathC, CathMS,  
*banisset* N 1528,  
*banisso* Ba 766,  
*bannissaff* CathA, CathB,  
*bannisser* [sic] Nom 325b-2

**bannech** 'drop (of liquid) (n., m.)'  
*banhe* CathMS, J 201,  
*bannach* Coll 65,  
*banne-chaou* NI 5,  
*bannech* Jer 280,  
*bannech* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 144, N 938, NI 44,  
*bannechou* H 147,  
*bannhech* Ba 255

**banquedaff** 'banquet (v.)'  
*banquedaff* Nom 54b-3

**banquer** 'banker (n., m.)'  
*bancquer* Nom 296a-6  
**banqueroutaff** 'go bankrupt (v.)'  
*bancqueroutà* Nom 207b-5

**banquet** 'banquet (n., m.)'  
*bancquet* Nom 52b-6, 53b-7, 54a-2, 54a-4, 54a-6,  
54b-1, 54b-6, 54b-7, 314b-2,  
*bancquetic* Nom 54b-4,  
*banquedou* N 297

**banv** 'sow (pig) (n., f.)'  
*banó* Nom 34b-2

**banvez** 'banquet (n., m/f.)'  
*banhues* G 658,  
*banues* M 498, 501, TPM 156,  
*banuez* TPM 215

**bara** 'bread (n., m.)'  
*bara* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, CI 78, 80, 82, 232,  
234, 238, Coll 31, 45, 47, 81, 111, d28, g17, D 20,  
44, G 331, H 129, J 55, 60, 202, 209, 211, 221, Jer  
213, N 427, 452, Nom 56b-4, 56b-5, 56b-6, 56b-7,  
56b-8, 57a-1, 57a-2, 57a-3, 57a-4, 57a-5, 57a-6,  
57a-7, 57b-1, 57b-2, 57b-4, 57b-6, 57b-7, 57b-8,  
57b-9, 58a-1, 58a-2, 58a-3, 58a-7, 90a-3, 92b-4,  
157a-5, 226b-5, 306b-3, 312b-5, 53a-40, TPM  
216,  
*baraic* Nom 72a-5,  
*baru* Nom 82b-8,  
*barüc* [sic] Nom 58a-8

**baradoz** 'paradise (n., m.)'  
*baradoes* Ba 319, 322, 330, 496, 559, 605, CathB,  
CathC, H 133, J 141, M 1544, 3592, N 1373, Nom  
233b-1, 279b-5, TPM 190,  
*barados* D 10, 51, 54, s20, J 35, 98, 142, MCF 50, 52,  
96, 114, NI 5, 7, 38, 41, 45, 59, 61, 74, 103,  
*baradoues* H 137,  
*baradoz* N s12, NI 109,  
*barazoes* CathA, CathMS

**baraer** 'baker (n., m.)'  
*baraer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*baraër* Nom 312b-7,  
*baraeryen* Nom 340ab-13/34113

**barat** 'treachery, trickery (n., m.)'  
*barat* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 890, N 1622, TPM 186,  
189

**barataff** 'commit fraud (v.)'  
*barataff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*baratet* Ba 303, M 874

**barater** 'fraudster (n., m.)'  
*barater* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**baraz** 'trough (n., f.)'

*baraz* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 161a-2

**Barba** 'personal name, f.'

*barba* Ba 0, 5, 90, 93, 94, 96, 101, 103, 104, 110, 111, 118, 123, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136, 138, 141, 151, 158, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 173, 177, 178, 183, 187, 188, 199, 201, 204, 216, 226, 229, 239, 247, 250, 253, 255, 263, 305, 307, 308, 309, 314, 316, 318, 327, 337, 347, 359, 370, 371, 381, 383, 387, 421, 428, 441, 454, 492, 497, 498, 509, 528, 534, 536, 551, 584, 601, 609, 612, 614, 623, 625, 629, 632, 651, 653, 676, 680, 687, 694, 697, 700, 703, 707, 712, 719, 724, 807, H 142, 143, 145, 155, 156,

*barba* Ba 109, 629,

*barbara* Ba 1, 787,

*braba* Ba 375

**barbaou** 'scarecrow, werewolf? (n., m.)'

*barbaou* Jer 164, 248, 281, a6

**barbari** 'barbarity (n., f.)'

*barbari* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**barbed** 'barbet (dog) (n., m.)'

*barbet* Nom 17a-1, 30b-4, 268a-4

**barber** 'barber (n., m.)'

*barber* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 116a-4, 128b-3, 318b-7,

*barbier* CathMS,

*barfeur* CathC

**barberes** 'female barber (n., f.)'

*barberes* CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*barbieres* CathA

**barbou** 'pine needles (n., pl.)'

*barbou* Ba 552

**barc** 'small boat (n., m.)'

*barc* CathA, CathMS,

*barcq* Nom 149b-3, 150a-4, 150b-4,

*barq* Nom 149b-1, 149b-6, 150a-6,

*barquic* Nom 150a-4

**bard** 'bard (n., m.)'

*bardou* Nom 182a-6

**bardan** 'burdock (plant) (n., f.)'

*bardan* Nom 91a-1

**barg** 'small boat (n., m.)'

*barg* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 172

**bargainnat** 'bargain (v.)'

*bargainnat* Coll 213

**barguet** 'buzzard (n., m.)'

*barguet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**barill** 'barrel (n., m.)'

*baril* Nom 161a-4,

*barill* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**Barlemont** 'personal name'

*barlemont* Coll 231, 239,

*barlemount* Coll 259, 265

**barlenn** 'bosom (n., f.)'

*barlen* CathA, CathMS,

*barleñ* CathB,

*barlĕn* CathC,

*barlenn* J 160

**barn** 'judgment (n., f.)'

*barn* Ca 14, 23, CathC, Cl 108, 116, 222, 226, Coll d21, H 141, 153, J 65, 113, 116, 178, Jer 256, 257, 366, a15, MCF 16, 96, 97, N 963, NI 106,

*barñ* CathMS,

*barnn* Ba 382, M 584, 587, 614, 616, 643, 652, 661,

723, 740, 848, 1130, 1247, 1302, 1430, 1478,

1526, 1543, 1545, 1549, 1671, 1677, 1678, 1758,

1809, 1849, 1879, 1887, 1891, 1927, 1946, 2236,

2668, 3579, TPM 274,

*barnou* M 624, 1274, 1291, 1952,

*bernn* M 2155

**Barnabas** 'personal name (m.)'

*barnabas* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**barner** 'judge (n., m.)'

*barner* [sic] Nom 294b-7,

*barner* Ba 172, 404, 417, 418, 452, 470, 477, 512,

543, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 108, 222, H

131, J 94, 114, 121, 163, 166, Jer 173, M 705, 779,

880, 1250, 1284, 1334, 1661, 1756, 1770, 1771,

1790, 1808, 1831, 1863, 1886, 1894, MCF 37, N

1426, 1435, 1441, 1572, NI 98, 99, Nom 234a-7,

243b-1, 288a-1, 294b-5, TPM 267, 270,

*barneryen* Cl 108,

*barneur* Ba 544,

*barnner* Jer 167

**barn** 'judge (v.)'

*barñ* CathA, CathB,

*barn* Cl 216, 222, Coll g19, D 14, H 131, 132, Jer 248,

a239, N 611, NI 6, 97,

*barnaf* J 119, 121,

*barnas* J 114, M 1742, NI 10,

*barnat* J 106,

*barnet* G 924, J 82, 98, 126, M 590, MCF 56, 102, NI

106,

*barnhe* M 676,

*barnher* M 41, 1309, 1638, 3583,

*barniff* M 1857,



*barrn* Ba 349, M 622, 692, 1356, 1778, 1839, 3535, TPM 162,  
*barrnas* M 1744,  
*barrner* M 1825,  
*barno* J 115, 178, M 618, 1292, 1812, NI 106,  
*barnses* Jer a2,  
*barnsot* Jer a2,  
*varne* Cd 17,  
*varno* Cd 16

**baron** 'baron (n., m.)'  
*baron* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Dag 100, G 399, M 1912, 3550, TPM 23, 49, 187,  
*baronou* G 300, Jer 103, 138, 216,  
*baroun* Coll g67, Nom 285a-3

**barones** 'baroness (n., f.)'  
*barones* Ba 16, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*baronnes* CathMS, Coll g67

**baroniez** 'barony (n., f.)'  
*baroniez* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*baronniez* CathMS

**barr** '1. spell (n., m.); 2. hit, gust (of wind) (n., m.); 3. branch (n., f.)'  
*bar* Coll 257, NI 29, 109,  
*barr* Ba 393, 592, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, G 284, J 72, 134, Jer 5, 396, M 1277, 1493, 1848, N 1109, NI 43, Nom 15b-4, 16b-2, 16b-6, 98a-1, 142a-7, 219b-3, 230b-4, TPM 37,  
*barraou* NI 29,  
*barrou* J 105

**Barrabas** 'personal name (m.)'  
*barraban* Jer 209,  
*barrabas* J 117, 118, 119

**barraff** 'fulfill (v.)'  
*barret* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, N s18, s19

**barrenn** 'bar (n., m.)'  
*barrēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*barreñ* CathMS,  
*barren* Nom 146b-3,  
*barrinner* Nom 152a-9,  
*barrn* [sic] Nom 181a-4

**barrierenn** 'barrier (n., f.)'  
*barrieren* Nom 146b-4

**barroes?** '? (n., m./f.)'  
*barroes?* CathMS

**barrscuber** 'sweeper, one who sweeps the floor (n., m.)'  
*bar scuber* Nom 170a-5

**bartol** 'personal name (m.)'

*bartol* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**Baruth** 'personal name, Baruch (m.)'  
*baruth* M 183

**barv** 'beard (n., m./f.)'  
*barf* CathC,  
*barff* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*baro* Nom 17a-6, 17a-7,  
*baru* Ba 574, M 3466, Nom 12a-1, 17a-6, 17a-7, 28b-6, 36b-7, 270b-6, 270b-7, 270b-8, TPM 253, 286,  
*baruc* [sic] Nom 74a-6,  
*barv* J 114

**barvec** 'bearded (adj.)'  
*barffec* CathMS,  
*barfuec* CathA, CathB,  
*baruec* Nom 168b-2

**barz** 'bass (fish) (n., m.)'  
*barz* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bas** 'low (adj.)'  
*bas* Ba 759

**basilic** 'basilisk (n., m.)'  
*basilic* CathC,  
*basilicq* Nom 51a-4,  
*basiliq* CathB,  
*basilique* CathA, CathMS

**Baspasyan** 'personal name, Vespasianus (m.)'  
*baspasian* Jer 134, 177, 180, 204, a35, a57, a147, a177, a218, a226,  
*baspasyan* Jer 15, 16, 95, 139,  
*baspatian* Jer 325

**basquic** 'scrofula (n., m.)'  
*basquicq* Nom 81b-7

**bastardiff** 'bastardize, degenerate (v.)'  
*bastardiff* Nom 122a-3,  
*bastardisset* Nom 332a-2

**bastart** 'bastard (n., m.)'  
*bastard* Nom 64a-8, 106b-1, 331b-5,  
*bastart* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bastilh** 'bastille (n., f.)'  
*bastill* Nom 241b-5

**bataill** 'battle (n., f.)'  
*batail* Coll 89,  
*bataill* Ba 658, J 69, M 1225, Nom 187a-3, 187a-4, 187a-5, 187b-2, 289b-3, 188b-10, TPM 246

**batailliff** 'battle (v.)'  
*batailliff* Nom 193a-3

- batalm** 'sling (n., f.)'  
*battalm* Nom 186, 186a-5
- batant** 'immediately (adv.)'  
*batant* Ba 53, 131, 164, 203, 456, 534, J 138, 216,  
*vatant* NI 53
- bateller** 'boatman (n., m.)'  
*bateller* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*batellour* CathMS,  
*batelour* Nom 305b-6,  
*batelouryen* Nom 305b-8
- batimant** 'building, monument (n., m.)'  
*batimant* Nom 126b-4,  
*battimantgou* Nom 338ab-16/33916,  
*batymant* Nom 137a-3, 137a-4
- batisaff** 'build (v.)'  
*batiset* Nom 141a-2,  
*batisaff* Nom 126a-5
- bau** 'slow (adj.)'  
*bau* Ba 103
- baudre** 'harness (n., m.)'  
*baudre* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bodrier* Nom 119a-2
- bauet** 'having ice-cold hands? (adj.)'  
*bauet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- baut** 'audacious (adj.); greatly (adv.)'  
*baut* Ba 65, 287, 376, 536, 609, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
CathMS, G 117, Jer 207, M 163, NI 4, 49, 77
- bavard** 'talkative (adj.)'  
*baffard* Nom 324a-3
- bavarder** 'talker, talkative person (n., m.)'  
*baffarder* Nom 328a-2
- Bavon** 'personal name'  
*bauon* Coll 267
- baz** 'stick (n., f.)'  
*baz* Ba 294, 391, 590, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d4, J  
110, MCf 26, N 1768, 1917, Nom 143b-7, 147a-5,  
165b-1, 165b-2, 175b-1, 184b-1,  
*bazat* G 664,  
*bazz* CathMS,  
*bizier* Ba 457, Nom 322b-5,  
*bizyer* Ba 460, 463, 480, Nom 180b-8
- bazaff** 'putting rungs on a ladder (v.)'  
*bazaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- bazailat** 'yawn (v.)'  
*bazailat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS
- bazoul** 'bell-ringer (n., m.)'  
*bazoul* CathMS
- bazvalan** 'mediator, one who mediates the marriage  
(n., m.)'  
*baz-valan* Nom 334b-5
- beatitud** 'bliss (n., m.)'  
*beatitud* M 3268
- beaul** 'tub, vat (n., f.)'  
*beaul* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 135a-4,  
148a-6, 161a-1,  
*beolyou* Nom 308b-5,  
*beuul* [sic] Nom 157b-6
- beauseleenn** 'cow dung (n., f.)'  
*beauselën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*beauseleñ* CathMS
- bec** 'mouth (n., m.)'  
*bec* Ba 273, 397, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, G 165,  
J 195, Nom 36b-8,  
*becq* N 1433, Nom 92b-4, 184b-4, 184b-8, 231b-1,  
*beg* Nom 149b-4,  
*begou* J 201
- becc** 'vetch (n., f.)'  
*becc* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*beçc* Nom 75b-2, 76a-4,  
*bece* CathMS,  
*veçc* Nom 76a-4
- bech** 'burden (n., m.)'  
*bec'hyou* Ba 74, 75,  
*bech* Ba 278, 327, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll  
g23, D 31, G 488, 735, 881, 948, 1190, 1230, 1231,  
1233, 1235, 1241, 1262, J 13, 25, 27, 29, 92, 113,  
120, 123, 132, 133, 149, 197, 198, M 11, 484, 796,  
1293, 1664, 2129, 2222, 2291, 2421, 2452, 2488,  
2962, 3249, N 149, 172, 191, 562, 608, NI 4, 10,  
50, 62, 74, Nom 78a-2, TPM 249, 257
- bechenn** 'cornet (female headwear) (n., f.)'  
*bechën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bechen* CathMS
- bechyaff** 'charge at, overwhelm (v.)'  
*bechyaff* CathB, CathC,  
*bichyaff* CathA, CathMS
- becquet** 'pike (fish) (n., m.)'  
*becquet* Nom 46a-4
- Beda** 'personal name'  
*beda* H 146, 156

**bediz** 'humans, mortals (n., n.)'

*bedis* Ba 56, 610, 719, J 45, 101, 103, 133, 178, Jer a7,  
N 688, 1526, 1793, 1811, Nl 19, 30, 64, 73, 75, 82,  
89, 90, 93, 95, 99,

*bedys* G 878, Jer 178, 437, Nl 37, 56, 81, 98

**Beelzebut** 'personal name, the Devil (m.)'

*beelzebut* N 786,

*belzebuth* Ba 26,

*bezlebut* Ba 729, 730, 739, 741, 745, 747, 748, 749,  
750, 754, 758, 762, 763, 764, 771, 772, 775, 777,  
779, 781, 784, 791, 797,

*bezlebuth* Ba 30, 31

**begec** 'talkative (adj.)'

*beguec* Nom 149b-4, 267b-7

**beguel** 'navel, belly button (n., m.)'

*beguel* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d26, J 99,  
Nom 22a-8, 272a-6

**beguines** 'Beguine (n., f.)'

*beguines* Nom 282a-5

**behinec** 'fat man (n., m.)'

*beninec* [sic] Nom 267a-7

**beig** 'spade (n., m.)'

*beig* Nom 178a-6, 178a-7

**bel** 'ball (n., f.)'

*bel* Ba 114, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**belagouazy** 'ball? (n., m.)'

*bela gouazy* Nom 104b-7

**belec** 'preacher (n., m.)'

*baelec* Ba 807, CathA, CathB, CathC, N 1671, TPM 149,  
*bælec* D 44,

*bæleg* Cl 90,

*bælegyen* Cl 108,

*baeleien* Dag 30, 144,

*bealeuc* CathMS,

*belec* H 131, 146, MCF 62, Nl 3, Nom 53b-7, 282a-6,  
338ab-10/33910,

*beleg* Cl 80, 84, 266, H 139, 152, 155, 156,

*belegyen* Cl 82, 84, 258,

*beleien* Dag 159,

*beleyen* D 49, N 523, 1312

**beleguaff** 'become preacher (v.)'

*baeleguer* N 1697,

*beleguet* N 1684

**beleguiez** 'priesthood (n., f.)'

*baeleguiez* N 1688

**beler** 'cress (n., m.)'

*beler* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 88a-6, 92b-  
9

**beli** 'bailiff (n., m.)'

*belly* CathA, CathC, CathMS,

*velly* Coll g67, Nom 243a-7

**belitr** 'worthless person (n., m.)'

*belitr* Nom 320b-2, 328a-1

**bell** 'battle (n., f.)'

*bel* M 2621, Nl 8,

*bell* Ba 644, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 96, Jer  
202, M 158, 564, 1461, 2316, 2666, 2676, TPM  
265,

*bellou* M 2657

**bellaff** 'fight (v.)'

*bellaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**beller** 'fighter (n., m.)'

*beller* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*bellour* M 105,

*bellous* CathMS

**belleres** 'female fighter (n., f.)'

*belleres* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*belloures* CathMS

**bellus** 'fightful, prone to fighting (adj.)'

*bellus* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**belly** 'power (n., f.)'

*belly* Ba 539, 589, CathB, G 1275, J 22, Jer 109, 204,  
427, Nl 8, TPM 7, 10, 41, 69, 76, 122, 142, 190,  
202, 205, 245, 251,

*blilly* [sic] TPM 169,

*vellj* N 334,

*velly* M 927, 998, 1917, 3302, Nl 12, 21, 30, 54, 57, 65,  
70, 79, 88

**bellyes** 'female bailiff (n., f.)'

*vellyes* Coll g67

**Belus** 'personal name (n., m.)'

*belus* Ba 435

**bemdez** 'every day, daily (adv.)'

*bemdeiz* Coll 19, 21, Nl 64,

*bemdez* D 50, G 901, MCF 53, Nl 15, Nom 3b-4

**ben** 'head (n., m.)'

*ben* Ba 619, J 127

**benaff** 'cut (v.)'

*benaf* CathMS,

*benaf* N 1134,

*benaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, N 870, 1865,

*bener* N 894,

*benet* Jer 43,

*benn* Ba 740

**bedell** 'hub, middle of the wheel (n., m/f.)'  
*bedell* Nom 180a-6

**benden** 'peat, turf (n., f.)'  
*benden* Coll d42

**Benedicte** 'personal name (m.)'  
*benedicte* D 53, N 1258

**benediction** 'benediction, blessing (n., f.)'  
*benedictiō* MCf 74,  
*benediction* Cl 102, Coll 41, 43, g25, N 1118, TPM 72,  
92, 151

**beneficz** 'benefice (n., m.)'  
*beneficc* CathB, CathC, MCf 80,  
*benefiçc* Nom 200a-5,  
*benefice* CathA, CathMS,  
*benefiçou* MCf 59, 61,  
*beneficz* Cl 236,  
*beneficzou* J 128, 236

**beneficzet** 'beneficed, who has the ecclesiastical  
*benefice* (adj.)'  
*beneficet* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*bñficet* CathC

**bener** 'cutter (n., m.)'  
*bener* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**benevolancc** 'benevolence (n., f.)'  
*beniuolancc* CathA, CathB,  
*beniuolance* CathMS

**benhuc** 'tool, instrument (n., m.)'  
*benhuc* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*binhuyou* Ba 67, 73, 244, J 135, 145,  
*bynhuyou* M 817

**benigadenn** 'benediction (n., f.)'  
*benigadenn* N 1139

**benin** 'benign (adj.)'  
*benign* Cl 248,  
*benin* J 54, N 1168,  
*bening* Cl 212

**beninite** 'benignity (n., f.)'  
*benignité* Cl 94,  
*benignitez* Cl 240

**benitier** 'stoup, basin for holy water (n., m.)'  
*benitier* Nom 198a-5

**bennac** 'some ..., a certain ..., a little ... (adj.)'  
*bēnac* MCf 12, 24,  
*benhac* Coll 5, 97, D 9,  
*bennac* Coll 99, 105, 111, 119, 235, 277, d4, g25, D 16,  
24, 57, MCf 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26,

31, 34, 42, 46, 47, 48, 64, 77, 85, 86, 87, 97, 99,  
100, 103, 106, Nom 1a-5, 3a-2, 3a-4, 4b-3, 6b-7,  
7a-2, 12b-2, 35b-3, 52b-7, 55b-2, 60b-3, 60b-5,  
109a-4, 112a-7, 134a-3, 156a-3, 160b-5, 160b-6,  
165b-8, 177b-6, 180b-1, 201a-6, 204b-2, 205b-7,  
206a-3, 207a-2, 208a-4, 214b-2, 225b-3, 240b-7,  
244a-7, 265b-4, 273a-3, 285b-3, 286b-8, 296b-2,  
298a-4, 299b-1, 299b-2, 307a-1, 326b-2, 328a-3

**bennoz** 'benediction (n., m/f.)'  
*bennoez* N 927, 1158, 1265, 1694, 1701, 1877,  
*bennos* J 154,  
*bennoz* G 363, Jer a63,  
*benoez* N 1068

**benny** 'bagpipe (n., m.)'  
*benny* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bēny* CathMS

**bepret** 'always (adv.)'  
*bepre[d]* Coll 33,  
*bepred* N 450,  
*bepret* Ba 12, 162, 442, 587, Ca 21, Cd 1, 18, Coll 13,  
35, 55, 65, 71, 107, 225, 237, 239, 243, 259, d42,  
g25, g27, g29, g31, G 97, 884, 979, Jer 332, MCf 15,  
29, 34, 53, 73, N 18, 155, 230, 233, 262, 557, 593,  
623, 624, 697, 952, 1051, 1385, 1388, 1673, 1701,  
1857, Nl , 14, 20, 21, 27, 48, 56, 60, 63, 66, 82, 92,  
94, 109, Nom 232b-8, 233b-1, 245b-3, 300a-5,  
323b-5, TPM 239, 242, 256, 260

**ber** 'spit (for roasting) (n., m.)'  
*ber* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d5, Nom 163b-  
4, 184a-1, 320b-3,  
*bèr* Nom 163b-3,  
*beric* Nom 163b-4,  
*berr* Nom 180a-8

**beraff** 'flow, run (of liquid) (v.)'  
*beraff* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**berder** 'shortness, brevity (n., m.)'  
*berder* CathC, CathMS, J 191,  
*berrder* CathA, CathB

**berger** 'shepherd (n., m.)'  
*berger* Ba 375, 377, 378, 382, 386, Nom 30b-2, 127a-  
4, 316a-8, 316b-1

**bergerenn** 'shepherdess (n., f.)'  
*bergeren* Coll 137

**bergery** 'sheepfold (n., f.)'  
*bergery* Nom 133a-1

**bergez** 'orchard (n., f.)'  
*bergez* CathMS, M 798, Nom 236a-1, 236a-4,  
*bergezou* M 792,  
*bergiez* CathA, CathB

**Bergues** 'Bergen (place-name)'  
*bergues* Coll 267

**berignaff** 'mound (v.)'  
*berignaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bernygnaff* CathMS

**beril** 'beryl (n., m.)'  
*berill* Nom 254b-2

**Berit** 'personal name?'  
*berit* Ba 28

**bern** 'pile (n., m.)'  
*beorn* [sic] Nom 231a-3,  
*bergnaou* NI 38, 71,  
*bergnou* Nom 232b-2,  
*berñ* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bern* CathC, J 97, NI 19, 25, Nom 84a-8, 84b-5, 99b-7,  
107a-8, 231a-3,  
*bernn* Ba 396, M 1973, 2187, 2336, TPM 158,  
*bernou* G 202, Nom 28b-3, 84b-1, TPM 273

**Bernard** 'personal name (m.)'  
*bernard* H 141, 155, 156, M 223, 407, 1459,  
*bernard* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**berniff** 'pile up (v.)'  
*bergnet* NI 20,  
*bern* NI 107,  
*bernet* M 2141,  
*bernnet* TPM 256

**berr** 'short (adj.)'  
*ber* J 162, MCf 101,  
*berr* Ba 52, 60, 80, 82, 91, 92, 124, 136, 224, 608, 639,  
677, 684, 777, 778, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
Cl 100, 238, 242, Don 16, H 153, J 17, 18, 21, 124,  
125, 144, 164, 192, 194, 232, M 525, 1525, 2402,  
2724, N 647, 760, 895, 1062, 1186, 1949, Nom  
7b-6, 22b-3, 184a-1, 259a-5, 269a-1, 269a-2,  
273b-3, 306a-3, TPM 90, 117, 255,  
*berraff* Nom 223b-4,  
*berrhafu* Cl 230

**berrhat** 'shorten (v.)'  
*berhez* M 957,  
*berrhat* J 78

**berrhoazly** 'short life (n., m.)'  
*berr hoary* Dag 43,  
*berrhoazly* TPM 218

**berry** 'Berry (region) (n., m.)'  
*berri* CathA, CathB,  
*berry* CathMS

**bersaff** 'prohibit (v.)'  
*bers* G 800,  
*bersaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*bersset* Jer a143

**Bertheleme** 'personal name, Bartholomew (m.)'  
*berteleme* CathA, CathMS, TPM 52,  
*bertheleme* CathB, CathC, H 131,  
*berthelemee* Coll 179

**bertuz** 'lid of a vat? (n., f.)'  
*bertuz* Nom 161a-6

**beru** 'boiled meat (n., m.)'  
*berò* Nom 60a-9,  
*beru* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**berus** 'fluid (adj.)'  
*berus* Nom 258a-3, 269b-3

**berz** 'prohibited (adj.); prohibition (n., f.)'  
*bers* MCf 20, 105,  
*berz* Coll d19, J 87, Jer 255

**bes** 'finger (n., m.)'  
*bes* CathA, CathC, CathMS, M 558,  
*bez* CathB,  
*bis* Nom 23b-3, 24a-4, 24a-5, 24a-6, 24a-7, 24b-4,  
71a-3, 146b-9, 211a-3, 211a-4, 211a-6, 274a-2,  
*bisic* Nom 24a-5,  
*bisiet* Nom 24b-1,  
*bisyat* TPM 125

**besancc** 'existence (n., f.)'  
*besancc* Nom 75b-2,  
*besancc* Nom 76a-4

**besc** 'tail-less (adj.)'  
*besq* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bescol** 'paronychia (inflammation of the skin around  
the nail) (n., f.)'  
*bescol* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bescoul* CathMS,  
*bescout* [sic] Nom 49b-1,  
*bescul* CathMS,  
*biskoul* Nom 49b-1

**bescont** 'viscount (n., m.)'  
*bescont* CathMS,  
*bescõt* CathA, CathB, CathC

**bescotelez** 'viscounty (n., f.)'  
*bescotelez* CathB, CathMS,  
*bescôtelez* CathA, CathC

**bescontes** 'viscountess (n., f.)'  
*bescontes* CathB, CathMS,  
*bescôtes* CathA, CathC

**besou** 'ring (n., m.)'  
*besou* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 558,

*bisou* Nom 24a-6, 171b-4, 171b-8, 307b-3

**besouier** 'jeweler (n., m.)'

*besouyer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**besquenn** 'thimble (n., f.)'

*besquēn* CathA, CathB,

*besquenn* CathMS, Nom 170b-4

**besteod** 'stutterer (n., m.)'

*besteaut* Nom 270b-2

**bestialet** 'livestock (n., m.)'

*bestialet* N 1169

**bet** 'world (n., m.)'

*bed* H 150, NI 10,

*bedaou* M 224,

*bedou* Ba 315, G 524, M 670, 771, 774, 1015, 1095,  
1224, 1371, 1990, 2222, 2225,

*bet* Ba 1, 12, 22, 29, 34, 37, 51, 53, 55, 64, 77, 84, 91,  
94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110,  
116, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 133,  
142, 146, 149, 153, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184,  
185, 187, 189, 190, 211, 213, 216, 219, 222, 227,  
232, 233, 234, 243, 256, 258, 259, 262, 275, 278,  
279, 280, 286, 288, 289, 296, 312, 320, 327, 333,  
339, 340, 345, 348, 349, 353, 355, 357, 379, 386,  
393, 395, 408, 411, 414, 417, 418, 421, 426, 427,  
435, 442, 445, 467, 469, 490, 501, 502, 505, 509,  
517, 518, 522, 523, 525, 537, 539, 542, 545, 558,  
564, 578, 582, 584, 586, 587, 591, 592, 597, 601,  
606, 609, 612, 613, 614, 618, 619, 629, 630, 636,  
638, 639, 651, 662, 663, 671, 674, 675, 678, 680,  
681, 692, 694, 702, 711, 715, 719, 723, 724, 726,  
749, 750, 775, 784, 792, 797, 802, 807, 810, Ca 17,  
27, CathMS, Cl 112, 114, 123, 124, 224, 240, Coll  
63, 131, 139, 193, 209, 233, 241, 243, g5, d27,  
g23, D 6, 10, 30, s13, s20, Dag 21, 42, 128, Don 8,  
G 10, 12, 27, 173, 201, 209, 217, 225, 235, 241,  
292, 363, 367, 372, 402, 410, 427, 430, 449, 484,  
506, 515, 518, 520, 522, 529, 616, 626, 647, 723,  
847, 867, 872, 883, 903, 908, 941, 951, 959, 976,  
985, 1019, 1029, 1047, 1076, 1103, 1107, 1116,  
1268, H 129, 130, 132, 135, 136, 144, 148, 152, J  
9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29, 34, 35, 37, 38,  
39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 53, 55, 56, 58, 64, 65, 67, 68,  
69, 70, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92,  
93, 95, 98, 113, 114, 119, 121, 125, 126, 128, 130,  
135, 138, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 150, 156, 159,  
162, 174, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 187,  
188, 189, 190, 192, 196, 200, 205, 212, 221, 223,  
225, 232, 236, 237, Jer 131, 134, 141, 339, 391,  
a31, a116, a156, M 18, 33, 34, 50, 56, 94, 108, 114,  
132, 238, 242, 264, 267, 270, 288, 292, 317, 325,  
328, 341, 359, 364, 366, 371, 397, 399, 405, 408,  
416, 421, 430, 439, 468, 479, 506, 515, 526, 530,  
546, 577, 581, 610, 629, 631, 664, 709, 722, 734,  
737, 753, 759, 760, 773, 803, 832, 844, 852, 866,

885, 887, 899, 917, 959, 981, 988, 992, 995, 1022,  
1025, 1054, 1055, 1057, 1065, 1071, 1078, 1100,  
1105, 1114, 1123, 1130, 1146, 1185, 1202, 1206,  
1237, 1243, 1254, 1268, 1295, 1301, 1316, 1319,  
1325, 1359, 1366, 1381, 1410, 1412, 1419, 1429,  
1432, 1449, 1457, 1466, 1482, 1483, 1508, 1535,  
1557, 1564, 1589, 1627, 1652, 1671, 1677, 1680,  
1684, 1775, 1781, 1803, 1813, 1826, 1843, 1861,  
1873, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1914, 1939, 1958, 1991,  
1997, 1999, 2003, 2011, 2021, 2024, 2037, 2040,  
2103, 2126, 2172, 2199, 2204, 2241, 2247, 2280,  
2284, 2319, 2335, 2340, 2341, 2345, 2347, 2421,  
2452, 2473, 2497, 2515, 2517, 2520, 2522, 2532,  
2533, 2534, 2537, 2548, 2552, 2568, 2575, 2583,  
2601, 2634, 2640, 2647, 2654, 2655, 2664, 2675,  
2684, 2707, 2712, 2740, 2768, 2784, 2840, 2860,  
2877, 2907, 2947, 2961, 2964, 2965, 2968, 2973,  
2997, 3010, 3014, 3090, 3126, 3138, 3147, 3150,  
3205, 3248, 3286, 3291, 3297, 3306, 3313, 3318,  
3360, 3388, 3400, 3402, 3412, 3417, 3451, 3456,  
3474, 3478, 3501, 3512, 3526, 3545, 3547, 3548,  
3555, 3560, 3573, 3587, 3596, 3599, 3600, MCF9,  
31, 32, 38, 81, 83, 91, 107, 114, N 1, 23, 52, 54, 92,  
106, 114, 146, 148, 173, 217, 222, 243, 244, 311,  
347, 381, 383, 422, 447, 548, 549, 586, 598, 600,  
619, 629, 630, 654, 724, 736, 744, 791, 812, 885,  
897, 910, 992, 1004, 1156, 1164, 1205, 1218,  
1224, 1238, 1273, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1284, 1308,  
1324, 1327, 1329, 1348, 1578, 1766, 1789, 1791,  
1809, 1813, 1815, 1835, 1847, 1867, 1871, 1888,  
1892, 1894, 1910, s5, NI 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17,  
18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39,  
40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54,  
55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 74, 75,  
76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 90, 92, 96, 97,  
98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 108, Nom 191a-7,  
236a-3, 251a-7, 265a-7, 298a-5, 332b-2, TPM 6,  
8, 10, 13, 28, 33, 80, 87, 90, 94, 118, 126, 164, 182,  
186, 200, 229, 235, 236, 237, 248, 253, 254, 256,  
257, 262, 268, 269, 275, 281, 285,

*betaou* M 272,

*beth* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 27, 79, Dag 2, 8, 27, 33,  
38, 44, 63, 78, 134, J 27, 37, Nom 227a-8, 323b-3,

*betholl* Ca 9,

*betman* Cl 82, 84, 90, 94, 96, 222, H 135, 137, 148, J  
125, M 355,

*betoll* Nom 227a-8,

*vet* Ba 504

**Betany** 'Bethania'

*betany* J 17, 162,

*bethany* J 162, 185

**betec** 'till, until (prep.)'

*be[t]e* NI 40,

*bed* N 48, 517, 696, 1140, 1391, 1719, 1720, 1824,  
1842, 1876, 1915,

*bed?* G 204,

*bed'* M 54,

*bed'en* NI 68, 88, 93,  
*bede* Ba 97, 139, 417, 489, 543, 578, 647, Ca 2, 4, 5,  
 16, 20, 26, 31, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 84,  
 D 43, G 1, 110, 122, 156, 157, 256, 520, 799, 813,  
 1004, 1058, H 137, 142, 143, 154, 155, 158, J 12,  
 32, 97, 105, 137, 188, 207, 222, 231, Jer 24, 63,  
 131, 158, 175, 487, 490, a110, M 3110, 3211, MCF  
 81, 110, N 2, 130, 798, 1290, 1373, 1487, 1858,  
 1933, s16, NI 57, 96, TPM 7, 63, 85, 116, 125, 210,  
 267,  
*bedé* Cl 72, 76, 110, 112,  
*bede-n* Ba 503, 787, N 159, 209, 693, 961, 975, 1187,  
 1239, 1370, 1674,  
*bede'n* M 256, 344, 597, 719, 1218, 2404,  
*bedec* N 1736,  
*beden* Don 24, J 59, 99, 122, 231, M 704, 3392,  
*bet* Ba 50, 52, 82, 83, 136, 141, 164, 173, 207, 295,  
 456, 464, G 21, 150, 483, 754, 888, 1128, 1253, H  
 148, J 33, 47, 55, 113, 115, 116, 124, 195, 227, Jer  
 38, 97, 101, 108, 144, 178, 220, 256, 257, a247, M  
 326, 354, 467, 1150, 1270, 1610, 1700, 2227,  
 2272, 2328, 2381, 2417, 2489, 2657, 2666, 2702,  
 2929, 2980, 3073, 3086, 3104, 3506, MCF 6, 7, 48,  
 N 202, 214, 259, 1658, NI 24, 27, 29, 88,  
*bet'en* NI 24, 32, 34, 63, 80,  
*betde* Jer 124,  
*bete* M 2755, NI 7, 10, 13, 39, 40, 45, 57, 66, 67, 68,  
 74,  
*betennhy* G 1053,  
*betenny* G 1051,  
*bette* Coll 265, g25,  
*bettè* Nom 113b-4, 116b-2, 207b-7, 238b-2, 238b-3,  
*bette'n* Coll 271,  
*bet-hont* Ba 556

**bethaman** 'till here (adv.)'

*betama* CathMS,  
*betaman* CathA, CathB,  
*bethaman* CathC

**Bethleem** 'Bethlehem'

*bethleem* J 121, NI 80

**betoena** 'betony (n., f.)'

*betanic* [sic] Nom 81b-4,  
*betoena* Nom 81b-4

**beure** 'morning (n., m.)'

*beure* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Dag 187, J 214,  
 231, M 283, 473, 562, 1769, 2579, TPM 235

**beus** 'boxwood (n., coll.)'

*beus* CathA, CathB, CathMS, Nom 104b-8, 123b-6,  
*beux* CathC

**beuziff** 'drown (v.)'

*beuzif* TPM 113,  
*beuziff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d26, g57,  
 g64,

*beuzo* G 489, 545, M 1512,

*beuzsent* Jer a267

**bev** 'alive (adj./adv.)'

*beo* J 188, N 7, 476, 904, 905, 963, 1729, s19, NI 98,  
*beou* G 75, 1065, 1084, 1133,  
*beu* Ba 61, 115, 133, 159, 226, 343, 353, 354, 430,  
 447, 448, 468, 470, 478, 543, 551, 557, 594, 645,  
 669, 670, 693, 750, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
 Cl 82, 216, 220, 222, 224, 226, 238, Coll g19, D 13,  
 14, 33, 45, G 873, 1020, 1048, 1087, 1112, H 131,  
 149, J 81, 82, 86, 90, 103, 148, 159, 177, 195, 203,  
 204, 221, 223, Jer 130, 230, 231, M 64, 316, 965,  
 1402, 1409, 1470, 1778, 2030, 2033, 2472, 3537,  
 NI 91, Nom 251b-4, TPM 167, 286,  
*veuff* Cd 17

**bevancc** 'sustenance (n., m.)'

*beuançc* Nom 51a-9, 51b-2, 51b-6, 51b-7, 52a-6,  
 248a-3, 289b-1,  
*beuançcou* Nom 51b-5,  
*bevance* G 401

**bevenn** 'edge (n., f.)'

*beuën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*beueñ* CathMS

**bevez** 'guilty (adj.)'

*beuez* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**beviff** 'live (v.)'

*befaff* M 1260,  
*befuaff* H 159,  
*beu* Cl 98, 104, 114, 118, H 139, M 401, 954, 3053,  
 Nom 25b-8, 26a-1,  
*beua* TPM 252,  
*beuaf* N 248, 390,  
*beuaff* Ba 157, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d43,  
 M 425, 459, 491, 578, 1307, 1416, 2173, 3387,  
 3391, 3479, Nom 313a-2,  
*beuafu* Cl 84, 90, 102, 124, 262,  
*beue* D 6, M 1303,  
*beuer* Cl 100,  
*beuet* M 1319, 1458,  
*beuhe* Ba 599, M 1898,  
*beuhet* G 336,  
*beuif* N 215,  
*beuiff* Ba 203, 399,  
*beuo* M 1926, 3317,  
*beuy* Ca 23, Cl 250, 252, Coll g21, D 29, TPM 258,  
*beuyff* Ba 56,  
*bev[en]* Jer 217,  
*bevaf* J 38, 62, 150, 189,  
*bevas* J 205,  
*beve* Dag 5,  
*bevet* Dag 46, J 27, 209,  
*bevez* J 100,  
*bevhenn* J 59,  
*bevif* J 149, 182, 235,

*bevifme* J 24,  
*bevo* Dag 45, G 553,  
*bevyf* G 75,  
*bleu* [sic] Nom 300a-1,  
*ueuo* H 144,  
*veffuet* Ba 436,  
*vefu* H 136,  
*veo* N 286,  
*veohimp* N 476,  
*veiuas* N s4,  
*veve* Dag 1

**bevraig** 'beverage, drink (n., m.)'

*beurag* CathMS,  
*beuraig* M 2482, Nom 62a-1, 64b-5, 65b-8,  
*beurag* CathA, CathC,  
*beuraig* CathB,  
*bevraig* J 143,  
*braouuaig* Nom 55b-2,  
*breuuaig* Nom 277b-2

**bevyn** 'beef (n., m.)'

*beuyn* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bez** 'grave (n., m.)'

*bez* Ba 128, 343, 450, 479, 808, 812, CathA, CathB,  
CathC, CathMS, J 65, 154, 156, 160, 161, 166, 167,  
169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 183, 184, 185, 189, 192,  
194, 199, 200, 203, 205, 218, 231, M 375, 1869,  
MCf 113, N 104, 1378, 1515, 1519, 1530, 1533,  
1571, 1580, 1652, Nom 12a-5, 199a-3, 199a-4,  
199a-5, 199a-6, 199a-7, TPM 44, 124, 142, 143,  
145, 157, 159, 235, 243,  
*bezyou* G 422, M 203, 215, 1436, Nom 283a-6,  
*vez* Nom 253b-1

**bezhat** 'bury (v.)'

*bez* Ba 126,  
*bezat* CathMS,  
*bezhaet* J 154, 160, 184, 193,  
*bezhaf* J 154,  
*bezhas* J 163,  
*bezhat* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 153, 156, 230, Jer 217,  
TPM 105,  
*bezhis* J 164

**bezin** 'algae (n., coll.)'

*bezin* Nom 88a-4

**Bezleem** 'Bethleem'

*betzleem* NI 92,  
*bezleë* CathB,  
*bezleem* CathA, CathC, CathMS, NI 16, 23, 28, 52, 54,  
57, 85, TPM 210,  
*bezlem* Jer 5, 18, 101, 137, 139, 277, 465, a105, NI 71

**bezred** 'cemetary (n., f.)'

*bezredou* TPM 275,

*bezret* H 140, 144, 155, J 97, M 159, Nom 197a-5, TPM  
234

**bezvenn** 'birch (n., f.)'

*bezeueñ* CathMS,  
*bezuën* CathA, CathB, CathC

**bezvoud** 'bindweed (n., m.)'

*bezuout* Nom 93a-1

**bibl** 'Bible (n., m.)'

*bibl* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bibl* Nom 198b-2

**biblian** 'librarian (n., m.)'

*bibliã* CathB,  
*biblian* CathA, CathC, CathMS

**bicl** 'cross-eyed (adj.)'

*bicl* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bigl* Nom 2693

**bideau** 'blunder, goof (n., m.)'

*bideau* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 152b-8

**bier** 'beer (n., m.)'

*bër* Nom 314b-6,  
*byer* Coll 47, 57, Nom 134a-6, 314b-6

**bievr** 'beaver (n., m.)'

*bieuzr* Nom 45a-8

**bigam** 'bigamist (n., m.)'

*bigam* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bigarret** 'variegated (adj.)'

