Magdalena
Charzyńska-Wójcik

Jerzy
Wójcik

Anna
Bloch-Rozmej (Eds.)

Language change

faces and facets

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Faculty of Humanities
Institute of English Studies

STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS AND METHODOLOGY
Volume 7

WYDAWNICTWO
KUL

The latinity of the Wycliffite Psalters

Kinga Lis*

Abstract: The objective of the paper is to re-evaluate the claims reiterated in the literature on the Wycliffite Bible concerning the etymological make-up of the text(s). The Wycliffite Bible, or – rather – its two versions, are late 14th-century Middle English renditions from Latin, commonly regarded as either replete with Latinisms or at least heavily dependent on Latin in terms of vocabulary. These claims, however, have thus far not been corroborated by any evidence. The paper will endeavour to fill this gap by means of an analysis that will focus on the nominal layer of a selected portion of the text(s), i.e. the first fifty Psalms. It will investigate the etymological make-up of each Psalter independently (as they do diverge intermittently) yet always with reference to the Latin source text. This procedure enables one to compare exclusively those lexical items which can be classified as nominal equivalents in all three versions, i.e. the Latin text and the two Wycliffite Psalters. The choice of nouns for this purpose is important due to the tendency among languages to borrow nouns more frequently than items of any other grammatical category. This phenomenon renders the nominal component of the texts the most suitable to vividly illustrate the extent of the presence of Latinisms in the Wycliffite Psalters.

Key words: etymology, Latin, loanword, Psalter, Wycliffite

1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to re-evaluate the claims reiterated in the literature on Bible translations into English and pertaining to the Wycliffite Bible. The Bible in question is a fourteenth-century rendition, or renditions, as there are two versions of it – the Early and the Late one – of the Latin Vulgate and is connected with the name of John Wycliffe.[1] The assertions common in the

---

1   The name of Wycliffe is usually connected with the rendition(s) although opinions as to the authorship of the translation(s) differ widely. It is nowadays usually accepted that Wycliffe was more of an instigator of the endeavour than an actual translator and thus 'Wycliffite' and not 'Wycliffe' is frequently employed to suggest that the people responsible for the rendition(s) were Wycliffe's followers. On the whole, it is now usually maintained that the leading figure in the translation of the Early Version was Nicholas of Hereford (cf. for instance Deanesly 1920; Kenyon [1895] 1903; Knapp 1971; Metzger 2001; Slater 1911), although the rendition is a result of a joint effort (cf. Deanesly 1920: 252, who speaks of five translators of EV, Dove 2006: 395, speaking of 'at least five scribes and revisers', and Hudson 2011: 303–304). John Purvey, on the other hand, is usually referred to as the (principal) translator of the Later Version (cf. for instance

literature as regards the translation(s) are that the Wycliffite Bible is either replete with Latinisms – 'Wycliffe and his associates are credited with having introduced over a thousand words of Latin origin into the English language' (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 32) – or at least heavily dependent on Latin in terms of vocabulary, which Norton (2000: 7) phrases in the following manner (cf. also Condit 1882: 64–73; Daniell 2003: 76–80):

> [Early Version] is highly literal, dependent on the Latin for word order and some of its vocabulary. Only the absence of the Latin prevents it from being an interlinear gloss. The late version shows revision of vocabulary though it remains heavily dependent on the Latin; more significantly, there is a cautious movement towards a natural English word order (...).
>
> Norton (2000: 7)

Although such critical remarks are directed primarily at the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible, which is also perceived to be, among other things, overtly literal, syntactically peculiar and unidiomatic (Bruce 1984; Deanesly 1920: 252; Lambert 2002: 263; Norton 2000: 7; Westcott 1916: 13), the Late Version is, according to some scholars, hardly a significant improvement on the former (Daniell 2003: 76–80; Norton 2000: 7).

In order to examine the claim about the abundance of Latin-derived vocabulary in the Wycliffite Bible I analysed the nominal component of the first fifty Psalms of both the Early and the Late Versions (henceforth EV and LV respectively) from the point of view of etymology. The fact that the Psalters of both versions are taken into consideration imparts a new dimension to the study as it grants one the opportunity to observe minute differences in word choice between the two texts as far as nouns are concerned. Moreover, it also provides the means to compare, both numerically and as a percentage, the participation of nouns with different etymologies in each Psalter. Therefore, it allows one not only to verify whether the texts abound in Latinisms but also to determine whether LV employs, as is claimed (Norton 2000: 7), fewer Latinate nouns than EV does.

As mentioned above, the study concentrates on nouns exclusively. The choice of focus is motivated by the widely-observed tendency pertaining to the nature

---

Bruce 1984; Deanesly 1920; Forshall and Madden 1850; Hargreaves 1969; Kenyon [1895] 1903; Moulton 1878; Partridge 1973; Westcott 1916). It is worth mentioning that, although admittedly less frequently, John Trevisa is also credited with the translation of either the Early or the Late Version (cf. Fowler 1960 and 1995 for a discussion). For a detailed account of different views on the issue of Wycliffe's involvement and its extent in the process of translation present in the literature, see Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013). For accounts of the different proposals concerning dating, authorship and similarities between the two versions, cf. for instance Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013), Daniell (2003), and Lis (2014).

of loanwords:[2] the majority of interlinguistic borrowings are nominal (Hock and Joseph 2009: 245; Trask [2007] 1996: 27).[3] Thus, since there is no other grammatical category as susceptible to borrowing as nouns, it seems reasonable to assume that the results concerning the numerical and percentage participation of Latinate items obtained for this category will, vocabulary-wise, reflect the influence of Latin most explicitly. Taking into consideration the scope of the research, i.e. the first fifty Psalms in each version, it does not seem to be far-fetched to expect that the pattern of the nominal make-up of the Psalter(s) established on the basis of the analysed portion of the texts is roughly similar for their remainder. Yet, it has to be emphasised that the overall participation of Latinate lexical items in the examined texts would be much lower if other grammatical categories, which are much more resistant to borrowing, were taken into account in the study.

I begin the discussion by presenting the methodological approach adopted for the purposes of the study (Section 2) and commenting upon the obstacles encountered in the course of the preparation of the database, which necessitated certain simplifications pertaining to the classification of lexical items on etymological grounds (Section 3). Only then do I present the data gathered in the research, first giving an account of the general findings concerning the numerical and percentage participation of words of Old English (OE), Old Norse (ON) and Latinate, i.e. both French and Latin, origin (Section 4) and then discussing in detail the results concerning the subgroupings within the Romance etymological category (Section 5): nouns of Old French (OF) origin (Section 5.1), nouns with mixed Latin and Old French (OF-L) etymology (Section 5.2) and nouns of exclusively Latin (L) provenance (Section 5.3). The analysed nouns themselves are presented only for the final two of the enumerated subsections due to limitations of space. The final section (Section 6) summarises all the findings presented in the paper and attempts at formulating conclusions pertaining to the matter of the indebtedness of the lexical layer of the Psalters to Latin.

2   Throughout the paper the term *loanword* is employed as a synonym for *(lexical) borrowing*. Our understanding of the term *loanword* is that expressed by Haspelmath (2008: 46), who defines it as a word 'that is transferred from a donor language to a recipient language' without further limiting the concept. Therefore, I do not attempt to draw a division between a *foreign word* ('non-integrated word from a foreign language', as cited in Grzega 2003: 26 after Betz 1949 and Duckworth 1977) and a *loanword* ('integrated word from a foreign language' Grzega 2003: 27 after Betz 1949 and Duckworth 1977) since, as pointed out by Grzega (2003: 27), the criteria on which the division should be based (linguistic as opposed to sociolinguistic, or both combined) are not unanimously agreed upon by linguists and even within one strictly defined framework certain items seem to pose difficulties. Grzega (2003: 28), adopting an onomasiological approach, asserts that the distinction between a *loanword* and a *foreign word* 'is of minor importance'.

3   The same stance is also held by McMahon (1994: 204). On the other hand, Romaine (1989: 64–66) lists a number of researchers whose findings stand in striking contrast to that claim.

2. Methodology

2.1 The textual basis

The texts of the first fifty Psalms of EV and LV, which constituted the basis for the research, are those presented in Charzyńska-Wójcik's (2013) *Text and Context in Jerome's Psalters. Prose Translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English* after Forshall and Madden's (1850) edition of the two Bible versions.

However, the starting point for the research was the Latin text of the Psalms. Due to the fact that it is impossible to determine which Latin Psalter served as the basis for the translations (Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013: 45–46), I used the Gallican Psalter, or rather Gallican Psalters, edited in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013). The author's attention to minute details which nevertheless indicate only minor divergences between the four Latin texts[4] allows one to proceed with the study despite the fact that these are not the original Latin texts on which the renditions are based.

2.2 The preparation of the database

As stated above, the point of departure was the Latin Psalter. This was motivated by the fact that due to the differences between EV and LV, which are most readily visible at the syntactic level, determining the corresponding lexical items in each text would not have been accurate without making reference to the Latin textual basis of the translations. Therefore, at the outset of the research, I analysed the text of the first fifty Psalms in the *Gallicanum* edited by Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) and I extracted all the nouns. Thus, taking Latin

---

4   The versions in question are:
1.   the Latin text used in *The Psalter, or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Bramley 1884), hosted by the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse at http://quod.lib. umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AJF7399.0001.001;
2.   Hetzenauer's (1914) *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V Pont. Max. Iussu Recognita et Clementis VIII Auctoritate Edita. Ex Tribus Editionibus Clementinis Critice Descripsit Dispositionibus Logicis et Notis Exegeticis Illustravit, Appendice Lectionum Hebraicarum et Græcarum Auxit* hosted by SacredBible.org at http:// www.sacredbible.org/vulgate1914/index.htm;
3.   *Liber Psalmorum Iuxta Septuaginta Interpretes ab Hieronymo Semel et Iterum Emendatus* hosted by Documenta Catholica Omnia at http://www.documentacath-olicaomnia.eu/04z/z_0347-0420__Hieronymus__Divina_Bibliotheca_28_Liber_ Psalmorum_Iuxta_Septuaginta_Emendatus__MLT.pdf.html;
4.   *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (1969) edited by Robert Weber, referred to as the Stuttgart edition.

as the starting point allowed me to exclude from the research all the nouns present in either EV or LV which are not warranted by the Latin source text and stem rather from the procedures necessitated by the process of translation. It is important to state at this point that for the purposes of the study a noun is a lexical item which is not a proper noun[5] and which is assigned the label 'noun' in Whitaker's Latin-English, English-Latin dictionary,[6] i.e. it is not the function of the lexical item in the text that determines its grammatical category.

Each of the extracted Latin nouns was annotated with the verse and Psalm number. The numbering system strictly follows the numbering employed by Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) for the *Gallicanum*. All the nouns were sorted alphabetically, which enabled me to group all the occurrences, i.e. individual instantiations in the text, of a given noun under one headword, i.e. the nominative and genitive singular forms as found in Whitaker's dictionary. In total, 2865 occurrences of 529 different Latin nouns served as the basis for further study. The Latin data were then converted into a table which was subsequently completed with the relevant data from EV and LV. Thus, each Latin noun was juxtaposed with the corresponding nouns from the two English translations. The Middle English (ME) headwords used in the research are those provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth *MED*).[7] For each ME noun the etymological information from the *MED* and from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*) was then provided, the two being juxtaposed in separate cells. Also the dates of the first attestations of individual nouns with the relevant meanings in written records are given in the database but these, as irrelevant for the purposes of this paper, were not taken into consideration here. When the database was complete, all the Latin nouns whose corresponding ME lexical items were not nouns in the light of the information provided in the relevant dictionaries, i.e. the *OED* and the *MED*, were excluded. These were instances where Latin nouns were rendered by means of gerunds or adjectives used both generically, e.g. *fāderlēs*, which is listed only as an adjective, and attributively, i.e. when a Latin noun is expressed by means of a noun premodified by an adjective, e.g. Latin *parvulus, parvuli* ('infancy,

---

5   The items which were therefore excluded are the following (whenever an item appears more than once in the text of Psalms 1–50, the number of occurrences is indicated in parentheses): *Abraham, Cades, Cherubim, David, Hermonijm /Hermoniim, Iacob* (8), *Iordan, Israel* (7), *Iude, Jerusalem, Liban* (3), *Syon/Sion* (10), *Tharsis, Tyrus, XP/ Christus* (4). Had these nouns been used in the research the total number of analysed lexical items would amount to 2907, representing 544 distinct Latin words.

6   *WORDS Latin-to-English & English-to-Latin Dictionary* by William Whitaker, which can be accessed at http://ablemedia.com/ctcweb/showcase/wordsonline.html.

7   The *Middle English Dictionary* is hosted online by Michigan University at http://quod. lib.umich.edu/m/med/.

childhood; small child, infant') is at times translated as *litle children*[8] in the Psalter of LV. Although gerunds can be regarded as nouns, the fact that they are derived from verbs naturally excludes them from the research, i.e. they represent the etymology of the verbs from which they are derived, which in general, as already stated, are far less prone to borrowing. Moreover, those instances of Latin words which were translated in either of the Psalters by means of two English nouns were excluded from the research as in such cases it is impossible to determine which of them should serve as the basis for the etymological classification, e.g. *salutare, salutaris* ('salvation') is rendered either by *hēlth(e yēver(e* or by *yēver(e (of the) hēlth(e* in EV, whereas for the translation of *hircus, hirci* ('he-goat') LV employs two synonymous ME nouns: *gōt* and *bukke*. The cases where a given item was not translated at all or where the verses are missing from the manuscripts were not taken into consideration either. In total, 299 occurrences of Latin nouns had to be excluded from the research, which left 2566 nouns for further analysis. These nouns are grouped under 425 Latin headwords, i.e. there are 425 different Latin nouns whose Middle English renderings are taken into account in the study.

2.3 The basis for the division into etymological groupings adopted in the paper

For the purposes of this paper the data are analysed from the perspective of the etymological information provided by the *MED* and the *OED*. The nouns are divided into three major categories: OE, ON and Romance. Romance words are further grouped into those of OF origin, those with mixed OF-L etymologies and the ones with a purely L provenance. Where the two dictionaries are not unanimous as regards the etymological information they provide[9] I follow the information given in the *MED* as it deals exclusively with the Middle English period and therefore it is more detailed, especially as regards the meanings of polysemous items, and it also analyses more medieval sources. Thus, the following methodological decisions had to be taken:

I.   a noun was classified as OF in origin either when the dictionaries concurred in this respect or when the *MED* stated that it was of such provenance whereas the *OED* acknowledged the OF origin of the term but added also some information about its original L etymology: it stated that it was a 'normal development of' ('=' or ':-'), an 'adaptation of' ('*ad.*'), or, in one case only, an 'adoption of' ('*a.*') a Latin word;

II.   a noun was classified as mixed OF-L when the *MED* stated it was both OF

---

8   This phrase comes in the shape in which it is found in LV.
9   The reasons behind the discrepancies are discussed in Section 3.

and L in origin and the *OED* either concurred with it or only assigned the word an OF etymology, or stated that it was a noun of OF provenance but originally came from Latin (cf. I);

III. a noun was classified as L in origin when at least one of the dictionaries, either of them, claimed that it was the case, despite the etymological information given in the other dictionary.

The classification criteria for the nouns of the third group seem to be incongruent with the adopted methodology and more precisely with the decision to follow the *MED* rather than the *OED* when faced with a lack of unanimity between the dictionaries. This lack of consistency on my part is in fact motivated by the general scarcity of Latinate nouns which becomes apparent in Sections 4 and 5. It can however already be stated at this point that there is not a single noun in the database (among the 2566 nouns) that is assigned a L origin unanimously by both dictionaries. This fact alone suggests that it would be more accurate to classify all the nouns from the group of Latin nouns as those of mixed OF-L origin. Yet, for the purposes of the paper, it is necessary to apply a threefold division of Romance lexical items.

3. Problems inherent in the classification of ME nouns on an etymological basis

A great amount of simplification was called for during the process of dividing the gathered data on etymological grounds. It primarily concerns the OE and Romance groupings.

Firstly, I do not differentiate between the words coming from Old English (OE), Late Old English (LOE) and Middle English (ME), treating them as instances of native words, and refer to them in the paper, for the sake of clarity, as words of Old English (OE) origin. What is more, all the words originating in the different dialects of Old English are considered to be instances of Old English, these are: West Saxon (WS), Old Kentish (OK), Kentish (K), Anglian (A), Mercian (Merc.) and Northumbrian [Nhb.]. Such a decision was motivated by the fact that taking into account all the detailed information concerning native items would hinder any attempt at providing a clear-cut classification. What is more, the items for which the dictionaries establish mixed OE-ON or mixed OE-OF-L etymologies are also all regarded as native nouns. This was done on the basis of the assumption that the words which already functioned in the English lexicon in the OE period alongside the truly native items and underwent the same morphological and phonological processes may indeed be treated as native in the language (Barber *et al.* [1993] 2009: 159; Campbell 1959: 208; van Gelderen 2006: 94–95). Nevertheless, the number of such etymologically-mixed nouns is provided in each case.

One more methodological decision pertaining to the native nouns needs to be expounded here. It stems from the sacral character of the texts which served as the basis for the research: Psalms, being religious in nature, make frequent references to God, which renders the number of native words employed in the Psalter's translations far higher than it would be otherwise. One could be tempted to exclude the ME nouns corresponding to the Latin nouns *Deus*, *Dei* ('God (Christian text); god; divine essence/being, supreme being; statue of god;'), *dius*, *dii* ('god') and *dominus*, *domini* ('owner, lord, master; the Lord; title for ecclesiastics/gentlemen'). Yet, such an approach would not reflect the above-mentioned sacral character of the text, without which in fact no such study would even be possible as it was and is precisely this religious aspect that urged and urges people to translate the Psalter constantly anew. The only solution that allows one to take into account both these diverging but equally important reservations, i.e. the extraordinary profusion of references to God on the one hand and the religious nature of the text on the other, is to provide, as is done in this paper, two alternative analyses alongside each other and to allow them to speak for themselves. Thus, two approaches to the data are offered, one excluding the nouns corresponding to *Deus*, *Dei*, *dius*, *dii* and *dominus*, *domini* and the other inclusive of all the gathered data. This decision, although pertaining primarily to native nouns, affects in fact all the data as the percentage participation of items of a given origin hinges on the number of occurrences of all the analysed words.

As far as the nouns of a broadly understood Romance origin are concerned, the problems with classification are far more numerous and far more complex. As already mentioned, these items are divided into L, OF and mixed OF-L in origin, with OF being in fact a cover term used for the purposes of the research for a variety of types of French: Old French (OF), Central French (CF), Old Northern French (ONF, known also as Old Norman) and Anglo-French (AF).[10] On the one hand, such a classification is an oversimplification, but on the other, it represents

---

10   Old French was a Romance language spoken in what is approximately the northern half of modern France in the period between the 9th and 14th centuries. This periodisation, as stated by Huchon (2002: 53), reflects the generally accepted opinion that the 14th and 15th centuries should already be referred to as the period of Middle French, based on the assumption that the twofold declension system was a prominent characteristic of Old French but was already absent from the French of the 14th and 15th centuries. Old French was never a homogenous entity but rather a dialect continuum and one of the varieties subsumed under it was Old Northern French or Old Norman spoken on the territory of Normandy, from where the invaders of 1066 arrived. Central French, on the other hand, is a later creation, which originated in the region of Ile-de-France in the 12th century as a result of the unifying influence of Paris, whose importance as a royal, administrative and intellectual centre increased with time (Chaurand [1969] 2011: 28; Huchon 2002: 60–61). For Anglo-French, see the following footnote.

an attempt at establishing something that cannot be determined on the basis of the etymological information provided in the *MED* and the *OED*.

To begin with the former, employing the label 'Old French' in relation to items borrowed from all the varieties of French mentioned above is an obvious simplification, especially in the light of the fact that it is impossible to talk about loanwords from French in the Middle English period without making reference to Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French.[11] Therefore, it could be argued that a study of Romance borrowings into ME should differentiate at least between Continental and Insular French, even when one wants to dispense with entering into any discussion of the dialectal divisions within the body of Continental French. Reasonable as it sounds, it is in fact, perhaps surprisingly, far beyond the scope of this research. To explain this one needs to take into account the complex linguistic situation obtaining in medieval England and the relations between the languages in use there (Middle English, Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French and (Anglo-)Latin) and Continental French.

---

11 There is widespread confusion as far as the two terms are concerned, with different authors using them interchangeably, whereas, as argued by Rothwell (2011) in the introduction to the online *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, the two should not be confused. The label 'Anglo-Norman' denotes the language regarded as 'the regional dialect of the Norman invaders who came across the Channel with William the Conqueror'. Anglo-French, on the other hand, conveys the idea of the heterogeneity of both the army who came with William the Conqueror and of the people who spoke this variety of French on English soil, though not exclusively (cf. for instance Trotter 1997 for Anglo-French in Gascony), in the following centuries. Usually, the former term is applied to the French of England, which is yet another term suggested by both Rothwell (2011) and Wogan-Browne (2009: 1), spoken from the time of the conquest till the 14th century and the latter is reserved for the French in use in England in the 14th and 15th centuries (Wogan-Browne 2009: 1). The confusion between *French* and *Norman* in today's terminology pertaining to the language in use in medieval England, however, neatly correlates with the situation in that period. It might be of interest to learn that in the minds of the English at the time of the conquest, the Normans were French. The term *Franci* was conspicuously frequently employed by the English to denote the newcomers since *normenn*, 'north man', was at the time a collective term pertaining to Vikings or Norse (Thomas 2003: 33–34). Also, despite the fact that a strong sense of identity was already well-developed in Normandy at the time of the conquest, the term *French* was even applied to the invaders in one of the Norman chronicles in the 11th century due to the diversity of William the Conqueror's army (Thomas 2003: 32–45). Furthermore, even at that time, *French* 'could also refer to all the people under the French king's nominal command or to any people (...) who associated themselves with the earlier Franks. [It also had an] inclusive sense which could be stretched to incorporate the Normans as French speakers and inhabitants of the French kingdom' (Thomas 2003: 33). Thus, the confusion in the linguistic terminology reflects the medieval, English perception of the invaders, which perhaps renders any attempts at clearly separating the two slightly anachronistic.

Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French is nowadays a subject of significant interest among scholars but until quite recently it was almost unanimously regarded as a degenerate form of French (Rothwell 1973, 1999, 2001a)[12] and not worth the attention of serious scholarship.[13] In the 1960's articles by Rothwell started to appear in which he defended the French of England and accorded it the status of an independent language. As Rothwell proved in his publications, which in turn drew the attention of other scholars to Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French, this extremely neglected variety of French is the 'missing link' in the history of the English language (Rothwell 1991), without which any attempts at ascertaining the etymological provenance of words of broadly understood Romance origin are doomed to failure: without

12 One should not overlook the fact that this animosity towards Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French was not shared by all scholars, a notable exception being Tanquerey (1915: v).

13 What is worth emphasising at this point is the fact that it is anachronistic to speak of any standard in the French language at the time of the Norman Conquest. Note, however, that its existence is presupposed in the claims purporting that the French of England strays from Continental French. It was only at the beginning of the 14th century that the process of the standardisation of French began (Rothwell 2006; Trotter 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Furthermore, as argued by Rothwell (1985) and Trotter (1997), the Insular and Continental varieties of French were more similar than they were dissimilar and the purportedly yawning gap between the two is exaggerated: the differences between them did not constitute a barrier to understanding. The reiterated claims about the wayward-ness of Anglo-French are partially motivated by the fact that it was a common practice for the historians of French to compare administrative, functional texts set down in Anglo-French with literary works composed on the Continent, which are bound to unduly overemphasise what divergences between the two there might be (Trotter 2003a). What also seems to be overlooked quite frequently is the fact that the majority of the infringe-ments on grammatical rules for which Anglo-French works are severely criticised can readily be found in the texts compiled on the Continent as well (Trotter 2003b: 430).