*bigarret* Nom 109b-1

**bignez** 'fritters, donuts (n., coll.)'

*bingnesen* Nom 58b-3

**bignornen** 'periwinkle (n., f.)'

*bigornen* Nom 44b-2, 44a-10,  
*bigornet* Nom 44b-1

**bigofec** 'big-bellied (adj.)'

*bigoffecq* Nom 272a-3

**bigouron** 'black periwinkle (n., m.)'

*bigourounet* Nom 46a-1

**bihan** 'small (adj.)'

*bian* Ba 580, N s10, Nom 34a-6, 41a-6, 59b-4, 72a-5,  
96a-2, 102a-3, 150a-4, 153a-7, 160a-2, 164a-4,  
168b-4, 23a-10, 236b-3, 242b-1, 278b-2, 41b-10,  
74a-10,  
*bianaff* J 46,  
*bianhaf* J 67, 68, 129, 192, 193,  
*bianoch* Coll 105, 109, 113, 193, 205, 209,  
*bienaff* [sic] Nom 150a-8,



*bihā* Nom 166b-6,  
*bihan* Ba 13, 28, 117, 119, 356, 438, 473, 484, 509,  
 522, 638, 695, 801, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
 Cl 210, 212, 236, Coll d16, d19, g67, g68, D 60, G  
 318, H 131, 134, 153, J 5, 10, 52, 64, 95, 127, 165,  
 174, 179, 204, 212, M 356, 372, 374, 1052, 1342,  
 1982, 2250, 2451, 2486, 2981, 3122, 3205, MCF  
 87, N 289, 409, 421, 424, 708, 742, 782, 892, 893,  
 913, 916, 1498, 1908, Nl 6, 11, 17, 27, 28, 42, 46,  
 47, 57, 63, Nom 1a-2, 3a-1, 8a-2, 10a-2, 10b-3,  
 10b-4, 11b-5, 14b-5, 14b-6, 16a-8, 30b-7, 31a-3,  
 31a-7, 32a-8, 32b-3, 36a-3, 62b-1, 66a-6, 85a-4,  
 119a-6, 148b-6, 158b-4, 158b-6, 160b-7, 163b-4,  
 166b-6, 211b-8, 221b-2, 231a-1, 251a-2, 251b-6,  
 278a-2, 37b-11, 237b-10, TPM 80,  
*bihanaf* J 26, 34, 42, 109,  
*bihanaff* Ba 171, 579, Dag 185, M 1109, 2042, 2593,  
 2762, 2765, 3427, MCF 75, 77,  
*bihanafu* Cl 96, 102, 266, H 139,  
*bihanhaf* J 27, 41, 138,  
*bihanic* Coll 215, M 2094,  
*bihannaf* J 94,  
*bihanoc* Don 19,  
*bihanoch* M 1169,  
*bihary* [sic] Nom 32a-8,  
*byanaf* J 8,  
*byhan* G 51, 256, 469, 595, 806, 810, 814, 1057, Jer  
 89, a20, a70, a165, a267, M 261, 1188, 1420, Nl 3,  
 28, 29, 33, 41, 46, 54, TPM 247, 262, 278,  
*vianhaf* Ba 813,  
*vihanaff* Ba 663, 703

**bihanat** 'smallen (v.)'  
*bihanhat* M 1445

**bihandet** 'smallness (n., f.)'  
*byhandet* G 63, 104, 259, 295

**bihanez** 'smallness (n., f.)'  
*bihanes* Nl 12,  
*bihanez* Ba 249, J 141, M 709, 956, 1608, 2037, 2068,  
 3314, N 654, 1708, Nl 15, 31, 62,  
*bihannez* Ba 366,  
*byhanez* Nl 34, 64, 83

**bihanos** 'small...? (v.?)'  
*bihanos* Ca 34

**bilen** 'villain (n., m.)'  
*bilen* Ba 11, 140, 269, 274, 290, 377, 491, 642, 761,  
 798, Ca 23, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 74, 131,  
 M 3422,  
*bilenet* Ba 479, J 73,  
*bylen* J 132, 133, TPM 232,  
*vilen* Ba 446, Nl 15,  
*vileniet* J 79,  
*vilyou* MCF 20,  
*villain* Ba 325

**bilien** 'pebble (n., f.)'  
*biliēn* CathA,  
*bilien* CathB,  
*bilieñ* CathMS

**bindedou** 'trebuchet (n., pl.)'  
*bindedou* Nom 209a-6

**binizien** 'bless (v.)'  
*ben-niguet* Cl 244,  
*benig* N 236, 1852,  
*benigaf* N 949,  
*benigo* N 937, 1131, 1814,  
*beniguet* Ca 25, CathMS, Coll g19, D 9, 13, 22, 51, H  
 144, 145, 146, MCF 51, 62, 63, 83, 91, N 891, 1011,  
 1218, 1340, 1713, 1777, 1818, 1835, 1903, s18,  
 Nl 3, 4, 7, 9, 15, 39, 61, 75, 80, 88, 92,  
*beniguo* Coll 81,  
*benizien* N 1132,  
*bennig* N 1155,  
*bennigaf* N 1770,  
*bennige* N 1764,  
*benniget* J 127,  
*benniguet* Ba 178, Cl 118, 242, 244, H 130, 136, 155,  
 156, J 93, 98, 140, 142, 159, 162, 195, 236, M  
 1394, 3103, N 1025, Nl 6, 8, 9, 10, 26, 27, 66, TPM  
 6, 10, 12, 16, 22, 36, 110, 116, 126, 127, 129, 135,  
 140, 147, 202,  
*benniguo* Coll 43,  
*bennyguet* G 45, 867, 905, 933, 1052, 1091, 1127, Jer  
 79,  
*benuyo* Ba 369,  
*beñyguet* G 1071,  
*benyguet* G 819, Jer 33,  
*binic* MCF 75,  
*binicc* MCF 76,  
*binignut* M 2495,  
*binigo* MCF 74,  
*biniguet* Ba 265, CathC, D 7, 8, 22, 44, 45, 49, 58, H  
 159, J 56, 57, M 1368, MCF 77, 83, 98, 107, 110,  
 111, 112, 113, 114,  
*binizien* CathMS, Coll d5, MCF 80,  
*binizyen* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*binniguet* CathA, CathB, M 2991, Nom 198a-5, 198a-  
 6, 198a-7, 198a-8,  
*byniguet* H 145

**binvidic** 'rich (adj.)'  
*birvidic* J 209

**birviff** 'boil (v.)'  
*beiuet* Nom 277b-3,  
*bervet* J 12,  
*biruiff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 211a-5,  
*birvif* J 12,  
*viruiff* Coll d5

**bis** 'north-east (n., m/f.)'  
*bis* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bisaig** 'face (n., m/f)'

*bisag* CathA,  
*bisaich* Ca 34,  
*bisaig* Ba 595, 650, CathMS, Coll 135, J 33, MCF 65,  
 107, N 1022, 1124, 1129, NI 11, 101,  
*bysaig* Jer 101,  
*uisag* CathA, CathB,  
*uisaig* CathC,  
*visag* CathB,  
*visaiche* Ca 34,  
*visaig* Ba 272, J 96, 160, M 2201, 2883, N 1143

**biscoaz** 'ever, never (adv.)'

*bescoaz* M 2418, 2673, 3420,  
*bez coaz* MCF 91,  
*bezcoaz* G 214,  
*bezcoat* N 1534,  
*bezcoaz* Ba 98, 259, 269, 386, 488, 500, 546, 574,  
 582, 583, Ca 13, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Jer  
 163, 206, a8, M 122, 699, 1316, 1411, 1779, 2103,  
 2199, 2215, 2247, 2331, 3147, N 886,  
*bezgoaz* H 130, N 447,  
*biscoaz* TPM 108,  
*biscoaz* Coll 9, J 14, 142, 191, 231, NI 65, 73, 92,  
*bizcoaz* Ba 650, Coll 199, J 39, NI 60, 88,  
*bizgoaz* Ca 16,  
*byscoaz* J 58, 82, 86, 93, 103, 105, 108, 119, 141, 197,  
*byz coaz* G 728

**biscuidenn** 'biscuit (n., f.)'

*biscuiden* Nom 57b-1,  
*bispit* Nom 57b-1

**bisest** 'bissextille (n., '

*biseaust* Nom 225a-1,  
*bisest* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bissest* CathMS

**bissach** 'two-sided sack (n., m.)'

*bissach* Nom 119a-3, 119a-4, 119a-7

**bistard** 'bustard (bird) (n., m.)'

*bistard* Nom 41b-4

**bitaill** 'sustenance (n., m.)'

*bitail* CathMS,  
*bitaill* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bittail* Nom 51b-2, 289b-1,  
*bytayll* Jer 309,  
*bytayllet* Jer 168,  
*uitaill* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vitayll* Jer 157,  
*vytayll* Jer 169

**bitrac** 'bauble, trinket (n., m.)'

*bitracq* Nom 152a-3

**bizhuiquen** 'ever, never (adv.)'

*bezhuiquen* Ba 355,

*bishuiquen* Ba 796,

*bishuyquen* J 100,

*bisuiquen* N s6,

*bisuisquen* N s9, s13,

*bisvyquen* J 122,

*bizhuic-quen* Cl 86,

*bizhuicquen* Cl 92, 98, 108, 118, 226, 238, H 136, M  
 1546, 1598, 1642, 1938, 1978, 2064, 2261, 2293,  
 2383, 2698, 2756, 2909, 3048, 3274, 3337, 3367,  
 3397, 3584,

*bizhuiquen* Ba 128, 200, 250, 263, 325, 385, 388, 521,  
 568, 586, 594, 604, 617, 630, 651, 689, 699, 723,  
 734, 763, 789, 797, 798, 807, 810, Coll g29, H 129,  
 J 203, TPM 16, 31,

*bizhuy quen* Ba 34,

*bizhuycquen* M 2137,

*bizhuyquen* Ba 240, 429, 620, 777, CathA, CathB,  
 CathC, CathMS, J 6, 8, 11, 25, 36, 51, 52, 56, 61, 63,  
 66, 83, 99, 116, 178, 187, 193, 198, 199, 213, 226,  
 232, 233, 235, 236, TPM 227, 273, 283, 286,

*bizhyquen* J 183,

*bizuicquen* M 2287,

*bizuicquen* M 181, 528, 533, 908, 1178, 1388, 1474,  
 1607, 1620, 2030, 2035, 2038, 2135, 2437, 2453,  
 2478, 2514, 2554, 2566, 2600, 2607, 2617, 3510,  
 Nom 222b-6,

*bizuiquē* MCF 50,

*bizuiquen* Ba 45, 289, 292, 447, 508, Ca 18, Coll g21,  
 g31, D 10, 26, 29, 31, MCF 15, 49, 70, 82, N 39, 215,  
 390, 438, 448, 611, 685, 979, 1345, 1584, 1595,  
 NI 4, 65, 84, 87, 101, 103, 109, TPM 7, 29,

*bizuyquen* J 13, NI 15,

*bizvyquen* J 120,

*byshuiquen* J 89,

*byshuyquen* J 85, 95,

*byzhuicquen* M 478, 2317,

*byzhuyquen* G 703, TPM 254,

*byzuicquen* M 194, 442,

*byzuyquen* G 706,

*byzvyquen* G 858,

*byzvyquen* G 770, 902, Jer 14, 54, 62, 84, 108, 149,  
 170, 181, 297, a16, a105, a258,

*byzvyquent* Jer a74

**bizyan** 'personal name'

*bizian* CathMS,

*bizyan* CathA, CathB, CathC

**blaes** 'personal name, Blaise (m.)'

*blaes* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**blaffart** 'pale (adj.)'

*blaffart* Nom 122a-2

**blam** 'blame (n., f.)'

*blā* NI 3, 55, 94,

*blam* Ba 40, 70, 208, 251, 254, 287, 336, 484, 497,  
 582, 624, 647, 711, 721, 774, Ca 26, CathA, CathB,  
 CathC, CathMS, Dag 79, G 453, 516, 622, 701, J 65,

86, 140, 149, 169, 189, 233, Jer 87, a104, M 718, 1039, 1112, 1113, 1158, 1369, 1405, 1676, 1898, 2132, 2516, N 647, 912, 976, 1662, 1665, 1874, NI 31, 34, 39, 50, 53, 63, 64, 65, 74, 85, 88, TPM 256, 274,

*blamou* G 944, 1147

**blamaff** 'blame (v.)'

*blamaff* CathC,

*blamat* G 512,

*blamet* Ba 154, 219, 363, 446, 719, 795, CathA, CathB, CathMS, J 35, 66, 149, M 813, NI 61, 71, 93, TPM 181,

*blamhe* Ba 775,

*blamher* Ba 476,

*blammet* NI 30, 38, 44,

*blammo* Ba 538,

*blamse* Jer 258

**Blancart** 'personal name'

*blancart* Coll 269

**blas** 'taste (n., m/f.)'

*blas* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, G 623, H 153, J 231, M 1701, 2625, TPM 47

**blashat** 'taste (v.)'

*blaset* Coll 159,

*blashat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**blason** 'coat-of-arms (n., m.)'

*blason* N 838,

*blasoun* Nom 171a-9

**blasphem** 'blasphemy (n., m.)'

*blasfem* J 81,

*blasphem* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 90, H 152

**blasphemaff** 'curse, swear (v.)'

*blaffemas* Ba 514,

*blaffemet* Ba 750,

*blasfem* J 141,

*blasfemaff* Ba 317, 357, J 75,

*blasfemet* MCF 18, 104,

*blasphem* N 627,

*blasphemaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*blasphemont* M 2330

**blasphemer** 'blasphemer (n., m.)'

*blasphemeryen* Cl 256

**blasphemy** 'blasphemy (n., f.)'

*blasfemy* MCF 19

**blaveola** 'cornflower (n., f.)'

*blaveola* Nom 82b-7

**blecadur** 'injury, wound (n., m.)'

*blecadur* Cl 90, MCF 98,

*bleczadur* H 152

**blecaff** 'injure, wound (v.)'

*blæsset* Coll 145,

*blecet* J 108, 111,

*bleczet* Cl 260, H 148,

*blessaff* Coll d5,

*blesset* Nom 177a-6, 258a-2, 272a-1

**blecc** 'injury, wound (n., m.)'

*blecc* Ba 189

**blein** 'top (n., m.)'

*blein* J 105, 190,

*bleyn* Jer a10

**bleinaff** 'guide (v.)'

*bleyna* Jer 283

**bleinenn** 'summit (n., f.)'

*bleynēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*bleynen* CathMS

**bleiz** 'wolf (n., m.)'

*bleiz* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d22, M 1049, N 277, Nom 33b-3, 33b-4, 46b-6,

*bleizy* Nom 280b-3

**bleizes** 'female wolf (n., f.)'

*bleizes* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**blem** 'pale (adj.)'

*blem* Nom 123b-4

**bleu** 'blue (adj.)'

*bleu* Nom 125a-6, 125b-1,

*bleuz* Nom 258a-2

**bleugal** 'bellow (v.)'

*bleugal* Nom 215b-6, 215b-8,

*bleugat* Nom 215b-7

**bleuin** 'light (not heavy) (adj.)'

*bleuin* Ba 40

**bleut** 'flour (n., m.)'

*[b]leut* CathC,

*bleut* CathA, CathB, CathMS, J 201, Nom 56b-7, 58b-8, 74b-6, 74b-7, 74b-9, 75a-1, 75a-2, 76a-2, 100a-2, 173b-2, 74b-10

**bleuzff** 'flowers (n., coll.)'

*bleunuen* Nom 68a-1,

*bleuzff* CathMS,

*bleuziou* H 141, MCF 107,

*bleuzu* Nom 77a-4, 79a-6, 98b-5, 103a-8, 109a-6, 125a-2, 262b-2,

*bleuzuēn* CathA, CathB,

*bleuzuen* CathMS, H 150, M 175, Nom 77a-2, 77a-3, 77a-4,  
*bleuzuenn* TPM 2,  
*bleuzvën* CathC,  
*bleuzyou* Nom 226a-5,  
*blevziou* MCf 107

**blev** 'hair (n., m.)'

*bleau* Coll d7, Dag 42, J 4, M 789, 790, 794, 2264, Nom 102a-4,  
*bleauenn* Ba 802,  
*bleo* Nom 17a-1, 17a-2, 17a-3, 17a-4, 17a-5, 17b-2, 170a-1,  
*bleò* Nom 276b-5,  
*bleoïgou* Nom 17b-2,  
*bles* [sic] Nom 16b-6, 268a-4,  
*bleu* Ba 394, 697, Nom 15b-8, 16b-2, 16b-3, 19a-4, 23a-6, 36b-3, 120a-2, 169b-8, 268a-4, 319a-1, 319a-2,  
*bleuen* Ca 17, CathMS, Nom 16b-2, 16b-3,  
*bleuën* CathA, CathB, CathC

**blevec** 'hairy (adj.)'

*bleuec* Nom 112b-2, 168b-2,  
*blèuèc* Nom 112b-3,  
*bleuecq* Nom 77a-6, 111b-6, 119b-6

**blisic** 'gourmet, gastronomer (n., m.)'

*blisic* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*blysync* G 6

**bloaz** 'year (n., m.)'

*blizen* J 117, Nl 18,  
*blizië* Nl 62,  
*blizien* N 10, Nl 44, 46,  
*bloas* Nl 12,  
*bloaz* Ba 0, 341, Ca 3, 32, 33, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 266, 268, Coll 35, 239, 261, 263, 265, 271, d2, g23, D 2, 31, Dag 68, 72, 75, 77, 90, 92, 160, 165, 183, H 128, 139, 143, 144, 145, 146, 154, Jer a256, M 273, 456, 1234, 2556, MCf 26, 38, 107, N 7, 28, 44, 103, 116, 251, 1111, 1142, Nl 16, 20, 53, 58, 74, 81, 90, 94, 96, Nom 11a-3, 11b-7, 52a-5, 63a-1, 95b-3, 222b-7, 223a-1, 223a-2, 223a-3, 223a-4, 223a-5, 223b-4, 223b-5, 234a-3, 300a-1, 222a-10,  
*bloazyou* TPM 251,  
*bloez* CathMS, G 198,  
*blyzen* Jer 158, 159, 160,  
*blyzyen* Nl 38

**bloazvez** 'year (n., m.)'

*bloauez* Nom 51b-6, 52a-1, 63a-1,  
*bloazuez* N 1909

**bloc** 'footstool (n., m.)'

*bloc* CathB, CathC,  
*blot* CathA, CathMS

**blonec** '(pork) fat (n., m.)'

*bloanec* [sic] Nom 29a-1,  
*bloanec* Nom 55a-4, 180b-2,  
*blonec* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*blonnhec* CathMS

**blont** 'blonde (adj.)'

*blont* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*blound* Nom 124b-5

**blouch** 'soft to the touch; swollen (adj.)'

*blouch* Ba 596, 597, G 388, 601, J 75,  
*blouhet* CathMS

**bluit** 'chard? (n., m.)'

*bluit* Nom 80b-1

**bo** 'bah! (interjection)'

*bo* Ba 28

**boas** 'habit, custom (n., f.)'

*boas* N 1123, 1151, 1335

**boazaff** 'be wont to, be accustomed to (v.)'

*boaset* Ba 185

**boazliff** '?' (v.)'

*boazliff* CathB

**bocc** 'bump, hump, lump (n., m.)'

*bocc* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*boçc* Nom 5a-6, 256a-1, 263b-4, 263b-6,  
*boçcen* Nom 256a-1, 264a-1,  
*boce* CathMS,  
*bocën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*boceñ* CathMS,  
*boçen* Nom 263b-6,  
*bossic* Nom 183b-2,  
*bouçc* Nom 153a-5

**bocer** 'butcher (n., m.)'

*bocer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**boch** 'cheek (n., f.)'

*boch* CathA, CathB, CathMS, Nom 19a-7, 41a-9, 216b-2

**bochad** 'bellows (n., m.)'

*bochat* Nom 24a-2

**bocz** 'hunchback (adj.)'

*bocz* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bossu* CathMS

**bodenn** 'bush (n., f.)'

*bogen* Nom 237a-3

**bodreer** 'runner (n., m.)'

*bodreer* Nom 312a-4

**boecc** 'personal name, Boèce'

*boecc* CathA, CathB,  
*boece* CathMS

**boedenn** 'marrow (n., f.)'

*boedē* CathB,  
*boedēn* CathA, CathC,  
*boeden* CathMS

**boest** 'box (n., f.)'

*boest* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bouelstr* [sic] Nom 185b-7,  
*bouestl* Nom 175b-4, 175b-5, 176a-1, 185b-6,  
*boüestl* Nom 9b-5,  
*bouestul* [sic] Nom 168b-5

**boled** 'ball (n., f/m.)'

*boule digou* Nom 118b-3

**bolod** 'ball (n., m/f.)'

*bolodou* Nom 195a-2,  
*bolot* Nom 135b-2, 194b-9, 195a-3, 195a-4

**bols** 'vault (n., f.)'

*bols* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**bom** 'enchantment? (n., f.)'

*boem* CathMS,  
*bom* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bòm* Nom 64a-6

**bombancc** 'pompousness (n., m.)'

*bombanç* M 232, 327, 2279,  
*bombançou* M 1449,  
*bombansczou* G 434,  
*boubācc* CathC,  
*boubancc* CathA, CathB,  
*boubance* CathMS

**bombart** 'bombard (musical instrument) (n., f.)'

*bōbart* CathC,  
*bombart* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*boumbard* Coll 35,  
*boumbart* CathMS

**bon** 'bollard (n., m.)'

*bōn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*boñ* CathMS

**bon!** 'good! (interjection)'

*bon* MCf 76

**bonamant** 'well (adv.)'

*bonamant* Coll 161

**boneder** 'hat-maker (n., m.)'

*boneder* Nom 311b-4

**bonet** 'cap (n., m.)'

*bonet* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 33, 99, Nom 115a-4,  
183a-1, 183a-2, 183a-5,  
*bonnet* CathMS,

**Bonfacc** 'personal name'

*bonffacc* H 145,  
*bonifacc* H 146

**bongorz** 'bittern (bird) (n., m.)'

*boungors* Nom 38a-8

**bonjour** 'hello (interjection)'

*bon iour* N 1289

**bont** 'plug (n., m.)'

*bont* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 161a-5,  
*bount* CathMS, Nom 161a-6

**bontez** 'favor, retribution (n., m./f.)'

*bontez* M 593, 1608, 1920, 3311, N 473, NI 49, 97,  
TPM 188, 224, 268

**borboter** 'talkative person (n., m.)'

*borboter* Nom 329b-3

**bord** 'border (n., m.)'

*bord* Nom 113a-6, 114b-6, 114b-8, 149a-7, 160a-6,  
161b-8, 173a-5, 224a-2, 240a-7, 244a-1, 245a-9,  
245b-4, 37b-11,  
*bordou* Nom 114b-7, 244b-4, 311b-6

**bordel** 'brothel (n., f.)'

*bordel* Nom 129a-1,  
*bordell* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bordeller** 'brothel-goer, someone who frequently visits brothels (n., m.)'

*bordeller* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 326b-5

**bordeson** 'bordering (n., f.)'

*bordesoun* Nom 183b-3

**bordet** 'bordered (adj.)'

*bordet* Nom 113a-6

**bordur** 'border (n., f.)'

*border* Nom 311b-6,  
*bordeur* CathMS,  
*bordeür* Nom 108a-3,  
*bordur* CathA, CathB, CathC

**born** 'one-eyed (adj.); one-eyed person (n., m.)'

*born* CathA, G 934, Nom 268b-6,  
*borñ* CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bornal** 'which serves as a boundary (adj.)'

*bornal* Nom 96a-1

**bornet** 'made to be one-eyed (adj.)'  
*bornet* J 136

**bossec** 'hunchback, with a bump (adj.)'  
*bossecq* Nom 98a-5

**bot** 'refuge (n., f.)'  
*bot* M 382, 2217

**botes** 'boot (n., f.)'  
*botes* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*botou* Jer 333, a81,  
*bottaou* Nom 312a-3,  
*bottes* Nom 43a-7, 44a-7, 117a-2, 117a-8, 117b-3,  
*botteyer* Nom 118a-4,  
*bottou* Nom 117b-5, 117b-7,  
*boutez* Ba 381, 448,  
*boutou* Nom 117a-3, 117a-4, 117b-1, 117b-2, 118a-7,  
*bouttou* Nom 116b-3, 116b-4, 117b-1

**botezennec** 'club-footed (adj.)'  
*bottesennecq* Nom 273b-5

**botines** 'small boot (n., f.)'  
*botines* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*botinesou* Nom 116a-5

**bouch** 'tuft of hair, billy goat (n., m.)'  
*boch* CathMS,  
*bouch* CathA, CathB, CathC, Jer 162, Nom 33a-6,  
160a-4, 269a-5, 271b-7,  
*boug* CathA, CathMS,  
*bougie* CathC,  
*bougyan* CathB,  
*bouig* Nom 17a-7,  
*boüigic* Nom 28b-6

**bouchazl** 'axe (n., f.)'  
*bouchal* Nom 196a-4, 196a-6,  
*bouchazl* CathB, CathC,  
*bouhazl* CathA, CathMS

**boucher** 'butcher (n., m.)'  
*boucher* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**boucherez** 'butcher shop (n., f.)'  
*boucherez* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bouchon** 'lid (n., m.)'  
*bouchoun* Nom 164a-8

**boucl** 'loop, buckle (n., m.)'  
*boucl* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 118a-8,  
171a-8, 177a-3,  
*boucle* Coll d2,  
*bucl* CathC, CathMS

**bouclezr** 'shield (n., m.)'  
*bouclær* Nom 183a-8, 183b-2,  
*bouclezr* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*bouclyer* Nom 183a-8, 183b-5

**boudal** 'buzz (v.)'  
*bōdal* CathA, CathB,  
*boudal* CathC, CathMS, Nom 212a-5

**bouderes** 'bumblebee (n., f.)'  
*bouderes* Nom 48a-9, 48a-10,  
*bouderez* Nom 258b-1

**bouderic** 'hoopoe (bird) (n., m.)'  
*bouderic* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**boued** 'food (n., m.)'  
*boëd* Jer a158,  
*boedou* Cl 266, H 139, J 6, Jer a55,  
*böedou* Jer 284,  
*boet* Ba 232, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Dag 6, G  
1074, 1154, H 139, J 6, 7, 12, 200, 202, 208, Jer 14,  
103, 104, 159, 209, 216, a12, a26, M 235, 464,  
937, 941, 1500, 2218, 2479, 2526, 2988, 3003,  
3009, 3027, 3037, 3039, 3045, 3058, 3063,  
*boët* Jer a77,  
*boüegou* Nom 260a-5,  
*bouegou* Nom 53a-1, 312b-4, 336ab-13/33713,  
346a-9/346b-8/347-8,  
*boueiou* Coll 51,  
*bouet* Ca 21, Cl 238, Coll 73, N s20, s21, Nom 132a-2,  
164b-4, 248a-3, 306b-5, 328a-1,  
*bouèt* Nom 204b-6, 327b-5,  
*boüet* Nom 51b-1, 52a-6, 52b-4, 53a-3, 56a-2, 56a-3,  
161b-3, 162b-1, 314b-1, 51a-10,  
*bouetou* Nom 314a-5

**bouetaff** 'feed (v.)'  
*boeta* CathA, CathMS,  
*boetaff* CathB, CathC,  
*boetesot* M 943,  
*boüetaff* Nom 180b-6

**boufare** 'herdsman (n., m.)'  
*bouffarè* Nom 316b-2

**bouffon** 'jester (n., m.)'  
*bouffon* Nom 329a-4

**bouffonerez** 'buffoonery (n., f.)'  
*bouffonerez* Nom 9b-3

**bougaryn** 'buckram (n., m.)'  
*bougarã* CathB,  
*bougaran* CathA, CathC, CathMS, Coll 197,  
*bougaryn* Jer 241

**bougedenn** 'coin satchel (n., f.)'  
*bougeden* Coll 153, Nom 119a-5

**bouilh** 'penn b. hot water spring (adj.)'

*bouyll* CathMS,  
*boyll* CathA, CathB

**bouilhouer** 'kettle (n., f.)'

*bouillouer* Coll 31

**boul** 'ball, sphere (n., f.)'

*boul* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 2269, 2564,  
*boül* Nom 195a-9,  
*boulou* Nom 135b-2

**boulet** 'round shot (n., m.)'

*boulet* Nom 186b-1

**bouliermi** 'ocre (n., m.)'

*bouliermi* Nom 250b-5

**boulonger** 'baker (n., f.)'

*boulounger* Nom 312b-7,  
*bouloungeryen* Nom 340ab-13/34113

**boulongery** 'bakery (n., f.)'

*bouloungery* Nom 129b-4

**boulouart** 'bastion (n., m.)'

*boulouart* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bount** 'push? (n., m.)'

*bont* M 1552, 1621

**bouquet** 'flower (n., m.)'

*bocquedou* Nom 78a-6, 78a-8, 78a-9, 78b-2,  
*bocquet* Nom 82a-3, 90a-8, 90b-5, 92a-1,  
*boquedou* Nom 75b-6,  
*bouquet* G 680

**bouquin** 'booklet (n., m.)'

*bouquin* Nom 271b-7

**bourbones** 'from Bourbonnais (adj.)'

*bourbones* CathC,  
*bourbonnes* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**bourch** 'town (n., f.)'

*bourch* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, G 613, M 764, N  
1350, NI 73, 90, 99, Nom 241b-4, 242b-4

**bourchys** 'bourgeois (n., m.)'

*borc'hysyon* Jer a147,  
*bourchis* CathA, CathB, M 207, Nom 300b-3, 300b-4,  
*bourchisyen* Nom 187a-2, 241a-5, 346a-5/346b-  
4/347-4,  
*bourchys* CathC, CathMS, G 784,  
*bourchysen* G 735,  
*bourchysyen* G 502, J 81

**bourchyses** 'bourgeoise (n., f.)'

*bourchyses* G 784,

*bourchyseset* G 503

**bourdaff** 'trump (v.)'

*bourt* J 69

**bourdal** 'jest (v.)'

*bourdal* CathA, CathC,  
*bourdall* CathB, CathMS

**bourdeur** 'jester (n., m.)'

*bourder* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*bourdeur* CathC

**bourdon** 'pilgrim's stick (n., m.)'

*bourdon* N 1914,  
*bourdoun* Nom 184b-1

**bourdonerez** 'buzzing (n., f.)'

*bourdounerez* Nom 215a-3

**bourgon** 'bud (n., m.)'

*bourgoun* Nom 50a-6, 98b-3, 102b-1, 102b-2

**bourgoi** 'Burgundy (region)'

*bourgoing* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*bourgouyñ* CathC

**bourguignon** 'man from Burgundy (n., m.)'

*borginnon* M 109,  
*bourgoignō* CathA,  
*bourgoïgnō* CathB,  
*bourgoingnon* CathMS,  
*bourguynon* CathC

**bourguynones** 'woman from Burgundy (n., f.)'

*bourgoignones* CathA,  
*bourgoingnones* CathB,  
*bourgoinōnes* CathMS,  
*bourguynones* CathC

**bourionnaff** 'buzz (v.)'

*bourionaff* CathA,  
*bouriōnaff* CathC,  
*bourionnaff* CathB, CathMS

**bourr** 'lint (n., m.)'

*bourr* Jer 166, Nom 120a-4, 167a-2

**bourraches** 'borage (n., f.)'

*bourraches* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bourrages* Nom 81a-2

**bourreau** 'executioner (n., m.)'

*bourreau* Ba 450, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom  
324b-2,  
*bourreau* Ba 697,  
*bourreuet* M 2297,  
*bourreuyen* Ba 450, 454, 643, M 1604,  
*bourreyen* Ca 27

**bourret** 'padded (adj.)'

*bourret* Ba 0

**bourreury** 'assassination (n., f.)'

*bourreury* Ba 704

**bourreviff** 'assassinate (v.)'

*bourreuet* M 2264

**bout** 'be (v.)', uncategorized. See §3.1.1.

*(ff)* *voe* TPM 205,

*auoe* M 837,

*avoë* J 79,

*be* Ba 45, 58, 70, 111, 140, 159, 160, 282, 302, 375, 455, 483, 548, 752, Coll 97, 109, 195, 257, g5, g7, J 37, 92, Jer a217, M 624, 948, 1101, 1341, 1346, 1853, 3282, 3483, 3495, MCf 17, 47, N 151, 157, 695, 912, 1116, 1456, 1514, 1631, 1632, 1874, TPM 169, 180, 181,

*bé* Cl 96, 262, MCf 40,

*bec* Nom 265a-7,

*bemp* J 117,

*bes* Ba 263, 698,

*besaff* Ba 7,

*bese* MCf 8,

*besout* N s20,

*bet* Ba 452, Coll 55, 91, 135, 251, g3, g5, g9, g15, D 2, 7, 13, 24, 40, 42, J 58, Jer 440, M 932, MCf 9, 10, 11, 18, 26, 29, 30, 35, 43, 47, 48, 70, 81, 102, 105, 106, TPM 145,

*beth* Coll 97,

*beuaff* H 135, M 3125,

*bez* Ba 14, 30, 39, 67, 82, 164, 254, 369, 460, 497, 507, 520, 524, 538, 602, 613, 679, 699, 723, Cl 212, Coll 259, g7, g11, G 104, 469, 707, 713, 859, J 21, 27, 28, 34, 69, 96, 101, 113, 115, 140, 226, Jer 50, M 269, 295, 875, 885, 999, 1040, 2615, 3523, 3586, N 278, 443, 526, 553, 558, 574, 617, 641, 648, 789, 859, 865, 1185, 1204, 1207, 1873, TPM 245, 258, 284,

*beza* Ba 509, Ca 26, Coll 93, 129, 133, 191, 221, 253, 263, 265, 269, 271, 275, J 9, 119, Nl 12,

*bezaf* Ba 81, 146, 218, 448, Cl 123, Coll g15, G 25, 901, J 13, 24, 40, 83, 93, 94, 97, 107, 116, 141, 143, 149, 150, 168, 174, 191, 193, 197, 216, 235, N 515, 559, 568, 604, 646, 796, 908, 1311, 1465, 1684, 1749, TPM 256,

*bezaff* Ba 36, 42, 48, 54, 63, 90, 103, 115, 118, 123, 127, 161, 165, 171, 202, 204, 210, 234, 246, 247, 273, 303, 323, 381, 396, 442, 453, 468, 471, 516, 518, 528, 551, 682, 694, 695, 703, 712, 726, 732, 738, 764, 784, Ca 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 123, 127, 147, 161, d15, g15, g27, D 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 24, 32, 43, 47, Dag 143, Don 5, H 135, J 47, Jer 84, 188, 325, a224, M 69, 82, 168, 175, 186, 205, 335, 338, 343, 363, 409, 442, 477, 507, 528, 546, 567, 585, 774, 786, 849, 869, 874, 877, 888, 926, 1169, 1233, 1236, 1256, 1282, 1294, 1304, 1310, 1394, 1427, 1462,

1484, 1489, 1509, 1618, 1664, 1667, 1696, 1803, 1805, 1872, 1884, 1893, 1930, 1972, 1976, 2005, 2012, 2052, 2057, 2120, 2140, 2198, 2205, 2210, 2218, 2264, 2275, 2312, 2359, 2438, 2488, 2523, 2553, 2590, 2600, 2617, 2647, 2649, 2668, 2688, 2689, 2850, 2893, 2919, 3019, 3070, 3156, 3209, 3215, 3223, 3225, 3276, 3334, 3373, 3415, 3457, 3502, 3525, 3530, 3558, 3561, 3586, 3596, MCf 5, 23, 30, 39, 42, 45, 46, 50, 51, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 76, 86, 87, 93, 100, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, N 329, 451, 652, 1454, 1459, 1484, Nl 4, 6, 8, 13, 16, 22, 24, 25, 30, 48, 49, 51, 71, 72, 73, 611, Nom 52a-4, 149a-1, 191b-3, 234b-5, 265a-7, 265b-1, 291a-3, 76a-10, TPM 77, 101, 154, 164, 252,

*bezafu* Cl 72, 78, 84, 86, 102, 104, 106, 108, 116, 118, 216, 218, 222, 224, 232, 240, 246, 250, 258, 268, H 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 141, 146, 151, 152, 153, 155,

*beze* Ba 727,

*bezent* Coll g11, g31, N 618,

*bezer* M 483,

*bezet* Ba 24, 26, 52, 62, 63, 64, 83, 92, 95, 97, 102, 139, 187, 192, 200, 203, 215, 227, 232, 237, 238, 245, 251, 254, 255, 265, 280, 285, 304, 332, 341, 359, 390, 395, 411, 420, 423, 432, 457, 458, 471, 474, 492, 517, 535, 541, 545, 547, 567, 571, 577, 578, 580, 587, 594, 619, 620, 621, 623, 636, 637, 672, 772, Ca 18, 22, 35, Cl 72, 82, 88, 114, 116, 118, 123, 124, 212, 216, 220, 226, 232, 234, 236, 240, 244, Coll 5, 57, 97, 121, 131, 137, 155, 203, 231, 251, g5, g11, g15, g17, g19, g31, D 13, G 126, 145, 296, 332, 491, 720, 724, 837, 1179, H 128, 130, 136, 137, 147, J 10, 19, 21, 25, 27, 29, 32, 42, 49, 58, 65, 69, 70, 73, 95, 106, 108, 112, 113, 132, 136, 138, 152, 155, 175, 182, 185, 195, 197, 202, 209, 221, 230, 235, Jer 41, 92, 101, 166, 452, a2, a13, a94, a143, a156, a225, M 120, 164, 200, 216, 227, 259, 329, 518, 639, 681, 696, 835, 979, 1045, 1166, 1194, 1221, 1276, 1301, 1463, 1557, 1680, 1707, 1982, 2072, 2459, 2582, MCf 64, 67, 77, 78, 112, N 321, 626, 655, 1055, 1122, 1523, 1829, 1850, 1871, Nl 4, 39, 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 60, 63, 69, 77, 78, 81, 82, 89, 92, 97, 103, TPM 108, 140, 143, 285,

*bezez* Ba 527,

*bezhif* J 152,

*bezif* J 100, 198,

*beziff* Ba 268,

*bezint* J 45,

*bezit* Ba 221, Coll 243, g11,

*bezo* Ba 138, 160, 244, 253, 266, 278, 288, 293, 368, 582, 647, Coll 7, 45, 91, 107, 119, 123, 155, 165, 195, 197, 203, 211, 225, 277, 279, g5, g9, g27, D 56, Dag 44, 136, G 63, 239, 282, 316, 447, 450, 461, 672, 759, 1154, 1160, 1164, H 132, J 17, 18, 48, 50, 61, 73, 118, 132, 159, 161, 199, 200, 236, Jer 92, 245, 442, M 1877, MCf 45, 60, N 215, 302, 448, 540, 1078, 1234, 1694, 1766, 1812, TPM 188, 283,



*bezoff* Coll 151,  
*bezomp* Ba 69, Coll g11, M 1695, Nl 19, 31, 69, 83,  
*bezont* M 800, 1049, 1919,  
*bezout* Ba 517, G 599, J 8, 91, 139, 150, Jer 252, a83,  
M 1390, 2461, 2485, 2799, N 247, 749, 782, 1526,  
1528, 1671, 1705, TPM 249,  
*bihech* TPM 164,  
*bihent* Ba 700,  
*biot* M 686,  
*bise* Coll 215, 241, 257, g7, MCf 8, 30, 102, Nl 74,  
*bizaff* Nom 291a-3,  
*boa* Ba 346, Coll 123, 125, 225, 269, g3, MCf 10, 11,  
24, N 296, Nl 85,  
*boae* G 226, 439, 910, 1033,  
*boat* J 232,  
*boe* Ba 582, J 231, Jer a9, N 447, 1508, 1521, 1534,  
1587, 1615, 1618, 1641, 1643, 1653,  
*boue* D 14, Nl 12, 21, 88,  
*bount* TPM 36,  
*bout* Ba 18, 34, 35, 47, 56, 86, 88, 122, 124, 125, 136,  
138, 146, 149, 155, 160, 168, 173, 184, 188, 204,  
207, 219, 226, 244, 249, 256, 281, 288, 290, 315,  
326, 327, 353, 360, 363, 367, 412, 424, 439, 446,  
490, 514, 563, 589, 603, 604, 628, 632, 635, 652,  
688, 694, 695, 701, 704, 711, 723, 731, 758, 777,  
795, 799, 813, Coll g21, D 28, G 218, 648, 691, J  
16, 18, 24, 30, 31, 39, 41, 60, 61, 63, 67, 76, 79, 82,  
84, 87, 88, 89, 94, 97, 109, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121,  
126, 136, 138, 140, 149, 155, 159, 160, 174, 177,  
178, 180, 188, 189, 193, 196, 209, 212, 214, 216,  
217, 222, 233, Jer 5, 16, 64, 145, a2, a19, a74,  
a121, a127, a169, M 12, 26, 28, 61, 84, 86, 190,  
217, 228, 308, 320, 360, 366, 446, 472, 476, 478,  
479, 514, 529, 531, 532, 533, 540, 564, 578, 594,  
605, 612, 636, 651, 653, 678, 690, 750, 808, 813,  
826, 848, 850, 858, 890, 905, 964, 987, 993, 1146,  
1167, 1170, 1173, 1177, 1182, 1186, 1190, 1210,  
1252, 1256, 1257, 1298, 1306, 1350, 1351, 1353,  
1385, 1415, 1444, 1461, 1464, 1477, 1499, 1501,  
1510, 1519, 1526, 1601, 1612, 1615, 1625, 1629,  
1649, 1673, 1696, 1705, 1767, 1790, 1799, 1800,  
1802, 1813, 1858, 1865, 1882, 2016, 2020, 2072,  
2079, 2104, 2116, 2232, 2244, 2267, 2281, 2311,  
2337, 2350, 2353, 2366, 2378, 2381, 2450, 2453,  
2520, 2521, 2522, 2525, 2531, 2544, 2545, 2550,  
2599, 2604, 2653, 2680, 2843, 2852, 2857, 2904,  
2957, 3020, 3082, 3115, 3128, 3130, 3131, 3136,  
3218, 3224, 3235, 3243, 3272, 3282, 3325, 3328,  
3341, 3350, 3397, 3406, 3460, 3463, 3467, 3501,  
3512, 3549, 3552, 3559, 3588, N 8, 25, 32, 57,  
187, 354, 384, 421, 424, 550, 572, 594, 657, 690,  
742, 830, 833, 920, 954, 1040, 1041, 1045, 1046,  
1063, 1135, 1284, 1303, 1366, 1436, 1438, 1455,  
1684, 1748, s13, Nl 3, 6, 8, 15, 22, 24, 26, 27, 31,  
32, 33, 37, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 54, 62, 63, 64, 65,  
66, 70, 73, 75, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 93, 95,  
96, 98, TPM 20, 37, 48, 64, 90, 125, 133, 138, 148,  
159, 166, 227, 256, 259, 262, 267,  
*byse* Jer 317,  
*byzout* G 614, 666, 850, 854,  
*ue* Ba 178, 457, 514, 541, 545, 740, 760, 773, 775,  
777,  
*uech* Ba 548,  
*ues* Ba 519,  
*uez* Don 2, 5, H 146,  
*uezaff* Ba 45, 329, 335, 804,  
*uezet* Ba 404,  
*uezint* Ba 663,  
*uezo* Ba 51, 246, 488, 556, 621, 639, H 128, 134, 140,  
146,  
*uihet* Ba 86, TPM 236,  
*uise* N s14,  
*uizhit* H 155,  
*uoa* Nl 57,  
*uoe* Ba 546, 678, TPM 204,  
*uout* Ba 423,  
*v'en* Nl 26,  
*ve* Ba 72, 81, 102, 121, 149, 191, 194, 197, 211, 212,  
218, 233, 259, 281, 291, 309, 314, 390, 392, 398,  
402, 403, 440, 484, 546, 547, 548, 648, 742, 750,  
752, 753, 758, 759, 776, 777, 781, Ca 6, 9, 13,  
CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 116, 212, 270,  
Coll 37, 91, 107, 113, 115, 127, 193, 201, 219, 235,  
243, 247, g9, g11, g13, g27, g31, D 58, s6, G 156,  
157, 232, 538, 552, 558, 584, 611, 659, 1084,  
1087, 1195, J 6, 9, 10, 27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38,  
39, 42, 49, 52, 53, 58, 61, 66, 68, 72, 74, 87, 90, 94,  
100, 101, 108, 109, 113, 114, 118, 123, 132, 154,  
160, 167, 168, 169, 178, 183, 188, 192, 194, 205,  
219, 221, 223, 224, 225, Jer 5, 40, 268, 392, a182,  
236b-3, M 204, 318, 357, 445, 582, 607, 854,  
1214, 1241, 1242, 1244, 1258, 1403, 1406, 1442,  
1840, 1881, 1886, 1897, 1928, 2094, 2139, 2141,  
2217, 2297, 2342, 2346, 2567, 2571, 2573, 2594,  
2599, 2605, 2606, 2639, 2651, 2662, 2663, 2679,  
2774, 2783, 2975, 3284, 3322, 3346, 3459, 3467,  
3470, 3487, 3490, 3498, 3509, MCf 12, 13, 14, 32,  
37, 46, 58, 81, 84, 85, 89, 106, N 182, 195, 541,  
854, 1027, 1081, 1083, 1147, 1220, 1283, 1285,  
1375, 1447, 1717, 1752, 1760, 1843, s23, Nl 9, 54,  
62, 81, 83, Nom 10b-5, 11a-5, 11b-4, 12a-5, 13a-  
9, 13b-1, 19a-1, 29b-4, 30b-5, 31b-6, 33a-3, 39b-  
3, 60b-3, 62a-7, 67a-5, 71b-1, 73b-6, 99a-8, 103a-  
6, 120b-9, 122a-2, 130b-6, 131b-1, 141b-1, 142a-  
2, 145a-2, 181a-7, 189b-8, 196b-9, 199a-6, 200b-  
6, 201a-5, 202a-1, 211a-5, 221b-5, 235a-9, 236b-  
3, 236b-6, 237a-5, 237b-2, 238a-2, 239a-1, 240a-  
5, 240b-8, 241a-4, 242b-6, 245a-8, 248b-5, 256a-  
7, 259b-6, 266b-6, 267b-4, 268a-6, 268b-3, 269a-  
1, 269a-2, 273a-1, 274b-2, 278a-5, 278b-2, 284b-  
1, 291a-1, 296b-2, 300a-3, 304b-2, 320a-3, 320b-  
2, 321a-6, 322b-2, 323b-4, 323b-5, 329b-1, 330b-  
1, TPM 111, 228, 234, 235, 257, 262, 286,  
*vé* Cl 76, 84, 116, 236, 238, 256, 264, 266, MCf 39,  
*vè* Nom 130b-6,  
*ve[he]* J 169,  
*ve[s]* N 1584,