With respect to the standardisation and linguistic situation in France, it has to be stated that the dialect of Ile-de-France became with time the standard language but even before it took on the role of the standard it was usual from the time when 'strong liter-ary tradition began to develop in the Ile-de-France' to compare all dialects of French with *francien* (Rothwell 1985: 40–41), i.e. the variety of French in use in Paris and its environs. Thus, 'disparagement and unfavourable comparison' (Rothwell 1985: 40) with the dialect of the Paris region were not confined to Anglo-French/Anglo-Norman. Writers using other varieties of French in their works or simply born in other parts of France but using *francien* tended to 'apologise' to their readers for their uncouth lan-guage, however well it imitated Paris French (Rothwell 1985: 41). This imitation of the language of Paris and condemnation of other dialects led to the gradual disappearance of dialectal varieties of French on the Continent in the 13th and following centuries (Rothwell 1985: 46). The fate of Anglo-French was completely different: far from disappearing it 'blossomed into a language of civilisation' (Rothwell 1985: 46). That it came to differ more and more significantly from Continental French is a reflection of the natural tendency present in all languages for the dialects to diverge unless controlled by centralising forces (Rothwell 1985: 40). In fact, it is claimed that Anglo-French is more progressive than Continental French both as far as syntax and morphology are concerned (Kunstmann 2009).

the necessary semantic information from all three languages used in England in the pertinent period (i.e. (Anglo-)Latin, Anglo-French and Middle English) it is impossible to determine the etymology of lexical items, the morpho-phonological shape of a word being an insufficient clue due to the lack of standard spelling conventions in medieval England and extreme mixing of the relevant languages (Jefferson and Rothwell 1997; Rothwell 1973, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2006, 2007, 2010).

What follows from the above discussion is that to enable one to assign a particular language of origin to a given lexical item, all the terms of Romance origin would need to be carefully scrutinised and their detailed phonological, morphological, but most of all semantic, history would need to be traced from the times of Classical Latin till the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, which is, as mentioned, far beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, the approach adopted in the paper allows me to point to France, in the broadest possible sense of the term, as the source of the relevant borrowings among those analysed in the study, levelling all the differences enumerated above and presenting a straightforward, be it simplified, picture, which would otherwise be far less clear-cut.

Clearly, the situation is complex enough even when limited to English soil. When Continental French enters the equation, the interrelations between all the languages are still more difficult to define. Rothwell has proved in numerous articles that it is at times unnecessary to make recourse to Continental French in an attempt to establish the etymology of certain items (e.g. Rothwell 1992, 2001b, 2006), even though this is a procedure adopted frequently by the *MED* and the *OED*. Rothwell (2001b: 198–199) argues that the later influence of Continental French, Central French, should not be exaggerated. He states that postulating that 'the presence of royal French wives in the fourteenth century and the influx of many French nobles after their defeat at Poitiers' could have contributed to the wholesale change in the language used for administrative, legal and other professional purposes, i.e. written language, 'is to confuse the roles of the spoken and written forms of language': it could have, at most, affected the speaking practices at the English royal court and those closely connected to it. Yet, as long as it has not been ascertained that a word existed at a given point in time in Anglo-Norman/Anglo-French, it is impossible to rule out the possibility of it originating on the Continent. At times, the reverse might be the case (Trotter 2003a: 6).

All these problems, which seem to be insurmountable at present, are reflected in the conspicuous lack of unanimity between the *OED* and the *MED* as far as the etymologies of nouns of broadly understood Romance origin are concerned. Additionally, five other factors need to be taken into consideration when analysing the discrepancies in the etymological information provided in the dictionaries in question:

I.   the two dictionaries differ in their scope: the *MED*'s interest lies in the ME period exclusively, whereas the *OED*, covering as it does attestations of given lexical items from the OE period onwards, with the exception of 'all the words that had become obsolete by 1150' (*OED*), might not have examined the same number of ME texts;

II.   there were no standard spelling conventions in the relevant period in either France or England, which renders distinguishing between these varieties of French on orthographic grounds not very reliable;

III. many among the preserved writings in French have not been analysed as yet (Rothwell 1980, 2000a) and even fewer had been analysed before the dictionaries were compiled; thus, the fact that a certain word does not seem to have existed in, for instance, CF according to the examined sources does not necessarily mean it was absent from the dialect (Trotter 2003a: 6) but may simply reflect the fact that it is not attested in the sources analysed before the time of the compilation of the *OED* and the *MED*;

IV.   similarly, the fact that a given word seems not to have existed in one or more of the varieties of French may be induced by different survival rates for manuscripts created at different periods or simply by their scarcity in a given period;

V.   finally, the types of sources that have so far been edited and analysed differ for Continental and Insular French (Trotter 2003a: 4), which means that certain items, e.g. items of vocabulary typical rather of administrative registers, might seem to be absent from Continental texts due to the fact that the historians of French have focused on literary records, neglecting the vast lexical resources preserved in functional writings (Trotter 2003a: 4).

The deficiencies of the two dictionaries as far as the etymologies of words of broadly understood Romance origin are concerned have been frequently mentioned by Rothwell (e.g. 1980, 2006, 2007, 2010), who emphasises the need to analyse more of the available source texts in both Insular and Continental French. Taking all this into account, it would seem reasonable to consult the dictionaries of Anglo-Norman and Old French to establish whether the words in question are listed in them with the given senses for the relevant period(s). Yet, simple as that might seem, it is not a viable enterprise. The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, whose General Editor is Rothwell himself, does not provide the dates of the first attestations in written records with relevant meanings.[14] *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXème au XVème siècle* does provide them but only sporadically. Moreover, it has been severely criticised by Rothwell (1980) for focusing almost exclusively on literary sources, presenting late first quotations as

---

14   The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* is hosted online by The Anglo-Norman On-line Hub at http://www.anglo-norman.net/.

well as for providing citations from both Insular and Continental French without acknowledging the fact.[15] Admittedly, *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française* could also have been consulted to establish whether given words were present at a given time in Old French but the dictionary is not completely consistent as far as providing the dates of first attestations in written records for each of the senses is concerned. Additionally, as the compilers expound in the Preface, usually centuries are referred to in the dictionary as establishing the dates of the first written attestations of given words is a task riddled with uncertainty, especially when it is to be done for such a remote epoch, which itself has not been thoroughly investigated. Also, since this is a dictionary of contemporary French, there might be certain words which have gone out of use and therefore are not listed there, e.g. the OF *alien* 'outsider, stranger' is not listed in the dictionary but later borrowings based on the same stem such *aliéné* 'insane person' are to be found there. A dictionary that does provide the dates of the first written attestations is the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*,[16] which, however, as the name indicates, deals exclusively with the Middle French period (1330–1500) and would be of a very limited, if indeed any, use in the present study.

As mentioned above, the division of nouns of Romance origin into those with L, OF and mixed OF-L etymologies is on the one hand a simplification on my part, as explained with respect to the OF component, but on the other hand it is an endeavour to establish what is in fact indeterminable: in numerous cases it is impossible to determine based on the etymological information provided in the *MED* and the *OED* whether a word originated in L or OF. Thus, it was necessary to create a separate etymological grouping for such words – the category of mixed OF-L nouns. That in many cases one cannot draw a decisive division between items of OF and L provenance (cf. Burnley 1992: 432–439 and Burrow and Turville-Petre [1992] 2011: 17–18) stems from the close relatedness of French to Latin. As a result of this affinity items borrowed from French are in the majority of cases inevitably of Latin origin. Therefore, it often cannot be claimed with certainty that a given item was not borrowed from Latin or to refute a claim that it was borrowed from Latin not from French but via the mediation of the French language (indirect borrowing) since, as Burnley (1992: 433) states, '[it] is not especially surprising when for generations Latin had been taught in England through the medium of French'. Additionally, the processes of phonological and morphological adaptation which operate on borrowings rendered the differences between L and OF loanwords in English even less perceptible, blurring the boundaries between the two languages, which were already similar enough vocabulary-wise. The differentiation is further

---

15 *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXème au XVème siècle* is available online at http://micmap.org/dicfro/home/dictionnaire-godefroy.

16 *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* is available online at http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/.

precluded in the light of the fact that I do not distinguish, as explained above, between varieties of French.

To this complex web of interrelated problems a new dimension has to be added which takes into consideration the linguistic processes operating in the French language: words of Latin origin could be subjected to phonological adaptation to a greater or lesser extent, allowing some items to preserve certain morpho-phonological features typical of Latin. Items which are not contained in the body of the words that have been present in the language from the beginning, especially those that were borrowed or re-borrowed quite late, are more likely to reflect their Latin origin. What is more, specialists in the history of French distinguish between the so-called *mots savants* ('learned words'), words related to broadly understood 'culture', which tend to enter the language only slightly altered, and other borrowings, which adapt to the phonological and morphological structures of the target language, i.e. French (Reinheimer-Rîpeanu 2004), and which, there-fore, when borrowed into English can be more easily identified as unquestionably French. Although the phenomenon of borrowing *mots savants* is usually referred to in the literature in relation to the 14th century, it was not non-existent in the previous, 9th-12th centuries (Rey *et al.* 2007: 235–237). Throughout that time it was accompanied by a process of relatinisation of the words already assimilated into the French language (Rey *et al.* 2007: 241).

Having thus discussed the methodology and the problems inherent in this type of classification of etymological data, I will now proceed to discuss the results obtained in the course of the research.

4. The data – general discussion

As already stated, in the course of the research 2566 nouns in each of the two Psalters, i.e. EV and LV, were examined from the etymological perspective. The number of analysed items is significantly lower in the analysis of the data which excludes the nouns corresponding to the occurrences of Latin *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini*: the total number of nouns under discussion amounts then to 2099. The numerical and percentage data pertaining to each etymological grouping are provided in Table 1 below (after Lis 2014). The table presents the data for EV and LV disjointly due to the differences between the two texts with respect to their choice of nouns. The two approaches mentioned above are given side by side, which facilitates the appreciation of the influence of the abundance of nouns referring to God on the etymological make-up of the Psalters. It has to be admitted that the differences illustrated by the juxtaposition of the two interpretations of the data are most readily discernible with respect to native nouns and borrowings from OF and L.

Psalter	Category with *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini*		N° of occurrences		Percentage participation in all occurrences		N° of headwords[17]		Percentage participation in all headwords	
			without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini	*with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*	*without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*
EV	OE	purely OE	1837 (1683)[18]	1370 (1218)	71,59%	65,27%	218[19]	216	53,96%	53,73%
		OE-OF-Latin		50 (48)	1,95%	2,38%		21	5,20%	5,22%
		OE-ON		64 (55)	2,49%	3,05%		10	2,48%	2,49%
		sum	**1951 (1786)**	**1484 (1321)**	**76,03%**	**70,70%**	**249**	**247**	**61,63%**	**61,44%**
	OF and Latin		**604 (512)**		**23,54%**	**28,78%**		**148**	**36,63%**	**36,82%**
	ON		**11 (10)**		**0,43%**	**0,52%**		**6**	**1,49%**	**1,49%**
	SUM		**2566**	**2099**	**100%**	**100%**	**403**	**401**	**100%**	**100%**
LV	OE	purely OE	1835 (1683)	1368 (1218)	71,51%	65,17%	218	216	55,19%	54,96%
		OE-OF-Latin		55 (48)	2,14%	2,62%		24	6,08%	6,11%
		OE-ON		71 (55)	2,77%	3,38%		11	2,78%	2,80%
		sum	**1961 (1786)**	**1480 (1321)**	**76,42%**	**71,18%**	**253**	**251**	**64,05%**	**63,87%**
	OF and Latin		**594 (512)**		**23,15%**	**28,30%**		**136**	**34,43%**	**34,61%**
	ON		**11 (10)**		**0,43%**	**0,52%**		**6**	**1,52%**	**1,53%**
	SUM		**2566**	**2099**	**100%**	**100%**	**395**	**393**	**100%**	**100%**

Table 1. *Nouns in the first fifty Psalms of EV and LV*

---

17 Henceforth, whenever I employ the term *headwords*, I refer, unless stated otherwise, to the ME headwords as only they shall be pertinent to the discussion hereafter. Moreover, taking into account the classification employed in the paper which hinges on the etymology of ME items, the number of Latin headwords that appear in each etymological grouping would no longer be indicative of the actual number of all Latin headwords. This is due to the fact that a single Latin noun can be translated into English by means of numerous ME lexical items, which may or may not differ in their etymology and thus, e.g. Latin *confusio, confusionis* ('mingling, mixture, union; confusion, confounding, disorder; trouble; blushing, shame') can be found both in the part of the database which is devoted to items of OE origin (*shāme, shendship(e*) and in the one that focuses on nominal items of OF and L provenance (*confūsiŏun*). The reverse cases, i.e. a single ME noun translating multiple Latin items, are also to be found, e.g. ME *wikkednes(se* is employed to translate both Latin *iniquitas, iniquitatis* ('unfairness, inequality, unevenness (of terrain)') and *nequitia, nequitiae* ('wickedness; idleness; negligence; worthlessness; evil ways').

18 The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences shared by EV and LV.

19 It needs to be stated at this point that the number of shared headwords cannot be given as there are some headwords whose certain occurrences are attested in parallel verses of EV and LV but other are attested in a given verse exclusively in either of them. Thus,

The above data are now converted into charts, in which only three major etymological groups are distinguished for the sake of transparency. Also, due to the limitations of space, the charts are provided only for the analysis inclusive of the occurrences of *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini*.
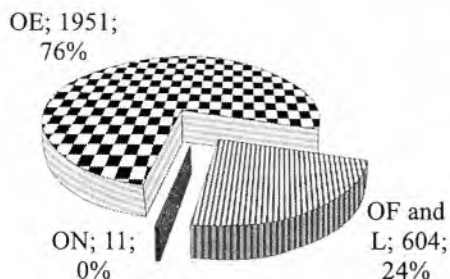

OE; 1951; 76%

ON; 11; 0%

OF and L; 604; 24%

Chart 1. *EV: Nouns in the first fifty Psalms – occurrences – division into 3 major categories; with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*

OE; 249; 62%

ON; 6; 1%

OF and L; 148; 37%

Chart 2. *EV: Nouns in the first fifty Psalms – headwords – division into 3 major categories; with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*

OE; 1961; 76%

ON; 11; 1%

OF and L; 594; 23%

Chart 3. *LV: Nouns in the first fifty Psalms – occurrences – division into 3 major categories; with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*
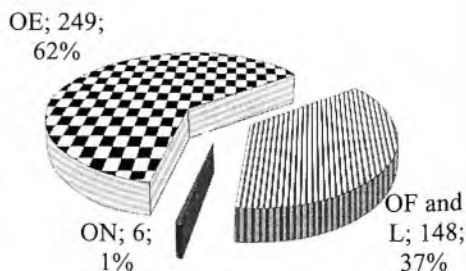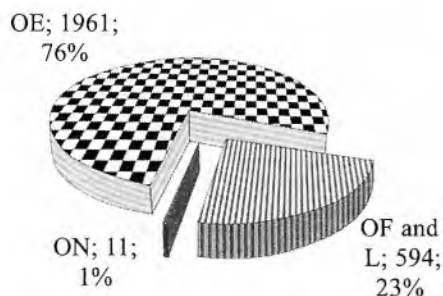

OE; 253; 64%
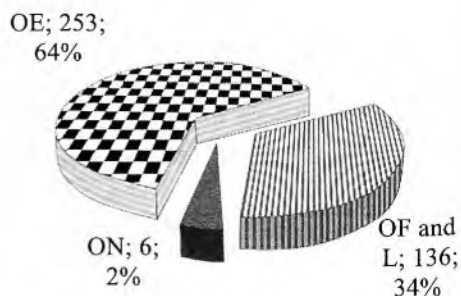
ON; 6; 2%

OF and L; 136; 34%

Chart 4. *LV: Nouns in the first fifty Psalms – headwords – division into 3 major categories; with Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini*

As easily discernible, native nouns constitute the majority of all the nouns analysed for the first fifty Psalms of EV and LV both as far as occurrences and headwords are concerned: 76,03% of all the analysed nouns in EV and 76,42% in LV (70,70% and 71,18% respectively in the analysis exclusive of the occurrences corresponding to Latin *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini*) are of native origin. This

summing the number of headwords attested in both texts in parallel verses and those attested in the given verses exclusively in either of them would yield a higher total number of headwords than the number of the actually attested distinct headwords.

indicates that the discrepancies in the etymological make-up between the two Psalters are not significant as far as nouns of OE origin are concerned. Similarly, the differences between them do not seem to be substantial in reference to borrowings from OF and L (23,54% in EV as opposed to 23,15% in LV when *Deus*, *Dei*, *dius*, *dii* and *dominus*, *domini* are included in the analysis and 28,78% and 28,30% respectively when they are excluded). Interestingly, the results obtained for loanwords from ON are exactly the same for EV and LV (0,43% under the former interpretation and 0,52% under the latter). Such an insignificant number of loanwords from ON might be surprising but is in fact easily accountable for by the fact that the percentage participation of words with ON etymology in a given text hinges on the geographical location at which the text was created, i.e. the frequency with which they appear in different works reflects the geographic distribution pattern of such borrowings. Northern dialects are expected to contain more ON loanwords since, as stated by Burnley (1992: 421–422), 'the intensity of the influence of Norse on the vocabulary is more marked in the areas of heaviest settlement. Northern texts generally have more borrowings than those of southern or western origin'. Ringe and Eska (2013: 74) are not so circumspect and unhesitatingly assert that 'the Middle English (ME) dialects of those areas, from the beginning of their attestation, exhibit massive Norse influence'. Thus, since neither EV nor LV originated in the north of England, neither of them exhibits the strong influence of ON.

The fact that nouns of OF and L origin constitute almost a quarter of all the nouns recorded in the first fifty Psalms of both EV and LV seems to be of paramount importance in the light of the assertions concerning extensive use of Latinisms, which are made in relation to these renditions. If a significant portion of them does come from Latin, then the claims presented in the literature on Bible translations into English may indeed be corroborated. Therefore, in the following section the borrowings of broadly understood Romance origin are, as expounded in Section 1, further subdivided into items of OF, mixed OF-L and L provenance – a division which provides the means to either substantiate or to refute the assertions.

5. The data – nouns of OF and L origin

The primary focus of this section are nouns of OF and L origin. The majority of items that are to be discussed in this section are employed in both Psalters to render the same occurrences of Latin nouns and thus can be treated jointly for EV and LV. Yet, since there are also quite a few nouns in the Latin text which have been rendered in a given verse by means of different ME nouns in EV and LV,

it is necessary to discuss such cases independently for each Psalter. Thus, each of the subsections is further divided into parts devoted to nouns shared between the two texts, those attested in given verses solely in EV and those that are used to translate a given occurrence of a Latin noun exclusively in LV.

In order for the data presented beneath to be informative for the reader, it is necessary to provide at this point the total number of nouns of Latinate origin in the Psalters. Thus, in total there are 594 occurrences of nouns of broadly understood Romance origin in the first fifty Psalms of LV, whereas the relevant figure for EV equals 604. As far as headwords are concerned, the numbers are 136 and 148 respectively. It is in relation to these numbers that the data below are presented. Nouns of OF provenance are discussed first.

5.1 Nouns of OF origin

Among the nouns of Romance origin, by far the most numerous are those with OF etymology. Their pervasiveness in EV and LV can be accounted for by numerous interrelated issues, delving into which is far beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, I limit myself to discussing them only very briefly.

Two phases of borrowing from French into English in the Middle Ages are usually distinguished: 1066–1250 and 1250–1500 (van Gelderen 2006: 99), with the latter being responsible for about 40% of all French loanwords in the English language (Baugh and Cable 1978: 178) and the former contributing roughly 900 words (Kastovsky 2006: 249). According to some estimates, as many as 10.000 words of different grammatical categories entered the English lexicon in the ME period (cf. Baugh and Cable 1978: 176; van Gelderen 2006: 99; Katamba 1994: 208), about 75% of which are still present in the language (Baugh and Cable 1978: 176).

Normally, two major reasons inducing the phenomenon of borrowing are given in the literature (Campbell [1998] 2004: 64–65; Crowley 1996: 152–158; Hock 1991: 408–411; Hock and Joseph 2009: 258–262; McMahon 1994: 200–202).[20] Firstly, the need to refer to some thus far unknown object or phenomenon may force speakers of one language to borrow from another, especially if the speakers of the other language excel in areas from which vocabulary is lacking in the target

---

20   Campbell ([1998] 2004: 65) postulates the existence of a third category 'much rarer (and much less important)': a category of borrowings induced by negative assessment, 'the adoption of foreign word to be derogatory'. Katamba (1994: 194–198) adds yet a different category, referred to as 'identity', which subsumes borrowings that issue from the speakers' perception of themselves and the way they intend to be perceived. Grzega (2003: 23) lists no fewer than 15 factors inducing lexical borrowing, which can be found in the literature on borrowings.

language. The other reason is 'prestige', i.e. loanwords from languages speakers of the target language consider prestigious are more likely to occur. Rothwell (1979, 1980), however, states unhesitatingly that 'prestige' and 'deficiency' theories are far from presenting the factual image of the linguistic situation in medieval England. According to him, the reason for borrowing from OF was bilingualism, which rendered the two languages inseparable in the minds of the speakers of the higher ranks of society, thus making it inevitable that words be borrowed in both directions and creating what may be perceived to be a common lexicon shared by the two, or perhaps even three, languages, i.e. English, (Anglo-)French/ (Anglo-)Norman and (Anglo-)Latin. Rothwell's claim about bilingualism being the vehicle for borrowing seems to concur with Weinreich's (1952: 81–82) findings as presented by Romaine (1989: 66): 'bilinguals (...) are the locus of most intensive contact by virtue of their 'unpatterned' use of the two languages'.

Thus, the pervasiveness of French borrowings is obviously accounted for in some degree by the Norman Conquest. However, the exact extent of its influence is the subject of an on-going debate. Freeborn (1998: 96) claims that it resulted in the 'absorption of hundreds of French words into English'; Rothwell (1991: 173) states that it 'deeply affected the vocabulary of English (...) but the precise nature of that transformation has so far been only imperfectly examined and its implications for the study of English etymology only partially understood'. Kibbee (1991: 3), on the other hand, states that '[c]ontrary to the accounts of later medieval chroniclers, the Conquest itself seems to have had little direct influence on the status of the vernacular languages in England'. He provides other reasons for the elevated status of French in the centuries following 1066, yet what follows from the assertion quoted above is that the extensive borrowing from Romance languages was not a direct result of the Norman Conquest.

Whether as a result of bilingualism among the upper ranks of society or only due to the perceived prestige of the French language, the fact remains that thousands of words were borrowed into English. These words, however, are not distributed evenly across the lexicon: there are certain areas in which they are to be especially expected. Therefore, high percentage participation of Latinate lexical items in the two Psalters can be also ascribed to their subject matter since, as stated by Burnley (1992: 431), it is another factor determining the extent of the impact of borrowed vocabulary on the etymological layer of writings: just as courtly literature is bound to employ French-derived lexical items more frequently than other texts as its origins are closely related to French, so are translations of religious texts likely to abound in words of Latinate, but not necessarily Latin, origin as the major source of Christian terminology was Latin. In other words, due to their religious character, Psalms are liable to contain numerous words of Romance origin as Latin was the language of the Church.

Moreover, a line should be drawn between the texts composed in English and those translated into English since the phenomenon of reinforcement shapes the latter to some degree and undoubtedly influences their etymological make-up (Burnley 1992: 431). Thus, the number of occurrences of nouns with Romance provenance in EV and LV is probably to some extent induced by the Latin Psalter(s) they rendered.

Not without significance is the geographical location at which the texts were compiled. The concentration of French, as well as Latin, since the two cannot be clearly differentiated, loanwords tends to be greater in southern works (Burnley 1992: 431) partly due to the fact that the majority of French speakers inhabited the southern and eastern parts of the country (Blake 1996: 108), and, as stated by Rothwell (1983: 258–259), their diffusion hinged on the distance from the centre of government and culture. Therefore, more loanwords of L and OF origin are expected in southern works such as EV and LV, which were composed in Oxford or its proximity.[21]

Last but not least among the factors motivating high percentage participation of Latinate elements in EV and LV as presented in this paper is the very subject of the study. As stated in the Introduction, the decision to focus on nouns in order to examine the degree of OF and Latin influence upon the two renditions of the Psalter was not accidental. It was motivated by the fact that '[m]ore than 70 per cent of Romance borrowing into English is of nouns (Dekeyser 1986)' (Burnley 1992: 431). Therefore, with no other grammatical category being so susceptible to borrowing (Hock and Joseph 2009: 245; Townend [2006] 2012: 91–92; Trask [2007] 1996: 27), the obvious choice was to focus on nouns. Yet, due to my concentration on this part of speech, the ratio of loanwords is necessarily greater than it would have been had other grammatical categories been included in the research, a fact which should not be overlooked.