*vech* Ba 89, 154, 192, Coll 107, 153, g13, G 321, J 6, 7, 38, 50, 112, 118, 134, 135, 147, 211, Jer 93, a105, Nl 14,  
*vefuo* H 136,  
*vehe* Ca 29,  
*vehen* Coll 113,  
*vehy* Nl 86,  
*veit* J 43,  
*vemp* Ba 252, 794, Cl 234, 242, Coll 13, 141, J 72, 117, Jer a143, M 542, 2239, 2242, 3478, 3496, Nl 11, 39, 49, 63,  
*ven* Ba 140, Coll 77, g13, J 53, Jer 374, MCf 85,  
*veñ* G 379, 688, 839, 1034, 1169,  
*venn* Ba 51, 233, 403, Ca 7, J 6, 23, 24, 25, 41, 59, 74, 92, 187, M 1343, 1344, N 1541,  
*vent* Ba 23, 165, 567, 663, Cl 108, Coll 115, 219, g13, D 16, 50, H 153, J 10, 23, 24, 29, 187, Jer 193, M 541, 1266, 1269, 1817, 1818, 2598, 2659, 2662, 3536, 3540, MCf 42, Nl 103, Nom 70b-6, 201b-1, 235a-1,  
*veny* G 559,  
*ves* Ba 689, 697, Coll 13, g13, M 359, 375, 377, 381, 958, 2605, N 609, Nom 120a-7, TPM 231, 251,  
*vesaff* Nom 306b-4,  
*veso* Coll g11, N s12, s19, s23,  
*vesout* N s6, s20,  
*vet* Ba 184, Coll g17, D 20, J 61, M 586,  
*vêt* MCf 57,  
*vete* Ca 4,  
*veu* Ba 535,  
*vez* Ba 305, 497, 527, 594, 612, 661, 771, Cl 90, Coll 259, D 4, 36, 53, Dag 198, 225, G 91, H 153, 155, 156, J 12, 18, 76, 92, 183, 203, 206, 208, Jer 79, a267, M 125, 139, 172, 176, 327, 370, 432, 505, 714, 732, 842, 894, 959, 979, 1114, 1221, 1229, 1521, 1522, 1672, 1822, 1823, 1999, 2029, 2150, 3000, 3258, 3296, MCf 73, N 601, 612, 615, 620, 1735, Nl 83, Nom 1065, 3a-5, 5a-6, 6a-4, 6b-2, 11a-2, 14b-6, 19a-4, 21b-6, 28b-1, 33a-5, 36b-5, 38b-2, 47a-3, 50a-8, 52b-4, 54b-7, 56a-6, 61b-9, 68a-3, 68b-3, 69a-6, 75b-6, 77a-4, 77a-6, 77a-7, 78b-7, 79a-2, 87a-4, 99b-5, 100b-5, 100b-6, 100b-7, 101b-1, 101b-6, 103b-1, 106b-7, 111a-5, 119a-9, 120a-7, 121b-1, 129a-3, 130b-5, 132a-7, 133a-8, 134b-9, 136a-4, 137b-8, 140a-8, 141a-2, 141b-5, 141b-7, 142a-1, 142b-3, 143a-6, 144b-6, 145a-1, 145a-3, 145b-5, 146a-5, 147a-5, 147b-6, 151b-4, 160b-5, 165b-8, 174b-7, 179b-8, 184a-7, 190a-1, 190a-2, 190a-7, 196a-1, 198a-6, 205b-7, 216b-1, 238b-1, 239b-3, 241a-2, 241a-5, 241b-2, 252a-5, 255b-4, 256b-9, 257a-4, 258b-4, 258b-5, 259a-2, 264a-8, 265b-4, 274b-3, 284b-2, 293a-4, 293b-2, 295a-4, 297b-1, 298a-3, 298b-5, 299a-2, 307b-5, 309a-3, 310a-6, 315b-3, 316a-2, 317b-3, 317b-4, 317b-6, 323b-2, 325a-5, 69a-11, 74a-10, 170b-10, 254b-11, TPM 235,  
*vez'* Nom 141b-5,  
*veza* Coll 13, 107, 201, 253, 259, 271, J 121, Nl 31,  
*vezaf* Ba 145, 153, J 98, 101, N 895,  
*vezaff* Ba 87, 199, 405, 417, 445, 492, 501, 533, 682, 763, 779, Ca 5, 10, D 43, Dag 207, H 131, M 644, 1140, 1375, 1830, 2000, 2958, MCf 40, 49, 52, 112, Nl 15, Nom 12a-8, 193b-3,  
*vezafu* Cl 78, 92, 114, 116, 118, 220, 232, 234, 242, 264,  
*vezafv* Cl 234,  
*vezass* M 1454,  
*veze* M 333, 334, 700, 1528,  
*vezer* Coll 17, M 1238, 1942, N 148, Nom 52b-4, 128b-1,  
*vezet* Ba 24, 396, Ca 27, Cl 250, J 141, 210, 220, MCf 68, N 520, 957, Nl 86, 100,  
*vezez* M 289, 509,  
*vezher* M 1292,  
*vezho* Cl 252,  
*vezhont* M 3309,  
*vezi* Coll 25, 169, J 62,  
*vezif* Ba 143,  
*veziff* Ba 129, 267, Coll 131,  
*vezimp* Coll 143, g33,  
*vezint* Ba 276, Coll 213, g25, Dag 221, J 168,  
*vezit* Coll 255,  
*vezo* Ba 27, 60, 63, 124, 150, 211, 251, 264, 290, 350, 351, 366, 380, 394, 400, 405, 414, 427, 431, 451, 456, 459, 460, 461, 475, 505, 537, 562, 571, 574, 575, 608, 612, 616, 651, 655, 684, 720, 766, 773, 798, Ca 2, 5, 13, 17, 18, 27, 30, Cl 100, 108, 110, 112, 114, 118, 123, 124, 210, 240, Coll 11, 39, 97, 119, 129, 143, 151, 153, 157, 175, 187, 195, 199, 219, 243, 249, 261, 279, g11, g25, D 43, Dag 26, 60, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 76, 78, 87, 89, 91, 97, 99, 102, 104, 106, 113, 117, 124, 129, 131, 135, 136, 144, 154, 156, 164, 171, 183, 195, 197, 204, 218, 219, 227, 237, 239, G 11, 22, 28, 34, 36, 65, 116, 133, 137, 382, 485, 543, 606, 607, 705, 736, 784, 846, 868, 1041, H 130, 135, 136, 148, 151, 153, 158, J 18, 22, 28, 35, 42, 43, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 65, 74, 77, 97, 108, 112, 146, 154, 161, 166, 169, 178, 179, 184, 185, 193, 200, 208, 223, 236, Jer 108, 188, 191, 242, a61, a156, a172, M 15, 19, 124, 162, 305, 310, 365, 367, 385, 400, 481, 587, 606, 633, 646, 656, 658, 660, 662, 667, 681, 684, 685, 707, 723, 730, 741, 743, 748, 758, 795, 799, 808, 817, 825, 846, 859, 861, 864, 894, 921, 1029, 1050, 1092, 1105, 1107, 1118, 1130, 1149, 1154, 1358, 1363, 1367, 1408, 1430, 1447, 1511, 1512, 1516, 1556, 1592, 1593, 1606, 1611, 1625, 1656, 1669, 1676, 1804, 1806, 1816, 1832, 1834, 1850, 1878, 1915, 1978, 2082, 2102, 2179, 2286, 2292, 2368, 2375, 2387, 2391, 2469, 2475, 2479, 2496, 2497, 2542, 2737, 2805, 2832, 2836, 2884, 2899, 2935, 2976, 2979, 2982, 3001, 3004, 3006, 3009, 3016, 3024, 3036, 3051, 3060, 3077, 3087, 3089, 3220, 3259, 3277, 3315, 3331, 3333, 3334, 3340, 3368, 3369, 3381, 3580, 3581, 3585, MCf 52, 67, 72, 86, 87, 92, 95, 97, 106, N 29, 51, 53, 54, 150, 201, 219, 227, 393, 394, 428, 433, 525, 688, 701, 712, 735, 804, 806, 807, 815, 834, 859, 914, 919,

925, 932, 937, 1039, 1042, 1056, 1065, 1070,  
 1153, 1157, 1209, 1275, 1276, 1322, 1331, 1388,  
 1782, 1872, 1888, 1902, s9, s16, s17, s21, Nl 73,  
 77, 92, 100, 106, TPM 31, 184, 185, 228, 229, 244,  
 250, 255,  
*vezo'n* M 934, 1604,  
*vezomp* Coll 141, D 35, 41, Nl 81, 87,  
*vezon[t]* M 3275,  
*vezont* Ba 560, M 590, 641, 762, 776, 781, 793, 801,  
 1087, 1359, 1421, 1479, 1760, 1785, 1912, 1934,  
 2030, 2261, 2749, 2882, 3071, 3379, Nom 17a-1,  
 100b-3, 133b-1, 138a-1, 216b-2, TPM 266,  
*vezot* TPM 182,  
*vezout* Ba 315, 346, Cl 123, H 129, M 307,  
*vezy* Ba 562, J 180, M 302, 371, 375, 457, 604, 606,  
 726, 784, 805, 845, 916, 1029, 1108, 1110, 1230,  
 1523, 1829, TPM 229, 231,  
*vi'ont* Nl 84,  
*vichsēt* Ca 29,  
*vient* Ca 4, J 219,  
*vihe* Ba 283,  
*vihe* Ba 204, 209, 314, 574, Ca 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24,  
 25, 26, 30, J 15, 58, 101, 204, 207, TPM 178,  
*vihemp* TPM 161, 190,  
*vihenn* J 30, 82,  
*vihér* M 584, 3119,  
*vihés* J 213,  
*vihet* Ba 53, 55, 63, 66, 95, 103, 154, 168, 169, 185,  
 190, 200, 214, 406, 407, 428, 454, 509, 550, 632,  
 Coll 33, 35, 51, 61, 147, 151, 159, 225, J 35, 48, 63,  
 112, 162, 165, 190, 208, 210, 220, 225, 229, M  
 1070, 1100, N 144, 1060, 1288, 1504, TPM 199,  
*vihez* M 2616,  
*vihomp* M 341, 1697, Nl 81, 82,  
*vihont* Ca 15,  
*vihot* Coll 203,  
*vio'mp* Nl 88,  
*vioch* J 117, MCF 110, TPM 86,  
*viof* J 39, 81, 233,  
*vioff* Nl 92, TPM 120,  
*viomp* J 219, 223, Nl 4, 46, 91,  
*viont* Ba 112, 333, 337, 385, 439, 554, M 144, 228,  
 497, 1711, Nl 4, 16, 81, 83, TPM 93, 114,  
*viot* M 303,  
*viôt* Nl 95,  
*viouf* Coll g13, J 177, 230, 231,  
*viouff* Ba 184, 281, 698,  
*viout* M 1180, TPM 118,  
*visach* Coll 193,  
*visé* Ba 248, 437, Ca 13, 15, Coll 241, 257, g13, M  
 1337, 1486, MCF 17, N 841, 842, s15, Nl 65, 70, 75,  
 84, 86, TPM 15, 101,  
*viséch* Coll g13, g15,  
*visemp* Coll g13, g15, M 534, 2533,  
*visen* Coll g13,  
*visent* Ca 3, Coll g13, g15, M 1338, MCF 96, Nl 101,  
*vises* Coll g13,  
*vizent* Ca 17,  
*vizet* Ba 640,  
*vizhint* Cl 106,  
*vizhyt* H 145,  
*vizi* N 613, 614, 632, 637, 698, 952, 974, 1677, 1686,  
 1814, 1868, 1934,  
*vizif* J 92, 192, N 542, 999, 1246, 1286, 1343, TPM 24,  
 59,  
*viziff* Ba 96, 174, 278, 493, 503, 527, 645, 668, 719, J  
 43, 54, 58, 60, MCF 70, 87, 88, N 67, 446, 743,  
 1254, 1316,  
*vizifu* H 148,  
*vizimp* H 129, MCF 62, N 253, 475, 476, 659, 792,  
 1874,  
*vizint* Ca 5, Dag 178, MCF 86, N 1202, 1911,  
*vizy* Ba 393, 449, 506, 810, Ca 10, 18, 23, Cl 252, 268,  
 Coll g21, g23, D 29, 31, H 134, 135, 136, 138, 139,  
 140, J 61, 89, 141, 208, 231, Nl 84, 88,  
*vo* Coll 7, N s5, s13,  
*vo'an* Nl 62,  
*vo'en* Nl 20, 30, 91,  
*vo'uen* Nl 14, 70,  
*vo[ue]* N s9,  
*voa* Ba 444, Cl 212, Coll 27, 65, 67, 75, 179, d25, D s3,  
 s4, H 130, M 1062, 1530, MCF 32, N 152, 242, 313,  
 1779, Nl 12, 15, 16, 18, 27, 31, 32, 34, 37, 43, 49,  
 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73,  
 74, 75, 77, 83, 84, 85, 88,  
*voa-n* N 677,  
*voae* G 165, 235, 246, 297, 420, 427, 519, 528, 815,  
 830, 908, 924, 927, 950, 963, 1093, 1103, 1124,  
*voaent* G 816,  
*voamp* Nl 30, 82, 83, 93,  
*voampni* Nl 65,  
*voan* Nl 9, 63,  
*voann* N 384,  
*voant* M 188, MCF 19, Nl 52, 56, 68, 77, 80, 94,  
*voât* Nl 5,  
*voe* Ba 2, 4, 9, 16, 17, 49, 51, 83, 98, 113, 118, 179,  
 182, 183, 206, 260, 299, 307, 321, 322, 329, 331,  
 335, 338, 339, 340, 343, 416, 435, 436, 437, 442,  
 532, 545, 546, 549, 574, 669, 692, 695, 722, 734,  
 805, Ca 2, 3, 6, 11, 25, 31, 32, 35, Cd 9, Cl 218, D  
 12, s3, Dag 2, 7, H 130, 147, 148, J 5, 16, 19, 30, 33,  
 35, 55, 58, 66, 75, 81, 82, 86, 91, 93, 105, 120, 127,  
 129, 132, 133, 134, 140, 144, 147, 149, 150, 152,  
 163, 174, 175, 181, 183, 184, 185, 196, 202, 204,  
 205, 206, 211, 214, 215, 221, 222, 231, 236, Jer  
 48, 97, 120, 121, 127, 163, 206, 251, 256, 271,  
 303, a15, a86, a143, a215, M 122, 332, 695, 699,  
 818, 822, 828, 1035, 1213, 1312, 1384, 1535,  
 1687, 1715, 1740, 1826, 1867, 1906, 1908, 2103,  
 2215, 2247, 2331, 2846, 3147, 3268, 3271, 3428,  
 3518, 3521, MCF 81, 110, 111, 114, N 102, 414,  
 722, 989, 994, 1510, 1547, s20, Nl 4, 5, 7, 12, 17,  
 18, 20, 21, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40,  
 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57,  
 59, 60, 61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85,  
 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102, TPM  
 1, 3, 6, 56, 57, 63, 71, 83, 84, 103, 108, 138, 165,  
 181, 197, 206, 214, 215, 217, 221, 278,

voé Cl 114, Nl 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18,  
 voe-n Ba 245, 434,  
 voeer Ba 147,  
 voeet Ba 32,  
 voen J 15, 16, 137,  
 voent G 816,  
 voeomp G 1134,  
 vou'en Nl 52, 77,  
 voua Nl 7,  
 voue Ca 4, 5, 27, 34, 35, Coll g11, g19, D 13, MCF 5, N  
 887, 960, s1, s6, s7, s8, s10, s11, s15, s25, Nl 3, 4,  
 6, 8, 15, 21, 23, 26, 27, 45, 62, 65, 66, 72, 74, 76,  
 85, 102,  
 voué Cl 76, Coll 141,  
 vouez MCF 62,  
 vout Ba 93, 125, 144, 172, 228, 337, 405, 412, 425,  
 443, 624, 634, 658, 760, TPM 70,  
 vyhec'h Jer a194,  
 vyhemp G 1245,  
 vyher M 1168,  
 vyhet G 100, 162, 1099, Jer 43, 248, Nl 47, 52, TPM  
 283,  
 vyhoch Jer 199,  
 vyhont Jer a267,  
 vyhynt G 5,  
 vyont Nl 16,  
 vyot Jer a2,  
 vyoud TPM 119,  
 vyouff Jer 71, 223, 256,  
 vyse Jer 22, a267, MCF 26, Nl 26, 53,  
 vyziff M 1855,  
 vzy G 24, 682, 722, 1094, Jer 266, TPM 231, 244,  
 258,  
 vzyf G 473,  
 vzynt Jer 92

**boutaff** 'turn rancid, spoil (v.)'

*boutaf* J 13, 165,  
*boutaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d32,  
*boutet* J 230, Nom 141b-5

**boutailh** 'bottle (n., f.)'

*boutaill* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*boutaill* Nom 159b-1

**boutailhad** 'contents of a bottle, one bottle-full (n., f.)'

*boutaillat* Ba 368

**boutec** 'basket (n., m.)'

*boutec* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 174a-6,  
*boutecq* Nom 169b-4, 178b-12

**boutefeu** 'blaster, equipment for the lighting of  
 cannon fuses (n., m.)'

*boute-feu* Nom 326b-1

**boutell** 'bale (n., f.)'

*boüettel* Nom 78a-1

**bouticl** 'shop (n., m/f.)'

*bouticl* Coll 207, d5, Nom 127a-6, 127a-7, 128a-5,  
 128a-9, 128b-3, 128b-6,  
*bouticlou* Coll 177,  
*boutiq* Nom 128a-5

**boutoiller** 'bottler, sommelier (n., m.)'

*boutoiller* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bouton** 'bud (n., m.)'

*bouton* M 1588,  
*boutoun* Nom 103a-6, 118b-4,  
*bouttoun* Nom 77a-3, 115b-1,  
*bouttounou* Nom 118b-3

**bouuetier** 'herdsman, one who keeps the cows'

*bouuetier* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**bouyllouer** 'ewer, carafe (n., m.)'

*bouyllouer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bouzar** 'deaf (adj.)'

*bouzar* Ba 105, 314, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
 Coll d39, N 1454, Nom 215a-2, 271a-1, TPM 155

**bouzaraff** 'deafen (v.)'

*bouzaraff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bouzarerez** 'deafness (n., m.)'

*bouzarerez* Nom 258a-5

**bouzellou** 'entrails (n., m.pl.)'

*bouzellën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bouzelleñ* CathMS,  
*bouzellen* Nom 59b-3,  
*bouzellou* Ba 593, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 98,  
 Nom 22a-2, 22a-3, 22a-9, 261a-8

**Boy** 'woods (n., m.)'

*boy* Dag 225

**bozenn** 'chrysanthemum (n., f.)'

*bozenn* M 1568,  
*bozennën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bozenneñ* CathMS

**brabanczon** 'boastful (adj.)'

*brabanczon* Ba 745

**brae** 'grinder, crusher, mull (n., f.)'

*brar* CathMS

**braech** 'pox, smallpox (n., m.)'

*bræch* Nom 245a-4, 264a-5,  
*vreach* Nom 264a-6

**braet** 'crushed? (adj.)'

*braet* CathC

**bragez** 'trousers (n., f.)'  
*bragou* Nom 111b-1, 116a-7, 116a-8

**braguesenn** 'trousers (n., f.)'  
*braguesën* CathB, CathC,  
*braguesen* Nom 116a-7,  
*braguesennou* Nom 116b-1,  
*braguesou* Nom 116a-6

**brahaing** 'sterile (adj.)'  
*b rahaing* CathA,  
*brahaing* CathB, CathC, CathMS

**Brahec** 'Brehec'  
*brahec* G 132, 150

**brall** 'type of dance (n., f.)'  
*brall* Nom 195b-4

**brallaff** 'ring (the bells) (v.)'  
*brallaff* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*brallet* Ba 745,  
*branlaff* CathC,  
*branliff* Nom 179a-6

**bram** 'fart (n., m.)'  
*bram* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bramer** 'farter (n., m.)'  
*brammer* Nom 12a-4

**bramet** 'farted? (adj.)'  
*bramet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*brammet* Coll d9

**bran** 'raven (n., f.)'  
*biny* [sic] Nom 327b-5,  
*bran* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 39a-1, 57a-  
2, 216a-5,  
*briny* Ba 713

**branc** 'branch (n., f.)'  
*branc* Nom 97b-3, TPM 244,  
*brancouigou* Nom 101b-6,  
*brancq* Nom 77a-1, 78b-7, 97a-7, 98a-2, 102a-1,  
*brancquou* Nom 28a-7, 76b-4, 101a-2,  
*brancquouignou* Nom 102a-4

**brancel** 'swing (n., f.)'  
*brancel* CathMS, TPM 244,  
*brancell* CathA, CathB, CathC, TPM 265

**brancellat** 'rock, balance (v.)'  
*brancellat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**branch** 'branch (n., f.)'  
*braing* Nom 97a-7,  
*branchou* Nom 236b-1,  
*brangou* Nom 28a-6

**brandon** 'torch (n., m.)'  
*brandon* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*brandonn* CathMS

**branell** 'crutch (n., f.)'  
*branell* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**braog** 'bass (fish) (n., m.)'  
*braocq* Nom 46a-5

**braquemart** 'falchion (type of sword) (n., m.)'  
*bracquemart* Nom 184a-5,  
*braquemart* Ba 597

**braquet** 'codpiece (n., f.)'  
*braquet* CathA, CathMS

**bras** 'great, big (adj.)'  
*br* as Nom 242a-8,  
*bras* Ba 3, 10, 11, 13, 23, 28, 57, 84, 98, 100, 117, 118,  
119, 131, 174, 180, 204, 245, 253, 263, 279, 318,  
322, 335, 340, 341, 347, 351, 355, 358, 362, 377,  
398, 404, 406, 417, 431, 433, 436, 438, 441, 442,  
483, 489, 497, 503, 505, 514, 522, 523, 526, 542,  
548, 580, 587, 601, 602, 638, 695, 707, 715, 722,  
756, 785, 790, 793, Ca 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 20, 21, 26,  
33, 34, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 72, 74, 82,  
86, 94, 100, 106, 114, 118, 220, 236, 238, 240,  
244, Coll 7, 11, 15, 29, 37, 49, 79, 155, 165, 167,  
215, 233, 235, 241, 243, 247, 263, 267, 269, d16,  
d19, D 45, 58, 60, s4, s10, s11, G 41, 194, 256, 276,  
318, 334, 485, 492, 530, 545, 550, 595, 621, 637,  
642, 722, 753, 806, 810, 811, 814, 815, 832, 917,  
927, 931, 1002, 1044, 1057, 1273, H 128, 134,  
135, 137, 140, 145, 149, 151, J 5, 10, 13, 28, 30,  
35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 45, 76, 78, 79, 84, 85, 87, 90, 92,  
93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109,  
113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 127,  
128, 129, 132, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142, 143,  
144, 147, 157, 163, 167, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178,  
179, 181, 188, 189, 191, 197, 202, 204, 205, 206,  
207, 212, 215, 216, 217, 222, 224, 228, 229, 230,  
231, 232, 233, 234, 235, Jer 27, a66, a164, a247,  
M 100, 120, 121, 233, 245, 444, 548, 556, 564,  
822, 898, 927, 1052, 1068, 1187, 1213, 1221,  
1532, 1541, 1740, 1868, 1870, 1909, 1982, 2009,  
2164, 2243, 2250, 2319, 2365, 2410, 2444, 2451,  
2467, 2472, 2490, 2509, 2558, 2606, 2652, 2682,  
2735, 2847, 2866, 2893, 3117, 3122, 3205, 3435,  
3518, 3558, MCf 21, 49, 50, 52, 63, 71, 84, 85, 87,  
N 229, 255, 291, 300, 412, 797, 811, 815, 926,  
1003, 1101, 1129, 1130, 1212, 1214, 1380, 1413,  
1498, 1524, 1546, 1839, 1840, 1908, s10, Nl , 3, 5,  
6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33,  
37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 58, 59, 60,  
61, 62, 63, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 88,  
89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 108, Nom 14a-5, 20b-4, 22a-  
7, 25a-3, 26b-3, 30b-3, 36b-1, 44a-7, 55b-5, 66a-  
5, 68b-7, 76a-6, 91a-1, 119a-9, 124a-8, 137a-4,

153b-8, 157a-5, 161b-6, 162a-3, 162a-8, 162b-5, 163a-8, 166a-3, 173b-4, 173b-6, 174a-3, 181a-7, 185a-7, 187a-3, 194a-6, 195a-2, 195a-3, 196b-9, 207a-5, 209a-5, 211b-9, 214a-8, 215a-7, 215b-8, 23a-11, 231a-7, 231b-7, 237b-5, 242a-8, 245a-1, 245a-8, 246a-8, 247b-6, 251b-3, 252b-6, 259a-6, 260b-2, 260b-4, 261b-2, 266b-6, 267a-3, 267a-7, 267b-2, 267b-6, 269b-6, 269b-7, 270a-3, 270a-5, 271a-5, 271b-3, 271b-4, 272a-3, 273b-5, 285a-1, 286a-3, 291a-1, 296b-5, 313b-1, 324a-1, 326a-3, 48a-10, 120a-10, 195b-10, 215a-11, TPM 33, 41, 57, 80, 136, 158, 168, 178, 214, 215, 216, 247, 278,

*bras-souch* Cl 82,

*brashaf* J 19,

*brashaff* Ba 91,

*brasoch* M Cf 48,

*brassa* Coll 11, Nl 67,

*brassaf* G 245, J 10, 35,

*brassaff* Ba 406, 579, 678, Coll 183, M 531, 1092, 1110, Nl 46, Nom 44a-9, 150a-8, 191a-2, 267a-1, 267a-3,

*brassafu* Cl 80, 88, 92, 246,

*brassocho* Coll 77, 199, 257, J 62, M Cf 81, N 684, 834,

*brassouch* Cl 76, 262

**brasder** 'greatness, size (n., f.)'

*brasder* Coll d18

**brased** 'bara b. whole-wheat (adj.)'

*bras-æth* Nom 57a-1

**brases** 'pregnant (adj.); pregnancy (n., f.)'

*brases* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, D 60, N 682, 865, Nom 10a-7, 260b-4,

*braseset* N 415,

*brasesou* Ba 661,

*brasesset* N 384

**brasony** 'greatness (n., m.)'

*brasony* N 591,

*brassony* Ba 796

**brasouer** 'space heater? (n., f.)'

*brasouier* Nom 164b-3, 164b-4

**brasselet** 'bracelet (n., m.)'

*brasselet* Nom 171a-7

**bratell** 'wheat ear (n., f.)'

*bratell* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bratellat** 'click (v.)'

*bratellat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brav** 'pretty (adj.)'

*brao* Coll 181, 187, Nl 80, 82, Nom 26b-1, 121b-5, 267a-6,

*brau* Nl 93, Nom 13a-1,

*brauff* Nl 49

**Bre** 'place-name'

*bre* Dag 216

**breauet** 'drink (n., m.)'

*breauet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*brouet* CathB

**breaulit** 'spotted, covered in spots (adj.)'

*brcaulit* M 1779,

*breault* G 337

**breauyaff** 'grind (v.)'

*breauyaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brech** 'arm (n., f.)'

*bræch* Nom 23a-7, 23a-9, 147b-3, 177a-6, 23a-10, 23a-11,

*breach* Nom 23a-7,

*brech* Ba 370, 458, 576, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Dag 19, G 760, J 39, 136, 137, 139, 158, 222, Jer a37, M Cf 112, N 1600, Nl 29, 43

**breff** 'brief, quick (adj.); quickly, soon (adv.)'

*breff* Ba 217, J 99, 143, 184, 229,

*breff* Ba 42, 57, 59, 63, 274, 308, 316, 374, 652, 747, Jer 199, 200, M 303, 410, 1562, 1580, 1669, 2228, 2525, 2571, N 1730,

*breffu* G 432,

*breu* Ba 283, Jer 230

**breig** 'fault (n., f?)'

*breig* Ba 196, 649, J 3, M 1731,

*breyge* G 328

**brein** 'rot (n., m.); rotten (adj.)'

*brein* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 105, 190,

*brein* Nom 66b-5,

*brem* [sic] Nom 69a-10,

*breyn* G 1258, M 1438

**breinder** 'rot (n., m.)'

*breïder* CathA,

*breinder* CathB, CathC, CathMS

**breinenn** 'crumb (n., f.)'

*breyenñ* CathA,

*breyenen* CathB, Nom 56b-2, 58b-10,

*breyeneñ* CathMS,

*breynë* CathC,

*brusanadou* Nom 58b-10

**breiniff** 'rot, spoil (v.)'

*brein* Nom 264b-5,

*breinaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,

*breiniz* N 117,

*breiny* TPM 230,

*breyno* TPM 248

**Breiz** '(Lower) Brittany (n., f.)'

*breis* Ba 222, N s10,  
*breiz* Ba 0, CathA, CathC, CathMS, Coll 5, Dag 20, 84,  
 97, 99, 103, 109, 148, 161, 166, 167, 203, 247, N  
 s1, 71, 784, 828, 934, 1784, Nl 48, 63, 93, TPM  
 287,  
*breyz* CathB, G 51, 189, 386,  
*breyz-* G 171, G 227

**breiziz** 'Bretons (n., pl.)'

*breizis* Nl 61,  
*breyzys* G 879

**brell** 'bream (n., m.)'

*brellet* Nom 46b-4

**brem** 'bream (fish) (n., m.)'

*brem* Nom 45a-1,  
*bremet* Nom 45a-1

**breman** 'now (adv.)'

*brema* CathMS, M 645, 2679,  
*bremā* G 216, 230, 1000, Nl 12, 46, 63, 70, 71, 83,  
*bremaia* Nom 139b-2,  
*breman* Ba 1, 32, 33, 49, 50, 61, 80, 81, 83, 93, 94, 96,  
 141, 158, 166, 177, 190, 193, 199, 235, 239, 243,  
 256, 258, 259, 262, 280, 294, 306, 317, 358, 360,  
 380, 391, 404, 407, 415, 460, 466, 469, 484, 502,  
 533, 565, 580, 591, 595, 597, 618, 633, 640, 681,  
 703, 717, 785, 791, 793, 794, 798, 800, 807, Ca 5,  
 7, 16, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 210, 256, Coll 27, 31,  
 41, 55, 57, 73, 75, 77, 79, 91, 119, 123, 131, 137,  
 139, 153, 163, 185, 209, 213, 221, 237, 243, 245,  
 251, 255, 257, 265, 271, 277, d20, g25, g33, D 23,  
 34, Dag 236, G 1, 54, 74, 408, 413, 466, 590, 668,  
 682, 690, 767, 793, 824, 851, 1053, 1085, 1153,  
 1182, 1183, 1187, 1230, 1263, 1277, J 15, 17, 38,  
 42, 46, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 74, 75, 76, 80, 84, 85,  
 88, 90, 98, 100, 101, 104, 108, 110, 112, 117, 120,  
 124, 125, 126, 129, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140,  
 141, 142, 143, 144, 159, 162, 165, 169, 177, 181,  
 182, 184, 190, 195, 198, 209, 213, 217, 226, 228,  
 235, 236, Jer 14, 28, 74, 129, 134, 142, 167, 188,  
 209, 210, 296, 319, a7, a20, a57, a116, a141, a148,  
 a149, a177, a259, M 226, 229, 234, 387, 466, 504,  
 692, 1070, 1227, 1382, 1835, 1875, 2143, 2299,  
 2513, 2675, 2783, 3314, M Cf 6, 81, N 1, 40, 41, 45,  
 59, 72, 87, 103, 107, 110, 125, 136, 151, 153, 185,  
 203, 221, 232, 236, 240, 241, 245, 249, 308, 318,  
 322, 334, 353, 369, 383, 408, 448, 449, 478, 493,  
 495, 508, 514, 530, 585, 729, 739, 744, 753, 762,  
 814, 857, 912, 915, 986, 1001, 1023, 1087, 1128,  
 1130, 1142, 1146, 1155, 1156, 1162, 1179, 1186,  
 1205, 1206, 1209, 1216, 1221, 1254, 1260, 1265,  
 1267, 1272, 1287, 1288, 1309, 1324, 1326, 1364,  
 1375, 1500, 1518, 1532, 1536, 1553, 1555, 1557,  
 1569, 1586, 1589, 1636, 1652, 1657, 1661, 1697,  
 1700, 1708, 1726, 1773, 1778, 1845, 1885, 1889,  
 1929, 1932, 1938, s22, s24, Nl 6, 11, 19, 22, 23, 28,

30, 31, 50, 71, 100, Nom 139b-2, TPM 7, 15, 90,  
 126, 136, 236, 237, 241

**brenc** 'armrest (n., m.)'

*brenc* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 1129,  
*brencquou* Nom 42b-6

**brenn** 'bran (n., coll.)'

*brēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*breñ* CathMS,  
*brenn* Nom 75a-3

**brennec** 'full of bran (adj.)'

*brennec* Nom 57a-2

**breolim** 'grindstone (n., f.)'

*breaulim* CathMS,  
*breònim* Nom 252a-9,  
*breulim* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 252a-9

**breou** 'toll (n., m.)'

*breou* Nom 203b-5

**bresel** 'war (n., m/f.)'

*bræsel* Coll 165,  
*bresel* Ba 677, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 7,  
 89, Dag 74, 76, 97, 107, G 129, 179, 190, J 36, 217,  
 M 2877, 3092, 3458, Nom 7a-3, 111b-7, 112b-6,  
 113a-4, 149a-5, 149a-6, 150b-7, 182a-6, 186b-8,  
 187a-1, 187a-2, 187a-3, 187a-6, 187a-7, 188a-1,  
 188a-2, 188b-3, 189a-4, 191b-6, 203b-4, 288b-1,  
 289a-1, 290a-8, 291b-5, 292b-5, 293b-4, 317b-5,  
 317b-6, 186b-10, 186b-11, 342a-4/342b-5/343-  
 4, 342a-5/342b-6/343-5, 346a-4/346b-3/347-3,  
*breseliou* Dag 203

**breselequat** 'go to war (v.)'

*breselecat* CathMS,  
*breselequat* Dag 85,  
*breselequat* CathA, CathB, CathC, Dag 176,  
*brezelechat* Coll d18

**bresq** 'fragile (adj.)'

*bresq* Ba 88, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 2528,  
 2574

**bresser** 'brewer (n., m.)'

*bresser* Nom 314b-6

**Brest** 'Brest'

*brest* Dag 173, 182, 192

**bret** 'time (n., m.)'

*bret* G 31, 545, 801

**Breton** 'demonym for Brittany (n., m.)'

*breton* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, G 109, 269, Jer  
 a267, M 108, N 425, 789, 833, s11, Nl 44, 85,

*bretonet* Dag 208, 219, G 21, 102, 118, 144, 172, 173,  
181, 206, 228, 234, 251, 274, 363, 386, N 394,  
703, 725, NI 49, 59, 60, 63, 70,  
*bretonnet* NI 48, 55, 66

**Bretonery** 'Brittany (n., m.)'  
*bretoneri* N 721,  
*bretonery* Dag 189, N 437,  
*britonery* N 332

**Bretones** 'Breton woman (n., f.)'  
*bretones* CathA, N 1300,  
*bretones* CathMS

**bretoni** 'Brittany (n., m.)'  
*bretoni* N s3

**breulimaff** 'sharpen (v.)'  
*[b]reulimaff* CathC,  
*breulimaff* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**breut** 'discussion (n., m.)'  
*breugou* CathB, CathC,  
*breuigou* N 1413,  
*breuiou* CathA, N 1406,  
*breut* CathMS, Jer 271,  
*brevioy* CathMS

**breutaour** 'litigant (n., m.)'  
*breutaour* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**breutat** 'debate (v.)'  
*breutat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 2635,  
*breutet* Ba 770,  
*breuthat* Coll d31,  
*bruetat* M 1737

**breuzr** 'brother (n., m.)'  
*bredeur* TPM 62,  
*breu-deur* Cl 116,  
*breuder* J 54, 59, 61, 69, 200, N 1885,  
*breudeur* Cl 114, 116, Coll g66, J 211, 213, Nom 332b-  
2, TPM 49, 136, 148,  
*breudur* G 1151, 1215, 1263,  
*breur* Coll 107,  
*breuzr* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 94, 116, Coll  
45, 193, 253, g65, H 135, 154, J 9, M 1680, 1724,  
1751, NI 63, 94, Nom 198b-3, 200b-8, 282b-4,  
332a-9, 332b-4, 332b-5, 332b-6, 333a-9, 333b-5,  
333b-6, 334a-3, 332a-10, TPM 235

**breuzriez** 'brotherhood (n., f.)'  
*breuzriez* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brevet** 'amulet, talisman (n., m.)'  
*breuedou* MCf 10,  
*breuet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brevial** 'breviary (n., m.)'  
*breuial* CathA, CathMS,  
*breuier* CathB, CathC

**brezel** 'mackerel (n., m.)'  
*brezell* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 47a-7

**brezonec** 'Breton language (n., m.)'  
*brezonec* Cl 124, 212, Coll 277, D 13, 20, 22, 100002,  
G 1266, H 128, 130, 154, NI 2, 3, 33, 100,  
*brezonec* Cl 234,  
*brezonnec* Coll 15, 99, 275

**briat** 'attest (v.)'  
*bry* M 3034,  
*bryet* NI 12,  
*bryhat* NI 51

**briadal** 'embrace, kiss (v.)'  
*brihadal* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bric** 'brick (n., f.)'  
*bricq* Nom 138b-4, 139a-5,  
*bricquou* Nom 309a-4

**bridaff** 'bridle (v.)'  
*bridaff* Coll 221, d5,  
*brydet* Jer 298, a151

**bridol** 'sling (n., m.)'  
*bridol* CathA, CathMS

**Briec** 'Saint-Brieuc'  
*briec* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brigand** 'highwayman (n., m.)'  
*brigand* Nom 329a-5,  
*brigantet* Coll 141, NI 9,  
*briguand* Nom 149b-3

**brigandinou** 'brigandine (type of armor) (n., pl.)'  
*brigādinou* CathB, CathC,  
*brigandinou* CathA, CathMS

**brignenn** 'groats (n., f.)'  
*brighen* CathA, CathC,  
*brighen* CathB, CathMS

**brigus** 'quarrelous, prone to fighting (adj.)'  
*brig9* CathB,  
*brigus* CathA, CathC, CathMS

**brimyat** 'farther (n., m.)'  
*briminyat* CathA,  
*brimyat* CathB, CathC,  
*brīmyat* CathMS

**briquenn** 'brick (n., f.)'  
*bricquen* Nom 139a-5, 139a-6, 144a-6,



*briquennou* Nom 140b-1, 140b-2, 142b-8

**briquerez** 'brickyard (n., f.)'

*briquerez* Nom 129a-2

**bris** 'break (n., m.)'

*bris* Ba 650

**bris-ruz** 'red pear (n., m.)'

*bris-ruz* Nom 68b-2

**brit** 'bridle (n., m.)'

*brid* Nom 181a-5, 181a-6, 181a-7, 181b-6,

*brit* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 31b-4

**briz** 'striped (adj.)'

*briz* CathA, CathB, NI 70

**bro** 'country, land, region (n., f.)'

*bro* Ba 26, 40, 63, 95, 113, 162, 215, 221, 235, 238, 291, 405, 423, 590, 683, 734, 759, 766, 777, 796, Ca 12, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 181, d8, D s10, Dag 83, 102, 128, 149, G 6, 8, 50, 52, 56, 62, 65, 67, 70, 72, 137, 148, 164, 239, 261, 277, 281, 282, 304, 364, 383, 394, 450, 478, 659, 661, 954, 966, 987, 1022, 1154, 1174, H 158, J 17, 42, 55, 61, 81, 102, 103, 112, 190, 193, Jer 3, 15, 43, 124, 149, 167, 177, 344, 364, 422, a11, a56, a61, a164, a196, a218, a222, a267, M 674, 910, 922, 1581, 2002, 2248, 3051, 3088, 3124, 3204, 3277, N 4, 31, 38, 45, 66, 141, 199, 278, 389, 394, 425, 437, 534, 567, 703, 789, 833, 1078, 1692, 1709, 1775, 1781, 1782, 1916, s22, NI 13, 14, 26, 32, 40, 59, 71, 101, 106, Nom 154a-9, 204a-6, 228a-3, 228a-8, 241a-2, 241b-6, 280a-2, 290a-7, 300a-2, 300a-5, 300b-5, 325b-2, TPM 55, 242, 258, 259, 269, 274,

*brò* Nom 63b-1,

*bro-huy* Ba 27,

*bro-man* Ba 32, 81, 389,

*bro-se* G 168,

*broeziou* Ca 11, Coll 7,

*broezou* Ba 131, G 523,

*broezyou* Ca 12, Nom 238b-1, 291b-1, 300a-4,

*brohont* NI 79,

*broman* J 121, Jer 115, M 1446, 2992, NI 24, 75,

*brosaos* Coll 163, 267, d2,

*brosaus* Coll 189

**broc** 'opening (of a barrel) (n., m.)'

*broc* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*brot* CathMS

**broch** 'badger (n., m.)'

*broch* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 33b-7

**brochenn** 'roasting spit (n., f.)'

*brochēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*brocheñ* CathMS

**brodiquin** 'boot (n., m.)'

*brodiquinou* Nom 117a-9,

*brotiquin* CathC

**broenn** 'rush (plant) (n., m.)'

*broennēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*broenneñ* CathMS,

*broüē* Nom 174a-6,

*brouen* Nom 132a-2, 150b-5,

*broüen* Nom 87a-6, 87a-7, 169a-2

**broennec** 'covered in rushes (plants) (adj.)'

*broennec* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**bronn** 'breast (n., f.)'

*brōn* CathA,

*broñ* CathB, CathC,

*bron* CathMS, Nom 29b-4,

*bronn* Ba 592, 593, J 148, M 2626, Nom 21a-9, 34a-7, 21a-10,

*vron* Nom 11a-7

**bronniff** 'breast-feed (v.)'

*bronnhas* TPM 192

**brotiquinaff** 'put on boots (v.)'

*brotiquinaff* CathB,

*brotiquinet* CathB

**brou** 'grindstone (n., m.)'

*breau* CathB,

*brou* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brouczaff** 'graze? (v.)'