5.1.1 Nouns of OF origin shared by EV and LV

There are 512 occurrences of 113 different nouns of OF and L origin which are employed in parallel verses in the two Psalters under discussion. As many as 354 are, in accordance with the methodology adopted in the research, of OF origin and they represent 70 distinct ME headwords. Such a high proportion of occurrences to the number of headwords suggests that the majority of them are employed repeatedly in the analysed texts. As far as the number of occurrences is concerned, the nouns in question constitute 69,14% of all Romance nouns shared

---

21   Cf. for instance Deanesly (1951: 3) and Hudson (2011: 310–316).

by EV and LV. With respect to headwords, the percentage participation of nouns with OF etymologies equals 61,95%.

5.1.2 Nouns of OF origin attested in the given verses exclusively in EV

Another 59 occurrences of nouns of OF provenance, representing 26 headwords, are to be found in the given verses exclusively in EV. In reference to the number of occurrences, they make up 64,13% of all Romance nouns (92) attested in the relevant verses solely in EV, whereas when the number of headwords is analysed, they constitute 59,1% of 44 such headwords, which implies that these are nouns with a high frequency of usage, as mentioned above.

In total, i.e. when the figures from Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 are combined, there are 413 nouns, representing 90 distinct headwords with OF etymologies in EV. In relation to all the nouns of Latinate origin in EV they constitute 68,38% in terms of occurrences (out of 604) and 60,81% when it comes to headwords (out of 148).

5.1.3 Nouns of OF origin attested in the given verses exclusively in LV

LV is remarkably similar in terms of the number of occurrences and headwords of nouns with OF etymologies attested in the given verses exclusively in that Psalter: there are 55 instantiations of 24 such nouns. In percentage terms it means that the former make up 67,07% of 82 nominal occurrences of Romance origin attested only in LV to translate the relevant instantiations of Latin items and the latter 70,59% of 34 such headwords.

When these numbers are combined with the number of nouns of OF provenance shared by the two Psalters, the total number of OF nouns in LV amounts to 409 occurrences of 87 distinct headwords, which in percentage terms means that 68,86% of the occurrences (out of 594) and 63,97% of the headwords (out of 136) of all the Latinate items examined in the study of LV represent OF etymology.

5.2 Nouns of mixed OF-L origin

Given that the vast majority of Latinate nouns in EV and LV are of OF origin, it is interesting to learn that the second most numerous group among them are nouns which cannot be neatly classified as either of exclusively OF or exclusively

L provenance, i.e. items of mixed OF-L origin. The existence of such a group and the number of items that need to be assigned to it stem directly from the methodological approach employed in the research but this in turn is motivated by the multi-faceted and interrelated difficulties discussed in Section 3.

This and the following sections differ from the previous one in that they present the relevant parts of the database created in the course of the research, i.e. the nouns which served as the basis for the study are given in tables in the respective sections. As was the case in Section 5.1, I begin by discussing the nouns employed to render given occurrences of Latin items in both Psalters.

5.2.1 Nouns of mixed OF-L origin shared by EV and LV

As mentioned above, the group of nouns of mixed OF-L provenance is quite numerous: it counts 140 occurrences of nouns shared by EV and LV, all of which are presented in Table 2 below. The items in question represent 38 distinct headwords, which entails their being employed less frequently than the nouns of 'purely' OF origin. The nouns with this etymology account for 27,34% of the occurrences and 33,63% of the headwords of Romance origin attested in parallel verses of EV and LV.

N°	Verses	Latin	EV and LV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	48.10	alienus, alieni	āliēn	L aliēnus & OF alien (from āliēn adj)	a. OFr. alien, allien:—L. aliēn-us
2.	38.15	aranea, araneae	arain(e	OF araigne, iraigne & L arānea	a. OF. araigne (aragne, iragne, iraigne)
3.	44.2	calamus, calami	penne	L penna & OF pene, penne, paine	ME. a. OF. penne (pene, pan(n)e) = It. penna:—L. penna
4.	3.7; 9.4; 34.26; 42.1	causa, causae	cause	OF cause & L causa	a. F. cause (= Pr., Sp., It. causa), ad. L. causa, caussa.
5.	39.21	confusio, confusionis	confūsiōun	L & OF	ME. a. OF. confusion:—L. confūsiōn-em
6.	20.3	corona, coronae	corŏune	OF corone, corune, curune & L corōna	ME. croun(e, earlier crun(e, a. AF. coroune:—L. corōna

7.	15.10; 29.11	corruptio, corruptionis	corrupciŏun	L & OF	a. F. *corruption*, ad. L. *corruptiōn-em*
8.	28.7; 28.7	desertum, deserti	dēsert	ML dēsertum & OF desert	a. OF. *desert*, ad. eccl. L. *dēsertum*
9.	1.5; 9.3; 9.27; 9.34; 12.1; 16.10; 17.10; 7.46; 21.25; 23.6; 26.13[2]²²; 26.14; 29.9; 30.20; 30.25; 30.28; 33.5; 34.6; 7.3[2]; 37.5; 41.2; 43.17; 43.18; 43.26; 49.22; 50.10; 50.12	facies, faciei	fāce	OF face; L faciēs, ML facia	a. Fr. *face:*— popular Lat. *facia*
10.	28.7	flamma, flammae	flaume	AF flaum(b)e, CF flambe; L flamma	a. OF. *flambe*, *flamme:*—L. *flamma*
11.	17.9; 17.17	fundamentum, fundamenti	fŏundement	OF, & L fundāment-um	ME. *fondement*, a. OF. *fondement:*—L. *fundāment-um*
12.	32.17	(h)abundantia, abundantiae	abŏundaunce	L abundantia, OF abonda(u)nce	a. OFr. *abundance*, *abondance*, *hab-:*— L. *abundantia*
13.	36.2	herba, herbae	hērbe	OF erbe & L herba	In ME. usually *erbe*, a. OF. *erbe:*—L. *herba*
14.	29.5	ira, irae	īre	L īra & OF ire	a. OF. *ire*, *yre*, ad. L. *īra*
15.	22.1; 23.3; 25.8; 30.10; 36.10; 36.38; 41.4; 43.21	loc[us/um], loci	plāce	OF place & ML placea	ME. *place*, a. F. *place* (11th c.) = med.L. *placia:*—late L. type *plattia* for classical L. *platea*
16.	17.31	lucerna, lucernae	lantern(e	OF lanterne & L lanterna, lāterna	ad. F. *lanterne*, ad. L. *lanterna*, also *lāterna*
17.	5.7; 5.12; 30.23; 36.11; 43.14; 48.6	multitudo, multitudinis	multitūde	OF & L	a. F. *multitude* (13th c.), or ad. L. *multitūdo, -tūdin-*
18.	17.53	natio, nationis	nāciŏun	OF nacīon & L nātio	a. F. *nation*, †*nacion*, etc., ad. L. *natiōn-em*

22 If a noun appears in the relevant verse more than once, the number of its occurrences is given in square brackets.

19.	38.6; 39.8; 39.16	**numerus, numeri**	nŏmbre	AF **noumbre** & CF **nombre, numbre** & L **numerus**	f. OF. *nombre, nonbre, numbre, numere*:—L. *numerum*
20.	4.8; 22.7; 44.9	**oleum, olei**	oil(e	CF **uile, h)uille, oil(l)e, oele** & AF **olie** & L **oleum**	Early ME. *oli, olie, oyle, oile*, a. ONF. *olie*, OF. 12th c. *oile, oille*:—L. *oleum*
21.	48.4	**parabola, parabolae**	parāble	OF **parable** & L **parabole**; from Gr.	ME. a. F. *parabole* (13th c. in Littré), ad. L. *parabola*
22.	9.19	**patientia, patientiae**	pācience	OF & L	ME. a. OF. *patience, pacience* (12th c.), ad. L. *patientia*
23.	17.12	**penna, pennae/ [pinna, pinnae]**	penne	L **penna** & OF **pene, penne, paine**	ME. a. OF. *penne* (*pene, pan(n)e*), 12th c. in Godef.; = It. *penna* feather, plume, quill, pen:—L. *penna*
24.	1.1	**pestilentia, pestilentiae**	pestilence	OF **pestilence** & L **pestilentia**	a. F. *pestilence*, ad. L. *pestilentia*
25.	2.8	**possessio, possessionis**	possessiŏun	L **possessio, -iŏnis** & OF **possessïon**	a. OF. *possessiun, -on*, ad. L. *possessiō-nem*
26.	10.7	**procella, procellae**	tempest	OF **tempest, tempes** & **tempeste** & L **tempestas**	a. OF. *tempeste*, fem.:—pop. L. **tempesta-m*, for cl. L. *tempestās, -ātem*
27.	48.3	**prudentia, prudentiae**	prūdence	OF **prudence** & L **prūdentia**	a. F. *prudence* (13th c. in Littré), ad. L. *prūdēntia*
28.	32.2; 48.4	**psalterium, psalterii**	sautrī(e	OF **sautere, sauterie, psalterie** & L **psaltērium**	a. OF. *saltere, sautere*, and *sauterie, psalterie* (12th c. in Godef.), ad. L. *psaltērium*
29.	4.6; 19.3; 39.9; 49.6; 49.9; 49.15; 49.24; 50.17; 50.18; 50.20	**sacrificium, sacrifici(i)**	sacrifīce	OF **sacrefise, -fice, sacrifise, -fice**, AF **sacrefiz** & L **sacrificium**	a. F. *sacrifice*, ad. L. *sacrificium*
30.	10.7; 17.18; 30.6; 31.2; 32.6; 33.18; 47.6; 50.11; 50.12; 50.13; 50.18	**spiritus, spiritus**	spirit	From L **spīritus** & OF **esperit, esperite, esperith, espirit**, AF **espereit, espirith, spirit** & OF **espirt**	a. AF. *spirit* (*espirit*), *spirite*, = OF. *esperit, -ite, esprit* (mod.F. *esprit*), or ad. L. *spīritus*

31.	9.11; 13.2	**studium, studi(i)**	**studī(e**	From OF **estudie**, AF **estodie, studie** & L **studium**	a. OF. *estudie* masc., ad. L. *studium*
32.	38.7; 38.11	**substantia, substantiae**	**substaunce**	L **substantia** & OF **sustance, sostance**, AF **substa(u)nce, substans**	a. OF. (mod.F.) *substance* (12th c.), ad. L. *substantia*
33.	14.1; 17.13; 18.5; 26.9[2]; 26.11; 30.26; 41.4; 42.3; 45.4; 48.11	**tabernaculum, tabernaculi**	**tabernācle**	OF **tabernacle** & L **tabernāculum**	a. F. *tabernacle* (12th c. in Hatz.-Darm.), ad. L. *tabernăculum*
34.	49.4	**tempestas, tempestatis**	**tempest**	OF **tempest, tempes** & **tempeste** & L **tempestas**	a. OF. *tempeste*, fem. (11th c. in *Roland*) = It., Prov. *tempesta*:—pop. L. **tempesta-m*, for cl. L. *tempestās, -ātem*, also a. OF. *tempest* masc. (13th c. in Godef.) = Prov. *tempest*:—L. **tempestum*
35.	17.32	**temptatio, temptationis /<tentatio, tentationis>**	**temptāciŏun**	L **temptātio, temtātio, tentātio, -iōnis** & OF **tentacïon, tentation, temptacïon, temptation**, AF **temtacioun, temptacioun**	a. OF. *temptaciun, -tation* (12th c.), *tentation* (13th c. in Godef. *Compl.*), ad. L. *tempt, tentātiōn-em*
36.	9.4; 9.8	**thronus, throni**	**trōne**	OF **tron, trone**, AF **trun(e, throne** & L **thronus**, ML **tronus**	a. OF. *trone* (12th c. in Godef. *Compl.*), mod.F. *trône*, ad. L. *thron-us*
37.	4.1; 9.9; 9.22; 17.7; 19.1; 21.10; 24.18; 24.23; 31.9; 33.4; 33.6; 33.17; 33.19; 36.41; 43.26; 45.1; 49.16	**tribulatio, tribulationis**	**tribulāciŏun**	OF **tribulacïon, tribulation**, AF **tribulaciun, tribulacioun, trebulation** & L **trībulātio, -iōnis**	a. OF. *tribulacion* (12th c. in Godef. *Compl.*), ad. Chr.L. *trībulātiōn-em*
38.	21.21; 28.6	**unicorn, unicornis**	**ūnicorn(e**	OF **unicorne, unicorn** & L **ūnicornuus, ūnicornis**, ML **ūnicornus**	a. AF., OF. (mod.F.) *unicorne*, or directly ad. their source L. *ūnicorn-, ūnicornis*

| 39. | 14.6 | **usura, usurae** | **ūsūre** | OF (chiefly AF) **usure**, AF **usere** & L **ūsūra** | a. OF. *useure* (13th c.), *usure* (also AF. and F.), ad. L. *ūsūra* |
| 40. | 29.11 | **utilitas, utilitatis** | **prŏfit(e** | OF **profit, prof(f)et, prophit, prouffit** & L **prŏfectus** | a. OF. and mod.F. *profit*, *pur-, po(u)rfit*, in 15th c. *prouf(f)it*):—L. *prŏfect-us* |

Table 2. *Nouns of mixed OF-L origin shared by EV and LV*[23]

It is worth noticing that the majority of the nouns presented in Table 2 are still frequently employed in the English language.

5.2.2 Nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in the given verses exclusively in EV

When it comes to the nouns with mixed OF-L etymologies which, in the given verses, are attested exclusively in EV, their number equals 30, with the number of headwords (15) being exactly half that. Thus, the occurrences of such nouns make up 32,61% of the items of Romance origin attested in the relevant verses only in EV (i.e. out of 92) while the headwords account for 34,09% of the headwords in question (i.e. 44).

The relevant nouns are presented in Table 3 below.

---

23   As mentioned in Section 2.2, the original study also took into consideration the dates of the first attestations of the items in question with the relevant meanings in written records. These, however, not being pertinent to the issue at hand, have not been provided due to the limited space. The structure of the above table is the following. The 'verses' column provides references to the Psalm and verse number in which the given items are employed. The column headed by 'Latin' gives the nominative and genitive singular forms of the source Latin noun as provided by Whitaker's dictionary. The column 'headword' presents the citation form of the ME noun in question as found in the *MED* and the column immediately to its right contains the etymological information from this dictionary. The relevant information from the *OED* is given in the rightmost column of the table.

N°	Verses	Latin	EV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	10.7; 15.5; 22.7	**calix, calicis**	**chalice**	OF **chalice, calice** & L **calic-em**	L. *calix, calic-em* cup, has appeared in Eng. in various forms. (1) Early OE. *cęlic*-an early (pre-Christian) adoption of L. *calic-em*. (2) The Latin word was re-adopted in later OE., in Christian use, as *calic, cælic, cælc*, whence early ME. *calc, calch*. (3) These were ousted in 12th c. by the OF. *caliz, calice*. (4) Before 1350 this was in turn ousted by a central OF. form *chalice*, which gave Eng. *chalis, chalice*.
2.	26.5	**castrum, castri**	**tent(e**	OF **tente** a tent, pavilion & ML **tenta** a tent	a. OF. *tente* (12th c. in Godef. *Compl.*):—L. *tenta*
3.	41.9	**cataracta, cataractae**	**gōter**	OF **gotier(e, gutere** & ML **gutter(i)a**	a. OF. *gutiere* (12th c. in Littré), *goutiere* (13th c.), mod.F. *gouttière* fem.
4.	34.30; 43.17	**confusio, confusionis**	**confūsiŏun**	L & OF	ME. a. OF. *confusion*:—L. *confūsiŏn-em*
5.	2.12; 49.18	**disciplina, disciplinae**	**disciplīne**	L **disciplīna** & OF **descepline**	a. F. *discipline* (OF. also *dece-, dese-, desce-*, ad. L. *disciplīna*
6.	44.3	**forma, formae**	**fōrme**	L **forma**, OF **fourme**	a. OF. *fo(u)rme, furme*, ad. L. *forma*
7.	9.18; 9.20; 9.21; 9.40; 17.47; 32.10; 46.1; 48.1	**gens, gentis**	**ǧentīl**	OF **gentil, jentil, jantil** & L **gentīlis** (from adj.)	a. or ad. F. *gentil*, ad. L. *gentīlis*
8.	29.7	**(h)abundantia, abundantiae**	**abŏundaunce**	L **abundantia**, OF **abonda(u)nce**	a. OFr. *abundance, abondance, hab-*:— L. *abundantia*
9.	33.16	**memoria, memoriae**	**memorī(e**	L **memoria** & OF **memoire, memore**, & (esp. AF) **memorie**	a. OF. *memorie, memoire, memore* (mod.F. *mémoire*) = Sp., Pg., It. *memoria*, ad. L. *memoria*

10.	32.16; 50.2	multitudo, multitudinis	multitūde	OF & L	a. F. *multitude* (13th c.), or ad. L. *multitūdo, -tūdin*
11.	49.19	portio, portionis	porciŏun	OF porcïon & L portio, -iōnis	ME. *porciun, portion*, a. OF. *porcion, portion*, ad. L. *portiō-nem*
12.	47.12; 48.11[2]; 48.20	progenies, progeniei	prŏğenī(e	OF progenïe & L prŏgenies	ME. a. obs. F. *progenie* (13th c. in Godef.), ad. L. *prŏgeniē -s*
13.	48.4	propositio, propositionis	prōposiciŏun	OF proposicïon, propositïon & L prōpositio	ME. *proposicioun*, a. F. *proposition*, ad. L. *prōpositiōn-em*
14.	18.3	sermo, sermonis	sermŏun	OF sermon, sermun, sarmon, AF sermoun & L sermo, -ōnis	a. AF. *sermun* = OF. *sermon*, ad. L. *sermōnem, sermo*
15.	7.7	synagoga, synagogae	congregāciŏun	L & OF	a. F. *congrégation* (OF. *-atiun, -acion*, 12th c. in Littré), ad. L. *congregātiōn-em*

Table 3. *Nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in the relevant verses exclusively in EV*

When it comes to the combined number of nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in EV, i.e. both those shared by the two Psalters and those attested exclusively in EV, it amounts to 170 occurrences of 50 distinct ME headwords. Therefore, nouns with mixed OF-L etymologies employed in EV make up 28,15% of the occurrences and 33,78% of the headwords with respect to all nouns of Latinate provenance attested in the first fifty Psalms of EV.

5.2.3 Nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in the given verses exclusively in LV

The number of nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in the given verses exclusively in LV is slightly smaller than the relevant figure for EV: there are 23 occurrences representing 9 distinct nouns with such etymology in this Psalter. Thus, 28,05% of the occurrences of all the Latinate nouns only found in the relevant verses in LV (82) and 26,47% of such headwords (34) are of mixed OF-L provenance. All these items are presented below.

N°	Verses	Latin	LV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	15.5	**calix, calicis**	**passïoun**	OF **passïon** & L **passio, -iōnis**	a. OF. *passiun, passion,* ad. L. *passiōn-em*
2.	34.18	**flagellum, flagelli**	**torment**	OF **torment, tourment**, AF **turment** (with pl. **tormenz, turmenz**) & OF **tormente**, AF **turmente** & L **tormentum**	ME. a. OF. *tor-, tourment,* ONF. *turment* :—L. *torment-um*
3.	26.11	**hostia, hostiae**	**sacrifīce**	OF **sacrefise, -fice, sacrifise, -fice,** AF **sacrefiz** & L **sacrificium**	a. F. *sacrifice,* ad. L. *sacrificium*
4.	2.5; 2.13; 6.1; 7.6; 9.25; 17.10; 17.18; 20.9; 26.14; 30.11; 36.8; 37.1; 37.3	**ira, irae**	**īre**	L **īra** & OF **ire**	a. OF. *ire, yre,* ad. L. *īra*
5.	9.25	**multitudo, multitudinis**	**multitūde**	OF & L	a. F. *multitude* (13th c.), or ad. L. *multitūdo, -tūdin*
6.	22.1	**pascua, pascuae**	**pastūr(e**	OF (cp. CF **pasture** & AF **pastour**) & L **pastūra**	a. OF. *pasture:*—late L. *pāstūra*
7.	16.16; 20.12; 36.40	**reliquia, reliquiae**	**relēf(e**	OF **relief, relef(e,** AF **relif** & ML **relevium,** AL **relevum, relivium**	a. OF. *relef, relief* (also *relie, relier*)
8.	37.12	**vis, vis**	**vīolence**	OF **vïolence** & L **violentia**	a. AF. and OF. (also mod.F.) *violence,* ad. L. *violentia*
9.	50.11	**viscus, visceris**	**entraille(s**	OF **entraille,** ML **intrālia**	a. OF. *entraille* (now only in pl. ***entrailles***) = Pr. *intralia:*—late L. *intrālia*

Table 4. *Nouns of mixed OF-L origin attested in the relevant verses exclusively in LV*

In total, the number of all nouns with mixed OF-L etymology attested in LV amounts to 163 occurrences of 44 distinct headwords, which in percentage terms means that 27,44% of all the occurrences and 32,35% of all the headwords of broadly understood Romance origin belong to the group of nouns whose etymology is indeterminable on the basis of the information available in the *OED* and the *MED*. This in turn entails that the number of 'purely' Latin items cannot be significant.

5.3 Nouns of L origin

The last section devoted to the presentation of the data gathered in the course of the research focuses on nouns which, in accordance with the methodology established for the purposes of the study, form a group of Latin items. That none of them can actually be stated to be of *purely* L origin shall soon become evident.

5.3.1 Nouns of L origin shared by EV and LV

As has been done in the previous sections, here I also begin by providing the data concerning those among the nouns with L etymologies which are shared by EV and LV, i.e. nouns which are employed in both Psalters to render same source Latin words in the relevant verses. That such nouns are not frequent in EV and LV has already been suggested by the number of Latinate nouns presented in the preceding sections. In fact, there are only 18 occurrences of 5 distinct nouns of L provenance shared by the two Psalters. Such occurrences constitute 3,52% and the headwords 4,42% when juxtaposed with the relevant values for all Latinate nouns shared by EV and LV.

The nouns themselves are presented in Table 5.

N°	Verses	Latin	EV and LV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	15.4	conventiculum, conventiculi	conventicle	L & OF	ad. L. *conventicul-um*
2.	18.1	firmamentum, firmamenti	firmament	L & OF	ad. L. *firmāment-um*. Cf. OF. *firmament.*

3.	9.28[2]; 11.8; 13.10; 21.33; 23.6; 32.11[2]; 44.19[2]	generatio, generationis	ğenerăcĭŏun	OF generacĭon	a. L. generātiōn-em
4.	29.5	indignatio, indignationis	indignăcĭŏun	L & OF	ad. L. indignātiōn-em
5.	24.11; 24.15; 43.19; 49.6; 49.17	testamentum, testamenti	testăment	L testāmentum & OF testament, AF testement	ad. L. testăment-um

Table 5. *Nouns of L origin shared by EV and LV*

Clearly, based on the information provided in the *MED* it would be impossible to classify the above nouns as items of Latin origin and it is done here exclusively on the authority of the *OED*. As expounded in Section 2.3 such a classification is adopted here only to illustrate the fact that the presence of nouns of 'purely' Latin provenance in EV and LV is insignificant in numerical terms. In fact, as explained in Section 3.2, it would be far more appropriate to treat all the nouns given above as items of mixed OF-L origin. Yet, even under such an approach it is evident that Latinisms are not only not widespread, contrary to what has been stated with respect to these texts, but they are extremely scarce.

5.3.2 Nouns of L origin attested in the given verses exclusively in EV

Only three more instantiations of nouns of 'purely' L provenance are to be found exclusively in EV, the items employed in the parallel verses of LV to render the relevant Latin nouns being different. Each of these occurrences corresponds to a different headword. In percentage terms, the three occurrences constitute 3,26% of all Latinate nouns attested in the given verses solely in EV (92), whereas the three headwords make up 6,19% of such headwords (44).

The nouns under discussion are given in Table 6.

N°	Verses	Latin	EV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	26.11	hostia, hostiae	hŏst(e	L hostia	a. OF. *oiste, hoiste*:—L. *hostia*
2.	15.3	infirmitas, infirmitatis	infirmitē	OF enfermeté, infirmité & L infirmitas	ad. L. *infirmitāt-em*
3.	44.2	scriba, scribae	scrībe	L scrība & OF scribe	ad. L. *scrība*

Table 6. *Nouns of L origin attested in the relevant verses exclusively in EV*

The above data when combined with the figures presented in Section 5.3.1 yield the total number of 'purely' Latin items in EV: there are 21 occurrences of 8 headwords of this origin in the first fifty Psalms of this Psalter, constituting 3,48% of all the Romance nouns attested in EV and 5,41% of their headwords.