*brouczaff* CathA, CathB

**broudaff** 'prick, sting (v.)'

*brog* M 453,

*broudaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 1476,

*brout* M 2294

**brouder** 'nickname for the dressmaker (n., m.)'

*brouder* Nom 311b-2, 311b-6, 311b-7

**brouet** 'smoother (dressmaker's tool) (n., m.)'

*braouët* Nom 272a-3,

*braouhet* J 143,

*brouet* CathA, CathC, CathMS,

*brouuet* G 947

**brouillaff** 'scramble (v.)'

*broillaff* CathA,

*brouillaff* Ba 324, CathB, CathMS,

*brouillardaff* Coll d5

**brouillart** 'mist (n., m.)'

*broüillardicq* Nom 220a-6,

*brouillart* Nom 219b-3

**brouilled** 'draft paper (n., m.)'  
*broüillet* Nom 2b-1, 4a-5

**brouillerez** 'chaos (n., m.)'  
*broüillerezou* Nom 2b-1

**brouscoad** 'coppice, chopping wood (n., m.)'  
*bruscoagou* Nom 236a-2

**brouscon** 'roots (n., coll.)'  
*brouscoun* Nom 92a-5

**brout** 'ardent, very hot (adj.)'  
*brout* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 101, M 194,  
1390, N 1661

**broys** 'inhabitant, compatriot (n., m.)'  
*brois* N 1791,  
*broys* Ba 20, G 702, 705, J 81, 232, Jer 77, a96

**broz** 'skirt (n., f.)'  
*broz* CathA, CathB, CathC, Jer 101, a152

**bruant** 'bunting (n., m.)'  
*bruant* Nom 39a-6

**bruc** 'heather (n., coll.)'  
*brucq* Nom 104a-6, 237b-2

**brucellat** 'bellow (v.)'  
*brucellat* CathB, CathC,  
*brunçellat* Nom 215b-6,  
*bruncellât* Nom 215b-8,  
*bucellat* CathA, CathMS

**bruched** 'chest (n., f.)'  
*bruchet* Nom 36b-9

**Bruges** 'Bruges'  
*bruges* Coll 239, 269, d1

**bruluenn** 'foxglove (n., f.)'  
*bruluën* CathA, CathB,  
*bruluën* CathB, CathMS,  
*bruluënn* CathC,  
*burluën* CathA, CathB,  
*burluëñ* CathMS

**brulusquen** 'dead body (n., f.)'  
*brulusquen* M 318

**brum** 'mist (n., m.)'  
*brum* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**brun** 'brown (adj.)'  
*brun* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 189, D 59,  
Nom 57a-3, 125b-4, 126a-2

**brusguezen** 'shrubby (n., coll.)'  
*brus-guezen* Nom 96a-2,  
*brusguezen* Nom 96b-6

**brusquenn** 'score (on bread) (n., f.)'  
*brusqñ* CathC,  
*brusquën* CathA, CathB,  
*brusqueñ* CathMS,  
*brusugueñ* CathMS

**brusunet** 'in crumbs (adj.)'  
*brusunet* Nom 56a-3

**brut** 'noise, uproar (n., m/f)'  
*brudou* M 196, 1202,  
*bruit* Ca 3,  
*brut* Ba 9, 98, 463, 470, Coll d16, G 612, J 11, 61, 80,  
99, 102, 164, M 101, 172, 1264, 1321, MCF 22, N  
158, 168, 322, 639, 810, 1675, NI 6, 37, 55, 91,  
TPM 248

**brutal** 'brutish (adj.)'  
*brutal* MCF 32

**brutat** 'noise about (v.)'  
*brutat* N 1623

**brutell** 'baker's tool? (n., m.)'  
*brutell* CathB, CathC,  
*burtell* CathA,  
*burutell* CathMS

**brutuguenn** 'mound of dung (n., f.)'  
*brutuguën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*brutuguen* Nom 133b-6

**Bruxelles** 'Brussels'  
*bruxelle* Coll 161,  
*bruxelles* Coll 161

**bry** 'respect (n., m.)'  
*bry* Ba 491, 684, 699, 751, J 185, NI 34,  
*me-n bry* Ba 569,  
*mëbry* Jer 19,  
*membry* Ba 37, 51, 122, 131, 137, 231, 421, 435, 522,  
582, 651, 684, J 10, 43, 207, M 2287, 2383, 2613,  
2620, 2998, 3212, 3279, 3399, 3444, 3513, 3530,  
NI 26,  
*menbri* Jer 15,  
*menbry* Ba 378, 466, 592, 630, 796, J 141, Jer 16, 17,  
18, 43, 78, 139, 204, 209

**bualier** 'window (n., m.)'  
*bualier* CathC,  
*buallier* CathA, CathB,  
*bualyer* CathMS,  
*buhalyer* CathA, CathB

**buaneec** 'choleric, prone to anger (adj.)'

*buaneec* Ba 126, 397, 640, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 14, 39, 196, TPM 148

**buaneecat** 'anger (v.)'

*buaneecaet* Ba 407,  
*buaneecat* Coll d9,  
*buaneecquaet* J 64,  
*buaneecquet* M 1834, 1841, 2216

**buaneiguez** 'speed; anger (n., f.)'

*buane[g]uez* CathMS,  
*buaneiguez* CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 94, 100, 123, 258,  
Coll d9, D 32, 37, H 144, 151, 152, 154, M 1448, N  
626

**buanequaus** 'irritable (adj.)'

*buanequaus* Cl 248

**bud** 'mound (n., m.)'

*budou* Nom 239a-2

**buffet** 'buffet (n., m.)'

*buffet* Coll 29, Nom 134a-2, 156a-4

**bufl** 'buffalo (n., m.)'

*bufl* Nom 30a-3

**bugat** 'washing, laundry (n., m.)'

*bugat* M 1911

**buglosa** 'common bugloss (n., f.)'

*buglosa* Nom 83b-3

**buguel** 'child (n., m.)'

*bugale* Cl 236, Coll 41, g27, g65, g66, D 41, G 59, 116,  
311, 388, 443, 643, 646, H 152, 154, J 23, 206,  
207, Jer 93, M 99, 253, 353, 395, 1038, 1066,  
1369, MCF 15, 34, 101, N 466, 1081, 1120, 1904,  
Nl 7, 80, Nom 54b-7, 116b-7, TPM 208,  
*bugalé* Cl 78, 98, 106, 123, 266,  
*bugalè* Nom 118b-7, 171b-3, 216a-6, 259a-1, 262b-4,  
294a-6, 304b-1, 331b-2, 333a-9,  
*bugaleigou* Coll 221,  
*bugaleigou* Nom 163a-2,  
*bugalez* Ba 661, G 53, H 132, TPM 282,  
*buguel* Ba 106, 211, 688, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
CathMS, D s5, G 640, J 207, Jer a266, M 1040,  
2627, N 392, 741, Nl 32, 56, 61, 75, Nom 11a-4,  
280a-3,  
*bulgaleygaou* Nl 5

**buhan** 'quick (adj.); quickly (adv.)'

*buan* Ba 372, 505, 534, 779, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
CathMS, G 535, 629, 793, M 156, 243, 1124, 1222,  
2307, Nom 180a-9,  
*buanoch* Coll 135,  
*buhan* Ba 12, 49, 70, 80, 235, 317, 360, 469, 492, 684,  
Coll 29, 45, 97, Dag 276, J 19, 60, 79, 116, 167, 184,

230, Jer 4, M 53, 100, 264, 598, 1137, 2013, MCF  
46, N 111, 203, 249, 308, 1640, Nl 3, 13, 18, 32,  
44, 45, 56, 61, 63, 69, 73, 81, 88, 92, 101, 102, Nom  
66b-1, 70b-7, 150a-3, 185a-2, 256a-3, 322b-6,  
49a-10, TPM 102, 133, 152, 270, 275

**buhez** 'life (n., f.)'

*bues* N s11,  
*buez* Ba 595, Cd 23, N s1,  
*buhez* Ba 0, 18, 19, 113, 134, 142, 170, 199, 251, 273,  
358, 366, 396, 404, 423, 432, 436, 441, 449, 571,  
588, 636, 654, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 78,  
82, 90, 92, 100, 104, 118, 124, 212, 216, 218, 226,  
230, 232, 238, 240, 242, 244, 256, 258, 270, Coll  
133, g19, g27, D 10, 14, 17, 18, 23, 26, 31, 37, 50,  
56, Dag 8, G 456, 724, H 132, 134, 136, 137, 141,  
144, 151, 153, J 35, 121, 123, 127, 144, 150, 151,  
229, Jer 236, M 46, 92, 162, 213, 216, 260, 305,  
370, 401, 451, 467, 518, 599, 627, 957, 1197,  
1271, 1484, 1523, 1672, 2115, 2163, 2249, 2646,  
3285, 3363, 3578, 7756, MCF 15, 75, 76, 82, 110,  
N 109, 121, 432, 436, 546, 626, 653, 712, 846,  
1045, 1690, 1706, 1849, 1878, Nl 23, 41, 49, 58,  
63, 102, Nom 25a-6, TPM 26, 27, 154, 261,  
*bvez* Ca 3,  
*bvhez* Ca 1,  
*vuhez* Ba 150

**builh** '(papal) bull (n., m/f.)'

*buill* CathC,  
*buillou* Nom 6b-7,  
*bull* Cl 90, H 153,  
*buyll* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**bulbuenn** 'zit (n., f.)'

*bulbuēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*bulbueñ* CathMS

**bulsun** 'weaver's shuttle (n., f.)'

*bulsum* CathMS,  
*bulsun* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 172a-6

**buncc** 'almud (unit) (n., m.)'

*bunçc* Nom 161a-3

**buoch** 'cow (n., f.)'

*bieuch* Nom 30a-2, 33a-3, 35a-9,  
*bioch* Nom 33a-3, 35a-9,  
*buch* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**burell** 'bure (cloth) (n., m.)'

*burell* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**buret** 'flask (n., f.)'

*buret* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 159a-5

**burin** 'chisel (n., m.)'

*burin* Nom 195b-7

**burtul** 'vulture (n., m.)'

*burtul* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**burzud** 'miracle (n., m.)'

*berzudou* M 1321,

*berzut* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 142,

*beurzudou* G 41,

*burzudaou* Dag 190, NI 101,

*burzudou* J 80, 164, Jer 13, 322, N 397, 1028,

*burzut* Jer 252, N 411, 666, 1009, 1157, 1209, 1212,  
NI 18

**busart** 'buzzard (n., m.)'

*busart* Nom 37b-5

**but** 'goal (n., m.)'

*but* CathMS, Cl 226, Nom 239a-3

**butin** 'loot (n., m.)'

*boutin* M 2461,

*butin* J 15, Nom 190b-6, 190b-7, 191a-2, 191a-3,  
191a-4

**buzuc** 'earthworms (n., coll.)'

*buzuc* M 309,

*buzuguën* CathA, CathB,

*buzuguen* CathC, Nom 50b-1,

*buzugueñ* CathMS

**byou** 'possession (n., f.), pronoun + b. possess (v.)'

*biaou* Jer 427,

*biou* Ba 37, 110, 131, Coll 89, J 88, 147, 237,

*biu* CathA,

*byaou* Jer 204, 427, a153, NI 50, 51, 52, 53,

*byou* J 79

## M

**macabre** 'macabre (adj.)'

*macabre* TPM 244

**maceron** 'macerone (plant) (n., f.)'

*maceroun* Nom 93a-3

**machiff** 'crush (v.)'

*mach* G 1200, 1256, TPM 280,

*machaff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**macul** 'spot, stain (n., m.)'

*macul* Cl 220, Nom 265a-9

**maczon** 'builder (n., m.)'

*māçcoun* Coll g59,

*maczon* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*mançzoun* Coll g59,

*massoun* Nom 308a-2,

*massouner* Nom 308a-2,

*mazçon* Coll d23

**maczonat** 'mason (v.)'

*maczonet* Ba 74,

*mazçonat* Coll d23

**maczonerez** 'masonry (n., f.)'

*maczonerez* CathC

**maczonyez** 'masonry (n., f.)'

*maczonyez* CathA, CathB

**maczu** 'club (weapon) (n., f.)'

*maczu* CathA, CathB, CathC

**madaelez** 'goodness, kindness (n., f.)'

*madaelez* J 6, 107, N 805,

*madelaez* J 141,

*madelaezou* J 150,

*madelez* Ba 142, 223, Cl 106, 218, 228, Coll d5, g31,

M 1314, MCF 80, 81, 84, 85, NI 36, 54,

*madelezou* Cl 232, H 128

**madou** 'goods, qualities (n., m.pl.)'

*madaou* Coll g21, D 8, 26, 29, M 74, 254, 2923, 3287,

3352, MCF 54, NI 25, 70, 86, 95, 106, Nom 324a-4,

*madoau* Coll g21,

*madou* Ba 38, 88, 244, 261, 292, 424, 425, Ca 14, Cl

252, 262, 264, 268, D 53, Dag 227, 234, G 222,

225, 366, 411, 438, 1254, H 128, 136, 137, 158, J

9, 62, 63, 98, 128, 201, Jer 427, M 377, 408, 534,

576, 1201, 1240, 1918, 2522, 2726, 3321, 3348,

3480, MCF 43, N 245, 299, 1173, 1615, 1623,

1641, Nom 201b-2, 203b-2, 203b-4, 235a-1,

297a-5, 297b-3, 324a-4, TPM 184,

*madou-n* N 1578

- Mae** 'May'  
*mae* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mae* Coll d22, TPM 272,  
*maé* Coll 239,  
*maë* Nom 224a-1,  
*may* G 591
- mæn** 'stone (n., m.)'  
*mein* Ba 58, 60, 78, J 105, 144, M 2813, 2818, MCf 26,  
 Nl 102
- maer** 'mayor (n., m.)'  
*mær* Nom 294a-7
- maez** 'field (n., m.), *en m.* outside (adv.)'  
*mæes* MCf 41,  
*maes* Ba 540, 766, CathA, CathB, CathC, G 1056, H  
 145, 155, J 12, 132, 149, 177, 216, M 931, N 249,  
 513, 517, 519, 541, 708, 844, 1307, TPM 35, 166,  
*mæs* Cl 118, 228, D 18, M 3235, Nom 190a-1, 233b-3,  
 33b-10, 346a-10/3469/347-9,  
*maesou* Ba 383, 385,  
*mæsyou* Nom 238b-3,  
*meas* Coll 207, d40, M 375,  
*meassou* Jer 248, M 164,  
*mes* D 57, MCf 114,  
*mesou* Nom 233b-4, 233b-7, 234a-2, 234a-5, 234a-6,  
 235b-7, 238b-3,  
*mesyou* Nom 233b-4,  
*mez* Nl 52
- magaden** 'suckling (n., m.)'  
*magaden* Nom 13a-6
- magadur** 'nourishment (n., f.)'  
*magadur* Nom 87a-8
- magadurez** 'food, nourishment (n., f.)'  
*magadurez* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 2483, Nom 51b-3
- magaff** 'nourish, feed (v.)'  
*macqsot* M 943,  
*macquet* N 1033,  
*maces* Ba 700,  
*mactsoth* TPM 195,  
*mag* H 128, Nom 313a-4, 316a-8,  
*magat* Ba 178,  
*magez* M 891,  
*magont* Cl 270,  
*maguas* Nl 28,  
*magueff* M 1016,  
*maguet* Ba 698, Ca 7, 22, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 210,  
 Dag 23, M 222, 945, 948, 952, 1500, 3052, Nl 27,  
 Nom 11a-7, 34a-8, 34b-1
- magasin** 'store (n., m.)'  
*maguasin* Nom 168a-4
- Magdalen** 'personal name (f.)'  
*madalen* CathA, MCf 111,  
*magdalen* CathB, CathC, H 145, J 4, 87, 162, 173, 186
- magic** 'magic (adj.)'  
*magic* Ba 611, Ca 29, Cl 254
- magician** 'magician (n., m.)'  
*magician* N 761, Nom 330a-1
- magister** 'master (n., m.)'  
*magister* Ba 83, 91, 99, 109
- Magistrat** 'Magistrate (n., m.)'  
*magistradet* Cl 256,  
*magistrat* Cl 108, Nom 294a-3
- magnific** 'beautiful, magnificent (adj.)'  
*magnificq* Nom 54a-6, 54b-3, 126b-2, 285b-3
- magnificancc** 'magnificence (n., f.)'  
*magnificâcc* CathB, CathC,  
*magnificance* CathA
- magnificat** 'magnificate (n., m.)'  
*magnificat* CathA
- maguer** 'feeder, nourisher, provider, male nurse?  
 (n., m.)'  
*maguer* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 13a-5
- magueres** 'nurse (n., f.)'  
*magueres* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d27, M 2623,  
 Nom 11a-7, 13a-4, 205b-2
- mahaingnaff** 'hurt (v.)'  
*mahaignaff* CathA,  
*mahaïgnaff* CathB
- maiestat** 'majesty (n., f.)'  
*maeistat* N 1691,  
*maiestat* J 103, M 1757, N 1058,  
*majestat* M 1913, 2636, 2994, 3142
- maieste** 'majesty (n., f.)'  
*magestез* Cl 123, 236, 254, H 131, 147,  
*maieste* Ba 308, 319, 788, CathA, CathB, CathC, J 178,  
 M 1864, 3491, MCf 61, 80, N 461, 695, 1401,  
*maiestез* H 135,  
*majeste* M 3281, 3327
- mail** 'mesh (n., m.)'  
*mail* CathA, Coll g68,  
*maill* Nom 118b-1, 196b-2, 196a-11,  
*maillic* Coll g68,  
*maillou* Nom 174b-4, 182b-6, 182b-7
- maillard** 'mallard (n., m.)'  
*maillard* Nom 38a-1

**maillet** 'braided (adj.)'  
*maillet* CathA, CathB, CathC

**maillur** 'shirt, singlet (n., m.)'  
*mailluraou* NI 39

**mailluraff** 'envelop (v.)'  
*mailluraff* CathA, CathB, CathC, NI 30,  
*mailluras* NI 28,  
*mailluret* Ba 387, 618, J 128, M 976, N 622, TPM 243,  
*mailluro* Ba 755

**maiminus** 'personal name (m.)'  
*maiminus* Ca 32

**maingec** 'with sleeves (adj.)'  
*maingecq* Nom 113b-3

**mainghez** '?'  
*mainghez* CathA, CathB

**majourniff** 'chew (v.)'  
*majourniff* Nom 20a-2

**malaff** 'mold (v.)'  
*malaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d25, Nom 27a-2,  
129b-4,  
*maler* Nom 147b-3,  
*malet* Jer 92

**malazn** 'wheat sprout (n., f.)'  
*malazn* CathA, CathB, CathC

**Malchus** 'personal name'  
*malchus* J 110

**malediction** 'curse (n., f.)'  
*maledicion* Ba 382, 721,  
*malediction* Ba 276, CathA, CathB, CathC, M 1589,  
2078,  
*maledictionou* MCf 104,  
*malidiction* Nom 8b-2

**maletenn** 'briefcase (n., f.)'  
*maleten* Nom 119a-5

**maleur** 'misfortune, woe (n., m.)'  
*mal eur* J 128, M 2077,  
*maleur* Ba 387, 390, 688, 710, 738, D 32, MCf 91,  
*maleurou* MCf 18,  
*malheur* Ba 210, Cl 92, MCf 92,  
*malheuryou* Cl 94

**maleurus** 'unfortunate, unhappy (adj.)'  
*maleureux* Ca 8,  
*maleurus* Ba 345, CathA, CathC, Cl 106, NI 83, Nom  
224b-5,  
*mauleurus* CathB

**malflaer** 'great scrofula (n., f.)'  
*malflær* Nom 91b-6

**Malgon** 'personal name (m.)'  
*malgon* N 1942

**malicc** 'malice (n., f.)'  
*malicc* Ba 269, 694, J 11, 17, 22, 164, N 1546, TPM 93,  
*malicç* Cl 98,  
*malice* CathA,  
*malicet* J 30,  
*malics* Coll d23,  
*malicz* Cl 92, 94, 123,  
*maliczcz* Ba 193, 748,  
*malyce* G 525

**maliccaff** 'become malicious, make malicious (v.)'  
*maliccaff* M 752,  
*maliciet* NI 74,  
*maliczaff* Ba 193

**malicius** 'malicious (adj.)'  
*malicieuz* MCf 28,  
*malicius* Ba 2, M 2306

**malivolanc** 'malevolence (n., f.)'  
*maliuolanc* CathA, CathB

**mall** '1. haste (n., f.); 2. mold (for molding) (n., f.)'  
*mal* CathA, CathB, CathC, D 48, Don 8, MCf 27, N 1558,  
NI 93, Nom 10a-3, 30a-7, 78b-3, 119a-5, 147b-5,  
320a-3,  
*mall* Ba 368, G 1242, Jer 110, NI 83, TPM 42, 52, 193,  
272,  
*malou* M 3482

**malloz** 'curse (n., m/f); curses! (interjection)'  
*malloez* Ba 381, J 74, 167, M 1389, 1508,  
*malloz* J 85, 86, 96, 235, Jer 12

**malouer** 'grinder (n., f.)'  
*malouer* CathA, CathB

**malu** 'mallow (plant) (n., coll.)'  
*malu* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 89a-1, 89a-2

**maluenn** 'windmill wing (n., f.)'  
*maluën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*maluenn* Nom 18b-3

**malvoesi** 'malvasia, type of white grape (n., m.)'  
*maluoësy* Nom 63b-7

**mam** 'mother (n., f.)'  
*mã* Coll g21, Nom 279b-4,  
*mam* Ba 152, 402, 703, Ca 3, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl  
90, 110, 123, 214, 232, 242, 244, 250, 252, 256,  
264, 266, Coll 23, 25, 29, 31, 33, 39, 43, 57, 81, 89,  
243, g65, D 4, 23, 28, s9, Dag 104, 186, G 288, 321,

512, 614, 855, 865, 871, 900, 1010, 1016, 1044, 1058, 1059, 1067, 1073, 1081, 1095, 1109, 1147, H 130, 134, 139, 144, 146, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, J 4, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 66, 86, 124, 140, 149, 152, 159, 173, 174, 176, 179, 180, 181, 222, Jer 223, 278, a1, a51, a159, a194, a196, a244, M 112, 622, 1039, MCF83, 110, 112, N 174, 224, 430, 496, 892, 895, 910, 1049, 1338, s3, s25, Nl 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 41, 42, 61, 64, 66, 70, 72, 73, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 99, Nom 11b-1, 30a-2, 34a-7, 273b-6, 279b-4, 328a-3, 331a-5, 331b-1, 332a-6, 332b-1, 332b-5, 332b-6, 333a-1, 333a-3, 334a-1, TPM 2, 7, 10, 13, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 28, 33, 38, 50, 56, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88, 93, 94, 107, 111, 115, 119, 121, 126, 129, 132, 135, 139, 142, 165, 181, 187, 191, 209, 211, 217, 219, 221, 270,  
*mamm* D s5,  
*mammou* Ba 661,  
*mamou* Cl 256,  
*mampazron* H 153,  
*man* N 1075, Nl 21, 98, Nom 328a-3, TPM 196

**manach** 'monk (n., m.)'  
*manach* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 282a-3,  
*menech* G 762, 1232, 1244, 1261, M 1279,  
*menechy* G 1244

**manaches** 'nun, female monk (n., f.)'  
*manaches* CathA, CathB, CathC

**manachty** 'monastery (n., m.)'  
*manachty* CathA, CathB, CathC

**manancc** 'term, duration (n., f.)'  
*mananç* M 1986, 2047

**manant** 'late, negligent (adj.)'  
*manant* M 1813

**manc** 'one-handed (adj.), one-handed person (n., m.)'  
*manc* CathA, CathB, CathC, Jer 394, a87, TPM 178,  
*mancq* Nom 272b-5

**manch** 'sleeve (n., m.)'  
*maing* Nom 119b-1, 178a-3, 184b-5, 196a-5,  
*maingou* Nom 113b-2,  
*manigou* Nom 111b-3

**manchouer** 'jaw (n., m.)'  
*machouer* CathA,  
*māchouer* CathC,  
*manchouer* CathB,  
*mangouer* Nom 19b-6

**mandamant** 'payment (n., m.)'  
*mandamant* Ba 53, CathB, J 163, M 2602, N 50,

*mandamantou* G 729, N 247,  
*mandamāt* CathC

**mandoc** 'roach (fish) (n., m.)'  
*mandoc* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mandragora** 'mandrake (n., f.)'  
*mādragora* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mandragoun* Nom 89a-3

**maneamant** 'skill, handiness (n., m.)'  
*maneamant* Nom 296b-5

**manec** 'glove (n., f.)'  
*manec* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 18,  
*manecq* Nom 119b-2

**maneguet** 'gloved (adj.)'  
*maneguet* CathC

**manequin** 'mannequin (n., m.)'  
*maniquin* Nom 157a-5

**maner** 'manor (n., m.)'  
*maner* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nl 14

**manheguer** 'glover (n., m.)'  
*māheguer* CathB,  
*manheguer* CathA

**maniaff** 'handle (v.)'  
*maniaff* Coll d40

**manier** 'manner (n., m.)'  
*mainer* Dag 154,  
*manerou* Ba 425,  
*manier* Ba 150, 151, 227, 451, 810, Ca 11, CathA,  
 CathB, CathC, Don 4, 5, J 10, 17, 112, Jer 115, M  
 2021, 2791, 3061, 3099, 3599, N 1148, 1310,  
 1559, 1569, s17, Nl 59, 100,  
*manyer[r]* Ba 337,  
*manyer* Ba 41, 46, 54, 61, 62, 64, 71, 93, 96, 104, 107,  
 109, 117, 130, 165, 186, 193, 233, 285, 297, 310,  
 318, 340, 360, 384, 408, 502, 525, 547, 565, 585,  
 704, 742, 750, 753, 773, 803, D 59, Don 1, J 7, 13,  
 25, 34, 38, 45, 47, 54, 55, 63, 69, 80, 84, 96, 104,  
 119, 157, 168, 184, 196, 212, 225, 234, 235, N  
 1279, Nl 18, TPM 152, 258,  
*manyerou* G 404

**manifest** 'manifest (adj.); manifestly (adv.)'  
*manifest* N s15,  
*manifest* Ba 236, 248, 299, 304, 308, 324, 348, 444,  
 476, 617, 627, 709, 758, Cl 96, H 132, 150, J 77,  
 99, 102, 232, M 2934, 3086, 3410, N 128, 1482

**manifestiff** 'manifest (v.)'  
*manifest* J 78,  
*manifestaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*manifestet* M 1140,  
*manifestiff* Coll d23

**mann** 'manna (n., m.)'  
*mān* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mann* J 14, 129, TPM 47

**manquiff** 'lack, want for (v.)'  
*man[c]se* Ba 119,  
*manque* Dag 10

**mansion** 'mansion (n., f.)'  
*mansion* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 2178

**mantell** 'coat (n., m.)'  
*mantel* Nom 112a-5, 112a-7, 112b-2,  
*mantele* Nom 111a-4,  
*mantell* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 23, J 208, Nom  
111b-7, 112a-1, 112a-6, 112b-1, 112b-5, 113a-1,  
113a-2, 114b-1,  
*mentell* G 643

**Mantua** 'place-name'  
*mātua* CathA

**manuel** 'manual (n., m.); personal name (m.)'  
*manuel* CathA,  
*manuel* CathB, CathC, Nom 3b-1

**manumitaff** 'liberate (v.)'  
*manumitaff* CathB, CathC,  
*manumittaff* CathA

**maouez** 'woman (n., f.)'  
*ma ves (?)* TPM 13,  
*moues* Ba 79,  
*mouez* Ca 28, 31, MCf 71

**maout** 'sheep (n., m.)'  
*maout* CathC, Coll 51, 81, Nom 28a-3, 29b-6, 29b-7,  
35a-6, 35a-7,  
*maoüt* Nom 29b-6,  
*meot* Jer 184,  
*mout* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**map** 'son (n., m.)'  
*mab* Ba 179, 260, H 145, J 3, 20, 21, 24, 25, 31, 32, 34,  
37, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 58, 70, 80, 81, 82, 83,  
84, 90, 98, 101, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 140,  
141, 142, 150, 152, 154, 157, 159, 160, 174, 175,  
176, 180, 181, 182, 188, 212, 223, N 63, 123, 392,  
409, 421, 424, 436, 534, 683, 701, 708, 722, 742,  
754, 782, 854, 892, 893, 905, 910, 911, 913, 916,  
931, 950, 972, 990, 996, 998, 1047, 1053, 1061,  
1080, 1127, 1154, 1235, 1266, 1698, 1897, TPM  
141, 153,  
*mabic* Nl 3, 8, 9, 15, 28, 46, 57, 61,  
*mabyc* Jer 33, Nl 54,  
*mac* Ba 713,

*map* Ba 279, 309, 338, 377, 380, 557, 624, 631, Ca 6,  
35, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cd 3, Cl 110, 118, 216,  
218, 220, 222, 228, 244, Coll 33, 239, g19, g27,  
g67, D 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, s2, s4, s8, s12, G 2, 9, 16, 22,  
140, 252, 370, 372, 400, 409, 415, 433, 445, 446,  
625, 654, 684, 773, 802, 831, 945, 960, 987, 995,  
1003, 1021, 1049, 1096, 1097, 1099, 1122, 1134,  
1136, 1142, 1219, H 130, 132, 145, 146, 147, 148,  
149, 151, 152, 156, J 6, 21, 26, 27, 41, 75, 105, 120,  
122, 140, 147, 237, Jer 1, 11, 13, 73, 79, 109, 129,  
177, 331, 343, 368, 403, 407, 416, a1, a14, a15,  
a17, a46, a58, a121, a143, a163, a237, M 1, 168,  
366, 601, 680, 748, 814, 932, 1032, 1061, 1326,  
1481, 1538, 1603, 1643, 1906, 2234, 2752, 2975,  
3247, 3415, 3419, 3460, 3486, MCf 16, 80, 97, N  
s1, s10, s11, s14, s24, Nl 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13,  
14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37,  
38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60,  
61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 75, 76, 82,  
83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 100, 103,  
Nom 279a-6, 331b-3, 331b-4, 331b-5, 331b-7,  
332a-2, 333a-5, 333b-3, 333b-8, TPM 8, 12, 15,  
22, 23, 25, 27, 33, 42, 48, 49, 58, 61, 71, 72, 73, 83,  
89, 110, 128, 130, 133, 156, 157, 167, 173, 177,  
178, 187, 189, 190, 197, 207, 212, 213, 214, 218,  
219, 222, 237, 243, 245, 251, 259, 260, 261, 262,  
275, 284,  
*map-ic* Coll 33,  
*mapic* Coll g67,  
*mapyen* Nom 294a-6,  
*mibien* Nl 58,  
*mibyen* Nl 24,  
*mybien* Nl 53,  
*mybyen* Nl 35, 41

**mar** 'doubt (n., m.)'  
*mar* Ba 10, 11, 39, 51, 100, 215, 221, 236, 276, 312,  
391, 412, 429, 451, 454, 470, 548, 549, 597, 598,  
646, 647, 668, 678, 694, 740, 809, Cl 80, 224, D  
13, G 5, 698, 816, 1000, J 4, 5, 16, 22, 25, 33, 36,  
50, 52, 59, 68, 69, 71, 72, 77, 79, 81, 88, 145, 147,  
196, 204, 233, Jer 3, 38, 138, 220, 305, 452, a3,  
a13, a61, a108, a110, a196, a213, M 121, 125,  
275, 280, 282, 297, 433, 672, 727, 1083, 1103,  
1403, 1440, 1712, 2119, 2368, 2533, 2661, 3504,  
3571, MCf 9, N 31, 66, 181, 191, 279, 340, 516,  
558, 564, 641, 671, 705, 806, 872, 1170, 1227,  
1634, 1879, 1906, s7, Nl 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 16, 24, 28,  
35, 47, 48, 49, 52, 63, 64, 67, 68, 80, 84, 98, 108,  
109, TPM 33, 55, 58, 78, 83, 104, 109, 118, 137,  
159, 188, 192, 198, 202, 249

**marbr** 'marble (n., m.)'  
*mabr* Ba 383,  
*marbr* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 140b-5, 251b-1,  
252a-5, 253a-4, 253a-5

**Marc** 'personal name (m.)'  
*marc* CathA, CathC, Nom 71b-, 63b-6, 72a-4, 102b-6,



*marc* CathB, H 141, 154, 155

**marcel** 'personal name'

*marcel* CathA, CathB, CathC

**march** 'horse (n., m.)'

*march* Ba 700, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 250, Coll 137, 145, 151, 155, 175, 223, d7, G 715, 777, H 137, Nom 26b-8, 27a-1, 27a-2, 27a-6, 27b-5, 29a-6, 30a-4, 31a-9, 31b-1, 31b-2, 31b-3, 31b-4, 31b-5, 31b-6, 31b-7, 32a-1, 32a-2, 32a-3, 32a-4, 32a-6, 32b-4, 32b-5, 33a-5, 75a-6, 136b-8, 147b-5, 179a-3, 179a-4, 179b-4, 181b-8, 189a-8, 290a-5, 292a-6, 292b-6, 321b-3, 181a-10,

*marchic* Nom 32b-3,

*marehyen* J 123

**march (trace)** 'trace (n., m.)'

*marchou* Nom 172a-8,

*marig* Nom 25b-7

**marchadour** 'trader, merchant (n., m.)'

*marchadour* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 141, 193, 265, d23, J 16, 86, M 104, 2096, MCf 36, Nom 241b-2, 296a-3, 296b-3, 297a-1, 297a-2, 297a-6, 306a-7, 311a-1,

*marchadourez* Nom 296b-3,

*marchadourien* Coll 177,

*marchadouryen* Coll 97, 137, J 76

**marchadourez** 'goods, merchandise (n., f.)'

*marchadoures* Coll 17,

*marchadourez* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 5, 121, 179, 187, 215, d23, MCf 36, Nom 4b-4, 150b-1,

*marchadourezou* Nom 4a-5

**marchaff** 'march (v.)'

*marchaff* Nom 30a-7, 321b-4,

*marchas* NI 49,

*marchet* J 133,

*marchiff* Nom 172b-5,

*marig* Nom 172b-5

**marchat** 'market (n., m.)'

*marchat* Ba 79, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 23, 55, 71, 101, 109, 119, 187, 191, 197, 199, 239, MCf 51, Nom 52a-1, 52a-4, 225b-7, 241b-2, 242b-7, 242b-8, 243a-1, 243a-4, 243a-5

**marchataff** 'bargain (v.)'

*marchata* M 646,

*marchatas* J 17

**marchatlech** 'marketplace (n., m.)'

*marchatlech* CathA

**marchaucy** 'stable (n., m.)'

*marchaucy* NI 8,

*marchaucy* CathA, CathB, CathC, NI 54, 57,

*merchaucy* Nom 321b-2,

*merchauci* NI 61, 64, 73,

*merchaucy* NI 12, 34, 45, 47, 56, 78,

*merchaussy* Coll 149, Nom 132b-7, 182b-1

**marchec** 'knight (n., m.)'

*marc'heyon* Jer a147,

*marchec* CathC,

*marcheyen* Jer 409,

*marcheyon* Jer 138,

*marec* Jer a77,

*maregour* CathC,

*mareyen* Ca 19, 20, 29,

*marhec* CathA, CathB, M 547,

*marhegour* CathA, CathB,

*marheyen* Jer 145

**marchegaff** 'knight (v.)'

*marchequet* G 796,

*mareguas* Jer 395

**marchegues** 'female knight (n., f.)'

*marhegoures* CathA, CathB,

*marhegues* CathA, CathB, CathC

**marcheguez** 'knighthood (n., f.)'

*marcheguez* Coll d7,

*mareguyez* Jer 144,

*marheguez* CathA, CathB, CathC

**marchepie** 'footstool (n., m.)'

*mache-piè* Nom 197b-6,

*marchepie* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*marchepié* Coll d23,

*marchepiè* Nom 157b-5

**marchlech** 'stable? horse-place (n., m.)'

*marchlech* CathB

**mare** 'sea level, ebb and flow (n., f.)'

*marè* Nom 244a-4

**marechez** '?'

*marechez* Coll 135

**marellet** 'marbled (adj.)'

*marellet* Nom 32a-6, 33b-4, 109a-3, 123a-7

**Margarit** 'personal name (f.)'

*marcharit* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*margarit* H 145,

*marguaryt* Coll 95

**margin** 'margin (n., m.)'

*mairg* Nom 5a-4,

*margen* Nom 5a-4,

*margin* CathA, CathB, CathC

**margot** 'personal name (f.)'  
*margot* Nom 194a-6

**mari** 'husband (n., m.)'  
*mary* Coll g66

**marichal** 'marshal (n., m.)'  
*mareschal* Coll 259, 263, 265, Nom 286b-1,  
*mareschall* Coll d23,  
*marischal* Nom 288b-2, 302b-4, 342a-7/342b-  
8/343-7,  
*marischalet* Nom 288b-4,  
*marischall* Coll 155

**marilh** 'register (n., m.)'  
*marill* Nom 2b-5

**maritim** 'maritime (adj.)'  
*maritim* Nom 241a-4

**marjol** 'oregano (n., m.)'  
*marjol* Nom 80a-2, 94a-1

**marmiton** 'cooking pot (n., m.)'  
*marmittoun* Nom 162a-8

**marmous** 'monkey (n., m.)'  
*marmous* Nom 34b-8, 18b-10

**marn** 'marl (stone) (n., f.)'  
*marn* Nom 229a-2

**marod** 'marauder, who talks excessively (n., m.)'  
*marrot* Nom 329b-3

**maron** 'matricaria (plant) (n., f.)'  
*maron* Nom 90a-8

**marquerez** '? (n., f.)'  
*marquerez* Ca 18, 29

**marquis** 'marquis (n., m.)'  
*marquis* Nom 285a-5

**marr** 'hoe (n., f.)'  
*marr* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d23, Jer 5, 396, Nom  
178a-11,  
*marrou* Jer 396, a254

**Mars** 'personal name'  
*mars* Cl 254

**martese** 'maybe (adv.)'  
*martese* Ba 302, CathA, CathB, CathC, Dag 89, G 558,  
1084, MCf 48

**Martha** 'personal name (f.)'  
*martha* J 9, 45, 162

**martin** 'personal name (m.)'  
*martin* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 226b-2

**martolot** 'sailor (n., m.)'  
*martelet* Nom 38a-6,  
*martolot* Nom 318a-1

**martr** 'marten (n., m.)'  
*mart* Nom 33b-6,  
*martr* CathA, CathB, Nom 33b-6

**martyr** 'martyr (n., m.)'  
*martir* Ba 448, 503, 525, 610, 682, 760, CathA, M 193,  
2315, N 444, 1660,  
*martiret* Ba 146, 468, H 131,  
*martyr* Ba 587, 606, 657, 659, CathB, CathC, D s2, J  
150,  
*martyret* Ba 648,  
*martyrisou* J 40

**martyres** 'female martyr (n., f.)'  
*martires* Ba 496, 527, 677, 679, 707, 787, CathA,  
*martyres* Ba 518, 625, CathB, CathC, J 40

**martyriff** 'martyr (v.)'  
*martiraff* Ba 573,  
*martiriff* Ba 461,  
*martiriset* Ca 26,  
*martiro* Ba 526,  
*martyriset* Ba 148

**marv** 'death (n., m.); dead (adj.)'  
*maro* Coll d21, d25, g19, D 8, 13, 23, 45, s15, MCf 15,  
18, 78, 96, 97, Nl 9, 17, 42, 98, 99, Nom 165a-1,  
*marou* Ca 3, 15, 28, 29, 30, 32, G 195, 239, 425, 483,  
873, 877, 988, 1020, 1023, 1037, 1048, 1082,  
1124, 1259,  
*mart* [sic] Nom 111a-5,  
*maru* Ba 115, 116, 118, 119, 140, 275, 346, 436, 445,  
453, 464, 476, 477, 489, 568, 573, 589, 594, 617,  
619, 620, 642, 645, 663, 667, 669, 684, 686, 687,  
689, 690, 696, 701, 710, 758, 781, 805, CathA,  
CathB, CathC, Cl 84, 92, 102, 108, 114, 118, 123,  
212, 216, 220, 222, 226, 230, Coll 149, g19, D 8,  
13, 14, 17, 33, 34, 37, 45, 59, Dag 26, H 131, 141,  
144, 146, 149, 153, 155, 159, J 114, Jer 1, 48, 121,  
170, 193, 214, 239, 297, 355, 394, a34, a37, a105,  
a108, M 13, 37, 58, 60, 63, 72, 75, 82, 85, 91, 134,  
146, 157, 161, 166, 177, 182, 244, 279, 291, 306,  
316, 320, 362, 420, 424, 436, 450, 453, 516, 568,  
572, 582, 838, 1011, 1036, 1300, 1426, 1742,  
1778, 2325, 2424, 2469, 2471, 2485, 2491, 3392,  
3420, 3522, 3539, 3576, MCf 15, 45, 51, 103, 113,  
114, N 81, 94, 355, 586, 961, 1167, 1181, 1196,  
1217, 1271, 1710, 1891, Nl 90, Nom 11a-6, 60b-  
3, 95b-1, 197a-5, 199a-8, 199b-3, 199b-4, 200a-1,  
215b-1, 224b-8, 264b-2, 280b-2, 283a-3, 283a-4,  
283b-1, 283b-2, TPM 179, 228, 233, 244, 247,  
250, 252, 286,

*marue* Cd 9, 17,  
*marv* Coll g19, H 158, J 16, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31,  
32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 55, 56, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65,  
66, 67, 69, 71, 77, 80, 96, 100, 114, 115, 116, 122,  
123, 124, 129, 150, 154, 155, 175, 177, 178, 207,  
231, 232, M 2479, N 963, Nom 13b-2,  
*meru* D 25

**marvailh** 'marvel; conversation (n., m.);  
marvelously (adv.)'  
*maruail* Ba 28, Ca 5, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 255,  
d24, M 630, 1658, N 207, 1793,  
*maruaillet* N 16,  
*maruailloou* Coll 89,  
*maruaillo* Ba 488, M 626, 1425, N 400, 1092, s10, Nl  
101,  
*maruailus* Coll d24,  
*marvail* J 102, 148, 167, 216, 217,  
*marvaillo* Dag 191, J 103, 128, 165, 230,  
*marvayll* Jer a117

**marvailhaff** 'marvel (v.); talk (v.)'  
*ma[r]juelle* Ca 34,  
*maruailaff* Ca 5,  
*maruaille* Ca 6,  
*maruaillet* Ba 361, Coll 233, N 750, Nl 36,  
*marvailaf* J 217, 233,  
*marvaillet* J 144

**marvailhus** 'marvelous (adj.)'  
*maruailus* M 2844, Nl 45,  
*merueillus* M Cf 63

**marvailhusamant** 'marvelously (adj.)'  
*maruailuzamant* Coll d24

**marvel** 'deadly (adj.)'  
*m.*<sup>108</sup> M Cf 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32,  
33, 34, 40, 43, 45, 46, 99, 105, 106,  
*maruel* Ba 464, 574, 664, 725, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl  
94, 118, 230, D 36, 37, H 151, 156, M 84, 1528,  
1696, 2436, M Cf 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20,  
23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 46,  
47, 52, 57, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, N 283, Nom  
187a-3, 230a-6, 278b-5,  
*maruell* D 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 47,  
*marvel* H 154, J 149, 178

**marvelamant** 'fatally (adv.)'  
*maruelamant* D 47,  
*maruelamāt* M Cf 29,  
*maruellamant* M Cf 43, 50

**Mary** 'personal name, f.'  
*mari* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 4, 14, M 3416, M Cf 62, N  
391, 856, 872, 891, 1340, Nl 70, TPM 183, 194,

*maria* Cd 6, D 13, 22, 51, 54, 57, 58, Coll g19, D 21, G  
889, G 903, H 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 155,  
156, J 195, M 147, M Cf 18, 110, N 743, Nl 60, 64,  
66, 91, TPM 38, 43, 69, 133, 146, 198, 219, 225,  
*mariet* Ba 344, J 156, 214,  
*marj* N 496,  
*mary* Cl 86, 88, 216, 220, 242, 244, D 16, 22, 23, s3,  
s4, s6, s13, s15, s18, G 851, 867, 969, 1136, H 130,  
147, 149, 155, J 45, 98, 105, 124, 140, 159, 161,  
162, 174, 180, 195, Jer 22, 220, a138, M 814, M Cf,  
83, 107, 111, Nl 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18,  
19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41,  
43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58,  
59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77,  
78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99,  
TPM 24, 47, 68, 69, 70, 92, 108, 109, 112, 119,  
126, 139, 165, 177, Nom 279b-4,  
*maryet* J 184

**marz** 'miracle, marvel (n., m.)'  
*marz* CathA, CathB, Jer 70, TPM 98, 144

**marzbran** 'raven (n., f.)'  
*marchbran* CathA,  
*marfran* Nom 38b-10,  
*marzbran* CathB, CathC

**marzus** 'wondrous (adj.)'  
*marzus* N 1476

**mas** 'mass (n., m.)'  
*mas* N 816, 1470

**mascul** 'masculine (grammatical gender) (n., m.)'  
*mascul* Don 5, 7, 8, 9

**masif** 'massive (adj.)'  
*massiff* Nom 56a-6

**masquet** 'masked (adj.)'  
*masquet* Nom 323a-3

**mastic** 'putty, malleable material (n., m.)'  
*masticq* Nom 99a-6

**mastin** 'brute (n., m.); mastiff (n., m.)'  
*mastin* Ba 290, 515, 736, CathA, CathB, CathC, Jer  
204, Nom 30b-3,  
*mastyn* Jer 59, 91

**mastinet** 'masturbate? (v.)'  
*mastinet* J 98

**mat** 'good (adj.); well (adv.)'  
*m[at]* N 1639,  
*ma* Coll 95,

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<sup>108</sup> Abbreviation for *marvel*.