5.3.3 Nouns of L origin attested in the given verses exclusively in LV

As far as LV is concerned, there are four nouns of 'purely' L provenance in this Psalter which do not correspond to the items with this etymology employed to render the relevant Latin nouns in parallel verses of EV. These four nouns are all occurrences of a single headword and are presented in Table 7. In percentage terms they constitute 4,88% of the occurrences (82) and 2,94% of the headwords of nouns attested in the given verses exclusively in LV.

N°	Verses	Latin	LV		
			HEADWORD	MED	OED
1.	47.12; 48.11[2]; 48.20	progenies, progeniei	enerāciŏun	OF generacion	a. L. *generātiŏn-em*

Table 7. *Nouns of L origin attested in the relevant verses exclusively in LV*

The total number of nouns of 'purely' L origin in LV, i.e. the sum of the figures given in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, equals 22. They represent 5 different headwords, constituting 3,7% of the occurrences and 3,68% of the headwords of broadly understood Romance origin attested in the first fifty Psalms of LV.

6. Conclusion

With all the nouns of OF and L origin discussed in their respective sections, a series of disconnected and fragmentary pictures have been created with the holistic picture emerging from them being extremely vague. Therefore, a more transparent depiction of the data is now provided which allows one to appreciate the scarcity of nouns of L origin in relation to the remainder of the nouns of broadly understood Romance origin (Charts 5–8 and Table 8) and then to juxtapose them with all the nouns analysed in the course of the research (Table 8).
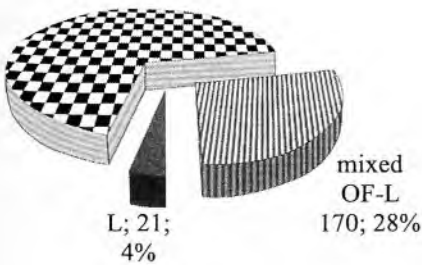
OF; 413;
68%

mixed
OF-L
170; 28%

L; 21;
4%

Chart 5. *EV: Nouns of OF, L and mixed OF-L origin – occurrences*

OF; 90;
61%

mixed
OF-L
50; 34%

L; 8;
5%
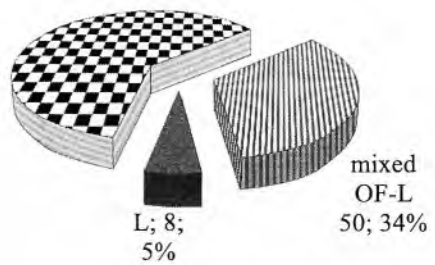
Chart 6. *EV: Nouns of OF, L and mixed OF-L origin – headwords*

OF; 409;
69%

mixed
OF-L
163; 27%

L; 22;
4%
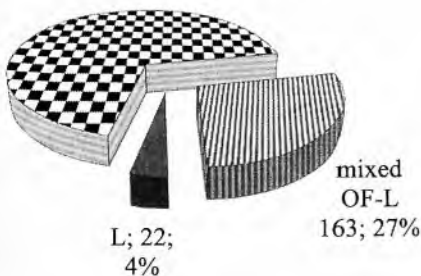
Chart 7. *LV: Nouns of OF, L and mixed OF-L origin – occurrences*

OF; 87;
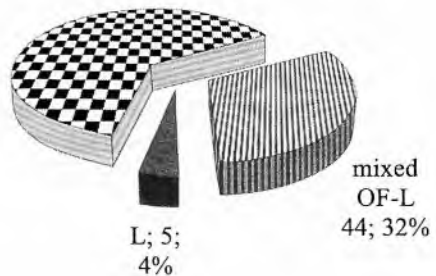64%

mixed
OF-L
44; 32%

L; 5;
4%

Chart 8. *LV: Nouns of OF, L and mixed OF-L origin – headwords*

Category		N° of occurrences	Percentage participation in occurrences of nouns of Romance origin with *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini* (2566)	Percentage participation in all occurrences		N° of headwords	Percentage participation in headwords of nouns of Romance origin with *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini* (403-EV/395-LV)	Percentage participation in all headwords	
				without *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini* (2099)	without Deus, Dei, dius, dii and dominus, domini (2099)			without *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini* (401-EV/ 393-LV)	without *Deus, Dei, dius, dii* and *dominus, domini* (401-EV/ 393-LV)
EV	**OF**	413	68,38%	16,10%	19,68%	90	60,81%	22,33%	22,44%
	mixed OF-L	170	28,15%	6,23%	8,10%	50	33,78%	12,41%	12,47%
	L	21	3,48%	0,82%	1,00%	8	5,41%	1,99%	2,00%
	sum	604	100%	23,54%	28,78%	148	100%	36,72%	36,91%
LV	**OF**	409	68,86%	15,94%	19,49%	87	63,97%	22,03%	22,14%
	mixed OF-L	163	27,44%	6,35%	7,77%	44	32,35%	11,14%	11,20%
	L	22	3,70%	0,86%	1,05%	5	3,68%	1,27%	1,27%
	sum	594	100%	23,15%	28,30%	136	100%	34,43%	34,61%

Table 8. *Romance nouns in the first fifty Psalms of EV and LV*

As clearly transpires from the data gathered in the research, the claims about the pervasiveness of Latinisms in EV and LV (Condit 1882: 64–73; Daniell 2003: 76–80; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 32; Norton 2000: 7) are not substantiated. Instantiations of nouns of 'purely' Latin origin in the first fifty Psalms of the examined Psalters are extremely sparse even with the methodology adopted for the purposes of the paper which lowers the requirements for a noun to be treated as such: I considered each noun attested in EV and LV to be of L origin if either of the dictionaries assigned to it Latin etymology, whereas for a noun to be regarded as of OF provenance in the study it was necessary for the *MED* (as a dictionary focusing specifically on the relevant period) to state that it was borrowed from French. Had such a criterion been employed for the nouns of L provenance, only the ME *hōst(e* would qualify as a Latinism.

   Another conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the data presented in the paper is that the differences in the lexical make-up of EV and LV, at least as far as the first fifty Psalms are concerned, are not substantial, i.e. from the

point of view of the etymology the two Psalters are remarkably similar. This finding seems to repudiate the assertion expressed in the Prologue to LV about the complete independence of this rendition (Forshall and Madden1850: 57): the two texts seem to exhibit a strikingly analogous choice of nouns, not to mention other similarities between them.

It might be of interest to know that the total number of nouns of both OF and L origin in EV (23,54%) and LV (23,15%) does not differ substantially from the relevant value obtained for two manuscripts of the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter*: there are ca. 24% of nouns of Romance origin in its London manuscript and ca. 22% of such nouns in its Dublin counterpart,[24] whereas the percentage participation of such nouns in Richard Rolle's Psalter[25] equals ca. 19% (Lis in prep.). Such results seem to stem primarily from the geographical distribution of ON and Romance loanwords discussed in Sections 4 and 5.1 respectively but are nevertheless to some extent attributable also to other factors. The figures given

---

24   The *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* is a Psalter translation into English executed somewhere between 1325 and 1350 (Muir 1970: 385; St-Jacques 1989:136), or between 1330 and 1350 (Black and St-Jacques 2012: xxviii, part 1, after Hanna 2003: 144) by an unknown translator (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013; Lis in prep.). What is extremely characteristic of this rendition are glosses, both in the Latin and in the English texts, which are responsible for the bizarre discrepancies between the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* and other Psalter translations. The glosses employed in the Psalter serve as a means of paraphrasing the text of the Psalms. It is not, however, the mere presence of the glosses that is most peculiar but the fact that in the course of the translation they were in the majority of cases substituted for the original wording of the Psalms. Two editions of the Psalter are available: Bülbring's (1891), hosted also at http://quod.lib. umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=BAA8159.0001.001, and Black and St-Jacques's (2012). Another feature which distinguishes this rendition from other Psalter translations is the fact that it was rendered from French (Deanesly 1920: 143) or at least it was based on a French source text to a considerable extent (Reuter 1938: [1]), which suggests its greater exposure to the influence of the French language. For this reason the percentage participation of Romance borrowings in the text, which does not differ substantially from the values obtained for EV and LV, is in fact surprisingly low and seems to prove that the French source text did not significantly influence the lexical make-up of the Psalter in question.

25   This is a fourteenth-century Psalter rendition, most probably dating back to the 1330's or 1340's (St-Jacques 1989: 136), executed by Richard Rolle of Hampole. The vital feature of Rolle's approach is an extremely cautious attitude to rendering the Scriptures into the vernacular. His objective was not a literary work but a faithful and as literal as possible translation of the text of the Psalms into English. Therefore, all the accusations addressed at RRP claiming that it is 'unidiomatic and lacking in flexibility' (Wells 1916: 401–402), thus hardly 'readable' or 'comprehensible' are not even legitimate as Richard Rolle did not endeavour to aim at a translation in its present sense. The Psalter was edited in 1884 by Bramley and is available online at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/ cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AJF7399.0001.001.

above demonstrate that the high percentage participation of nouns of broadly understood Romance origin is not unique to EV and LV and prove that despite the pervasiveness of Romance borrowings in the ME period, the majority of the nouns employed in all of the translations, i.e. in EV, LV, Rolle's rendition and in the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter*, are native. Most importantly, items used with the greatest frequency in all the above mentioned renditions are undoubtedly native words.

Additionally, had all the grammatical categories been taken into consideration in the present study, the percentage participation of native items would be even greater, as evidenced by similar research presented in Lis (2012), which was limited in scope to Psalms XVIII-XXIII of EV, analysing only 1581 lexical items, but encompassed all of the morphological categories. The results of that study were as follows: 89,88% of all the words employed in these six Psalms were of native origin, understood as both purely native and with mixed OE-ON and OE-OF-L etymologies, as opposed to only 8,35% of borrowings from OF and/or L, with lexical items of 'purely' Latin origin constituting less than 0,7%. In the light of these findings, it can be safely stated that far from being pervasive, Latinisms are in fact only sporadically used in the first fifty Psalms of EV and LV, and by extension most probably they do not participate significantly in the etymological make-up of the Wycliffite Bible as a whole either. Additionally, from the etymological point of view the Wycliffite Psalters exhibit too remarkable a resemblance to corroborate the claim that LV dispenses with Latinisms adopted by EV (Condit 1882: 64–73; Norton 2000: 7).

Sources

Bramley, H. R. (ed.). 1884. *The Psalter, or Psalms of David and certain canticles with a translation and exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited from manuscripts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AJF7399.0001.001.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, M. 2013. *Text and context in Jerome's Psalters. Prose translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

EV = Forshall, J., and F. Madden. (eds.). 1850. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*. Oxford: University Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AFZ9170.0001.001.

Hetzenauer, M. P. (ed.). 1914. *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ editionis sixti V pont. max.*

Iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Ex tribus editionibus clementinis critice descripsit dispositionibus logicis et notis exegeticis illustravit, appendice lectionum hebraicarum et græcarum auxit. Regensburg, Rome: Friderici Pustet and Co.

Liber Psalmorum juxta Septuaginta interpretes ab Hieronymo semel et iterum emendatus = *Liber Psalmorum juxta Septuaginta interpretes ab Hieronymo semel et iterum emendatus.* Available at: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia. eu/04z/z_0347-0420__Hieronymus__Divina_Bibliotheca_28_Liber_Psalmorum_Iuxta_Septuaginta_Emendatus__MLT.pdf.html.

LV = Forshall, J., and F. Madden. (eds.). 1850. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers.* Oxford: University Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/ text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AFZ9170.0001.001.

MED = Kurath, H., S. McAllister Kuhn, J. Reidy, R. E. Lewis *et al.* (eds.). 1952–2001. *Middle English Dictionary.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/.

OED = Simpson, J., and E. Weiner. (eds.). 1989. *Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Weber, R. (ed.). 1969. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem.* Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.

Whitaker, W. *Words: Latin-to-English & English-to-Latin Dictionary.* Available at: http://ablemedia.com/ctcweb/showcase/wordsonline.html.

References

Anglo-Norman Dictionary = Trotter, D. A., W. Rothwell, G. de Wilde, and H. Pagan. (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Dictionary.* 2nd edition. Available at: http:// www.anglo-norman.net/.

Barber, C., J. C. Beal, and P. A. Shaw. [1993] 2009. *The English language. A historical introduction.* 2nd edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Baugh, A. C., and T. Cable. 1978. *A history of the English language.* 3rd edition. London, New York: Routledge.

Betz, W. 1949. *Deutsch und Lateinisch: Die Lehnbildungen der althochdeutschen Benediktinerregel.* Bonn: Bouvier.