*ma[t]* Ba 214, N 1124,  
*mat* Ba 25, 35, 42, 48, 53, 55, 57, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75,  
 79, 80, 86, 89, 90, 95, 99, 103, 109, 127, 130, 141,  
 151, 157, 167, 168, 169, 177, 178, 179, 181, 192,  
 194, 196, 208, 209, 210, 213, 221, 222, 227, 236,  
 238, 244, 255, 258, 261, 288, 293, 319, 320, 338,  
 368, 370, 371, 372, 375, 381, 386, 392, 402, 407,  
 448, 450, 457, 463, 492, 493, 499, 503, 511, 520,  
 521, 532, 569, 571, 575, 576, 580, 583, 600, 602,  
 631, 633, 646, 689, 695, 696, 729, 732, 746, 755,  
 764, 787, 791, 811, Ca 1, 4, 17, CathA, CathB,  
 CathC, Cl 74, 82, 90, 92, 98, 100, 110, 114, 212,  
 222, 226, 232, 236, 242, 254, 256, 270, Coll 9, 21,  
 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 39, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 53, 59,  
 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87,  
 89, 91, 93, 95, 99, 101, 107, 109, 111, 115, 117,  
 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 137, 147,  
 149, 151, 153, 157, 159, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167,  
 169, 171, 177, 185, 187, 189, 195, 197, 199, 201,  
 203, 211, 213, 215, 217, 223, 233, 243, 245, 253,  
 265, 267, 271, 279, d5, d16, g25, g29, D 11, 16, 23,  
 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 39, 43, 50, 51, 54, 58, Dag 14,  
 Don 7, G 85, 106, 162, 180, 182, 289, 318, 327,  
 352, 358, 374, 380, 441, 444, 456, 458, 481, 514,  
 538, 540, 676, 713, 1037, 1049, 1073, 1199, 1202,  
 1226, 1227, 1266, H 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136,  
 142, 153, 155, 157, J 5, 7, 9, 11, 30, 42, 43, 45, 46,  
 48, 50, 51, 56, 65, 66, 75, 82, 83, 85, 87, 90, 94,  
 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 113, 115, 118, 120, 122,  
 127, 128, 136, 140, 149, 152, 153, 155, 156, 164,  
 165, 166, 174, 176, 178, 179, 193, 195, 196, 202,  
 203, 204, 207, 208, 211, 215, 225, 226, 228, 229,  
 231, 236, Jer 13, 17, 24, 40, 49, 64, 79, 82, 92, 95,  
 104, 106, 124, 134, 155, 161, 172, 173, 174, 185,  
 217, 222, 224, 225, 238, 267, 272, 278, 284, 353,  
 399, 427, 438, 476, a1, a15, a61, a62, a89, a106,  
 a123, a171, a176, a207, M 66, 114, 170, 325, 349,  
 387, 422, 448, 458, 619, 622, 708, 745, 810, 890,  
 896, 902, 909, 918, 930, 951, 961, 994, 996, 1002,  
 1003, 1005, 1010, 1106, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1157,  
 1225, 1245, 1264, 1269, 1314, 1333, 1361, 1370,  
 1443, 1450, 1512, 1538, 1553, 1573, 1576, 1577,  
 1582, 1698, 1721, 1776, 1904, 1912, 2012, 2122,  
 2398, 2637, 2639, 2697, 2715, 2720, 2821, 2854,  
 2862, 2869, 2926, 2932, 2942, 2953, 2959, 2971,  
 3016, 3109, 3310, 3316, 3355, 3380, MCf 7, 10,  
 13, 14, 19, 24, 29, 34, 38, 41, 43, 49, 50, 51, 59, 62,  
 74, 76, 79, 81, 83, 85, 86, N 1, 120, 125, 164, 243,  
 256, 257, 273, 361, 401, 436, 441, 465, 482, 547,  
 570, 582, 606, 675, 728, 805, 928, 929, 946, 980,  
 982, 1043, 1048, 1056, 1059, 1060, 1104, 1105,  
 1106, 1120, 1135, 1139, 1207, 1247, 1249, 1251,  
 1286, 1305, 1341, 1342, 1356, 1423, 1426, 1466,  
 1490, 1621, 1646, 1648, 1677, 1687, 1690, 1716,  
 1743, 1760, 1788, 1826, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1926,  
 1934, 1937, 1941, 1943, 1947, s16, s17, s18, Nl 7,  
 8, 9, 13, 14, 19, 24, 28, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45,  
 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 59, 66, 70, 71, 77, 78, 85, 86, 88,  
 91, 95, 106, Nom 13b-1, 30a-9, 51b-1, 52a-1, 52a-

4, 52b-4, 53a-2, 63a-6, 66a-4, 77b-7, 121a-8,  
 129b-8, 193a-1, 201a-2, 201b-3, 205b-4, 220b-1,  
 228b-6, 228b-7, 251a-3, 268b-1, 272b-2, 274a-6,  
 277a-4, 290b-3, 325a-7, TPM 4, 43, 50, 95, 145,  
 164, 194, 240, 255, 264, 267, 284,

*mot* Nl 26,  
*vat* Coll g27

**matalas** 'mattress (n., m.)'  
*matalas* Nom 167a-2,  
*matalassou* Nom 311b-7

**matematic** 'mathematical (adj.); mathematics (n., f.)'  
*matematic* CathA, CathB, CathC

**matematician** 'mathematician (n., m.)'  
*matematician* Nom 303b-5

**material** 'material (adj.)'  
*material* J 55,  
*materiel* H 129

**maternel** 'maternal (adj.)'  
*maternel* Cl 124, J 28

**matery** 'matter, fabric (n., f.)'  
*materi* Ba 54, 137, 166, CathA, CathB, CathC, M 574,  
 N 185, 1354, 1407, 1523, 1573, TPM 119,  
*materiou* Nom 188a-7,  
*matery* Ba 68, 97, 124, 135, 143, 214, 216, 310, 667,  
 680, 746, Coll 277, J 18, 61, 79, 80, 94, 95, 168,  
 209, 234, Jer a229, M 308, 337, 1524, 1790, 2779,  
 3568, N 511, Nom 126a-8, 229a-5, 275a-5, 307a-  
 3, 336ab-2/3372, TPM 165

**matez** 'servant, maid (n., f.)'  
*matez* Ca 23, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 223, G 429, J  
 201, Jer a186, M 901, Nl 39, 55, 77, 92, Nom 3204,  
 130a-5, 319b-5, 320a-5

**mathias** 'personal name'  
*mathias* CathA, CathB, CathC

**matinesou** 'morning prayers (n., pl.)'  
*matinesou* H 142,  
*matinesou* CathA, CathB, CathC, H 142, 143, 155

**matoberour** 'good-doer (n., m.)'  
*matoberouryen* D 24

**matourch** 'maid, servant (n., f.)'  
*matourch* Nom 320a-4

**matrou** 'good king? (n., m.)'  
*matrou* J 228

**mau** 'swift (adj.)'  
*mao* Nl 8,  
*maou* Nl 57, 80,

*mau* Ba 162, CathB, CathC, TPM 65

**Maudez** 'personal name (f.)'  
*maudez* CathA, CathB, H 145,  
*maudez* CathC

**maugracius** 'ungracious? (adj.)'  
*maugracius* Ba 334

**maurice** 'personal name (m.)'  
*moricc* CathB, CathC,  
*morice* CathA, CathMS,  
*mouricc* CathA

**Maxentian** 'personal name'  
*maxentian* Ca 35

**Maxentius** 'personal name (m.)'  
*maxentius* Ca 3, 28, 32, 35

**Maximien** 'personal name (m.)'  
*maximian* Ba 773, Ca 35,  
*maximien* Ba 33, Ca 35

**Maximius** 'personal name (m.)'  
*maximi* Ca 35,  
*maximius* Ca 35

**maydach** 'sadness (n., m.)'  
*maydach* M 3505

**Mazeu** 'personal name, Matthew (m.)'  
*mazeu* CathA, CathB, CathC, H 131, 141, 145, 154,  
155, M 489

**mazron** 'godmother (n., f.)'  
*mazron* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mean** 'half (n., m.)'  
*mean* CathA, CathB

**mecanic** 'mechanic (adj.)'  
*mecanic* Ba 49, CathA, CathB, CathC

**mech** 'wick (n., f.)'  
*meig* Nom 166a-7

**mechance** 'misfortune, bad luck (n., f.)'  
*mechance* Ba 27, 303, 727, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mechant* CathA,  
*meschanç* M 1592, 2090

**mechandet** 'meanness (n., m.)'  
*meschandet* N 1668

**mechansete** 'meanness (n., f.)'  
*meschanseté* Cl 118

**mechant** 'mean (adj.)'  
*mechant* Ba 237, 290, 481, 485, 649, 698, 721, 757,  
801, 806, CathB, H 131, J 84, 234, N 802, NI 83,  
107, TPM 263,  
*mechantet* J 234,  
*meschant* M 750, 2111, 2435, 2867, 3487

**mechantes** 'mean woman (n., f.)'  
*mechantes* Ba 706,  
*meschantes* Ba 538

**mechantiz** 'meanness (n., f.)'  
*mechantis* Ba 209, 388, 719

**mecher** 'profession (n., m.)'  
*mecher* Ba 40, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 68, 69, 118, 151, 186,  
196, 404, 422, 455, 463, 543, 739, 780, CathA,  
CathB, CathC, G 589, 1191, H 134, 140, J 15, 30, 61,  
62, 69, 80, 100, 106, 165, 225, Jer 77, a187, M  
1731, N 185, 289, 368, 649, 677, 679, 786, 1353,  
1441, 1538, 1561, 1619, 1753, TPM 268, 283,  
*mecherou* J 135, Jer 232, TPM 251,  
*mescher* M 2885,  
*micher* Nom 2a-5, 27a-1, 113a-4, 180b-8, 283a-4,  
306b-2, 306b-3, 338ab-10/33910, 342a-4/342b-  
5/343-4,  
*myscher* N s6

**mecherour** 'worker (n., m.)'  
*me-cherouryen* Ba 68,  
*mecherour* Ba 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 55, 61, 62, 65, 67,  
68, 70, 71, 73, 77, 78, 192, 193, 194, 196, 244, 245,  
247, 249, 251, 283, 284, 287, 291, 292, 293, 295,  
298, 302, 306, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mecherouryen* Ba 3, 7, 39, 42, 52, 79, Ca 5, Nom 306b-  
2, 346a-7/346b-6/347-6,  
*mescherour* Nom 306b-5, 307a-3, 307b-2, 311a-5,  
*mescherouryē* Nom 63b-4

**mechiec** 'kid, child (n., m.)'  
*mechyec* Coll d25

**mechienn** 'booger (n., f.)'  
*mechiën* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mechy* Nom 15a-8,  
*michennicq* Nom 58a-8

**mechif** 'misfortune (n., m.)'  
*mechif* J 101

**medalenn** 'medal (n., f.)'  
*medalennou* Nom 253b-2

**medecin** '(study of) medicine (n., f.); medic,  
physician (n., m.)'  
*medecin* CathA, CathB, CathC, MCF 98, Nom 205b-1,  
*medecinnet* M 132,  
*medicin* Nom 302b-1

**medecinaff** 'give medicine, apply medicine (v.)'  
*medecinaff* Coll d23

**medest** 'surely (adv.)'  
*medest* Jer 41, 147, 235, 398, M 544, 1140, 1301,  
1723, 2216, 2529, 3208, 3412, NI 31

**mediator** 'mediator (n., m.)'  
*mediator* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 296b-2

**medicamant** 'medicine (n., m.)'  
*medicamant* Nom 275a-3, 275b-5, 277a-3, 277b-9,  
*medicamantou* Nom 344ab-10/34510,  
*medicamātou* M Cf 98

**medicinerez** '(the study of) medicine (n., m.)'  
*medicinerez* Nom 274a-5, 275a-4, 275a-5, 275b-1,  
275b-3, 275b-4, 276a-2, 276a-4, 276a-5, 276b-3,  
276b-4, 277a-4, 277b-2,  
*medicinerezou* Cl 74

**mediff** 'reap (v.)'  
*medo* M 1567, 1569,  
*metter* Dag 140,  
*midiff* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 1570, Nom 178b-4,  
*midyff* M 1565, 1576

**mediocr** 'average, mediocre (adj.)'  
*mediocr* Coll d24

**meditatif** 'meditative (n., m.)'  
*meditatiff* Don 15

**meditation** 'meditation (n., f.)'  
*meditation* Don 15

**meffetour** 'wrongdoer (n., m.)'  
*meffetour* J 134,  
*mesfectouryen* N 1402

**megiun** 'forge bellows (n., f.)'  
*megiū* CathB,  
*megium* CathA,  
*miguinou* Nom 196b-11

**meil** 'mullet (fish) (n., m.)'  
*meil* Nom 45a-3, 45a-6, 46a-7, 46a-9,  
*meilly* Nom 46a-9

**meill** 'mill (n., f.)'  
*mill* Nom 147b-1

**meinec** 'covered in stones (adj.)'  
*meinec* Nom 67a-3,  
*mēmecq [sic]* Nom 233a-4

**mel** 'honey (n., m.)'  
*mel* Ba 266, CathA, CathB, CathC, M 2338, Nom 14a-  
1, 15a-4, 22b-8, 48a-3, 65a-1, 316a-4, 316a-5,

*mèl* Nom 48a-5, 55b-4, 123b-2

**melancolic** 'melancholic (adj.)'  
*melancolic* CathA,  
*melancolicq* Nom 263b-3, 268b-2, 274a-4,  
*melencolic* CathB, CathC

**melancoly** 'melancholy (n., f.)'  
*melancoly* Nom 15a-3, 257a-2

**melang** 'mix (n., m.)'  
*melaing* Nom 122b-3

**melchenenn** 'clover (n., f.)'  
*melchen* Nom 94a-3,  
*melchenēn* CathB, CathC,  
*melchenen* Nom 88b-6,  
*melchonēn* CathA

**Melchior** 'personal name'  
*melchion* NI 58,  
*melchyon* NI 34,  
*melchyor* NI 31

**melchisedec** 'personal name (m.)'  
*melchisedec* CathA, CathB

**melchoued** 'slugs (n., coll.)'  
*melfeden* Nom 44b-1, 44b-5, 44a-10,  
*melfet* Nom 46a-1,  
*melhuedēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*melhuēn* CathA

**melconiaff** 'afflict (v.)'  
*melconiaff* M 3119,  
*melconiet* Ba 800, D s3, N 1194, NI 77, 79, 86

**melcony** 'melancholy (n., f.)'  
*melconi* NI 75,  
*melcony* Ba 334, 491, 497, 529, 540, 605, 733, CathB,  
G 369, 918, 956, J 29, 34, 61, 85, 116, 160, 162,  
188, 191, M 1783, 2351, 2543, 2572, 2981, 3266,  
3557, N 170, NI 21, 35, 74, TPM 91,  
*mlcony* CathA

**melconyus** 'melancholic (adj.)'  
*melconyus* M 847

**melen** 'yellow (adj.)'  
*melē* CathB,  
*mele'n* Nom 37a-3,  
*melen* CathA, Coll 189, Nom 37a-7, 69a-6, 86a-3, 88b-  
1, 89b-4, 103a-8, 115b-8, 123a-6, 123b-1, 123b-  
2, 123b-3, 123b-5, 123b-6, 125b-6, 123b-10,  
*melēn* CathC

**melenaff** 'become yellow, turn yellow (v.)'  
*melenaff* Nom 7b-3

**melidur** 'grace (n., m.)'  
*melidur* J 128

**melit** 'grace (n., f.)'  
*melit* Ba 319

**mell** 'articulation (n., m.)'  
*mell* Nom 20b-7, 22b-9,  
*melle* CathA, CathB,  
*mellēn* CathC,  
*mellou* G 1255

**mell (plant)** 'millet (plant) (n., m.)'  
*mell* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 75a-10

**mellaff** 'be agitated, excited; mix (v.)'  
*mellat* Ba 370,  
*mellet* Nom 78a-8, 110a-5, 125b-4, 125b-6,  
*mellomp* M 341

**mellicrasis** 'precious stone? (n., m.)'  
*mellicrasis* CathA, CathB

**melodius** 'melodious (adj.)'  
*melodius* NI 21, Nom 213b-4

**melody** 'melody (n., f.)'  
*melodi* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*melody* Cl 244, TPM 109

**melons** 'melon (n., m.)'  
*melouns* Nom 90b-6

**memaousaf** '?' (v.)'  
*memaousaf* G 107

**membr** 'limb (n., m.)'  
*membr* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 13b-4, 264b-3,  
*membrou* Ba 473, J 33, 42, 43, 99, 175, M 2329, 2417,  
2420, 3438,  
*mempr* Nom 13b-5, 144b-1, 257a-4, 273a-3, 336ab-  
4/3374,  
*mempraou* NI 42, 43,  
*memprou* Cl 224, H 140

**membraig** 'frame (n., m.)'  
*membraigou* Nom 141a-5

**membret** 'big-boned (adj.)'  
*mēpret* Nom 272b-2

**memesamant** 'in the same manner (adj.)'  
*memesamant* Coll 233

**memoar** 'memory (n., m/f.)'  
*memoar* Ba 10, 236, 550, 611, 701, 809, CathA, CathB,  
CathC, Cl 82, 244, D 8, 12, 45, H 134, J 59, Jer 30,  
M 1957, MCf 38, 112, N 1684, NI 17, 69,  
*memoer* Coll 29, g31,

*memor* Ca 30, J 29, 38, 56, N 1422, Nom 3a-2, 257a-6

**memoral** 'memorial (n., m.)'  
*memoral* CathC,  
*mēmorial* CathA,  
*memorial* CathB, Nom 1b-1

**Men** 'personal name? (m.)'  
*men* H 145

**menavet** 'awl (tool) (n., m.)'  
*menaouet* Nom 172b-7,  
*menauet* CathA, CathB, CathC

**menc** 'stone bank (n., m.)'  
*mencq* Nom 142a-5

**mendiant** 'beggar (n., m.)'  
*mendiant* CathA, CathB, CathC

**menel** 'stay, dwell (v.)'  
*manaf* J 133,  
*manas* Ba 340, G 814, J 144, 156, Jer 5, 19, 396, a267,  
M 2201, NI 37, 39, 45, TPM 98, 158,  
*maneauff* Coll d6,  
*manenn* N 118,  
*manesoch* Coll 199,  
*manet* Ba 23, 58, 153, 163, 456, 463, 468, 473, 480,  
530, 640, 801, Dag 23, G 595, 793, 803, 1239,  
1247, J 5, 7, 24, 108, 133, 137, 143, 162, 174, 183,  
187, Jer 31, 188, a77, a136, M 219, 545, 1507,  
1977, 2352, 2701, N 1237, 1506, 1910, NI 15, 38,  
47, 62, 76, TPM 256,  
*manhent* M 1948,  
*mano* Ba 28, 459, 483, G 383, 755, J 33, 139, 159, 165,  
179, M 766, 1139, NI 97, 106, 107, TPM 9, 247,  
250, 269,  
*manse* NI 84,  
*menaf* N 263,  
*menell* Ba 642, CathA, CathB, CathC, J 56, N 868, 1487,  
*menez* TPM 261,  
*mennont* G 1218, J 226,  
*menomp* M 2514,  
*mensomp* Jer 343,  
*minif* J 192, N 858,  
*miny* M 470,  
*venot* Coll 211

**Menenian** 'personal name? (m.)'  
*menenian* N 1720, 1884

**menez** 'mountain (n., m.)'  
*menez* Ba 367, 368, 376, 377, 390, 651, Ca 2, 31, 33,  
CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 106, Dag 216, G 791, 926,  
J 13, 123, 144, 185, 204, Jer a37, NI 5, 13, 29, 41,  
96, 107, Nom 230b-3, 230b-4, 230b-5, 230b-7,  
230b-8, TPM 18, 95, 201,  
*menez you* Nom 231a-6,  
*menezic* Nom 231a-1,

*meneziou* J 10, M 1920, NI 108,  
*menezyou* M 769

**mengleuz** 'mine (n., f.)'  
*mengleuz* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 232a-6, 232a-7,  
249b-6

**menn** 'kid, i.e. baby goat (n., m.)'  
*mēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*menn* Nom 33a-7,  
*mennic* Nom 31a-4

**mennad** 'wish, request (n., m.)'  
*mænat* Nom 2a-1,  
*mannat* Ba 20,  
*mēnat* CathA, CathB,  
*mennat* Ba 294, 295, 409, 554, 676, CathC, G 1160, J  
24, 90, 106, 141, 151, 153, 165, 166, Jer 398, M  
450, 762, 1011, 1515, 3455, TPM 22, 23, 113, 134

**mennout** 'want (v.)'  
*mansa* NI 4,  
*mem* G 721,  
*men* Ba 146, G 454, Jer 176, 408, a42, M 2039, 2496,  
N 1480,  
*meñ* G 110, 457, 586, 1141,  
*menaf* N 1090, 1313,  
*menaff* N 1703,  
*mēnet* NI 48,  
*menhet* NI 47,  
*menn* Ba 38, 50, 51, 56, 81, 90, 192, 207, 235, 307,  
409, 434, 463, 490, 521, 565, 620, 648, 718, 749,  
782, J 29, 30, 31, 32, 113, 136, 227, M 827, 951,  
975, 1091, 1551, 1814, 2426, 2667, 2812, N 259,  
312, 679, 1116, 1117, 1230, 1335,  
*menna* Ba 281,  
*mennaf* G 375, 394, 459, 975, J 29, 31, 46, 62, 100,  
153, 154, 163, 190, 226, N 451, 1049, 1140, 1739,  
*mennaff* Ba 23, 34, 39, 41, 84, 96, 136, 198, 268, 622,  
652, 718, 725, 763, J 44, Jer 249, a242, N 329, 343,  
480, 851, 857, 949, 985, 1257, 1611,  
*mennas* Ba 11, 301, 323, J 163, Jer a2, NI 11, 29, TPM  
96,  
*mennat* Jer a4,  
*menne* Ba 294, G 1146,  
*mennent* Jer 399,  
*mennet* Ba 125, 237, 422, 754, G 101, J 26, 27, 28, 31,  
34, 227, N 1431, 1607,  
*menez* Ba 317, 769, M 911,  
*mennhe* M 1907,  
*mennhont* M 3010,  
*menno* G 30, M 950, 1871, 3123, 3254, NI 90,  
*mennomp* Ba 235, M 3434,  
*mennont* G 1224,  
*mennse* Ba 675,  
*menont* Ba 385,  
*mensont* NI 5,  
*vennaf* G 843,  
*vennaff* Ba 517

**menottou** 'handcuffs (n., pl.)'  
*menottou* Nom 136a-5

**ment** 'dimension, size (n., m/f)'  
*ment* Ba 92, 272, 299, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 228, D  
60, J 94, N 1462, NI 5, TPM 254,  
*mènt* Nom 89a-6, 89a-7

**mentalamant** 'mentally (adj.)'  
*mentalamant* MCf 64

**mentenn** 'mint (plant) (n., f.)'  
*mentēn* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mention** 'mention (n., m.)'  
*mention* Dag 73, J 235

**mentionet** 'mentioned (adj.)'  
*mentionet* MCf 36

**merat** 'knead (v.)'  
*merat* Ba 75, Jer 153

**merc** 'mark (n., m.)'  
*merc* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*merq* Nom 265a-8, 265a-9

**mercer** 'peddler (n., m.)'  
*mercer* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 297a-2, 297a-3,  
*merçer* Nom 168a-4

**mercerez** 'mercery, shop (n., f.)'  
*merceresou* Nom 4a-5,  
*mercerez* CathA, CathB, CathC

**merch** 'girl, daughter (n., f.)'  
*merc'h* Jer a55,  
*merch* Ba 2,  
*merch* Ba 6, 80, 82, 86, 89, 103, 110, 129, 144, 146,  
147, 155, 172, 176, 197, 199, 206, 216, 217, 224,  
225, 287, 304, 372, 375, 391, 405, 408, 417, 625,  
648, 690, 727, 728, 731, 744, 749, 753, 772, 774,  
782, 791, Ca 3, 7, 12, 16, 21, CathA, CathB, Cl 260,  
Coll g67, G 101, 512, 614, 655, 855, J 88, Jer 220,  
M 112, 168, 622, 868, 870, 872, 875, 881, 1481,  
2234, N 156, 160, 208, 309, 327, 338, 352, 372,  
403, 707, 1259, 1897, NI 6, 20, 22, 25, 30, 33, 37,  
44, 45, 50, 54, 60, 62, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 79, 84,  
91, 98, Nom 12a-8, 332a-3, 332a-4, 333b-4, TPM  
2, 10, 13, 177, 181, 199, 243,  
*merchet* Dag 240, G 90, 536, 670, 759, J 125, 185, M  
397, 1061, MCf 30, Nom 130b-3, 327b-4, TPM 10,  
*merchic* Ba 89, Ca 16, Coll g67, NI 3, 4, 37, Nom 10b-  
4, TPM 1

**mercher** 'Wednesday (n.)'  
*mercher* H 141,  
*mercher* H 142, 154, J 16, MCf 111



**merchetour** 'womanizer (n., m.)'  
*merchetour* NI 106

**merchodenn** 'doll (n., f.)'  
*merchodēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*merchodennou* Nom 308b-1,  
*merchodenou* Coll 221

**mercl** 'rust (n., m.)'  
*mercl* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mercladur* CathA, CathB,  
*mergl* Nom 248b-3, 249a-8

**merclet** 'rusty (adj.)'  
*merclet* CathA, CathB, CathC

**Mercurio** 'personal name'  
*mercurio* Ba 114

**merdeat** 'sailor (n., m.)'  
*merdeat* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 111a-6, 129a-3,  
318a-1,  
*merdeidi* N 128,  
*merdeïdy* Nom 116a-6, 151b-4, 168b-1, 317b-4,  
346a-11/346b-10/347-10,  
*merdeydy* Jer 399, N 69

**merenn** 'lunch (n., f.)'  
*merēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*meren* Nom 53b-5,  
*merenn* Nom 53b-5

**merery** 'farming (n., f.)'  
*merery* Nom 235a-3

**merit** 'merit (n., m.)'  
*merat* N 244,  
*merit* Ba 308, 415, 505, 712, 748, CathA, CathB,  
CathC, Cl 82, D s19, H 131, J 45, 96, 128, 141, 150,  
188, 194, 205, 215, M 1517, 1573, 1781, 1811,  
2074, 3267, 3443, MCf 47, 63, 91, N 108, 133, 140,  
151, 159, 167, 218, 235, 634, 1086, 1204, 1274,  
1290, 1371, NI 97,  
*meritou* Cl 224, D 38, 40, M 1195, MCf 84, 90

**meritiff** 'merit, earn (v.)'  
*merit* Cl 76, D 32, H 145,  
*merita* D 38,  
*meritaff* Ba 678, 700,  
*meritas* NI 91,  
*meritet* J 40,  
*merito* Ba 350

**meritoer** 'meritorious (adj.)'  
*meritoar* Cl 226,  
*meritoer* Ba 811, J 30

**Merlin** 'personal name'  
*merlin* N 423, s7

**merll** 'marlstone (n., m.)'  
*merll* CathA, CathB

**mernent** 'mortality (n., m.)'  
*mernent* NI 19, 25,  
*mernēt* CathA, CathB

**merour** 'farmer (n., m.)'  
*merèr* Nom 300b-1,  
*merer* Nom 315a-4,  
*merour* Nom 300b-1, 315a-4

**merquaff** 'mark (v.)'  
*mercq* Nom 195a-5, 298a-2,  
*merquet* G 473

**mervel** 'die (v.)'  
*m eruell* M 2385,  
*maru* Nom 255a-5,  
*maruaff* Ba 412, 776, Jer 170, 297,  
*maruas* Ba 692, G 958, 988, M 3439, NI 33, 35, 38, 39,  
43, 46, TPM 44,  
*maruent* NI 44,  
*maruer* Ba 118, M 750,  
*marufet* NI 83,  
*maruhe* Ba 599, M 2173, TPM 178,  
*maruhen* Jer 180,  
*maruhent* TPM 242,  
*maruhes* Ba 706,  
*maruhynt* Ba 656,  
*maruint* Dag 215,  
*maruo* Ba 420, 482, 489, 590, 620, 628, 729, Cl 92, Jer  
123, a237, M 3204, MCf 15,  
*maruont* M 2317,  
*maruse* M 1749,  
*marusen* Ba 294,  
*marusenn* Ba 259,  
*marusent* M 2320,  
*maruuez* Ba 611,  
*marvaf* J 126, 188, 193,  
*marvas* J 3, 64, 144, 204,  
*marvhech* J 36,  
*marvhenn* J 218,  
*marvhet* J 37,  
*marvo* J 15, 124,  
*marvse* J 64,  
*marvsech* J 21,  
*merhomp* Jer 179,  
*meru* Ba 610, M 263, 475, 2492, Nom 52b-7,  
*meruel* Ba 415, Coll 171, D 26, Dag 206, G 176, 925,  
941, 997, 1000, 1010, 1026, 1078, Jer 302, 400,  
a24, a156, a237, M 341, 465, NI 60, 96, TPM 209,  
245, 265,  
*meruell* Ba 116, 121, 155, 179, 280, 358, 391, 400,  
419, 435, 523, 600, 616, 620, 644, 651, 668, 677,  
693, 716, 752, 763, 774, 796, Ca 17, 29, CathA,  
CathB, CathC, Coll d25, H 159, Jer 46, 229, 264,  
a55, a88, a98, M 158, 270, 354, 358, 431, 472,  
561, 1461, 2316, 2326, 2657, 2666, 2676, 2714,

3394, N 356, 1278, 1540, 1542, NI 100, TPM 141, 157,  
*meruet* G 734,  
*meruhet* Jer 65, 261, 435,  
*meruhomp* NI 87,  
*meruont* G 785, Jer 213, 402, M 3308,  
*meruy* Ba 684,  
*mervel* J 18, 35, 204, MCf 15,  
*mervell* J 30, 31, 37, 38, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 81, 82, 96, 106, 110, 113, 122, 134, 142, 149, 150, 157, 190, 192, 199, 223, M 564,  
*mirui* Ba 230,  
*miruiff* TPM 207,  
*mirvif* J 21, 35, 130, 192,  
*mirviff* J 95,  
*mirvy* J 65,  
*mirvys* J 175

**mervent** 'mortality (n., m.)'  
*meruent* Dag 76, G 86, 130

**meryenec** 'anthill (n., f.)'  
*meryenec* CathA, CathB

**meryenenn** 'ant (n., f.)'  
*meryenēn* CathA, CathB, CathC

**merzer** 'martyr (n., m.)'  
*merzer* CathA, CathB, G 191, M 1298, NI 4, 12,  
*merzeryen* Ca 13

**merzeres** 'female martyr (n., f.)'  
*merzeres* Ca 1

**merzerinty** 'martyrdom (n., f.)'  
*merzerinty* TPM 218,  
*merzirienty* Ca 17,  
*merzirinty* Ca 20

**merzeryaff** 'martyr (v.)'  
*merzeret* CathC, TPM 154,  
*merzeriet* Ca 35,  
*merzeryaff* CathA, CathC

**merzet** 'perceived (adj.)'  
*merzet* M 1209

**merziff** 'see, remark (v.)'  
*merz* M 1116,  
*merzet* NI 81,  
*merzo* Jer 198

**mes** 'but (conj.)'  
*mes* G 440, 552

**mesaer** 'swineherd, who takes care of the pigs (n., m.)'  
*mæsaēr* Nom 316b-4

**mescl** 'mussels (n., coll.)'  
*mescl* Nom 46a-8,  
*mesclēn* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mescont** 'miscalculation (n., m.)'  
*mescont* M 886

**mese** 'respect (n., m.)'  
*mese* N 695,  
*meste* N 1519,  
*mist* N 1686,  
*mistaff* Ba 173

**mesenn** 'gland (n., f.)'  
*mesēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mesen* Nom 106b-8,  
*mesennou* Nom 20b-4,  
*mezen* Coll d18

**mesperenn** 'medlar (plant) (n., f.)'  
*mesperēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*mesperen* Nom 70a-9

**mesquiff** 'mix (v.)'  
*mesquiff* Coll d24

**messenger** 'messenger (n., m.)'  
*mesager* Jer 51,  
*mesager* Ba 39, 40, 49, 51, 52, 81, 82, 83, 158, 161, 282, 401, Ca 3, CathC, Coll 235, 237, 241, 243, 249, 253, M 1504, Nom 298a-6, 320b-7, 322a-1,  
*mesaiger* CathA, CathB, NI 74

**Messias** 'Messias (n., m.)'  
*messias* J 104, 205, 207, 235, NI 18, 23, 39, 49, 59, 70, 80, 85,  
*messyas* J 204, M 821

**mestr** 'master (n., m.)'  
*mæst* Don 1,  
*mæst* Nom 288b-3,  
*maestr* CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 123, J 5, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 57, 59, 61, 70, 79, 80, 82, 84, 87, 97, 103, 124, 125, 126, 129, 154, 157, 178, 184, 187, 189, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 203, 205, 209, 211, 225, 236, NI 29,  
*mæstr* Cl 232, M 142, 3467, MCf 24, Nom 283a-2, 285a-1, 286b-2, 286b-3, 297b-4, 317a-8,  
*mæstre* M 3060,  
*maistr* H 132,  
*meastr* Jer a136,  
*mest* N 501,  
*mester* Ba 683,  
*mestr* Ba 31, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 61, 62, 65, 66, 68, 72, 74, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 109, 110, 113, 116, 121, 125, 126, 184, 192, 194, 243, 245, 249, 251, 254, 277, 291, 292, 294, 296, 299, 304, 494, 498, 501, 502, 517, 518, 531, 601, 671, 724, Ca 16, CathA, CathB,

CathC, Cl 114, Coll 25, 27, 29, 57, 61, 85, 133, 199, 211, Jer 34, 172, 192, 399, a66, a164, a215, a267, M 132, 1816, N 662, 669, 1048, 1051, 1071, 1091, 1126, 1146, Nom 205a-5, 286a-5, 295b-4, 299a-4, 300b-8, 301a-1, 303b-2, 304a-5, 305a-5, 314a-3, 318b-4, 319b-1, 319b-6, 320a-6,  
*mestre* G 81

**mestres** 'mistress (n., f.)'  
*mæstres* Coll g65, M 900, MCf 83,  
*maestres* D s15, Dag 161, G 861, J 40, Nl 6, 17, 21, 26, 28, 37, 40, 47, 55, 56, 57, 60, 67, 70, 76, 84, 87, 98, 99,  
*mestres* Ba 93, 137, 159, Nom 320a-6, TPM 113,  
*mestrès* Nom 301a-2

**mestri** 'mastery (n., f.)'  
*mestr[i]* Ca 15

**mestroni** 'mastery (n., f.)'  
*maestroni* CathA, CathB, CathC

**metal** 'metal (n., m.)'  
*metail* CathA,  
*metal* CathB, CathC, J 12, 94, M 73, 577, 1242, 1801, 2018, 3482, Nom 247a-1,  
*mètal* Nom 249a-1,  
*metalyou* Nom 344ab-5/3455

**metou** 'midst (n.), *e m., da m.* amidst'  
*metaou* D s17, Nl 43, 91, 93, 108, 109,  
*meton* M 2570,  
*metou* Ba 37, 64, 186, 375, 457, 465, 541, 544, 545, 780, 813, Dag 114, G 4, 1013, J 12, 103, 128, 147, 150, 190, 192, 194, M 27, 235, 392, 681, 792, 865, 1359, 1373, 2126, 2146, 2166, 2253, N 529, 667, 1094, 1627, TPM 252, 273,  
*mettou* G 617, 809, 1145, 1148, N 1614

**metr** 'meter (n., m.)'  
*metr* CathA, CathB, CathC

**metrifiaff** 'write in meter (v.)'  
*metrifiaff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**metrifier** 'who writes in meter; poet (n., m.)'  
*metrifier* CathA, CathB, CathC

**metropolitan** 'metropolitan (n., m.)'  
*metropolitan* N 1775

**meubl** 'furniture (n., m.)'  
*meubl* Nom 201b-2, 340ab-9/3419,  
*meublou* Nom 155b-3, 155b-4, 340ab-5/3415, 342a-8/342b-9/343-8

**meuledy** 'praise (n., f.)'  
*maleudy* Ba 508,  
*meledy* Ba 680, 726, N 1145, 1930,

*meleudy* Cl 98, G 500, 1129, 1131, M 3233,  
*meuledy* Ba 666, H 151, M 3154, Nl 66,  
*mëuledy* Nl 6,  
*meuleudy* MCf 67, 81, Nl 7, 23, 27, 29, 36, 37, 46, 57, 60, 69, 80, 86, 100, Nom 213b-2

**meuliff** 'praise (v.)'  
*meul* MCf 75, 76,  
*meulet* Coll 243, Dag 99, M 3136, MCf 35, N 1027, 1220,  
*meulhe* M 3548,  
*meulhont* M 3311,  
*meuliff* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d22, M 2795, 3336, MCf 19, 80, Nl 58, 67,  
*meulit* J 46,  
*meulomp* Cl 102,  
*meulsont* Nl 41,  
*meuly* Ca 7, Coll g21, D 28,  
*meulyff* Nl 66

**meur** 'great, big (adj.)'  
*meur* Ba 383, 501, 513, 603, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 35, 73, Dag 168, G 171, 189, 227, 878, J 4, 21, 43, 61, 101, 119, 175, 183, 203, 206, 228, 231, Jer 12, 153, 248, a20, a86, a142, a200, a267, M 283, 563, 565, 893, 904, 1566, 1579, 2344, 2595, 2597, 2603, 2644, 2693, 2710, 3250, 3284, MCf 10, 59, N 1143, 1454, Nl 13, 18, 31, 42, 57, 90, 94, 96, Nom 13a-9, 226a-4, TPM 52, 67, 94, 106, 112, 115, 211, 212, 214, 242, 276

**meur (mûr)** 'ripe (adj.)'  
*meur* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 70b-6, 70b-8,  
*meür* Nom 67a-5, 71a-9, 71b-1

**meuraff** 'ripen (v.)'  
*meuraff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**meurbet** 'very (adv.); (very) great (adj.)'  
*merbet* Nom 32a-1,  
*meur bet* Cl 270,  
*meurber* N 727,  
*meurbet* Ba 6, 32, 56, 86, 168, 179, 196, 204, 214, 224, 237, 292, 331, 352, 407, 517, 529, 548, 553, 653, 668, 678, 682, 716, 753, 757, 789, 795, 804, 807, Ca 4, 6, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 74, 76, 86, 96, 106, 118, 123, 226, 228, 236, 254, 258, 264, Coll 167, 241, D s15, Dag 41, 73, 152, 162, 218, G 129, 233, 237, 267, 406, 496, 634, 1145, 1146, 1271, H 135, 146, 151, 154, J 4, 7, 11, 12, 33, 36, 44, 50, 60, 65, 67, 68, 69, 86, 87, 91, 101, 115, 124, 126, 150, 152, 154, 176, 193, 199, 208, 215, 217, 234, Jer a113, M 82, 161, 180, 444, 626, 644, 789, 813, 822, 877, 899, 1428, 1455, 1519, 1667, 1767, 1936, 2104, 2177, 2353, 2436, 2501, 2538, 2633, 2661, 2801, 2816, 2903, 2990, 3136, 3256, 3261, 3326, 3475, MCf 5, 76, 80, N 147, 152, 377, 422, 425, 492, 619, 769, 860, 914, 1075, 1277, 1301, 1793, 1851, 1862, Nl 9, 10, 36, 40, 59, 68, 93, 98,

- Nom 12b-1, 54a-5, 122b-6, 19b-10, 241b-6, 273a-7, 274a-6, 120a-10, TPM 116, 117, 129, 287
- meurdet** 'ripeness (n., f.)'  
*meurdet* CathA, CathB, CathC
- meuriou** 'customs, manners (n., pl.)'  
*mœuryou* Nom 295b-3
- meurt** 'myrtle (n., m.)'  
*meurt* Nom 106a-2, 107a-3
- meurz** 'March'  
*mcurz* M Cf 111,  
*meurz* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d23, H 141, 142,  
Nom 223b-9,  
*mevrz* M Cf 110
- meurzlargez** 'Mardi-gras (n., m.)'  
*meurzlargez* CathC,  
*meurzlargiez* CathA, CathB,  
*morlargez* Nom 226b-4
- meut** 'thumb (n., m.)'  
*meudat* Nom 210b-3,  
*meut* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 137, N 643, Nom 23b-3,  
24a-9, 211a-6
- meut (paysan?)** 'farmer (n., m.)'  
*meut* Nom 314b-8
- meux** 'dish (n., m.)'  
*meus* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 53a-3,  
*meux* M 2380,  
*meuz* Nom 268b-1
- meuy** 'unit? (n., m.)'  
*meuy* CathB, CathC,  
*mu* CathA
- mev** 'family, household (n., m.)'  
*meu* CathA, CathB
- mevell** 'valet (n., m.)'  
*meuel* Nom 286a-4, 316b-5, 319b-2, 319b-4, 320a-6,  
*meuell* CathA, CathC, M 3471,  
*meuellou* Ba 609, Nom 130a-5,  
*mevell* CathB, G 429, J 106,  
*mevellou* G 1007
- mez** 'shame (n., f.)'  
*mez* Ba 84, 521, 562, 632, 730, CathB, CathC, Cl 78,  
123, 260, Coll 29, 37, 49, 71, 113, 115, Dag 145, G  
673, J 14, 16, 142, 150, 186, 194, Jer a188, a217,  
M 749, 1101, 1794, 2403, M Cf 94, N 416, 444, 740,  
803, 1582, 1666, 1839, Nl 11, TPM 18, 99, 103,  
219, 243, 250, 268, 269,  
*mezz* CathA
- mez (drink)** 'mead (n., m.)'  
*mez* CathA, CathB
- mezaff** 'dishonor (v.)'  
*mezaff* M 915, 1046, Nl 14,  
*mezequaet* Ba 589, G 672, J 6,  
*mezequeat* Jer 130,  
*mezet* N 1531, 1667
- mezec** 'medic (n., m.)'  
*mezec* CathA, CathB, CathC, Jer 64, a48, M 780, 2098,  
TPM 206
- mezecat** 'shame (v.)'  
*mezecat* Coll d19
- mezegaff** 'cure, apply medicine (v.)'  
*mezegaff* CathB,  
*mezeyaff* CathA
- mezegues** 'female physician (n., f.)'  
*mezegues* CathA
- mezeguet** 'cured (adj.)'  
*mezeguet* TPM 103
- mezeguez** 'medicine (n., f.)'  
*mezegniez* CathB, CathC,  
*mezegues* CathB,  
*mezeguez* Jer 213, 401,  
*mezeguiez* CathA
- mezell** 'type of coin (n., f.)'  
*mezel* CathA, Nom 207b-7,  
*mezell* CathB, CathC, Coll 205
- mezellour** 'mirror (n., m.)'  
*melezour* CathB, CathC,  
*mellezour* Coll d24, Nom 170a-6, 170b-1,  
*mezellour* M 13,  
*mezelour* CathA
- mezer** 'sheet, cloth (n., m.)'  
*meger* Nom 112b-3,  
*meze* Coll 267,  
*mezer* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 99, 101, 267, d12,  
Nom 107a-8, 108a-1, 109a-2, 112a-7, 119b-5,  
119b-6, 119b-8, 120a-1, 164b-6,  
*mezerou* Jer 402
- mezerenn** 'swaddle (n., f.)'  
*mezeren* Nom 119b-5,  
*mezerennou* Nom 116b-7, 118b-7
- mezeven** 'June'  
*mezeuen* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll d21, Nom 224a-2
- mezuinty** 'drunkenness (n., f.)'  
*mezuen-tyou* Cl 98,

*mezuinti* N 637,  
*mezuinty* CathA, CathC, Nom 256b-3,  
*mezuynti* CathB

**mezur** 'nourish (v.); nourishment (n., m.)'  
*maezur* CathA, CathB, CathC, NI 30,  
*meazur* Jer a183, TPM 211,  
*mezeur* Ba 769,  
*mezur* CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 238, Coll d27, H 135, J  
235, Jer 393, M 954, 2394, NI 58, Nom 236b-2