Black, R. R., and R. C. St-Jacques. (eds.). 2012. *The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter.* Parts 1 and 2. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Blake, N. F. 1996. *A history of the English language.* Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave.

Bruce, F. F. 1984. John Wycliffe and the English Bible. *Churchman* 98(4). Available at: http://www.churchsociety.org/churchman/articles.asp?fvol=98&fyear=&fauthor=Bruce&ftitle=.

Bülbring, K. D. (ed.). 1891. *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter together with eleven Canticles and a translation of the Athanasian Creed. Edited from the only two MSS. in the libraries of the British Museum and of the Trinity College, Dublin with preface, introduction, notes and glossary. Part I: Preface and Text.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=BAA8159.0001.001.

Burnley, D. 1992. Lexis and semantics. In N. Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language. Volume II: 1066–1476*, 409–499. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burrow, J. A., and T. Turville-Petre. [1992] 2005. *A book of Middle English.* 3rd edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English grammar.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Campbell, L. [1998] 2004. *Historical linguistics. An introduction.* 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Charzyńska-Wójcik, M. 2013. *Text and context in Jerome's Psalters. Prose translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Chaurand, J. [1969] 2011. *Histoire de la langue française.* 12th edition. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Condit, B. 1882. *The history of the English Bible extending from the earliest Saxon translations to the present Anglo-American revision; with special reference to the Protestant religion and the English language.* New York, Chicago: A.S. Barnes and Company.

Crowley, T. 1996. *An introduction to historical linguistics.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Daniell, D. 2003. *The Bible in English. Its history and influence.* New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Deanesly, M. 1920. *The Lollard Bible and other medieval biblical versions.* Cambridge: University Press.

Deanesly, M. 1951. *The significance of the Lollard Bible. The Ethel M. Wood Lecture delivered before the University of London on 12 March, 1951.* London: The Athlone Press.

Dekeyser, X. 1986. Romance loans in Middle English: a reassessment. In D. Kastovsky, and A. Szwedek (eds.), *Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries in honour of Jacek Fisiak. Volume I. Linguistic theory and historical linguistics*, 253–266. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: de Gruyter.

Delisle, J., and J. Woodsworth. (eds.). 1995. *Translators through history*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXème au XVème siècle = Godefroy, F. 1880–1895. *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXème au XVème siècle*. Paris: F. Vieweg. Available at: http://micmap.org/dicfro/home/dictionnaire-godefroy.

Dictionnaire du Moyen Français = 2010. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500)*. ATILF CNRS – Nancy Université. Available at: http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/.

Dove, M. 2006. Wyclif and the English Bible. In I. C. Levy (ed.), *A companion to John Wyclif*, 365–406. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Duckworth, D. 1977. Zur terminologischen und systematischen Grundlage der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der englisch-deutschen Interferenz: Kritische Übersicht und neuer Vorschlag. In H. Kolb, and H. Lauffer (eds.), *Sprachliche Interferenz: Festschrift für Werner Betz zum 65. Geburtstag*, 36–56. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Forshall, J., and F. Madden. (eds.). 1850. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*. Oxford: University Press. Available at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AFZ9170.0001.001.

Fowler, D. C. 1960. John Trevisa and the English Bible. *Modern Philology* 58(2): 81–98.

Fowler, D. C. 1995. *The life and times of John Trevisa, medieval scholar*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press.

Freeborn, D. 1998. *From Old English to Standard English: a course book in language variation across time*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Gelderen, E. van. 2006. *A history of the English language*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Grzega, J. 2003. Borrowing as a word-finding process in cognitive historical onomasiology. *Onomasiology Online* 4: 22–42.

Hanna, R. 2003. English Biblical texts before lollardy and their fate. In F. Somerset, J. C. Havens, and D. G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their influence in late medieval England*, 141–153. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Hargreaves, H. 1969. The Wycliffite's versions. In G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Bible. Volume 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, 387–415. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haspelmath, M. 2008. Loanword typology: steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability. In T. Stolz, D. Bakker, and R. S.

Palomo (eds.), *Aspects of language contact. New theoretical, methodological and empirical findings with special focus on romancisation processes*, 43–62. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hock, H. H. 1991. *Principles of historical linguistics*. 2nd edition. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hock, H. H., and B. D. Joseph. 2009. *Language History, language change, and language relationship. An introduction to historical and comparative linguistics*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Huchon, M. 2002. *Histoire de la langue française*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française.

Hudson, A. 2011. Five problems in Wycliffite texts and a suggestion. *Medium Aevum* 80(2): 301–324.

Jefferson, L., and W. Rothwell. 1997. Society and lexis: a study of the Anglo-French vocabulary in the fifteenth-century accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Company. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 107(3): 273–301.

Kastovsky, D. 2006. Vocabulary. In R. Hogg, and D. Denison (eds.), *A history of the English language*, 199–270. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katamba, F. 1994. *English words*. London: Routledge.

Kenyon, F. G. [1895] 1903. *Our Bible and the ancient manuscripts: being a history of the text and its translations*. 4th edition. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Kibbee, D. A. 1991. *For to speke Frenche trewely. The French language in England, 1000–1600: its status, description and instruction*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Knapp, P. A. 1971. John Wyclif as Bible translator: the texts for the English sermons. *Medieval Academy of America* 46(4): 713–720.

Kunstmann, P. 2009. Syntaxe anglo-normande: étude de certaines caractéristiques du XIIe et XIVe siècle. In J. Wogan-Browne, C. Collette, M. Kowaleski, L. Mooney, A. Putter, and D. Trotter (eds.), *Language and culture in medieval Britain: the French of England, c.1100–c.1500*, 55–67. Woodbridge, Rochester: York Medieval Press.

Lambert, M. D. 2002. *Medieval heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française = Rey, A., J. Rey-Debove, S. Lafite, H. Cottez *et al.* (eds.). 1984–2001. *Le Grand Robert de la Langue Française*. Electronic edition. Version 2.0.

Lis, K. 2012. *The etymology of Wycliffe's verbs. A study based on Psalms 18–23*. Unpublished manuscript, Lublin, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin.

Lis, K. 2014. *An etymological study of the nominal layer of the first fifty Psalms in Two late fourteenth-century English Bibles*. Unpublished manuscript, Lublin, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin.

Lis, K. (in prep.). *A comparative etymological study of nouns in the first fifty Psalms of the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter and Richard Rolle's Psalter*.

McMahon, A. M. S. 1994. *Understanding language change*. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Metzger, B. M. 2001. *The Bible in translation. Ancient and English versions*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.

Moulton, W. F. 1878. *The history of the English Bible*. London, Paris, New York: Cassell Petter and Galpin.

Muir, L. 1970. Translations and paraphrases of the Bible, and Commentaries. In J. Burke Severs (ed.), *A manual of the writings in Middle English. 1050–1500. Volume 2*, 381–409 and 534–552. Hamden: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Norton, D. 2000. *A history of the English Bible as literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Partridge, A. C. 1973. *English biblical translation*. London: Andrè Deutsch.

Reinheimer-Rîpeanu, S. 2004. *Les emprunts latins dans les langues romanes*. Bucaresti: Editura Universitatii din Bucaresti. Available at: http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/filologie/Ripeanu/main.htm, [19.05.2013].

Reuter, O. 1938. A study of the French words in the "Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter". *Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 9(4).

Rey, A., F. Duval, and G. Siouffi. 2011. *Mille ans de langue française, histoire d'une passion. I. Des origines au français moderne*. Paris: Perrin.

Ringe, D., and J. F. Eska. 2013. *Historical linguistics. Toward a twenty-first century reintegration*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Romaine, S. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford, New York: Basil Blackwell.

Rothwell, W. 1973. Où en sont les études d'anglo-normand? *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 83(3): 195–204.

Rothwell, W. 1979. Anglo-French lexical contacts, old and new. *The Modern Language Review* 74(2): 287–296.

Rothwell, W. 1980. Lexical borrowing in a medieval context. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 63(1): 118–143.

Rothwell, W. 1983. Language and government in Medieval England. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 93(3): 258–270.

Rothwell, W. 1985. Stratford Atte Bowe and Paris. *The Modern Language Review* 80(1): 39–54.

Rothwell, W. 1991. The missing link in English etymology: Anglo-French. *Medium Aevum* 60(2): 173–196.

Rothwell, W. 1992. The French vocabulary in the archive of the London Grocers' Company. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 102: 23–41.

Rothwell, W. 1993. The legacy of Anglo-French: *faux amis* in French and English. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 109: 16–46.

Rothwell, W. 1994. Of kings and queens, or nets and frogs: Anglo-French homonymics. *French Studies* 48: 257–273.

Rothwell, W. 1998a. Anglo-Norman at the (green)grocer's. *French Studies* 52: 1–16.

Rothwell, W. 1998b. Arrivals and departures: the adoption of French terminology into middle English. *English Studies* 79(2): 144–165.

Rothwell, W. 1999. Sugar and spice and all things nice: from oriental bazar to English cloister in Anglo-French. *The Modern Language Review* 94(3): 647–659.

Rothwell, W. 2000a. Glanures lexicologiques dans des documents des 14e et 15esiècles provenant de l'évêché de Durham. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 116: 213–236.

Rothwell, W. 2000b. Anglo-French and Middle English vocabulary in *Femina Nova*. *Medium Aevum* 69: 34–58.

Rothwell, W. 2001a. English and French in England after 1362. *English Studies* 6: 539–559.

Rothwell, W. 2001b. Stratford Atte Bowe re-visited. *The Chaucer Review* 36(2): 184–207.

Rothwell, W. 2006. Anglo-French and English society in Chaucer's 'The Reeve's Tale'. *English Studies* 87(5): 511–538.

Rothwell, W. 2007. Synonymity and semantic variability in Medieval French and Middle English. *The Modern Language Review* 102(2): 363–380.

Rothwell, W. 2010. 'Strange', 'foreign', and 'alien': the semantic history of three quasi-synonyms in a trilingual medieval England. *The Modern Language Review* 105(1): 1–19.

Rothwell, W. 2011. Anglo-French and the AND. In W. Rothwell, A. Rothwell, D. Trotter, and M. Beddow (eds.), *Introduction to the on-line AND*. Available at: http://www.anglo-norman.net/sitedocs/main-intro.shtml?session =S3101801381260822, [23.01.2013].

Slater, J. R. 1911. English versions before 1611. *The Biblical World* 37(4): 232–239.

St-Jacques, R. C. 1989. Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter and its French source. In J. Beer (ed.), *Medieval translators and their craft*, 135–154. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Tanquerey, F. J. 1915. *L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XIIé–XIVé siècles)*. Paris: Édouard Champion.

Thomas, H. M. 2003. *The English and the Normans. Ethnic hostility, assimilation, and identity 1066–c.1220*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Townend, M. [2006] 2012. Contacts and conflicts: Latin, Norse, and French. In L. Mugglestone (ed.), *The Oxford history of English*, 75–105. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trask, R. L. 1996. *Historical linguistics*. London: Arnold [revised by R. McColl Millar. 2007. *Trask's Historical Linguistics*. London: Hodder Education].

Trotter, D. A. 1997. 'Mossenhor, fet metre aquesta letra en bon francés': Anglo-French in Gascony. In S. Gregory, and D. A. Trotter (eds.), *De mot en mot. Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, 199–222. Cardiff: The University of Wales Press.

Trotter, D. A. 2003a. L'anglo-normand: variété insulaire, ou variété isolée? Grammaires du vulgaire. *Mediévales* 45: 43–54[2–11].

Trotter, D. A. 2003b. Not as eccentric as it looks: Anglo-French and French French. *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 39(4): 427–438.

Trotter, D. A. 2006. 'Une et indivisible': variation and ideology in the historiography and history of French. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 51: 359–376.

Weinreich, U. 1952. Research problems in bilingualism, with special reference to Switzerland. Ph.D. diss., New York, Columbia University.

Wells, J. E. 1916. *A manual of the writings in Middle English. 1050–1400*. London: Oxford University Press, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Westcott, B. F. 1916. *A general view of the history of the English Bible*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Wogan-Browne, J. 2009. General introduction: what's in a name: the 'French' of 'England'. In J. Wogan-Browne, C. Collette, M. Kowaleski, L. Mooney, A. Putter, and D. Trotter (eds.), *Language and culture in medieval Britain: the French of England, c.1100–c.1500*, 1–13. Woodbridge, Rochester: York Medieval Press.