**mezv** 'drunk (adj.)'  
*mezu* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mezviff** 'become drunk, make drunk (v.)'  
*mezuet* Ca 29,  
*mezuiff* CathB, CathC,  
*mezviff* CathA

**mezyer** 'drunk (n., m.)'  
*meyzer* H 134,  
*mezyer* Nom 325a-7

**mibiliez** 'childhood (n., f.)'  
*mibiliez* CathA, CathB,  
*mybylyez* G 215

**mic** 'completely, utterly (adv.)'  
*mic* Ba 259, 280, 568, 600, 618, 620, 699, 729, 734,  
737, J 15, 110, 122, 155, 199, 209, 223, TPM 227,  
*micq* N 1217,  
*myc* G 738, 877, J 231, Jer 181, 193, 403, a237, TPM  
228

**Michael** 'personal name (m.)'  
*michael* CathA, CathB, G 1, H 145, J 98,  
*michael* CathC,  
*michël* M 591,  
*micel* MCF 83, N 1924, NI 63,  
*mychael* Jer 220

**Micheas** 'personal name'  
*micheas* J 207

**mignarderez** 'cuteness (n., f.)'  
*mignarderez* MCF 100

**mignon** 'friend, companion (n., m.)'  
*mignon* Ba 536, 607, 622, Coll 5, 39, 57, 61, J 5, 8, 27,  
160, 229,  
*mignones* Ca 27,  
*mignonet* Cl 116, 212, 254, D 24, J 145, 168,  
*mignoun* Coll 9, 97, 119, 121, 129, 131, 163, 245, 249,  
253, 255, d2,  
*mignounet* Coll 237, g65, D 21, Nom 54a-2, 127b-5

**mignones** 'female friend (n., f.)'  
*mignounes* Coll 137, 167, 169, 223,  
*mignounez* Coll g65

**mignony** 'friendship (n., f.)'  
*mygnony* G 691

**migourn** 'cartilage (n., m.)'  
*migourn* Nom 14a-3

**mil** '1000'  
*mil* Ba 38, 126, 238, 276, 325, 356, 471, 482, 490,  
497, 508, 523, 544, 556, 582, 616, 635, 642, 736,  
766, 776, 778, 798, CathA, CathB, CathC, Dag 84,  
96, 123, H 143, 145, 146, J 61, 89, 98, 99, 121, 128,  
153, 158, 182, 187, 196, 199, 204, 232, 234, 235,  
M 853, 1495, 2272, 2380, 2556, 2557, 2696,  
3522, MCF 49, N 170, 366, 576, 776, s10, NI 12, 18,  
20, 30, 38, 44, 46, 62, 70, 74, 90, Nom 86b-3, 189a-  
7, 288b-5, 211b-11, TPM 64, 216, 232,  
*mill* Coll 161, 227,  
*milvet* J 13,  
*myl* Jer 38, 242, a121, TPM 251, 257, 259, 265,  
*myll* Jer 7, a15, a151

**Milan** 'Milan'  
*milan* CathA, CathB, CathC

**milflaer** 'yarrow (plant) (n., f.)'  
*mil-fer* Nom 93b-2,  
*mil-flær* Nom 93b-2

**milguin** 'sleeve (n., f.)'  
*milguin* CathA, CathB, CathC

**milhuyt** 'veery (bird) (n., m.)'  
*milhuyt* CathA, CathB, CathC

**milin** 'mill (n., f.)'  
*melin* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*milin* Coll d25, Nom 27a-2, 27a-3, 129b-4, 147b-1,  
147b-2, 147b-3, 147b-4, 147b-5, 147b-9, 148a-1,  
148a-2, 148a-8, 147b-10

**miliner** 'miller (n., m.)'  
*melîhezr* CathB,  
*melinhezr* CathA,  
*milhezr* CathA,  
*miliner* Nom 314b-7

**mill** 'animal (n., m.)'  
*mil* CathA, CathB,  
*milet* Ba 384, NI 7, 28, 73,  
*mill* Coll 227,  
*mylet* Jer 404, NI 45, 47,  
*myll* Jer 404

**milligadenn** 'curse (n., f.)'  
*miligadën* CathB,  
*milligadën* CathA, CathC

**million** '1,000,000'  
*milioun* Coll 227

**millizien** 'curse (v.)'

*milliguet* J 12,  
*milizië* MCF 104,  
*milizien* MCF 19, 20,  
*milizyen* MCF 18, 20,  
*millic* N 628,  
*milligaff* Jer 405,  
*milliguet* Ba 315, 316, 446, 558, 738, 779, CathA,  
CathB, CathC, J 21, 22, 71, 84, 85, 98, 164, 234, M  
235, 905, 1383, 1398, 2208, 2224, 2504, 2681,  
2749, 3516, MCF 17, 18, 56, 104,  
*millizien* M 1467,  
*millizyë* MCF 20,  
*millizyen* CathA, CathC, M 1405,  
*millizyën* CathB,  
*mylyguet* G 409, TPM 259

**min** 'mouth (n., m.)'

*min* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 18b-7, 181a-10,  
*minou* Nom 194a-1,  
*myn* Jer 217

**min (mine)** 'mine (n., m.)'

*min* Nom 125a-4, 229b-6, 232a-5, 232a-6, 232a-7,  
249b-6,  
*minou* Nom 247a-1

**minaff** 'mine (v.)'

*minaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 194a-1

**minihy** 'refuge (n., f./m.)'

*minihy* CathA, CathB, CathC

**ministr** 'minister, preacher, rabbi (n., m.)'

*minist* J 206,  
*minister* H 131, M 3060,  
*ministr* Ba 14, 20, 265, 430, 529, CathA, CathB, CathC,  
Coll g66,  
*ministret* Ba 28, Cl 84

**ministriff** 'administrate (v.)'

*ministrafn* 1264,  
*ministraff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*ministrenn* N 179

**minor** 'minor (adj.)'

*minor* CathA, CathB, CathC

**minot** 'minot (unit) (n., m.)'

*minot* CathA, CathB, CathC

**minten** 'mitten (n., f.)'

*minten* CathA, CathB, CathC

**mintin** 'morning (n., m.)'

*mintin* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 23, 95, 97, 155, d5,  
g23, D 9, 58, Dag 14, G 1018, H 145, J 83, MCF 79,  
N 231, 465, Nom 11b-4, TPM 50,  
*myntin* J 186, M 255

**mintr** 'miter (headgear) (n., m.)'

*mintr* CathA, CathB, CathC, N 1769, Nom 110b-6,  
110b-7

**minvigenn** 'bread crumb (n., f.)'

*minhuyguën* CathC,  
*minuiguen* Nom 58a-2,  
*mynhuigën* CathA,  
*mynhuiguë* CathB

**miracl** 'miracle (n., m.)'

*miraclou* H 131, 152

**mirer** 'protector (n., m.)'

*mirer* CathA, CathB, CathC, MCF 37, Nom 316a-4,  
316a-7

**mireres** 'protectress (n., f.)'

*mireres* CathB, CathC

**mirouer** 'mirror (n., m.)'

*mirouer* MCF 58, 101, 107,  
*mirouër* Nom 170a-6,  
*mirover* MCF 5

**mirout** 'keep, protect, heed (v.)'

*meret* Nl 30,  
*mir* Ba 492, 611, 615, Cl 110, 116, 218, 268, Coll g23,  
D 30, 31, 59, 60, H 136, 139, J 34, M 24, MCF 97, N  
147, 443, 552, 592, 608, 612, 636, 742, 856, 1399,  
1574, 1577, Nom 66b-3, 287b-9, 320b-6, 321a-4,  
321b-4, TPM 4, 5, 188, 193, 207,  
*miras* Ba 301, Ca 1,  
*mire* J 221, M 1288, TPM 14,  
*mirer* Ba 208, M 1046, 1270, Nom 129a-7,  
*miret* Ba 8, 36, 38, 137, 149, 190, 192, 197, 200, 205,  
210, 219, 220, 278, 336, 365, 367, 368, 396, 397,  
400, 402, 413, 431, 489, 490, 516, 519, 521, 632,  
634, 727, Ca 6, 8, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 76, 96,  
100, 250, 264, 266, Coll g21, D 4, 23, 29, 30, 50,  
54, H 134, 136, 152, J 25, 73, 85, 122, 140, 166,  
167, 168, 169, 176, 177, 188, 192, 193, 217, 219,  
Jer a133, M 373, 709, 720, 865, 872, 874, 878,  
883, 885, 890, 922, 923, 925, 980, 984, 1034,  
1041, 1098, 1102, 1200, 1224, 1239, 1244, 1567,  
1729, 1874, 1876, 2166, 2653, MCF 61, 62, 76, N  
93, 248, 450, 651, 1107, 1266, 1274, Nl 21, 66, 69,  
Nom 30b-2, 50a-8, 115a-7, 129b-3, 134b-8, 145b-  
3, 169a-1, 182a-6, 243b-5, 243b-6, 315b-3, 321a-  
6, TPM 25, 28, 82, 86, 110, 111, 175, 176, 185,  
186, 200,  
*mireur* J 194,  
*mirez* Ba 771, Cl 246,  
*mirhe* Ba 749, TPM 171, 174, 181,  
*mirhet* J 168,  
*miri* N 606,  
*mirif* Ba 507,  
*miriff* Ba 203,  
*mirit* Coll 77, 81,

*miro* Ba 253, 401, 406, 657, 660, 769, 796, Coll 77, 89, 95, 119, 133, 141, 147, 209, 249, M 988, MCf 110, N 55, 862, 1078, TPM 9, 32, 182, 186, 188, 189,  
*miromp* Cl 246, H 137,  
*mirout* Ba 416, Coll 253,  
*mirr* Nom 282b-3,  
*mirse* J 204, M 702,  
*mirsent* Ba 335,  
*mirset* TPM 170,  
*mirson* M 713,  
*miry* Cl 252, Coll g23, M 2204,  
*myr* G 870, Jer 99, 109, 133, 137, 406, M 1828, 2535, Nl 66, 99, TPM 237,  
*myre* Nl 96, 102,  
*myret* G 254, 368, 373, 396, 725, 858, 894, J 339, Jer 40, 59, 62, 76, 84, 95, 107, 208, 261, M 712, 1328, 2141, Nl 10, 48,  
*myrhe* TPM 177,  
*myrhont* M 324,  
*myro* G 453

**mis** 'month (n., m.)'  
*mis* Ba 59, 65, 341, CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll 239, MCf 38, Nl 7, 73, 77, Nom 204b-4, 204b-5, 204b-6, 223b-6, 224a-9, TPM 204,  
*misyu* Nom 262b-3,  
*mys* Cl 124, M 456, 1168, Nl 56, TPM 248,  
*mysiat* Jer 407,  
*mysyat* Jer a1

**misac** 'proper name (n., m.)'  
*misac* CathA, CathB

**misan** 'foremast (n., f./m.)'  
*misan* Nom 153b-9, 154a-1, 154a-3

**miserabilite** 'miserableness (n., f.)'  
*miserabiliteou* MCf 90

**miserabl** 'miserable (adj.)'  
*miserabl* Ca 28, Cl 86, 106, H 153, MCf 80,  
*miserablhaff* MCf 85

**misericordius** 'merciful (adj.)'  
*misericordius* Cl 106,  
*misericordiux* MCf 76

**miset** '?' (adj.)'  
*miset* Ba 444

**misif** 'missive (adj.)'  
*missiff* Coll 17,  
*missiu* Coll 273, Nom 7a-1, 322a-1,  
*missyu* Coll 231

**missal** 'missal (n., m.)'  
*missal* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*missalou* Nom 198b-2

**mister** 'mystery (n., m.)'  
*miste-ryou* H 141,  
*mister* Ba 319, 340, 360, Ca 6, CathA, CathB, CathC, Cl 218, 220, D 8, H 140, MCf 20, N 133, 511, 1163, s12, Nl 28, 55, 70, 88,  
*misterou* Ca 20, N 670,  
*mistryou* Cl 74,  
*myster* Ba 5, 97, J 55, 56, 142, 206, Nl 67,  
*mysterou* J 62, Nom 200a-4

**mistic** 'mystical (adj.)'  
*mistic* Cl 80

**mistr** 'pretty, elegant (adj.)'  
*mist* J 206,  
*mistr* Ba 430, J 177, 206, Nl 30,  
*mistret* Ca 27

**mitaou** 'kitty (n., m.)'  
*mitou* Nom 33a-2

**Moab** 'Moab'  
*moab* CathA, CathB, M 1061

**moaien** 'way, means (n., m.)'  
*moean* Ba 311, 433, 688, 698, 742, 803, J 17, 27, 38, 40, 42, 58, 95, 141, 224, 230, 234, M 3599,  
*moen* J 120,  
*moien* Coll 13, 185,  
*moienou* D 18,  
*moyan* M 3574, TPM 100,  
*moyē* MCf 78,  
*moyen* Cl 76, 80, 84, 94, 236, 244, 258, Coll 91, g25, g31, D 41, MCf 23, 30, 34, 43, 79, 86, 87, 91, Nl 30, 48, 52, 65,  
*moyenant* D 57,  
*moyenaou* D 39,  
*moyennou* Cl 123,  
*moyenou* Cl 270, H 131,  
*moyon* MCf 8, 14, Nl 46, 94

**moaienant** 'by means of (adv.)'  
*moyenant* MCf 14, 49

**moal** 'bald (adj.)'  
*moal* CathA, CathB, CathC, Coll g63, Nom 16a-3, 268a-1, 268a-2

**moan** 'narrow, thin (adj.)'  
*moan* CathA, CathB, CathC, J 148, M 590, 2362, 3011, N 88, 286, 763, 1907, Nl 50, Nom 166a-2, 120a-10, TPM 264

**moaz** '?' (adj.)'  
*moaz* Ba 467

**mobil** 'mobile (adj.)'  
*mobil* Nom 225b-2

**moch** 'pigs (n., coll.)'  
*moch* Ba 713, G 1250, Nom 28b-5, 133a-2, 164a-8,  
180b-6, 243a-2, 316b-4

**model** 'model, example (n., m.)'  
*modèl* Nom 253b-4

**moderaff** 'moderate, temperate (v.)'  
*moderaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*moderet* Ba 61, 341, NI 75

**modest** 'modest (adj.)'  
*modest* Ba 444

**modesty** 'modesty (n., f.)'  
*modesty* Cl 106, 266, 270

**modulation** 'modulation (n., f.)'  
*modulation* CathA

**moe** 'mane (n., f.)'  
*moe* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*moüè* Nom 169b-7

**moel** 'hub, middle of the wheel (n., m.)'  
*moel* CathA, CathB

**moeson** 'harvest (n., f.)'  
*moeson* M 1979, 3473, 3551,  
*moëssoun* Nom 74a-2

**moez** 'voice (n., f.)'  
*moez* CathA, CathB, CathC, G 825, 890, J 71, 120, M  
768, 1407, 1411, 1414, 1423, 1435, 1439, N 17,  
1754, TPM 129,  
*mouez* Coll d43, g66,  
*moüez* Nom 214a-6,  
*mouizyou* Nom 213b-4,  
*voez* Ba 679, J 231

**moguedet** 'smoked (adj.)'  
*moguedet* Nom 59a-5, 134b-9

**moguer** 'wall (n., f.)'  
*moguer* Ba 68, CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 139b-4,  
140a-5, 140a-6, 140a-7, 140a-8, 140b-1, 140b-2,  
140b-3, 140b-5, 140b-6, 168b-4, 240b-8,  
*moguériou* Dag 231,  
*mogueryou* Nom 137b-4

**moguet** 'smoke (n., m.)'  
*moguet* CathA, CathB, CathC, M 2195

**molest** 'pain (n., m.)'  
*molest* M 1610, 2530, 3411, 3566, N 1901, NI 42

**molestaf** 'molest (v.)'  
*molestaf* J 143,  
*molestaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 1088,

*molestas* J 223,  
*molestet* M Cf 68,  
*molesthe* M 3208,  
*molesto* M 2936

**moliquin** 'moleskine (n., f.)'  
*moliquin* CathMS

**moment** 'moment (n., m.)'  
*moment* M 261, 290, 455, 628, 1169, 1599, 2561,  
*moumant* Nom 227b-6,  
*moument* CathA, CathMS,  
*moumêt* CathB, CathC

**monarch** 'monarch (n., m.)'  
*monarq* Nom 284a-6

**monarchy** 'monarchy (n., f.)'  
*monarchy* N 720

**monaster** 'monastery (n., m.)'  
*monastær* Nom 200a-6,  
*monaster* Ca 33

**mondain** 'mundain, worldly (adj.)'  
*mondæn* Nom 325b-3,  
*mondain* Ca 1,  
*monden* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*mundain* Ca 11

**mondanite** 'mundaneness (n., m.)'  
*mondanite* M 1203

**moneiz** 'money (n., m.)'  
*mõneiz* CathA, CathB,  
*moneiz* J 18,  
*moneyz* Dag 103,  
*monneiz* CathC, CathMS,  
*monyzy* Jer 92,  
*mouneiz* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 129, 195,  
201, 267, d24,  
*mouneiz* Nom 191a-3, 201a-1, 201a-2, 201a-3, 201a-  
4, 201b-1, 202a-2, 202a-4, 202b-1, 206a-5, 206a-  
7, 206b-1, 206b-2, 208b-6, 253b-5, 297b-4, 325a-  
2, 342a-9/342b-10/343-3,  
*mouneyz* Coll 117

**moneizet** 'monied (adj.)'  
*mouneizyer* Nom 247b-5

**moneizier** 'coin maker (n., m.)'  
*mouneizer* Nom 325a-2,  
*mouneizier* Coll d24,  
*mouneizyer* Nom 296a-4

**monet** 'go (v.)'  
*monet* Ba 14, 22, 37, 49, 126, 129, 138, 157, 158, 166,  
202, 235, 236, 241, 258, 268, 281, 283, 379, 396,  
439, 640, 646, 693, 729, 780, 783, Ca 4, 5, CathA,



CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 256, Coll 25, 39, 41, 63, 65, 93, 139, 195, 207, 209, d2, d9, D s20, Dag 142, 206, 210, Don 15, G 19, 47, 55, 62, 98, 106, 110, 113, 121, 142, 370, 378, 384, 404, 437, 519, 600, 604, 620, 716, 768, 772, 778, 1024, 1141, 1144, 1152, 1210, 1243, 1250, 1272, H 149, J 62, 106, 124, 126, 130, 154, 161, 182, 184, 190, 192, 208, 225, 233, Jer 24, 124, 130, 139, a44, a189, a220, M 198, 441, 497, 689, 698, 749, 782, 950, 1144, 1237, 1350, 1393, 1478, 1581, 1684, 1692, 1704, 1714, 1814, 1827, 1862, 2179, 2340, 2452, 2488, 2536, 2652, 2686, 2712, 3124, 3376, 3401, 3595, MCF 17, 38, 98, N 30, 31, 64, 66, 111, 132, 141, 153, 242, 258, 266, 268, 310, 370, 389, 477, 541, 694, 860, 867, 897, 911, 912, 1141, 1272, 1285, 1291, 1703, s24, NI 7, 16, 21, 57, 63, 72, 76, Nom 150b-7, 154b-1, 155b-1, 207b-4, 261b-2, TPM 128, 130, 140, 188, 207, 222, 244, 266,  
*mont* D 54, G 610, MCF 30, 60, 97, N 3, 202, 478, 1140, 1719, NI 57, 81, 96, Nom 31a-6, 32a-8, 154b-4, TPM 150

**monosilab** 'monosyllabic word (n., f.)'

*monosilab* CathA,  
*monosillab* CathMS

**monstr** '1. monster (n., m.); 2. military inspection (n., m.)'

*monstr* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 123,  
*monstrou* M 2180,  
*mounstr* Nom 11a-1, 182b-3, 199b-1, 296b-3, 228a-10,  
*mounstrou* Nom 192a-4, 289a-1

**mont** 'mountain, mount (n., m.)'

*mont* J 126, TPM 127

**montagn** 'mountain (n., f.)'

*mountaing* Nom 230b-3,  
*mountaingnin* [sic] Nom 231a-1

**montiff** 'ascend, go up (v.)'

*montas* TPM 168,  
*monthe* M 1206

**montre** 'circumstance, manner (n., m.)'

*montre* N 1450, TPM 94

**Montroulez** 'Morlaix'

*montrelaes* CathMS,  
*montrolaes* CathA, CathB,  
*montrollaes* CathC,  
*mouutroulles* Ba 0

**monumant** 'monument (n., m.)'

*monumant* Nom 199a-3

**mor** 'sea (n., m.)'

*mar* Nom 228b-2,

*mor* Ba 10, 121, 279, 431, 584, Ca 5, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll 163, Dag 147, G 20, 147, 384, 489, 492, 531, 545, 601, 742, 792, 809, 813, 826, 878, J 128, 176, Jer 64, 221, a22, a145, a147, a190, a267, M 37, 424, 1505, N 65, 280, 1393, NI 13, 32, 56, 94, 107, 108, Nom 44a-9, 46b-6, 79a-2, 149a-7, 187a-7, 188b-6, 219a-7, 220a-4, 228b-5, 231a-8, 231b-5, 233a-7, 241a-4, 244a-2, 244a-3, 244a-4, 244a-5, 244a-6, 244a-7, 244b-1, 244b-2, 244b-7, 245a-1, 245a-2, 245a-3, 245a-5, 245a-9, 245b-1, 245b-4, 246a-5, 250b-1, 291b-2, 309a-5, 313b-1, 317b-6, 318a-1, 328b-2, 37b-11, 340ab-2/3412, TPM 111,

*môr* Jer 293, 409,

*mòr* Nom 42a-6,

*morou* Jer 408, 483, a192, TPM 276

**morail** 'lock (n., m./f.)'

*morail* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*morail* CathC,  
*moraïll* Nom 146a-6,  
*mourailou* Cl 104

**moral** 'morality (n., m.)'

*moral* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**moralite** 'morality (n., f.)'

*moralite* M 1679

**morched** 'worry (n., m.)'

*morc'het* Jer 293, 392, 409, a182,  
*morched* J 61,  
*morchet* Ba 373, 742, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 123, Jer 409, NI 29,  
*morhyet* G 348

**morchedaff** 'worry (v.)'

*morchedaff* M 545,  
*morchedet* J 50,  
*morhediff* CathB, CathMS

**morchedus** 'anxious, tormented (adj.)'

*morchedus* J 19, 151, 225, M 637, 722, 1617, 2224, 2282, 2428, N 1172, 1176, NI 83

**mordeiff** 'navigate, sail (v.)'

*mordeiff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 220b-3,  
*mordoiiff* Nom 149a-7

**morfoll** 'completely crazy (adj.)'

*morfoll* J 104

**morfontet** 'tired (adj.)'

*mourfondet* Nom 268b-3

**morfontus** 'tiring, which makes sth. turn cold'

*morfontus* J 11

**morfostou** '? (n., f./m.)'  
*morfostou* Jer 228

**morgadenn** 'cuttlefish (n., f.)'  
*morgadēn* CathA, CathB,  
*morgadeñ* CathMS,  
*morgat* Nom 45a-9

**Morgan** 'personal name'  
*morgant* Coll 121

**morhouch** 'porpoise (n., m.)'  
*morhouch* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*moroch* Nom 47b-6,  
*mouroch* Nom 45a-4,  
*mourouch* Nom 47b-6

**morien** 'Ethiopian (n., m.)'  
*maour* CathA,  
*maourien* CathB, CathC,  
*maurion* Nom 183a-2,  
*morien* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**moriginet** 'complacent? (adj.)'  
*moriginet* J 54, 209

**morisclou** 'grimaces (n., pl.)'  
*moriscou* Nom 322b-3

**morlucenn** 'mist (from the sea) (n., f.)'  
*morlucēn* CathA,  
*morluceñ* CathMS

**morn** 'dreary (adj.)'  
*morn* Nom 122a-1

**morpion** 'crab louse, pubic louse (n., m.)'  
*mourpioun* Nom 49b-7

**mors** 'bit (n., m.)'  
*mors* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 181a-7,  
181a-8

**mortalite** 'mortality (n., f.)'  
*mortalitez* Cl 224

**mortel** 'mortal (adj.)'  
*mortal* M 2017,  
*mortel* Ca 11, Cl 92, H 152, 156, M 2389,  
*mortell* Ca 27

**mortez** 'mortar (n., m.)'  
*mortez* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Nom 165a-7

**mortifiaff** 'mortify (v.)'  
*mortifiaff* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*mortifiafu* H 135

**mortuajou** 'funeral (n., pl.)'  
*mortuagou* Nom 199b-3

**moru** 'cod (fish) (n., m.)'  
*morü* Nom 43b-9, 44a-1

**Morvan** 'personal name (m.)'  
*moruan* N 1418, 1604, 1606, 1621

**morzet** 'thigh (n., f.)'  
*morzat* CathA, CathMS, Nom 24b-9,  
*morzet* CathB, CathC

**morzol** 'hammer (n., f.)'  
*morzol* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, J 135, 157, Nom  
24a-9, 196b-1, 248a-7, 196a-11,  
*morzoll* Coll 219,  
*morzolou* Ba 67, 577, 578, 581

**mosaic** 'mosaic (n., m.)'  
*mosaicq* Nom 138b-2

**mot** 'word (n., m.)'  
*mot* Don 13, 16, Nom 288b-1

**moualch** 'blackbird (n., f.)'  
*moualch* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*moüalch* Nom 40a-11

**mouar** 'blackberries (n., coll.)'  
*mouar* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*moüar* Nom 70a-5,  
*moüer* Nom 70a-4

**mouc** 'strangling, stranglehold (n., m.)'  
*mouc* J 88

**mouchaff** 'blindfold; hoe (v.)'  
*mouchaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*mouchit* Coll 85

**mouchet** 'prey bird (n., m.)'  
*mouchet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**mouchetet** 'speckled (adj.)'  
*mouchetet* Nom 156b-1

**mouchetez** 'speckles (n., pl.)'  
*mouchetesou* Nom 166a-6

**mouchouer** 'handkerchief (n., m.)'  
*mouchouer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*moünchoüer* Nom 114a-5,  
*mouchouër* Nom 199b-3

**moudenn** 'clod (n., f.)'  
*moudēn* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*moudeñ* CathMS,  
*mouden* Nom 235a-8, 235a-9,

*moudet* Nom 235b-5

**moueltr** 'moist (adj.)'  
*moüeltr* Nom 232b-8

**moueltret** 'moldy (adj.)'  
*moëll'ret* [sic] Nom 84a-7

**mouguet** 'strangled? (adj.)'  
*mouguet* MCf 114

**moul** 'mold (for molding) (n., m.)'  
*moul* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*moull* CathMS, Nom 61b-1

**moumis** 'monkey (n., m.)'  
*moumis* Nom 34b-8,  
*mounica* Coll d38

**mouns** 'monkey (n., m.)'  
*mouns* Nom 34b-8

**mourren** 'eyebrow (n., f.)'  
*mourren* Nom 18b-5,  
*mourrennou* Nom 18b-5

**moust** 'must (juice) (n., m.)'  
*moust* CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
*must* CathC

**moustach** 'mustache (n., m.)'  
*moustachou* Nom 17b-1,  
*moustagennou* Nom 17b-1

**mouz** 'pig's snout (n., m.)'  
*mouz* Nom 28b-3

**mouzaff** 'sulk, wallow (v.)'  
*mouz* Nom 262b-3,  
*mouzaff* CathB, CathC

**Moyses** 'personal name (m.)'  
*moïses* Nom 138b-2,  
*moyses* CathA, CathB, J 129, 207, M 130

**mozreb** 'aunt (n., f.)'  
*mouez reb* Nom 334a-2,  
*moüezreb* Nom 333a-2,  
*mozreb* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, H 154

**mudaff** 'be mute (v.)'  
*mudaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*mudet* J 219

**mudurun** 'hinge (n., f.)'  
*mudurun* Nom 146a-4

**muguet** 'lily of the valley (n., m.)'  
*muguet* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Dag 123, Nom  
85a-4

**muiff** 'change (v.)'  
*muet* TPM 215

**mul** 'mule (n., m.)'  
*mul* CathA, CathB, CathC, Nom 33b-8, 265b-5,  
*mulet* Nom 321b-6

**muleter** 'mule-keeper (n., m.)'  
*muleter* Nom 321b-6

**muletez** 'slipper, laceless shoe (n., f.)'  
*muletessou* Nom 118a-1

**mulot** 'little mule (n., m.)'  
*mulot* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**multipliaff** 'multiply (v.)'  
*multipliaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, M 254,  
*multipliet* Cl 224, G 248, J 11, Nl 19,  
*multiply* Ba 585, Cl 74,  
*multyplyet* G 403

**munition** 'munition (n., f.)'  
*mounition* Nom 152b-1,  
*munition* Nom 51b-7, 128a-3

**muntraff** 'murder (v.)'  
*muntraff* Ba 418, 738, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
M 966,  
*muntret* Nl 53

**muntrer** 'murderer (n., m.)'  
*muntrær* Nom 328a-3,  
*muntrer* Ba 694, 704, 753, CathA, CathC, CathMS, Cl  
96, 252, Coll g21, H 135, 152, J 117, M 958, Nom  
326a-5, 329a-5,  
*muntreur* J 16,  
*mütrer* CathB

**muntrezez** 'murderess (n., f.)'  
*muntrezez* Cl 88, 98, 258, G 87, H 152

**muntrery** 'murder (n., f.)'  
*meuntrery* G 191

**munuser** 'carpenter (n., m.)'  
*munuser* Coll d14, Nom 308a-3

**munut** 'small, little (adj.)'  
*minut* M 1266,  
*munut* Ba 802, Cl 210, D 58, G 646, H 154, J 22, 104,  
M 99, MCf 96, Nom 14b-6, 21b-6, 22b-3, 42a-8,  
66a-6, 71a-4, 71b-3, 101b-6, 103a-2, 112b-4,  
116b-7, 118b-3, 118b-7, 127a-3, 134a-5, 171b-3,

190a-6, 197b-5, 198b-8, 216a-6, 221b-2, 237a-6,  
253b-3, 269a-4, TPM 248

**mur** 'wall (n., f.)'

mur Ba 263, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Jer 451,  
a10, a149, a165, Nom 139a-7, TPM 284,  
*muriou* Dag 232, TPM 114,  
*muryou* CathA, CathB, M 387, Nom 241b-7, 242a-5

**murail** 'wall (n., m/f.)'

*murail* Nom 140a-5, 140b-4, 140b-6, 240b-8,  
*muraillou* Nom 131b-1, 139b-7, 241b-7

**murmur** 'murmur (n., m.)'

*murmur* Ba 689, Nom 215a-1

**murmuraff** 'mutter (v.)'

*murmur* J 80, N 365,  
*murmuraff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Coll d25,  
*murmuras* J 5,  
*murmure* Ba 11,  
*murmuret* MCf 55, 105, N 483,  
*murmurhont* M 3278

**murmurer** 'mutterer (n., m.)'

*murmurer* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*murmureryen* Cl 118, 260

**muryaff** 'wall off (v.)'

*muryaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*muryou* CathMS

**musaff** 'stroll, loiter (v.)'

*musaff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**muscat** 'nutmeg (n., m.)'

*muscat* Nom 71a-6

**muscl** 'muscle (n., m.)'

*muscl* Nom 14a-8, 14a-9,  
*musclenn* Nom 14a-8, 14a-9,  
*musclou* Nom 267a-7

**muselier** 'muzzle (n., m.)'

*musalyer* Nom 181b-5

**musell** 'lip (n., f.)'

*musel* Nom 28a-8,  
*musél* Nom 28b-4,  
*musell* CathA, CathB, CathMS, Nom 19b-2,  
*mussell* Jer 264

**musellec** 'big-lipped (adj.)'

*musellecq* Nom 270a-6

**musiat** 'beg (v.)'

*musiat* N 1178

**music** 'music (n., m.)'

*music* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*musical* Nom 342a-12/342b-13/343-12,  
*musicq* Nom 212a-2, 301b-3

**musician** 'musician (n., m.)'

*musician* Nom 305a-1

**mussat** 'smell, stink (v.)'

*mussat* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS

**musur** 'measure (n., m.)'

*mesurou* Nom 342a-11/342b-12/343-11,  
*musun* Nom 209b-6,  
*musur* Ba 80, 254, 311, 634, CathA, CathB, CathMS,  
Coll 177, 213, G 1197, J 11, 90, 117, 148, 158, 209,  
Jer 240, M 1415, 1562, 2088, 2195, 2844, 2870,  
2872, 3017, 3023, 3050, 3218, N 616, Nl 22, 28,  
40, 45, Nom 141a-6, 209a-1, 211b-2, 213b-6,  
342a-10/342b-11/343-10, TPM 284,  
*musurou* Nom 295b-5

**musuraff** 'measure (v.)'

*mesuriff* Coll d24,  
*musuraff* CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*musuret* Ba 52, 72, 89, 697, 764, Jer 104, 225, Nl 63,  
*musuri* Coll 191,  
*musuromp* Coll 213

**musurer** 'measurer (n., m.)'

*musurèr* Nom 295b-5,  
*musurer* Nom 303b-1, 316a-6

**mut** 'mute (adj.)'

*mut* Ba 551, 784, Ca 15, Coll d25, G 645, J 104, M 102,  
185, 1792, Nom 270b-5

**mutation** 'mutation (n., f.)'

*mutation* CathA, CathB, CathMS

**mutilaff** 'mutilate (v.)'

*mutilaff* Ba 578, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS,  
*mutilet* Ba 490

**muturnyet** 'mutilated (adj.)'

*muturnyet* Nom 273a-1

**muy** 'more (adv.)'

*mihaff* Dag 221,  
*mu* Ba 134, 168, Jer 5,  
*mueguet* Ba 444, Don 14, 18,  
*muguet* Jer 38,  
*muhaff* Don 4,  
*mui* J 113, MCf 87,  
*muiquet* M 2803,  
*muihaff* M 2108, 2743, 2785, 3158, 3374, MCf 24, 60,  
Nl 94, TPM 122,  
*muy* Ba 8, 12, 15, 26, 30, 50, 55, 58, 69, 73, 90, 95, 98,  
102, 103, 110, 130, 138, 139, 183, 198, 225, 238,

239, 240, 243, 250, 251, 252, 272, 281, 289, 291, 302, 306, 308, 353, 390, 399, 408, 421, 422, 428, 429, 443, 466, 467, 469, 471, 481, 502, 511, 515, 521, 523, 524, 530, 531, 538, 539, 544, 546, 555, 561, 563, 575, 583, 584, 588, 638, 640, 643, 651, 659, 674, 684, 699, 700, 702, 705, 708, 714, 723, 730, 733, 745, 751, 755, 756, 762, 770, 775, 782, 786, 794, 795, 800, CathA, CathB, CathC, CathMS, Cl 80, 123, 224, 250, Coll 7, 25, 29, 53, 57, 69, 71, 89, 127, 129, 149, 193, 203, 213, g21, g23, g27, D 2, 4, 15, 16, 17, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 43, Dag 27, Don 8, G 51, 69, 96, 105, 234, 239, 260, 571, 663, 667, 694, 695, 703, 764, 779, 788, 1004, 1022, 1030, 1102, 1205, 1272, H 133, 134, 139, 153, J 27, 31, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 65, 68, 70, 72, 73, 76, 80, 85, 87, 90, 93, 94, 96, 100, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 124, 128, 130, 133, 138, 140, 145, 147, 153, 158, 160, 161, 168, 169, 177, 178, 183, 186, 188, 197, 198, 200, 201, 208, 226, 227, Jer 208, 249, 333, a81, a100, a243, a257, M 9, 139, 154, 329, 380, 400, 418, 490, 493, 557, 566, 587, 677, 742, 843, 855, 862, 966, 1001, 1093, 1094, 1096, 1107, 1132, 1312, 1548, 1623, 1653, 1655, 1706, 1799, 1819, 1875, 1877, 1938, 2014, 2137, 2161, 2186, 2200, 2211, 2237, 2258, 2326, 2493, 2539, 2570, 2644, 2695, 2722, 2727, 2754, 2776, 2795, 2840, 2875, 2969, 2978, 2979, 3072, 3155, 3206, 3213, 3225, 3239, 3254, 3282, 3301, 3305, 3320, 3368, 3528, 3538, MCf 7, 16, 17, 31, 40, 44, 45, 47, 53, 58, 76, 82, 90, 91, 93, 94, 99, 107, N 39, 298, 386, 390, 448, 452, 644, 692, 711, 731, 871, 897, 1117, 1132, 1282, 1292, 1468, Nl 4, 16, 17, 19, 28, 70, 74, 102, Nom 234a-6, 285b-3, TPM 228, 229, 274,

*muy haff* Ba 272,

*muy-eguet* Ba 558, 614, 787,

*muyaff* Ba 406, 755, Ca 31, D 47, Nom 194b-2,

*muyf* J 13,

*muyguet* J 57, 93, 187, M 102, 107, 206, 361, 644, 1178, 1326, 1674, 2048, 2338, 2445,

*muyguete* M 1549,

*muyha* Dag 53, M 2770,

*muyhaf* Cl 212, G 130, 243, 247, 479, 695, 841, 969, 1275, J 6, 25, 130, 176, 182, 198, 226, M 3437, N 260,

*muyhaff* Ba 33, 37, 96, 98, 104, 122, 127, 136, 160, 173, 199, 214, 239, 299, 307, 323, 352, 430, 459, 466, 493, 502, 517, 520, 528, 577, 578, 585, 678, D 56, J 56, Jer 111, a239, M 459, 650, 1107, 1671, 1738, 1846, 2154, 2157, 2705, 3256, MCf 61, N 899, 1737, Nl 25, 26, 46, TPM 141,

*muyhafu* Cl 76, 92, H 135,

*muyquen* Coll 11

**muz** 'bird cage (n., m.)'

*muz* CathA, CathB, CathMS, M 309, 1928, Nom 35b-2, 133b-2, 313a-4

**Muzenned** 'the Muses (n., pl.)'

*muzennet* Nom 301b-3

**myr** 'myrrh (n., m.)'

*mir* Cl 252, D 29, Nl 9,

*mirr* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*mirt* Nom 99a-11,

*myr* J 143, Nl 31, 51, 68, 80, 95,

*myrr* Nl 58, 89

# V

**va** 'place? (n., f.)'  
*va* J 112

**vacabont** 'vagabond (n., m.)'  
*uacabont* CathB, CathC,  
*uacabunt* CathA,  
*uagabont* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vagabont* NI 84

**vacancc** 'holiday (n., f.)'  
*vacançc* Nom 224b-4,  
*vacançou* Nom 225a-10

**vacant** 'vacant (adj.)'  
*vacant* N 1741

**vacillaf** 'vacillate (v.)'  
*uacilaff* CathA,  
*uacillaff* CathB,  
*vacillaf* N 580

**vadiff** 'make haste?'  
*vady* N 1648

**vaen** 'vain (n., f.); vain (adj.)'  
*uaen* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vaen* Cl 250, 256, J 24, M 2753,  
*væn* Coll d42, D 4, M 3345, 3536,  
*vain* Cl 250,  
*vẽ* MCf 14,  
*vean* Ca 5,  
*ven* Ba 433, 434, J 41, 47, 165, M 1891, 2498, 2515,  
3529, MCf 7, 12, 55, 102, 103

**vaguaff** 'stray, err? (v.)'  
*uagaff* CathA, CathC,  
*vacaff* Ba 159,  
*vacq* N 162,  
*vagaff* CathB

**vahont** 'over there, yonder (adv.)'  
*va-hont* Ba 284,  
*va-hunt* N 867,  
*vahont* Cl 110, G 1269, 1274, Jer 36

**vailhant** 'brave, courageous (adj.)'  
*uailhât* CathA,  
*uaillant* CathC,  
*uaillât* CathB,  
*vaillant* Ba 30, 195, 196, 460, 507, Coll d42, J 69, M  
1210, 1225, 1917, N 207, 301, 328, 553, 575, 683,  
696, 749, 783, 804, 933, 1042, 1046, 1052, 1055,  
1063, 1126, 1150, 1255, 1259, 1262, 1378, 1382,  
1391, 1485, 1676, 1951, s2, s3, s11, NI 76, TPM  
271,  
*vaillant* Dag 223,

*vayllant* G 537, 718, NI 36, TPM 98

**vailhantiz** 'courage (n., f.)'  
*vaillant* Ba 679, Coll d42, N 583, 691,  
*vayllantys* G 236

**vaillammant** 'valiantly (adv.)'  
*vaillammant* Coll d42

**valabl** 'valuable (adj.)'  
*valabl* J 91, M 98, 3107, MCf 40

**Valaine** place-name  
*valaine* Coll 267

**Valentin** personal name (m.)  
*valentin* Ba 17, 151, 158, 160, 162, 167, 169, 176,  
179, 185, 186, 805, 807

**valerian** 'valerian (n., m.)'  
*valerian* Nom 91a-3

**van** 'winnowing (n., f.)'  
*uan* CathA, CathB, CathC

**vanegloer** 'vainglory (n., f.)'  
*uanegloar* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vanagloar* Coll d43,  
*vanegloar* M 265, 3492,  
*vanegloer* Ca 7

**vaneson** 'venison (n., f.)'  
*uanaeson* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vanesonou* N 295, 304,  
*venæsoun* Nom 60a-3

**vangounellat** 'pump (v.)'  
*vangounellat* Nom 152a-1

**vanite** 'vanity (n., f.)'  
*uanite* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vanité* Ca 2, Coll d43,  
*vanite* M 288, 2634, 2861, 3600,  
*vanité* MCf 72

**vantaff** 'boast (v.)'  
*uantaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*v[a]ntaff* Ca 7,  
*vantet* MCf 35,  
*vanty* MCf 23

**vantous** 'suction cup (n., f.)'  
*vantousou* Nom 177a-1

**vaotour** 'vulture (n., m.)'  
*vaotour* Nom 37b-3, 42a-2  
*uoutouer* CathA, CathB,  
*voutouer* CathC

**vapor** 'steam, vapor (n., f.)'  
*uapor* CathA, CathB, CathC

**variabl** 'variable (adj.)'  
*uariabl* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*variabl* Cl 108, Coll d43

**variaff** 'vary (v.)'  
*uariaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*variaf* J 197, N 580,  
*variaff* Ba 99, 171, 411, 427, 735, J 70, M 278, 1077,  
N 1471,  
*vary* M 3086

**varieson** 'variation (n., f.)'  
*variæson* M 2060

**varius** 'various, varying (adj.)'  
*varius* M 2301, 2303

**varlen** 'verbena (plant) (n., f.)'  
*uarlen* CathA, CathB, CathC

**varyant** 'varying (adj.)'  
*variant* Ba 290, J 234, M 3320,  
*varient* Ba 439,  
*varyant* TPM 249, 260

**vase** 'this way, over here (adv.)'  
*uase* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*va se* Coll d43, J 142,  
*va-se* N 319,  
*vase* Coll 29, 35, 39, 41, 43, 51, 57, 75, 79, 83, 215,  
217, G 157, 1059, J 157, 236, Jer 269

**vassal** 'vassal (n., m.)'  
*vassal* Nom 298b-4

**vaticinaff** 'foretell (v.)'  
*vaticinet* N 423

**vaticiner** 'fortune, prophecy (n., m.)'  
*vaticiner* N 785

**veag** 'journey (n., f.)'  
*beag* Cl 86,  
*beagou* Nom 188a-1,  
*ueag* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*veag* Cl 78  
*veig* Ba 281

**veagiff** 'travel (v.)'  
*biagiff* Coll d43

**vegetatiff** 'vegetative (adj.)'  
*uegetatiff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**velis** 'lemon balm (n., f.)'  
*meliscr* Nom 79b-1,  
*uellis* CathA, CathB, CathC

**vellin** 'vellum (n., m.)'  
*uellin* CathA, CathB

**vendagaff** 'harvest (v.)'  
*uandagaff* CathB,  
*uandangaff* CathA,  
*uëdagaff* CathB,  
*uendagaff* CathA,  
*uëndagaff* CathC,  
*vendaget* Nom 63b-3

**vendager** 'grape picker (n., m.)'  
*vëndager* Nom 315b-2

**vendaig** 'vintage, grape harvest (n., m.)'  
*uëdag* CathB,  
*uendag* CathA, CathC

**vendicaff** 'vindicate (v.)'  
*uendicaff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**venerabl** 'venerable (adj.)'  
*uenerabl* H 146, 156

**Venetodonet** 'tribal name'  
*venedotonet* N 1942

**vengeaff** 'avenge (v.)'  
*uengeaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*uenget* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vengeaff* Coll d43

**vengeancz** 'revenge (n., f.)'  
*uengācc* CathB,  
*uengancc* CathA,  
*uëngeācc* CathC,  
*uengeancz* H 156,  
*ven-geancz* Cl 96,  
*vengeanç* Jer 291,  
*vengeancz* Cl 84, H 152

**venger** 'avenger (n., m.)'  
*uenger* CathA, CathB, CathC

**veniel** 'venial (adj.)'  
*ueniel* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
v.<sup>109</sup> MCf 8, 11, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 35, 46, 47, 103, 104,  
105,  
*veniel* Cl 92, D 36, 38, MCf 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 20, 21,  
24, 26, 39, 45, 103, 104

---

<sup>109</sup> Abbreviation for *veniel*.

**venim** 'venom (n., m./f.)'

*binim* Nom 230a-6,

*binin* Nom 278b-4,

*uenim* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*velim* J 114,

*venim* Ba 325, 692, 790, M 2244,

*venym* M 2480

**venimet** 'poisoned; poisonous, venomous (adj.)'

*venimet* J 97, 232

**venimus** 'venomous, poisonous (adj.)'

*venimus* J 11, M 2427

**Vennet** 'Vannes'

*vennet* G 671

**Venus** 'personal name (f.)'

*venus* Ba 114, Cl 254

**verb** 'verb (n., m.)'

*uerb* Don 13,

*uerbe* Don 1, 2, 5, 13, 15, 18, 22, 24, Nl 2,

*uerbo* Don 2, 3, 4, 16, Nl 3,

*uerbou* Don 2, 16,

*verbou* Coll 279

**verbl** 'zit (n., f.)'

*verbl* Nom 263b-5

**verdegris** 'gray-green (adj.)'

*verdegris* Nom 248b-6

**verelaouen** 'morning star'

*verelaouen* Nom 227a-1

**verifiet** 'verified, checked (adj.)'

*verifiet* M 747

**veritablement** 'truly (adj.)'

*veritablement* Ca 22

**verius** 'verjuice (n., m.)'

*uerius* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*verjus* Nom 65b-5

**vermeil** 'vermilion (adj.)'

*vermeil* Nom 124b-2

**vermillon** 'vermilion (adj.)'

*uermillon* CathA, CathB, CathC,

*vermillon* Nom 125a-1,

*vermilloun* Nom 85b-2, 250b-2, 250b-3

**vernis** 'varnish (n., m.)'

*vernis* Nom 99a-3, 105a-10

**Veronyc** 'personal name (f.)'

*beronic* N 1131,

*veronyc* H 145

**verset** 'verse (n., m.)'

*verset* MCf 68, Nom 8b-6

**versifiaff** 'versify, put into verse (v.)'

*uersifiaff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**versifier** 'versifier, one who puts into verse (n., m.)'

*uersifier* CathA, CathB, CathC

**vertuz** 'virtue (n., f.)'

*uertu* H 151, 153,

*uertuz* CathB, CathC, H 156,

*uertuzyou* H 151, 156,

*uirtuz* CathA,

*vertu* Cl 78, 80, 123, 220, 222, 224, 226, 232, 240,

*vertuz* Ca 2, 9, Cl 94, 246, Coll 185, D 9, 44, H 141, N

625, Nom 276b-4, 285b-3,

*vertuziaou* MCf 51, Nl 86,

*vertuziou* M 914, MCf 82, 90, N 229, 554, 1107,

*vertuzus* J 69, 117, 140,

*vertuzyou* Cl 94, 98, 104, 244,

*vertvziaov* D 59

**vertuzus** 'virtuous (adj.)'

*uertuzyus* CathC,

*uertzyus* CathB,

*uirtuzyus* CathA,

*vertuzus* Cl 74, 104, Nl 28, Nom 12b-4, 285b-4

**verv** '? (n., f.)'

*ueru* H 155, 156

**verven** 'verbena (plant) (n., f.)'

*ueruen* CathA, CathB, CathC

**vessaff** 'let out a silent fart (v.)'

*uessaff* CathB, CathC,

*uesseaff* CathA

**vessel** 'vessel, vase (n., m.)'

*vessel* Cl 74, M 391, Nom 129b-3, 134a-6, 158a-4,

158b-6, 159a-2, 159b-3, 160b-1, 160b-4, 160b-5,

161a-3, 162a-1, 162a-5, 175b-4, 176a-4, 159a-10,

*vesselic* Nom 160b-7,

*vesselou* Nom 162b-7

**vessellamant** 'dishes, cutlery (n., m.)'

*vessellamant* Jer 92

**vestl** 'gall (n., f.)'

*bestle* G 949,

*questl* Nom 15a-2, 21b-7,

*uestl* CathA, CathB,

*vestl* J 143, M 2338, 2480,

*vestle* M 2332



**vete** 'authorization (n., m.)'  
*vetez* Ba 268, 365, 368, 390, 762, J 17, 133, 161, Jer  
a74, M 236, a73, Nl 12, 14, 57

**veturier** 'valet (n., m.)'  
*ueturier* CathB, CathC

**vi** 'egg (n., m.)'  
*uuyou* J 201,  
*uy* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*üy* Nom 37a-2, 158b-7,  
*viou* Coll 179,  
*vuy* M 372,  
*vy* Coll d27, Nom 37a-3, 37a-4, 37a-5, 37a-6, 37a-7,  
37a-9, 43a-1, 60b-6, 60b-7, 60b-8, 61a-2, 123b-5

**viatic** 'viaticum (n., m.)'  
*uiatiq* CathA, CathB, CathC

**viber** 'viper (n., f.)'  
*viper* Nom 51a-3

**vicaer** 'vicar (n., m.)'  
*uicaer* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vicæer* D 17

**vicc** 'vice (n., f.)'  
*uicc* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*viç* M 752, 1097, 3335,  
*vicc* Ba 198, 269, J 128, N 256, 630, 1723, Nl 26, 74,  
TPM 93,  
*viçc* Nom 258a-3,  
*viçou* M 550, 980, 1541, Nom 8b-3, 338ab-6/3396,  
344ab-8/3458,  
*vicz* Dag 28,  
*viczou* Cl 118, 262, J 150,  
*vizou* M 1164,  
*vyceou* G 525

**viceroue** 'vice-king (n., m.)'  
*viçerouè* Nom 284b-1, 284b-2

**viciusamant** 'viciously (adv.)'  
*viciusamant* M Cf 38

**victoar** 'victory (n., f.)'  
*uictoer* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*uitoer* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*victoar* Ca 14, M 3493, M Cf 93,  
*victoer* Nom 7a-3, 190b-5, 205b-5,  
*vitoar* Ba 694,  
*vitoer* Ba 658,  
*vyctoar* Jer 144

**victorianes** 'Victorienne (n., f.)'  
*victorianes* Ba 679

**vif** 'lively (adj.)'  
*viff* M 1141, Nom 248a-4,

*viu* Coll d43

**vigil** 'vigil, abstinence (n., m.)'  
*vigel* Nom 225b-5,  
*vigell* Coll 179,  
*vigilo* Coll g23,  
*vigilou* D 31, H 139, 144

**vigneroun** 'winemaker (n., m.)'  
*vingneroun* Nom 315b-1

**vigor** 'vigor (n., m.)'  
*uigour* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vigor* TPM 226,  
*vigour* M 346, 2099

**viguiden** 'twist? (v.)'  
*viguidē* Coll d40

**vil** 'vile (adj.)'  
*uil* CathA, CathB,  
*vil* Ba 11, 269, 274, 315, 316, 380, 384, 442, 471, 472,  
489, 491, 494, 552, 578, 581, 642, CathC, J 13, 96,  
Jer 397, M 1495, 2231, 3421, 3422, N 1898, Nl 47,  
Nom 8a-8, 233a-6,  
*vyl* G 922, Jer a58,  
*vyll* Jer 1, 25, 205

**vileny** 'villany (n., f.)'  
*bileny* Ba 441,  
*vileniou* Nom 230a-7,  
*vileny* Ba 210, 226, 396, 406, 637, 704, 766, Coll d43,  
J 91, 113, 139, 180, M 2698, 2928, 3053, 3144,  
3398, 3408, Nl 94, TPM 139,  
*villeny* Ba 374

**vilifiet** 'villified (adj.)'  
*vilifiet* M 3325

**villagen** 'village (n., f.)'  
*vilagennou* Nom 226b-6,  
*villag en* Nom 242b-4,  
*villagen* Coll 139

**viltancc** 'villainousness (n., f.)'  
*viltancc* J 127

**Vincent** 'personal name (m.)'  
*uincen* CathA, CathB, CathC

**vindicatiff** 'vindicative (adj.)'  
*uīdicatiff* CathC,  
*uindicatiff* CathA, CathB

**vinegr** 'vinegar (n., m.)'  
*guin aegr* J 143,  
*guin-ægr* Nom 65b-6, 65b-8,  
*guyn aegr* G 949

**vinien** 'vine (n., f.)'  
*guymen* [sic] Coll d42  
*vinien* Nom 50a-6, 102a-3

**violaff** 'violate (v.)'  
*violet* N 385, 414,  
*vyolys* G 730

**violanc** 'violence (n., f.)'  
*uiolanc* CathA, CathB, CathC, H 135,  
*uiolancz* H 152,  
*violanc* M Cf 68,  
*violancz* Cl 90, 258

**violant** 'violent (adj.)'  
*violant* Nom 214b-3

**violet** 'violet, purple (adj.)'  
*uiolet* CathB, CathC,  
*uiolete* CathA,  
*violet* Coll 189, Nom 94b-4, 94b-6, 95a-1, 95a-2,  
108a-4, 125a-3, 311a-8

**viorna** 'viburnum (plant)'  
*viorna* Nom 94b-3

**Virgilius** 'personal name'  
*virgilius* M 142

**virginite** 'virginity (n., f.)'  
*virginité* Ca 1, Cl 88,  
*virginitez* H 152

**virgulenn** 'comma (n., f.)'  
*virgula* Coll g34,  
*virgulen* Coll g34

**vis** 'screw (n., f.)'  
*uicc* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*viçc* Nom 147a-7, 148a-7

**visaff** 'aim (v.)'  
*uisaff* CathA, CathB, CathC

**visibl** 'visible (adj.)'  
*uisibl* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vibl* M 126,  
*visibl* Cl 218, 222

**vision** 'vision (n., f.)'  
*vision* Ba 69, 627, H 133, M 532, 2181, 2211, 2393, N  
837, Nom 280a-3

**visiter** 'visitor (n., m.)'  
*visiter* M 1119

**visitiff** 'visit (v.)'  
*uisitaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*visistaff* Coll d43,

*visit* H 140,  
*visitaff* J 194, 214, N 1228, 1295,  
*visitaff* Ba 194, 528, Ca 19, D 34, M 1479, Nl 37,  
*visitafu* Cl 102,  
*visite* TPM 14,  
*visitet* J 160, N 1871,  
*vysitaf* G 395

**vituperaff** 'vituperate (insult) (v.)'  
*uituperaff* CathA, CathB, CathC,  
*vituper* Ba 632,  
*vituperet* Ba 624,  
*vitupery* Ca 7

**vivander** 'grocer (n., m.)'  
*viuander* Nom 313a-2

**vivier** 'fishpond (m.)'  
*uifyer* CathB, CathC,  
*viffier* Nom 246b-3

**vocabul** 'vocabulary, words (n., m.)'  
*vocabulou* Nom 344ab-4/3454, 344ab-8/3458

**vocaff** 'sail (v.)'  
*uocaff* CathA,  
*vogaff* Nom 155a-2

**vocalamant** 'expressly, with voice (adv.)'  
*vocalamant* M Cf 64

**vocalenn** 'vowel (n., f.)'  
*uogalēn* CathA, CathB,  
*vocalēn* CathC

**vocatif** 'vocative (n., m.)'  
*uocatiff* CathB, Don 1, 2, 3, 10, 20,  
*vocatiff* CathC

**vocation** 'vocation (n., f.)'  
*vocation* Cl 100

**voeu** 'wish (n., m.)'  
*veu* N 155, s25,  
*veuu* M Cf 12,  
*væu* Cl 88,  
*voeu* H 152

**volaig** 'fickle, flighty (adj.)'  
*volaig* Nom 263a-7

**volant** 'flying (adj.)'  
*volant* Nom 36a-4

**voler** 'burglar (n., m.)'  
*voler* Nom 328b-2, 329a-5

**volontaer** 'voluntary (adj.)'  
*volontær* Cl 108,

*volontaer* Cl 96, H 152

**volontairemant** 'voluntarily (adv.)'

*volontæramant* MCf 27,  
*volontairamant* MCf 102,  
*volontairemant* MCf 8,  
*volonteramant* MCf 29, 31, 39, 41, 47

**volontez** 'will (n., f.)'

*uolante* CathA, CathB,  
*uolontez* H 128,  
*volante* Ba 735, J 40, 41, 46, 113, 176,  
*volontez* Cl 90, 92, 114, 118, 212, 232, 234, 238, 252,  
258, 262, 264, Coll 13, 83, 161, 162, 209, 217, g17,  
g21, g25, g29, g31, D 20, 29, 35, H 136, MCf 7, 10,  
11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 27, 28, 33, 44, 45, 46, 49, 61, 63,  
75, 81, 86, 87, 94, 100, 103, 104, 106, NI 84, 89,  
92, Nom 279a-8,  
*volõntez* MCf 17,  
*volõtez* MCf 11, 29, 49, 77

**vols** 'tomb (n., f.)'

*vols* Coll 185

**volum** 'volume (of a book) (n., m.)'

*uolum* CathA, CathB,  
*volum* CathC, Nom 1b-3

**volupte** 'voluptuousness (n., f.)'

*volupte* M 3339,  
*voluptezou* Cl 268

**voluptus** 'voluptuous (adj.)'

*voluptueus* Nom 325b-3

**Volusian** 'personal name'

*volusian* Jer a141

**volyer** 'aviary (n., f.)'

*volyer* Nom 133a-6

**vomisamant** 'vomit (n., m.)'

*vomissamant* Nom 260a-6

**vomissaff** 'vomit (v.)'

*vomissaff* Nom 260a-4

**vost** 'face (n., m.)'

*vost* TPM 238, 242

**vouet** 'destined (adj.)'

*voüet* Nom 12b-2

**voulous** 'velvet (n., m.)'

*voulous* Coll 99, 197, 199, 211, d43, Nom 108b-2,  
*voulouz* Nom 110a-2

**vout** 'vault (n., f.?)'

*uout* CathA, CathB,  
*vaotou* Nom 126a-5,  
*vaoüt* Nom 144b-4,  
*vout* CathC, J 165

**voutet** 'vaulted (adj.)'

*vaoutet* Nom 230a-1

## APPENDIX 2: PRESENTATION OF THE FILEMAKER SOLUTION

In chapter 2 ‘Method’, I have presented a simplified overview of the database. To describe the entirety of the database would be an enormous task given the number of different calculations and scripts involved in making a functioning solution in the FileMaker software. Therefore, I will provide in-depth explanations only for a selected few parts of the database that are directly pertinent for the production of data for this research. For example, I will not elaborate on the various quality-of-life improvements on the database, even though they undoubtedly add to its overall usability.

As stated before, my use of FileMaker was a learning process. Many decisions I took during the beginning phases of building the solution are things I would now do differently. I will also reflect on this where needed.

In this chapter, basic knowledge of FileMaker is supposed from the reader.

### RELATIONSHIPS

The database consists of four tables: Attestations, Lemmata, Texts, and Categories. The latter two were not discussed in chapter 2, as they are not directly important for the functioning of the database. In fact, were I to recreate the database, I would not be using a separate ‘Texts’ table to store information about the textual sources.

The reason I initially created the ‘Texts’ table was to store information for each source: date of the text, bibliographical references, as well as an abbreviation. ‘Texts’ is connected to ‘Attestations’ via `Attestations::TextName ↔ Texts::Name`, and this relationship is used to retrieve the date of the text stored in `Texts::Date` and paste it into `Attestations::DateOfText`. The decision to do this was made very early in the creation of the database, but it eventually became clear that this was unnecessary for any calculations or for the database as a whole. If the date of the text was in fact needed in Attestations for a calculation, I would now rather place a calculation field to retrieve it with SQL, e.g.:

```
Let ( $t = Attestations::TextName ;
    ExecuteSQL ( "
        SELECT Date
        FROM Texts
        WHERE Name = ?"
        ; "" ; "" ; $t
    )
)
```

The table ‘Categories’ serves much the same purpose to Lemmata as Lemmata does to Attestations, i.e. to group them according to a value in the daughter table: in this case, `Category::Name ↔ Lemmata::Category`. It also contains more or less the same calculations as the 66 calculation fields in Lemmata; I will elaborate upon these in a separate section.

## LAYOUTS

In the beginning processes of the creation of the database, I had entertained the idea of creating both a user interface, to be used for viewing, and an editor mode, to be used for data entry. This was certainly a good exercise to learn more about FileMaker's possibilities in that regard, but it was not truly useful for the purposes of this database. I decided quite late in the process that because there are so many inconsistencies in the presentation of the database, I would prefer to generate a lexical index of all data and include it as an appendix to the thesis, than to make the FileMaker solution directly available to all.<sup>110</sup>

Each table has an 'Edit mode' layout, which can be accessed via a button in the upper right corner of each 'View mode' layout. The main difference between the two is that the 'View mode' layouts show the stored data in so-called 'merge fields', i.e. text blocks that cannot be entered via mouse click. This ensures that the user cannot change data via 'View mode'.

Since I ultimately made the decision not to release the FileMaker solution to the public, the distinction between an 'Edit mode' and a 'View mode' became superfluous, and perhaps even detrimental to workflow when using the database.

In addition to these layouts, there are also the various visualizations. These are all based on the 'Lemmata' table, and the differences between them are purely aesthetic. Each of these layouts has a Tab View object: this effectively creates mini-layouts on a single layout, available through the selection of a tab. Each of the visualization layouts contains three tabs, one per calculation type (for the three types, see §2.3), and thus each tab contains 22 fields at a time.

## CALCULATION FIELDS

The calculation fields in the Lemmata table all have a very similar structure, and are all named according to a system ('calc1', 'calc2', 'calc3' + abbreviation of the source). They are almost entirely based around SQL queries. I will naturally not give them all; one per calculation should suffice. Where I have indicated TEXT is where each calculation field has the name of a different textual source. It should also be noted that each table contains an ID field, which gives each record a distinct key value that can be referenced in SQL queries. The differences between the three calculations are indicated with a slight highlight:

---

<sup>110</sup> That is not to say that I am unhappy with the database overall, but I strongly feel that providing an index at the end of the thesis is the more appropriate and user-friendly option.

```
#CALCULATION 1
```

```
Round (
```

```
Let (
```

```
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
```

```
;
```

```
ValueCount (
```

```
ExecuteSQL ( "
```

```
SELECT ATT_ID
```

```
FROM Attestations
```

```
WHERE TextName = TEXT
```

```
AND Lemma = ?
```

```
AND MutatesCorrectly = 'yes'"
```

```
;"";";
```

```
$lemma
```

```
)))
```

```
/
```

```
Let (
```

```
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
```

```
;
```

```
ValueCount (
```

```
ExecuteSQL ( "
```

```
SELECT ATT_ID
```

```
FROM Attestations
```

```
WHERE TextName = TEXT
```

```
AND Lemma = ?"
```

```
;"";";
```

```
$lemma
```

```
))
```

```
)
```

```
; 3
```

```
)
```

```
#CALCULATION 2
```

```
Round (
```

```
Let (
```

```
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
```

```
;
```

```
ValueCount (
```

```
ExecuteSQL ( "
```

```
SELECT ATT_ID
```

```
FROM Attestations
```

```
WHERE TextName = TEXT
```

```
AND Lemma = ?
```

```
AND InitialConsonant = 'v'"
```

```
;"";";
```

```
$lemma
```

```
)))
```

```
/
```

```
Let (
```

```
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
```

```
;
```

```
ValueCount (
```

```
ExecuteSQL ( "
```

```
SELECT ATT_ID
```

```
FROM Attestations
```

```
WHERE TextName = TEXT
```

```
AND Lemma = ?"
```

```
;"";";
```

```
$lemma
```

```
))
```

```
)
```

```
; 3
```

```
)
```

```

#CALCULATION 3

Round (

Let (
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
;
ValueCount (
ExecuteSQL ( "
SELECT ATT_ID
FROM Attestations
WHERE TextName = TEXT
AND Lemma = ?
AND InitialConsonant = 'v'
AND MutatesCorrectly = 'yes' "

;";";";

$lemma
)))

/

Let (
$lemma = Lemmata::Lemma
;
ValueCount (

ExecuteSQL ( "
SELECT ATT_ID
FROM Attestations
WHERE TextName = TEXT
AND Lemma = ?
AND InitialConsonant = 'v' "

;";";";

$lemma

))

)

; 3

```

These calculations were also used for the visualizations per category.<sup>111</sup> For those to work, I added the field 'Category' in Attestations, which retrieves the value from Lemmata::Category. The structure of the calculations are the same, except for the Let function and the SQL queries. Indicated by X are the variations in SQL queries:

---

<sup>111</sup> Ultimately, these were not used in the analysis.

```

Let (
  $ctg = Categories::Category
  ;
  ValueCount (

  ExecuteSQL ( "
  SELECT ATT_ID
  FROM Attestations
  WHERE TextName = TEXT
  AND Category = ?
  AND XXXXXXXX = XXXXXX"

  ;"";"";

  $ctg

  ))

```

The result of all of these calculations is not actually a percentage, but a number between 0 and 1, rounded to the third decimal. In three separate sets of merge fields, one per calculation type, I concatenated a number of text strings (e.g. Jer: [calculation]) and a calculation that displays the percentage based on the decimal value in these 22 calculation fields, or displays 'unattested' if the SQL query returns a question mark (i.e. if there are no records for this lemma in the textual source). Here is an example for Calculation 1, where ABBR stands for the abbreviation of the source:

```

If (
  calc1_N = "?" ;
  "N: unattested" ;
  "N: " & 100*calc1_N & "%" )

```



## PROCESSES OF AUTOMATIZATION DURING DATA ENTRY

As I had briefly mentioned in 'Method', one of the learning processes was that with the help of a number of script steps, certain processes during data entry could be automatically set in motion. This has a number of advantages over purely manual data entry. Firstly, automatization is entirely consistent, meaning that as long as the same requirements are met for a particular script to run, it will always run and the data will be more uniform for it. I had already given the example of setting `Attestations::ExpectedMut` to 'lenition' if `Attestations::PrecedingWord = 'a'` and `Attestations::PrecedingWordClass = 'verbal particle'`. However, this was only one part of a single script that was set to run upon exiting `Attestations::PrecedingWordClass`. A larger part of this script looks as follows:

```
If
    [Attestations::PrecedingWord = "a" and
    Attestations::PrecedingWordClass = "verbal particle"]
    Set Field [Attestations::ExpectedMut ; "lenition"]
End If

If
    [Attestations::PrecedingWord = "a" and
    Attestations::PrecedingWordClass = "preposition"]
    Set Field [Attestations::ExpectedMut ; "lenition"]
End If

If
    [Attestations::PrecedingWord = "ha" and
    Attestations::PrecedingWordClass = "conjunction"]
    Set Field [Attestations::ExpectedMut ; "none"]
End If

If
    [Attestations::PrecedingWord = "ma" and
    Attestations::PrecedingWordClass = "possessive pronoun"]
    Set Field [Attestations::ExpectedMut ; "spirantization"]
End If
```

Listing the mutation contexts to automatically be set does save some time. However, most contexts still needed to be indicated by hand, as many contexts can be ambiguous. For example, *ho* can be the spelling of both the 2pl. possessive, which causes provection, and of the 3pl. possessive, which causes spirantization. If I had to rewrite the database, I would have chosen to include more values in the value list related to `Attestations::PrecedingWordClass`, so that the user can choose between the various persons for the possessive pronoun; in general, I would have included more options for grammatical parsing so that the data contained more specific information. For this thesis, however, the information I included sufficed.

I also added an automatization for when the attestation was not preceded by anything (i.e. not even an elided particle):

```
If [Attestations::PrecedingWord = "-"]
Set Field [Attestations::PrecedingWordClass ; "NULL"]
Set Field [Attestations::ExpectedMut ; "none"]
End If
```

Two further automatizations greatly improved the workflow, which have to do with setting `Attestations::MutatesCorrectly` to either 'yes' or 'no'. The first is a calculation field named `InitialConsonant` (referenced above for 'Calculation fields'), which simply takes the first character entered in `Attestations::Word`:

```
Left ( Attestations::Word ; 1 )
```

The second automatization is a script set to run upon exiting `Attestations::Word`, and is based upon the value calculated in `Attestations::InitialConsonant`:

```
If [Attestations::InitialConsonant = "b" or
Attestations::InitialConsonant = "m"]
Set Field [Attestations::MutatesCorrectly ; "yes"]
```

As stated in §2.1, I take all spellings in *b-* and *m-* to be correct mutations, and therefore only needed to indicate a difference for spellings in *v-*. If `InitialConsonant` was 'v', `MutatesCorrectly` was not set to anything, and I would have to enter it manually. One thing I could have done is to also have this set automatically based on the value in `ExpectedMut` (e.g. if `ExpectedMut` = 'lenition', set `MutatesCorrectly` to 'yes'). However, I decided not to do this in favor of setting the field manually, as I wanted to be sure of the mutation contexts first.

## INDEX GENERATION

Manually creating an index<sup>112</sup> for over 20,000 records would have been a nearly impossible task in only a few weeks. Thankfully, it can be automatically generated using a number of calculations, for which I use a combination of FileMaker formulas, and SQL.

I created three additional calculation fields in `Attestations`. The first serves to circumvent a feature of SQL that proved to be an issue: it is case-sensitive. This meant that e.g. *bout* and *Bout* were taken as two separate values in the index. This first calculation field, `Attestations::lowerword`, produces the value in `Attestation::Word` in lowercase, and having the SQL query in the other calculations take this value as a variable instead of `Attestations::Word` solved the problem.

---

<sup>112</sup> It should be noted that I do not use 'index' as a term from FileMaker, where it means something different to what I am doing here. I refer to an index as is common in e.g. editions of texts.

The second calculation, `Attestations::index_1`, pairs the abbreviation of the text with a list of values in `Attestations::LineNumber` for records of which the field `Attestations::lowerword` matches that of the current record:

```
#checks line number: indicated or not
If ( Let (
  [$word = Attestations::lowerword ; $tx = Attestations::TextName ; $lma =
  Attestations::Lemma]; ExecuteSQL ( "
  SELECT DISTINCT LineNumber
  FROM Attestations
  WHERE lowerword = ?
  AND TextName = ?
  AND Lemma = ?" ;"";", " ; $word ; $tx ; $lma )) = "" ;

#option 1: source + comma if line number is not indicated
Let ( $a = Attestations::TextName ; ExecuteSQL ( "
  SELECT Abbr
  FROM Texts
  WHERE TextName = ?" ;"";""; $a )) & ", " ;

#option 2: source + line numbers
Let ( $a = Attestations::TextName ; ExecuteSQL ( "
  SELECT Abbr
  FROM Texts
  WHERE TextName = ?" ;"";""; $a )) & " " &

Let ( [$word = Attestations::lowerword ; $tx = Attestations::TextName ;
  $lma = Attestations::Lemma]; ExecuteSQL ( "
  SELECT DISTINCT LineNumber
  FROM Attestations
  WHERE lowerword = ?
  AND TextName = ?
  AND Lemma = ?" ;"";""; " ; $word; $tx; $lma ))
```

This calculation does two things: first, it makes sure that when records have no line number indicated (such as for the *Catholics*), it does not produce a single space.<sup>113</sup> Second, it creates a sorted list of `LineNumber` values without duplicates: this is achieved by the SQL step `SELECT DISTINCT` instead of `SELECT`.

The third calculation, `Attestations::index_2`, creates an alphabetically sorted list of all values stored in `Attestations::index_1` in records for which the value in `Attestations::lowerword` matches that of the current record. In other words, it creates a list of sources and line numbers where this specific spelling is found.

---

<sup>113</sup> Otherwise, a space would be inserted between the abbreviation and the comma, e.g. “CathMS,” instead of “CathMS”.

A fourth calculation on the Lemmata table, Lemmata::indexinfo, creates a partial index per lemma, structured as follows:

```
Substitute (
  If (
    Let ( $lma = Lemma ; ValueCount ( ExecuteSQL ( "
      SELECT ATT_ID
      FROM Attestations
      WHERE Lemma = ?" ; "" ; "" ; $lma ))) = 1 ;

    Let ( $idx =
      TextStyleAdd ( Lemmata::Lemma ; Bold )
      & " '" & Lemmata::Etymological notes & Left ( Category ; 2 )

      & "¶" &

      UniqueValues ( Attestations::index_2 );

      Left ( $idx ; Length ( $idx ) -2 )) & "¶" ;

    Let ( $idx = TextStyleAdd ( Lemmata::Lemma ; Bold )

      & " '" & Lemmata::Etymological notes & "', Cat. " & Left ( Category ; 2
      ) & "." &

    SortValues (
      UniqueValues ( List ( Attestations::index_2 )));

    Left ( $idx ; Length ( $idx ) -2 )) & "¶" );

#substitutions
["10001";"a"] ; ["10002";"s"] ; ["10003";"d"] ; ["10004";"g"] ;
["10005";"a-"] ; ["10006";"b-"] ; ["10007";"ab-"] ; ["10008";"-"] ;
["10009";"/"] )
```

This produces a partial index that looks as follows:

**lemma** ‘definition’  
*spelling 1* Sources + line numbers 1,  
*spelling 2* Sources + line numbers 2,  
[...]  
*spelling N* Sources + line numbers N

The Substitute step in the calculation was added for purposes of sorting. When a list of values is retrieved either natively through Filemaker, or through SQL, its manner of sorting depends on the field type in which these values are stored. Text fields support both numerical values and text; since my notation of line numbers sometimes consists of combinations between numbers and letters, this is what I initially selected. However, in a text field, numbers will be sorted based on the first character, e.g. 1, 11, 12, 134, 2, 3, 45, 5, 52. This is obviously not ideal for an index. Setting it to a number field solves this problem, but creates another, as every non-numerical value is omitted; for example, the

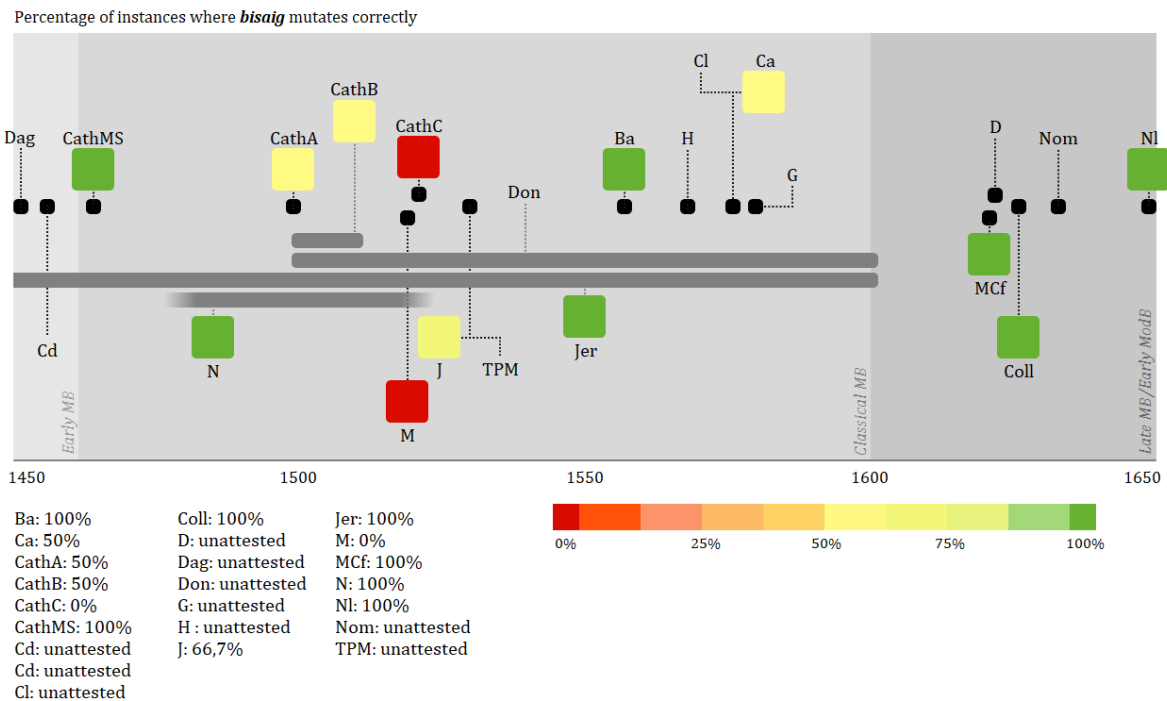
reference Nom 123a-4 would come out as Nom 1234. The work-around is as follows: since I used only nine different strings of non-numerical values, I could replace each string with a numerical value that was higher than any value in `Attestations::LineNumber`. None of the values reached five digits, and so replacing each string with '10001.', '10002.', etc. allows for numerical sorting of values that appear in `Lemmata::indexinfo` as combinations of numerical and non-numerical values, but are in reality purely numerical.

A fifth and final calculation on the Lemmata layout, `Lemmata::Full_index`, is a summary field, and concatenates all values found in `Lemmata::indexinfo`. It produces more or less the index as it stands in Appendix 1.

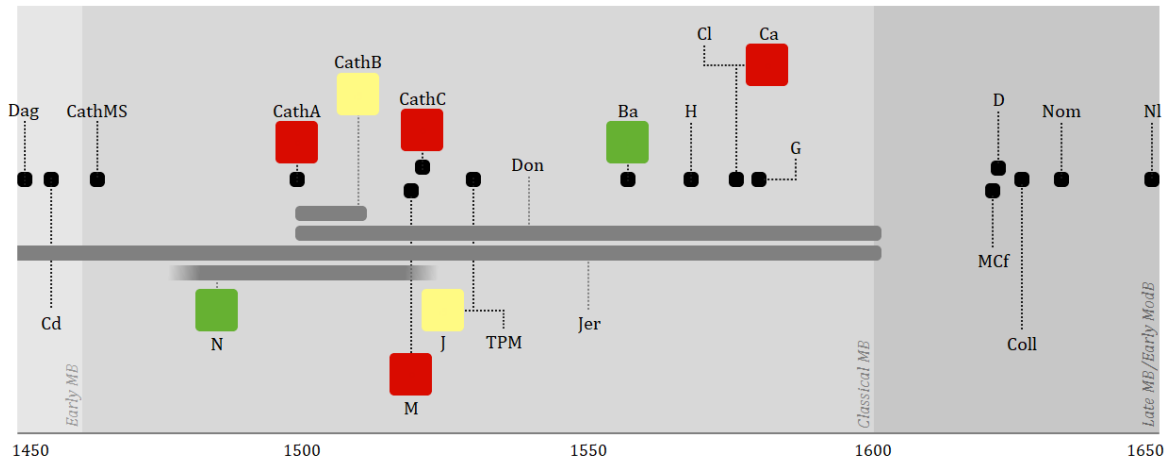
### APPENDIX 3: A SELECTION OF VISUALIZATIONS

The order of visualizations is as follows: timeline; authors and editors; printers and patrons; dialect; place of printing; textual genre. For (2) and (3) only the first calculation is given, as the third calculation yields the exact same results as the first calculation (see Chapter 2) and the second calculation always gives '100%'.

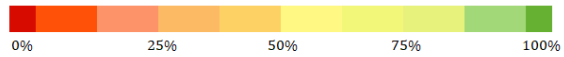
#### 1. *bisaig/visaig* 'face': 26 attestations.



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v- and mutates correctly



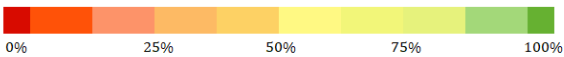
Ba: 100%      Coll: unattested      Jer: unattested  
 Ca: 0%        D: unattested        M: 0%  
 CathA: 0%     Dag: unattested     MCF: unattested  
 CathB: 50%    Don: unattested    N: 100%  
 CathC: 0%     G: unattested      NL: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested H: unattested     Nom: unattested  
 Cd: unattested    J: 50%                TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* mutates correctly

Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil G. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
J. Lagadeuc	A. Quatquev.	J. Corre			Archer Coz				
CathMS	CathA	CathB	CathC	J	M	H	Cl	Ca	Ba
				TPM		×	×		
				×					
BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Mét. ms. 1007	ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189	
G. Quiquer		T. Gueguen			Le Pelletier				
Nom	Coll	Nl	D	Mcf	Dag	Don	Cd	N	
×			×		×	×	×		
					G				
					×				
					Jer				

Ba: 100%      Coll: 100%      Jer: 100%  
 Ca: 50%        D: unattested     M: 0%  
 CathA: 50%    Dag: unattested   MCF: 100%  
 CathB: 50%    Don: unattested   N: 100%  
 CathC: 0%     G: unattested     Nl: 100%  
 CathMS: 100% H: unattested     Nom: unattested  
 Cd: unattested    J: 66,7%            TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested

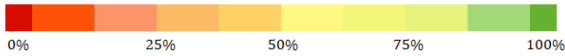


Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v-

Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
J. Lagadeuc					Archer Coz		G. Keranpuil		
CathMS	A. Quatquev. CathA	J. Corre CathB	CathC	J	M	H	Cl	Ca	Ba
						×	×		
				TPM					
				×					

BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Métr. ms. 1007	ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189
G. Quiquer		T. Gueguen			Le Pelletier			
Nom	Coll	Nl	D	Mcf	Dag	Don	Cd	N
×			×		×	×	×	
					G			
					×			
					Jer			

Ba: 33,3%  
 Ca: 50%  
 CathA: 50%  
 CathB: 100%  
 CathC: 100%  
 CathMS: 0%  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: 0%  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 66,7%  
 Jer: 0%  
 M: 100%  
 MCF: 0%  
 N: 25%  
 Nl: 0%  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested

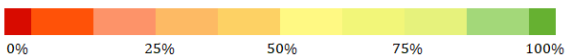


Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v- and mutates correctly

Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
J. Lagadeuc					Archer Coz		G. Keranpuil		
CathMS	A. Quatquev. CathA	J. Corre CathB	CathC	J	M	H	Cl	Ca	Ba
×						×	×		
				TPM					
				×					

BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Métr. ms. 1007	ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189
G. Quiquer		T. Gueguen			Le Pelletier			
Nom	Coll	Nl	D	Mcf	Dag	Don	Cd	N
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
					G			
					×			
					Jer			
					×			

Ba: 100%  
 Ca: 0%  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 50%  
 CathC: 0%  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: unattested  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 50%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: 0%  
 MCF: unattested  
 N: 100%  
 Nl: unattested  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested





Percentage of instances where *bisaig* mutates correctly

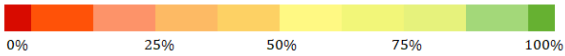
Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
CathMS	J. Calvez CathA	CathB	Y. Quilleveré CathC	J TPM	M	H	J. Kerver Cl	B. de Leau Ca	Ba
						×	×		

BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Métr. ms. 1007	ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189
G. Allienne Nom	Coll	Nl	D	Mcf	Dag	Don	Cd	N
×			×		×	×	×	

Ba: 100%  
 Ca: 50%  
 CathA: 50%  
 CathB: 50%  
 CathC: 0%  
 CathMS: 100%  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested

Coll: 100%  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 66,7%

Jer: 100%  
 M: 0%  
 Mcf: 100%  
 N: 100%  
 Nl: 100%  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v

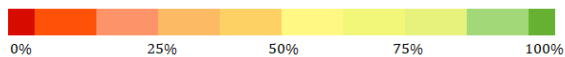
Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
CathMS	J. Calvez CathA	CathB	Y. Quilleveré CathC	J TPM	M	H	J. Kerver Cl	B. de Leau Ca	Ba
						×	×		

BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Métr. ms. 1007	ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189
G. Allienne Nom	Coll	Nl	D	Mcf	Dag	Don	Cd	N
×			×		×	×	×	

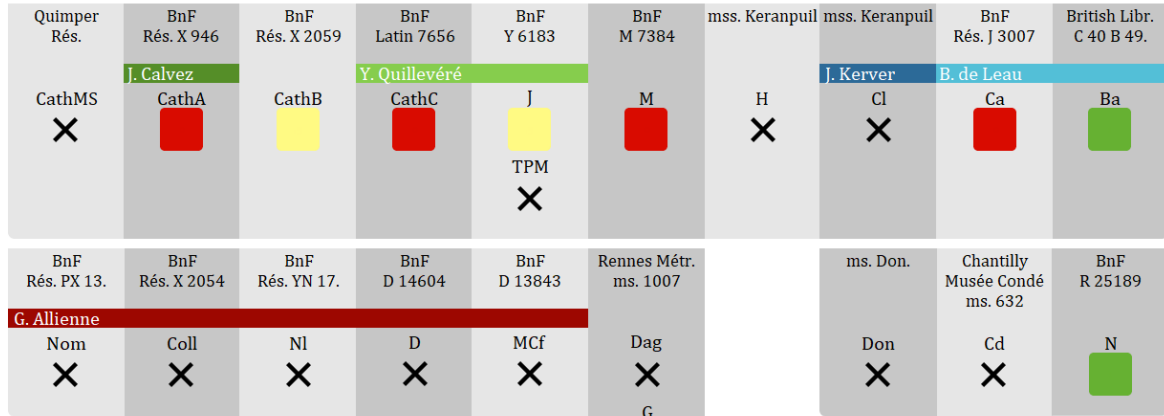
Ba: 33,3%  
 Ca: 50%  
 CathA: 50%  
 CathB: 100%  
 CathC: 100%  
 CathMS: 0%  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested

Coll: 0%  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 66,7%

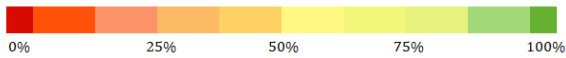
Jer: 0%  
 M: 100%  
 Mcf: 0%  
 N: 25%  
 Nl: 0%  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial *v-* and mutates correctly



Ba: 100%  
 Ca: 0%  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 50%  
 CathC: 0%  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: unattested  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 50%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: 0%  
 MCF: unattested  
 N: 100%  
 Nl: unattested  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested



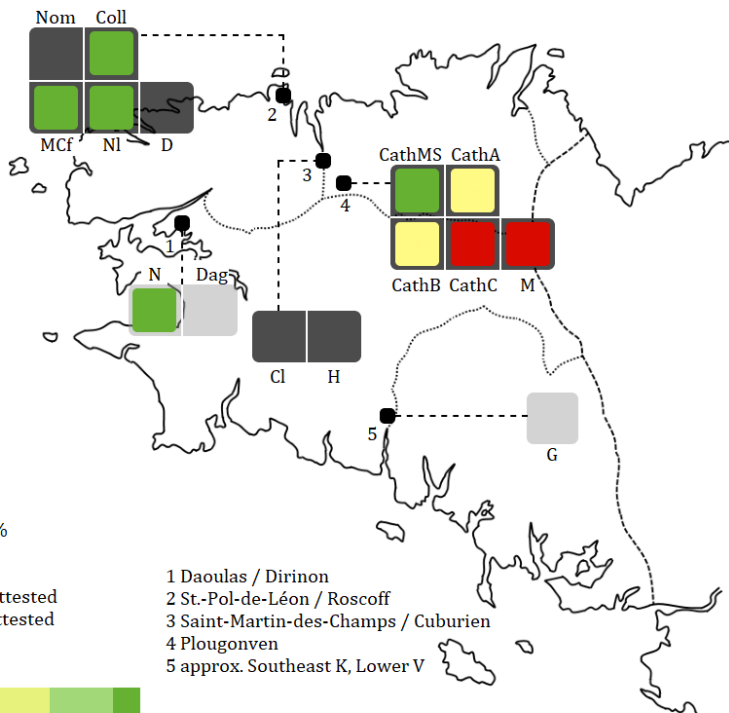
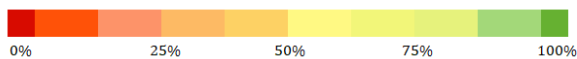
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* mutates correctly

■ Origin of author known  
 ■ Dialectal traits identifiable from text

Dialectal traits yet unidentified



Ba: 100%  
 Ca: 50%  
 CathA: 50%  
 CathB: 50%  
 CathC: 0%  
 CathMS: 100%  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: 100%  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 66,7%  
 Jer: 100%  
 M: 0%  
 MCF: 100%  
 N: 100%  
 Nl: 100%  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested

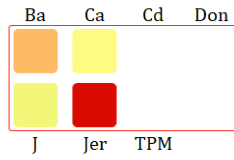


- 1 Daoulas / Dirinon
- 2 St.-Pol-de-Léon / Roscoff
- 3 Saint-Martin-des-Champs / Cuburien
- 4 Plougonven
- 5 approx. Southeast K, Lower V

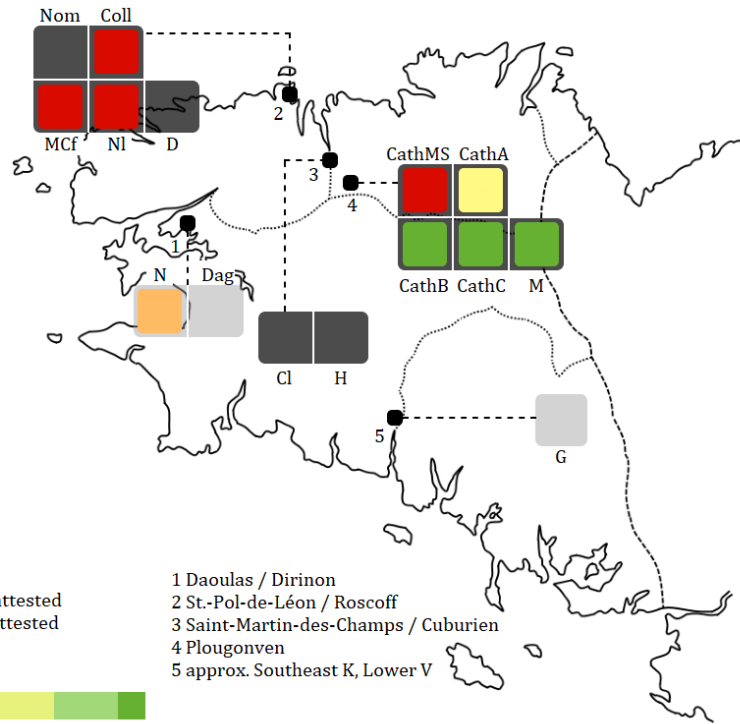
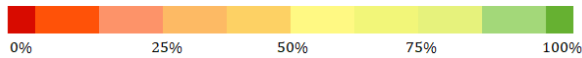
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v-

■ Origin of author known  
 ■ Dialectal traits identifiable from text

Dialectal traits yet unidentified



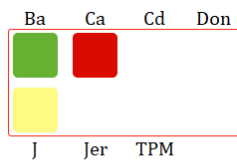
Ba: 33,3%	Coll: 0%	Jer: 0%
Ca: 50%	D: unattested	M: 100%
CathA: 50%	Dag: unattested	MCf: 0%
CathB: 100%	Don: unattested	N: 25%
CathC: 100%	G: unattested	Nl: 0%
CathMS: 0%	H: unattested	Nom: unattested
Cd: unattested	J: 66,7%	TPM: unattested
Cl: unattested		



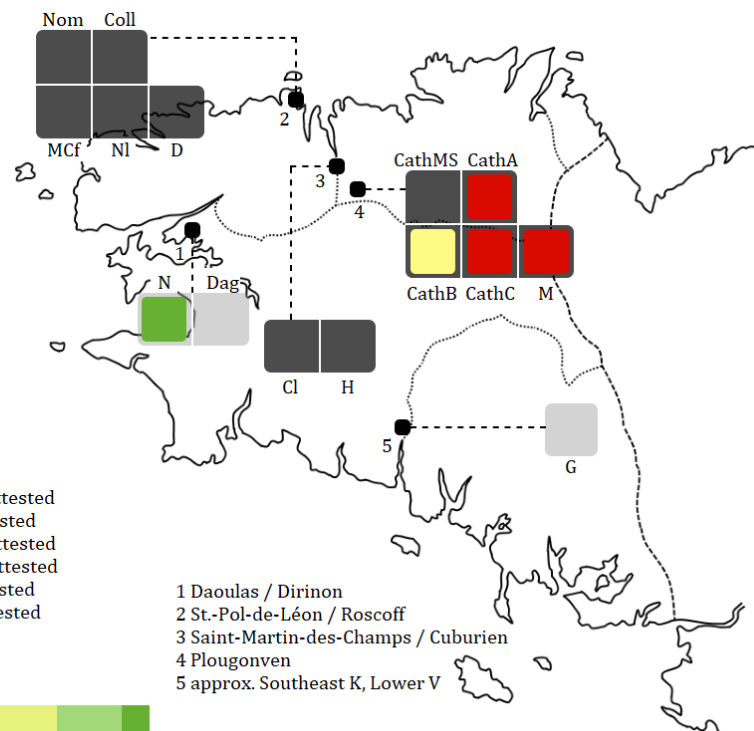
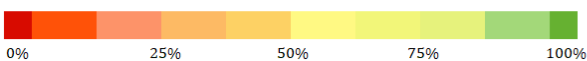
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v- and mutates correctly

■ Origin of author known  
 ■ Dialectal traits identifiable from text

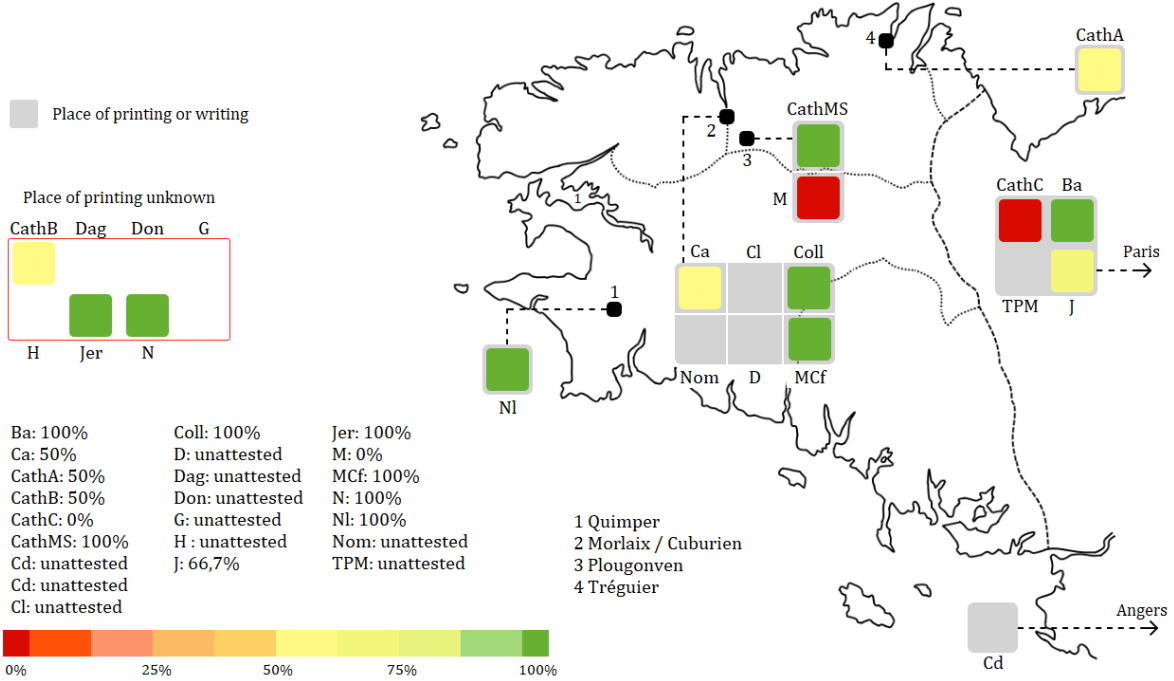
Dialectal traits yet unidentified



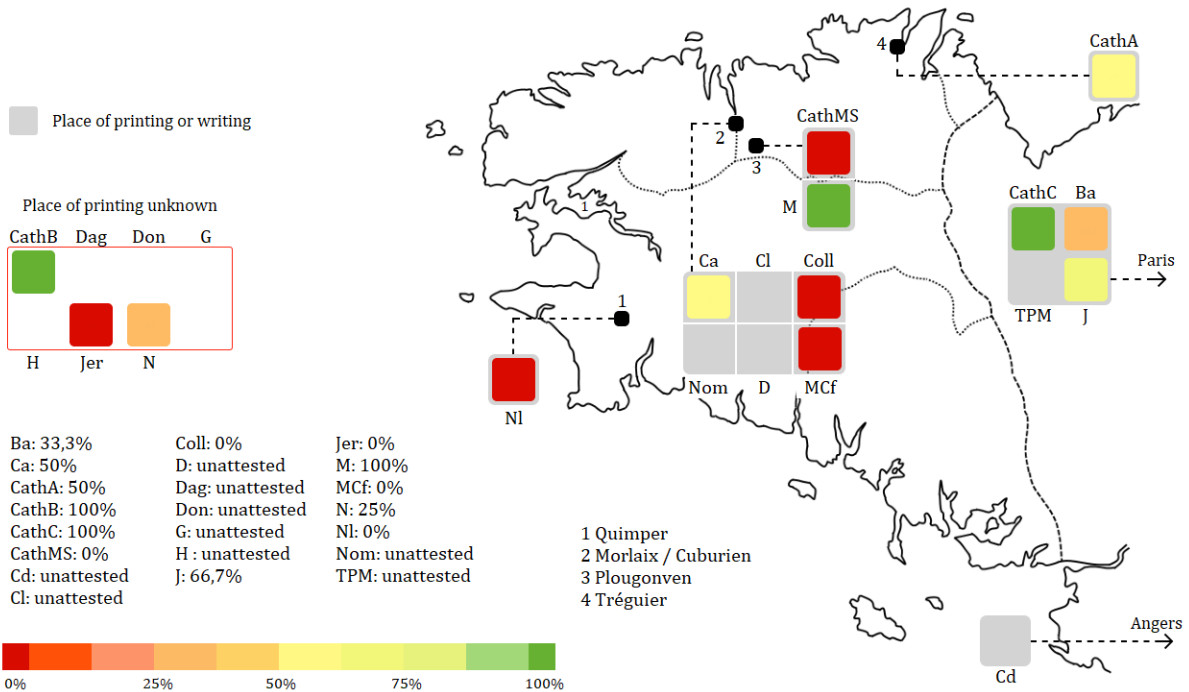
Ba: 100%	Coll: unattested	Coll: unattested
Ca: 0%	D: unattested	D: unattested
CathA: 0%	Dag: unattested	Dag: unattested
CathB: 50%	Don: unattested	Don: unattested
CathC: 0%	G: unattested	G: unattested
CathMS: unattested	H: unattested	H: unattested
Cd: unattested	J: 50%	J: 50%
Cd: unattested		
Cl: unattested		



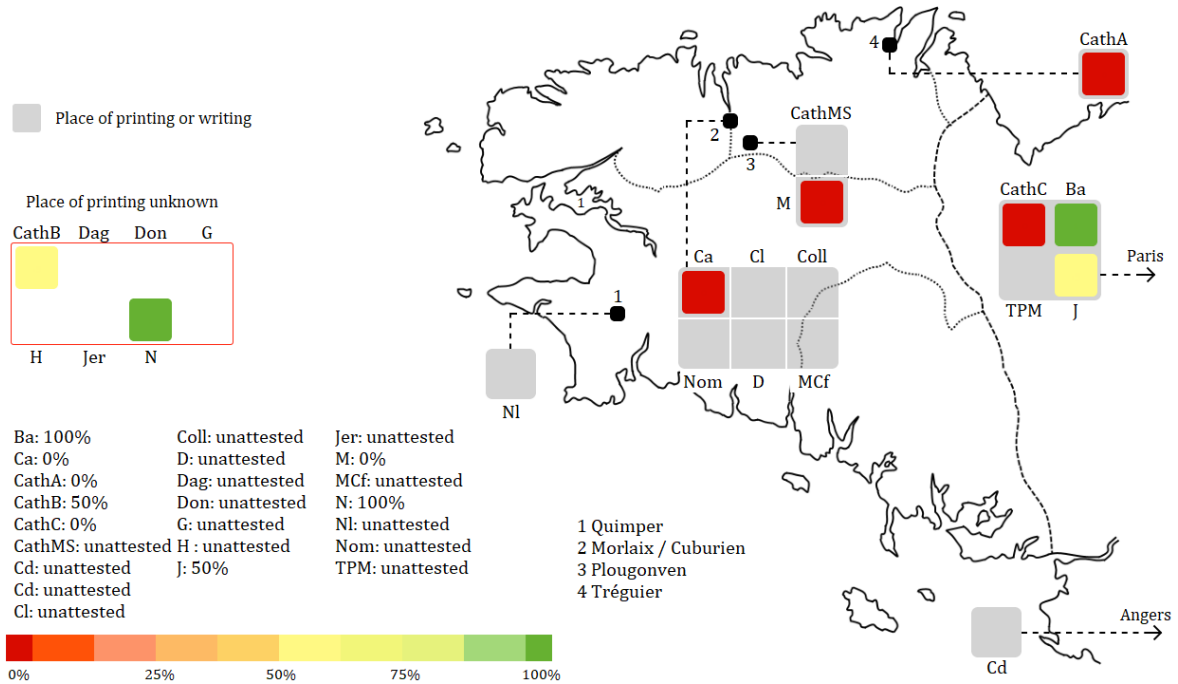
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* mutates correctly



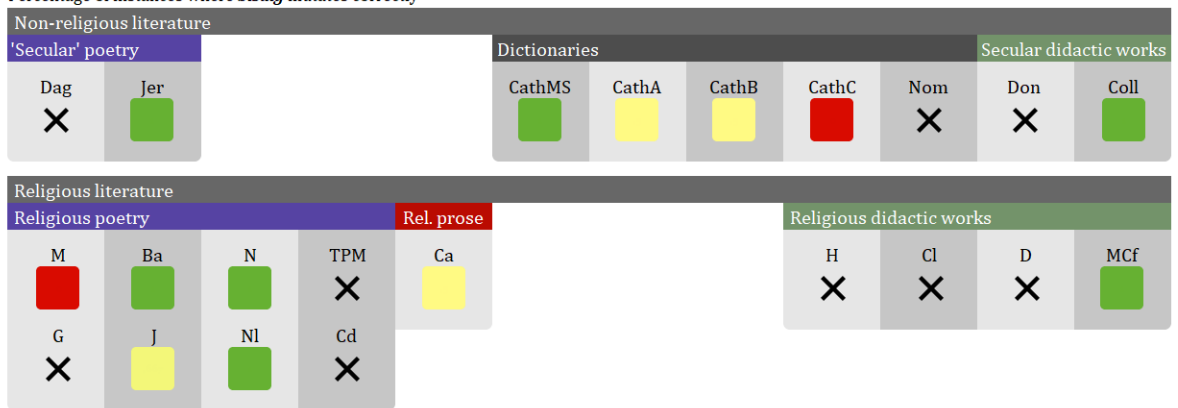
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v-



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial *v-* and *and* mutates correctly



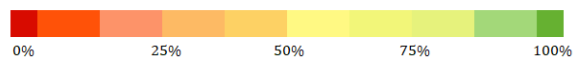
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* mutates correctly



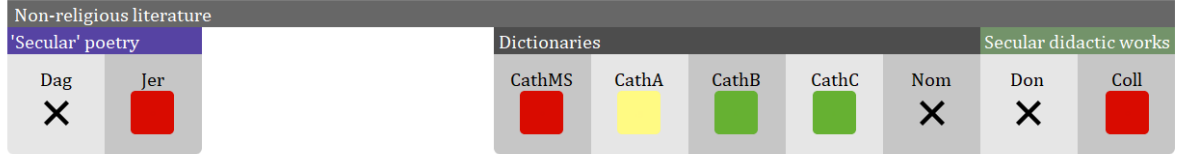
Ba: 100%  
Ca: 50%  
CathA: 50%  
CathB: 50%  
CathC: 0%  
CathMS: 100%  
Cd: unattested  
Cd: unattested  
Cl: unattested

Coll: 100%  
D: unattested  
Dag: unattested  
Don: unattested  
G: unattested  
H: unattested  
J: 66,7%

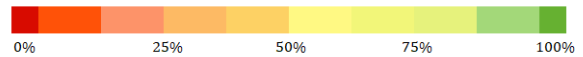
Jer: 100%  
M: 0%  
MCF: 100%  
N: 100%  
Nl: 100%  
Nom: unattested  
TPM: unattested



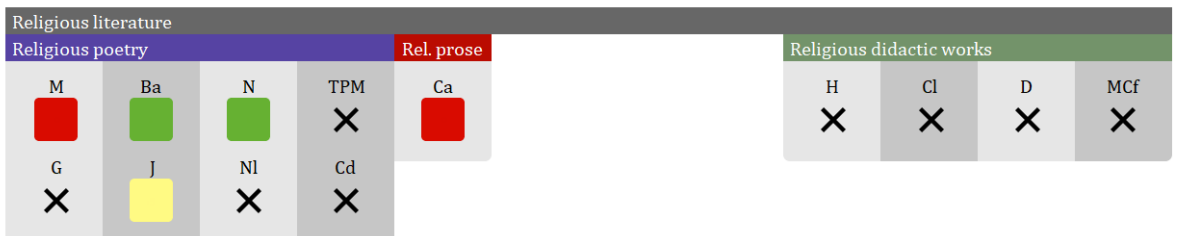
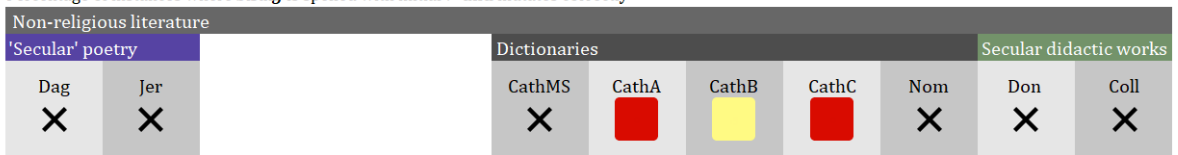
Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v-



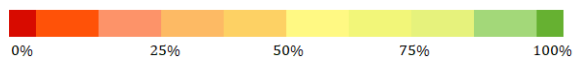
Ba: 33,3%  
 Ca: 50%  
 CathA: 50%  
 CathB: 100%  
 CathC: 100%  
 CathMS: 0%  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: 0%  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 66,7%  
 Jer: 0%  
 M: 100%  
 MCF: 0%  
 N: 25%  
 Nl: 0%  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested



Percentage of instances where *bisaig* is spelled with initial v- and mutates correctly

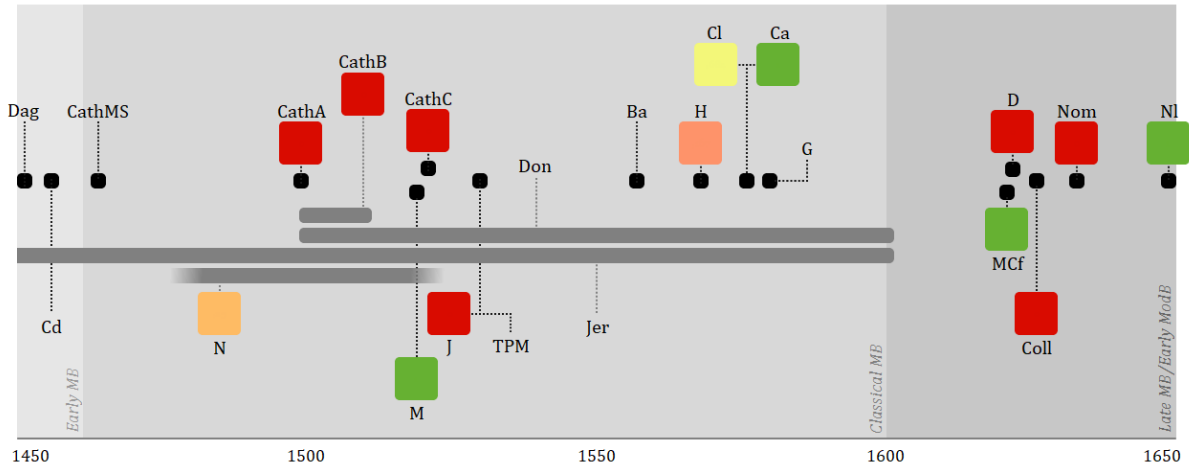


Ba: 100%  
 Ca: 0%  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 50%  
 CathC: 0%  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cl: unattested  
 Coll: unattested  
 D: unattested  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: unattested  
 J: 50%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: 0%  
 MCF: unattested  
 N: 100%  
 Nl: unattested  
 Nom: unattested  
 TPM: unattested

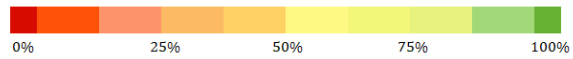


## 2. vertuz 'virtue': 48 attestations.

Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly



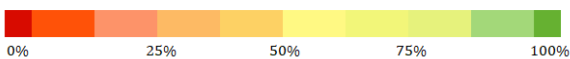
Ba: unattested      Coll: 0%      Jer: unattested  
 Ca: 100%          D: 0%          M: 100%  
 CathA: 0%        Dag: unattested      MCF: 100%  
 CathB: 0%        Don: unattested     N: 25%  
 CathC: 0%        G: unattested        NI: 100%  
 CathMS: unattested H: 16,7%          Nom: 0%  
 Cd: unattested    J: 0%                TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested



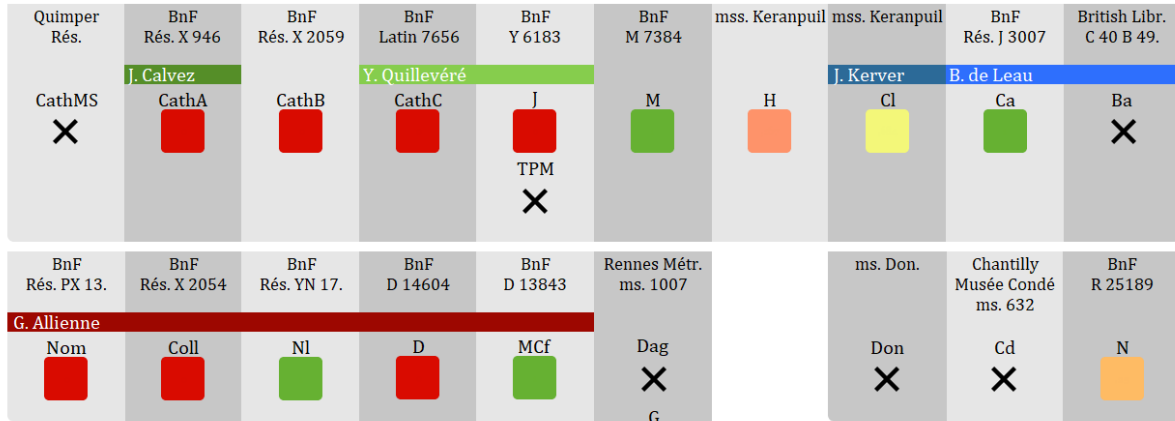
Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly

Quimper Rés.	BnF Rés. X 946	BnF Rés. X 2059	BnF Latin 7656	BnF Y 6183	BnF M 7384	mss. Keranpuil	mss. Keranpuil	BnF Rés. J 3007	British Libr. C 40 B 49.
J. Lagadeuc	A. Quatquev.	J. Corre			Archer Coz	G. Keranpuil			
CathMS	CathA	CathB	CathC	J	M	H	Cl	Ca	Ba
×				TPM					×
				×					
BnF Rés. PX 13.	BnF Rés. X 2054	BnF Rés. YN 17.	BnF D 14604	BnF D 13843	Rennes Métr. ms. 1007		ms. Don.	Chantilly Musée Condé ms. 632	BnF R 25189
G. Quiquer		T. Gueguen			Le Pelletier		Don	Cd	N
Nom	Coll	NI	D	Mcf	Dag		×	×	
					G				
					Jer				
					×				

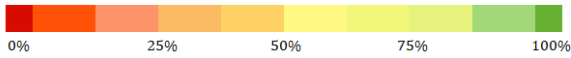
Ba: unattested      Coll: 0%      Jer: unattested  
 Ca: 100%          D: 0%          M: 100%  
 CathA: 0%        Dag: unattested      MCF: 100%  
 CathB: 0%        Don: unattested     N: 25%  
 CathC: 0%        G: unattested        NI: 100%  
 CathMS: unattested H: 16,7%          Nom: 0%  
 Cd: unattested    J: 0%                TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested



Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly



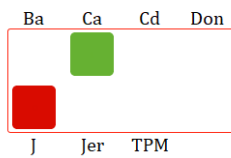
Ba: unattested    Coll: 0%    Jer: unattested  
 Ca: 100%    D: 0%    M: 100%  
 CathA: 0%    Dag: unattested    Mcf: 100%  
 CathB: 0%    Don: unattested    N: 25%  
 CathC: 0%    G: unattested    NI: 100%  
 CathMS: unattested    H: 16,7%    Nom: 0%  
 Cd: unattested    J: 0%    TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested



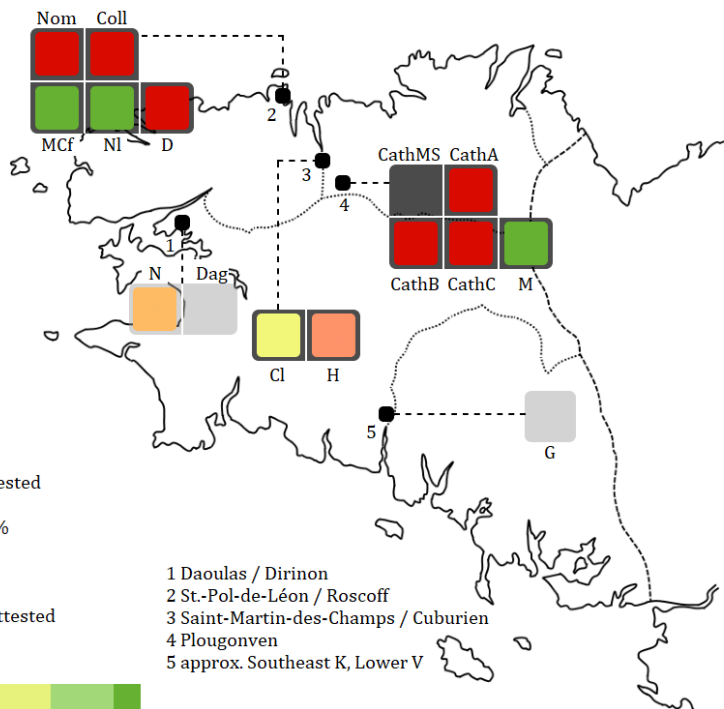
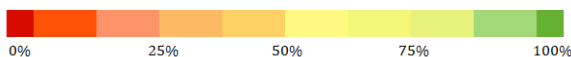
Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly

■ Origin of author known  
 ■ Dialectal traits identifiable from text

Dialectal traits yet unidentified

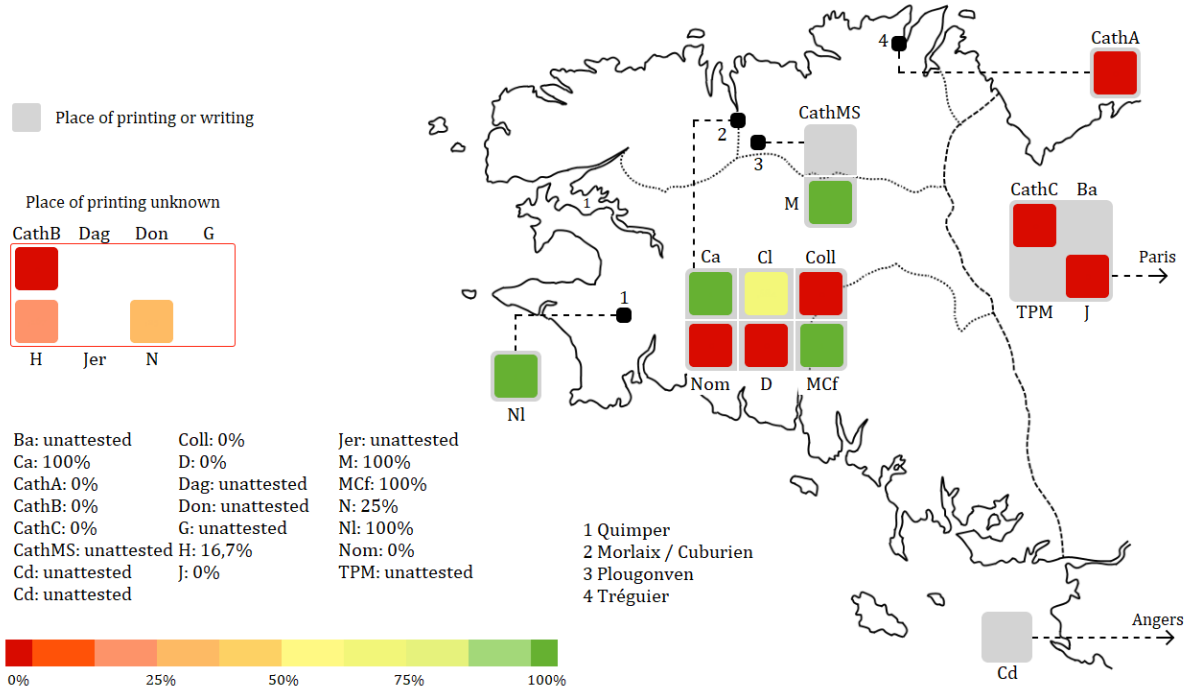


Ba: unattested    Coll: 0%    Jer: unattested  
 Ca: 100%    D: 0%    M: 100%  
 CathA: 0%    Dag: unattested    Mcf: 100%  
 CathB: 0%    Don: unattested    N: 25%  
 CathC: 0%    G: unattested    NI: 100%  
 CathMS: unattested    H: 16,7%    Nom: 0%  
 Cd: unattested    J: 0%    TPM: unattested  
 Cd: unattested

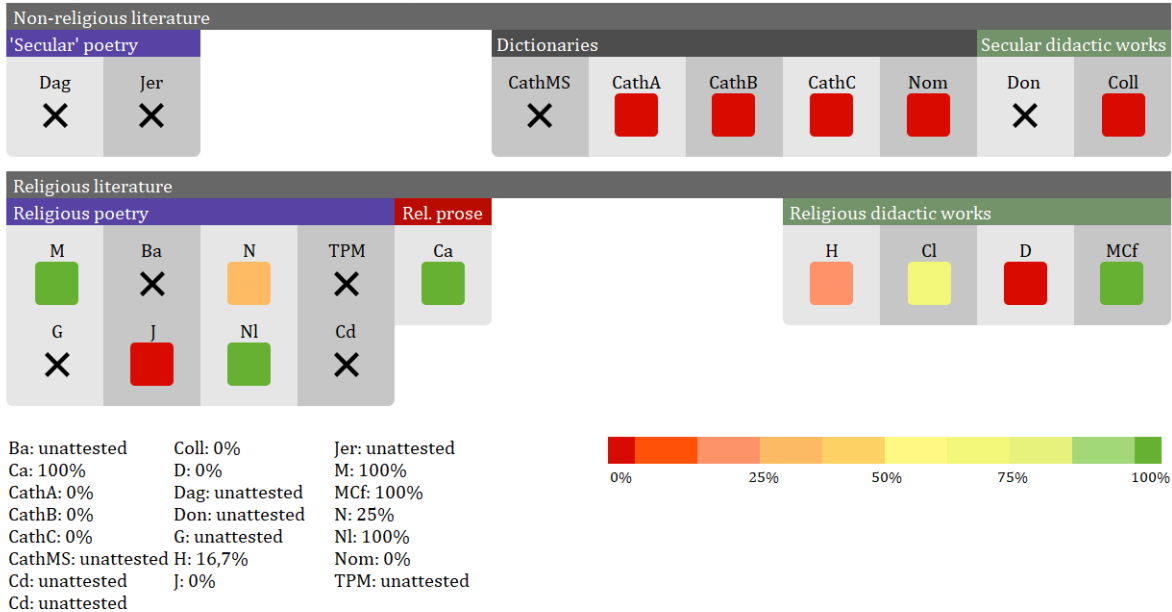




Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly

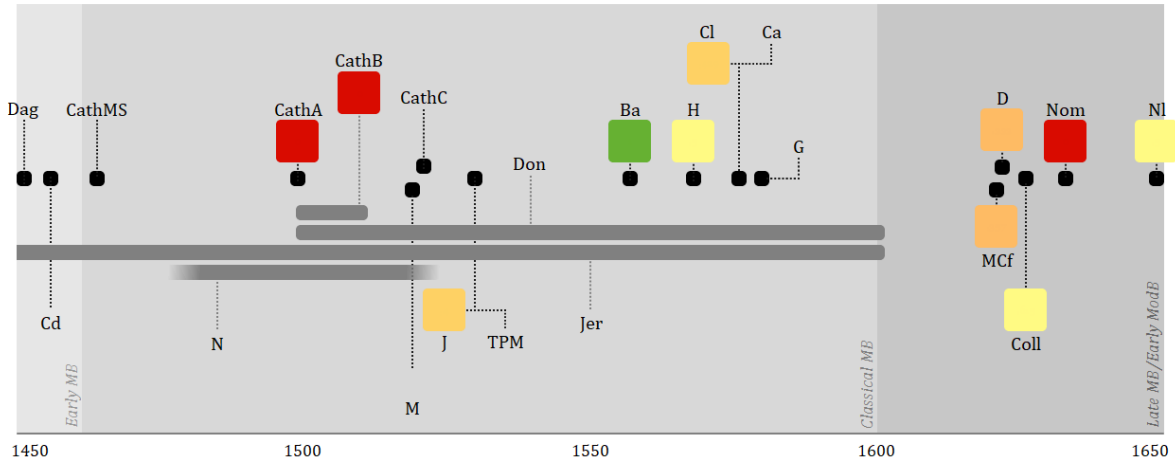


Percentage of instances where *vertuz* mutates correctly

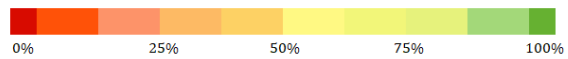


### 3. *volontez* 'will': 87 attestations.

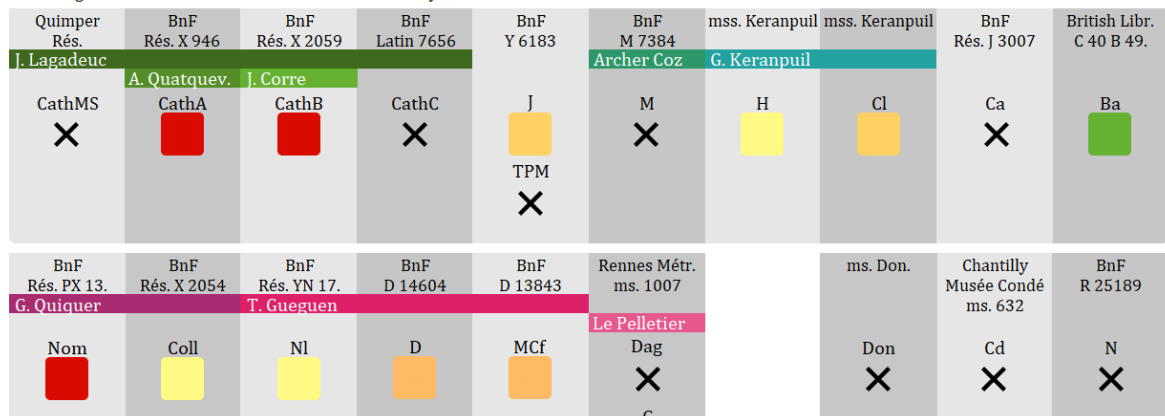
Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly



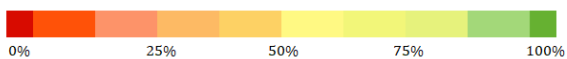
Ba: 100%  
 Ca: unattested  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 0%  
 CathC: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Coll: 61,5%  
 D: 33,3%  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: 50%  
 J: 40%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: unattested  
 MCF: 35,7%  
 N: unattested  
 NI: 50%  
 Nom: 0%  
 TPM: unattested



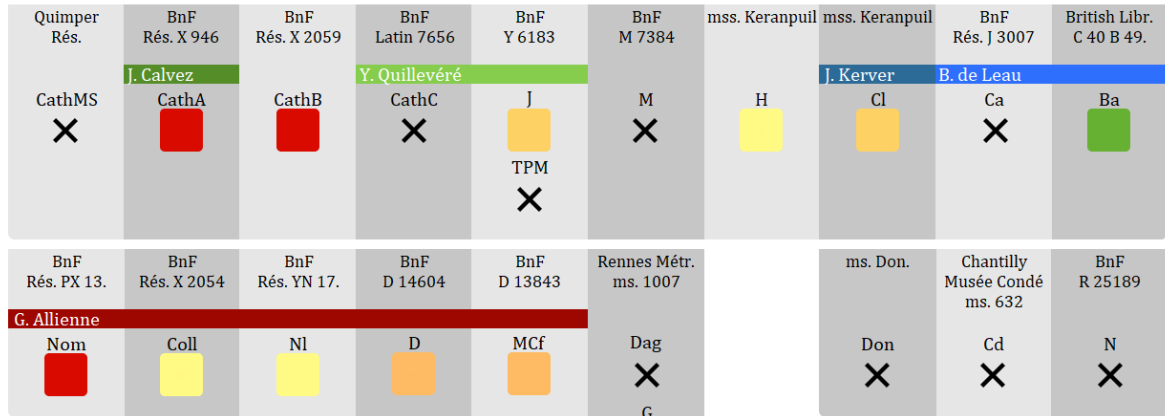
Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly



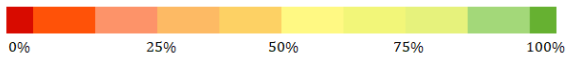
Ba: 100%  
 Ca: unattested  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 0%  
 CathC: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Coll: 61,5%  
 D: 33,3%  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: 50%  
 J: 40%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: unattested  
 MCF: 35,7%  
 N: unattested  
 NI: 50%  
 Nom: 0%  
 TPM: unattested



Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly



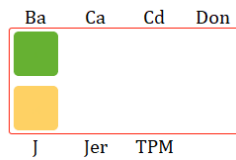
Ba: 100%  
 Ca: unattested  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 0%  
 CathC: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Coll: 61,5%  
 D: 33,3%  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: 50%  
 J: 40%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: unattested  
 Mcf: 35,7%  
 N: unattested  
 Nl: 50%  
 Nom: 0%  
 TPM: unattested



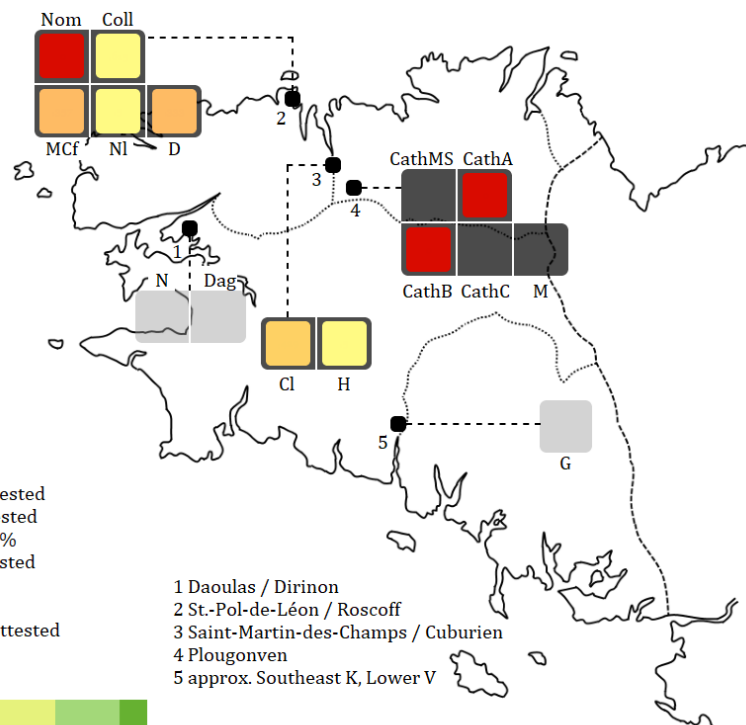
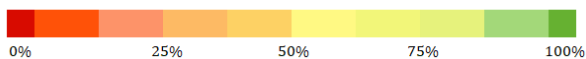
Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly

■ Origin of author known  
 ■ Dialectal traits identifiable from text

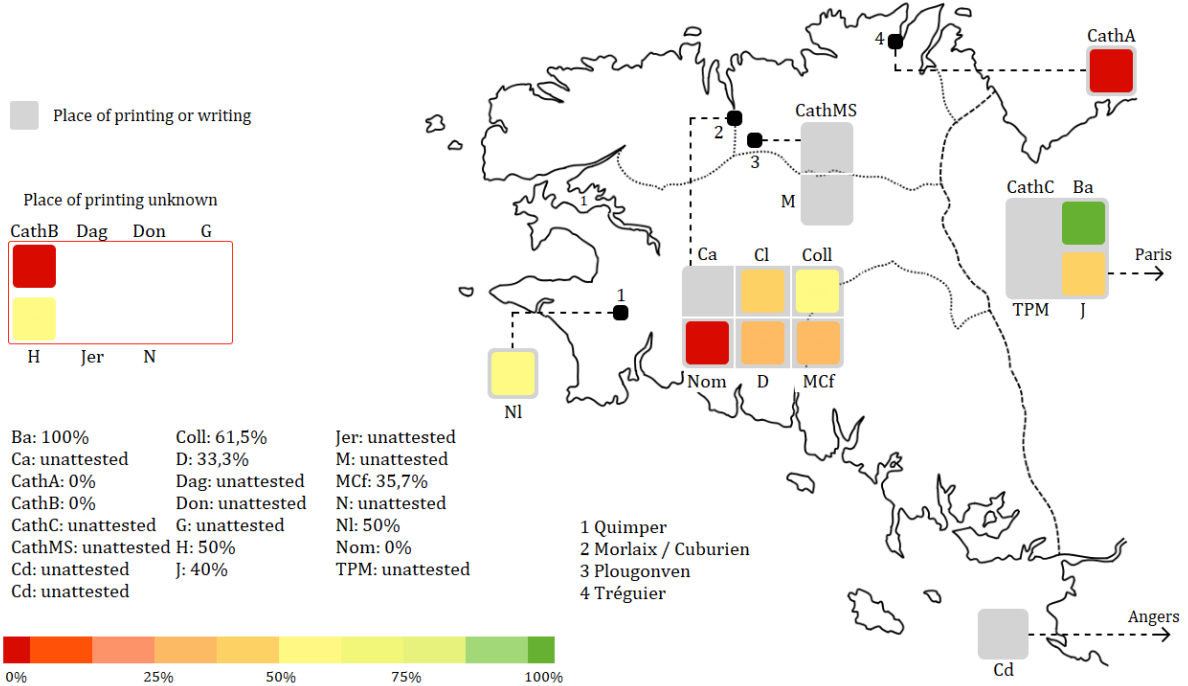
Dialectal traits yet unidentified



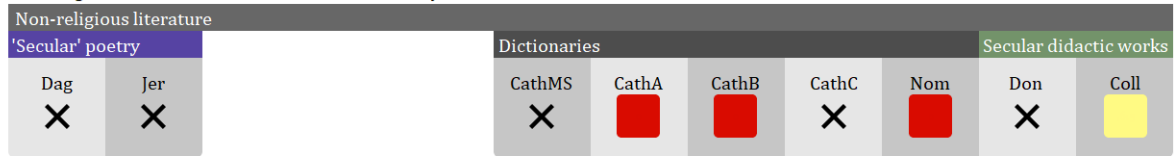
Ba: 100%  
 Ca: unattested  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 0%  
 CathC: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Coll: 61,5%  
 D: 33,3%  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: 50%  
 J: 40%  
 Jer: unattested  
 M: unattested  
 Mcf: 35,7%  
 N: unattested  
 Nl: 50%  
 Nom: 0%  
 TPM: unattested



Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly



Percentage of instances where *volontez* mutates correctly



Ba: 100%  
 Ca: unattested  
 CathA: 0%  
 CathB: 0%  
 CathC: unattested  
 CathMS: unattested  
 Cd: unattested  
 Cd: unattested

Coll: 61,5%  
 D: 33,3%  
 Dag: unattested  
 Don: unattested  
 G: unattested  
 H: 50%  
 J: 40%

Jer: unattested  
 M: unattested  
 MCF: 35,7%  
 N: unattested  
 NI: 50%  
 Nom: 0%  
 TPM: unattested

