Lone other-language items in later medieval texts

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the use in medieval texts of 'lone other-language items' (Poplack and Dion 2012), considering their status as loans or code-switches (Schendl and Wright 2011, Durkin 2014). French-origin and English-origin lexemes in Middle English, respectively, were taken from the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England, a source of loan words chosen for its sociolinguistic representativeness, and studied via *Middle English Dictionary* citations and textbase occurrences. Four criteria were applied for whether they should be treated as code-switches or as loans: the textual context in which the item appears, the adoption of target language verbal morphology, the length of attestation within the target language of individual lexical items (Matras 2009), and the integration of items into the syntactic structure of nominal phrases in conflict sites for code-switching (Poplack et al. 2015). Results provide little support for code-switching as the channel for the integration of lone other-language items, suggesting rather that individual items of foreign origin were immediately borrowed, consistently with Poplack and Dion's (2012) treatment of contemporary contact phenomena.

Key terms: Code-switching   borrowing   contact   Middle English   French

1. Introduction

Medieval documentary texts, and to some extent other genres, are known to make use of lone items seeming not to belong to the main language of the text (Wright 1996, 2002, Ingham 2009, 2013, Skaffari 2009, Hunt 2011, Trotter 2011, Schendl 2013). This phenomenon is illustrated by the underlined items in the following examples, which etymologically speaking are in each case not in the dominant language of the extract. On that basis, English words were used in Latin texts (1a-b), French words in English texts (1c-d), and English words in French texts (1e-f):

(1)a. Item una longa tabula de beche.   *Stonor* 43 (c. 1425)
    'Item a long beechwood table'

(1)b. Quatuor vacce quelibet precii 7s 6d; una juvenca brendyt precii 5s. *Paston letters* 2. 58 (1444)
    'Four cows each costing 7/6; a branded heifer costing 5/-'

(1)c. Do þi <u>deuer þat</u> þow hast to done.   *WPal.*(KC 13)   2546 (a1375)

   'Do your duty as you have to do'

(1)d. He took on hym al the <u>gouernaille</u> Of the Romeyns.   *Lydg. FP* (Bod 263) 6.2228 (?a1439)

   'He took on himself all ruling authority over the Romans'

(1)e. Un mille de harang sor pur vi soutz, le meillour; i <u>stokfishe</u> pur i dener, le

   meillour; une morue pur vi deners, la meillure.   *Lib Cust.* p. 192 (c. 1400)

   'One thousand cured herrings for 6 s., best quality; 1 stockfish for 1 d., best quality, 1 cod for 6d, best

   quality'

(1)f. A receivre de la dite rente chescun an al <u>Hockedaie</u> vinte deus souz deus deners e ala Nativite Seint Jo

   han le Bapt' vintedeus souz e deus deners.   *Bridgewater borough archives* 1200-1377 (1322)

   'To be received from the said rent yearly at Hockday 22s.2.d, and at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist

   22s. 2d'

Data such as those in (1) undoubtedly pose interesting challenges as to the criteria on which the boundaries of language membership in pre-modern times should be drawn (Trotter 2013). They could be taken as instances of 'insertional' code-switching (Muysken 2000), e.g. *Hockedaie* as an English item in the French-dominant (1f), and *dever* as a French item in the English-dominant (1c). Alternatively, they could be seen as loanwords borrowed into the dominant language of the respective texts, in which case *Hockedaie* would have been borrowed into insular French, and *dever* into Middle English (henceforth ME). The medieval bilingualism literature often considers such instances as those in (1) as cases of code-switching (henceforth CS), e.g. Schendl and Wright (2011: 24). In the present study, so as not to pre-judge the issue, Poplack and Dion's (2012) neutral term 'other-language item' is adopted, indicating only that the items in question do not belong etymologically to the language in which the text apppears to be mainly composed. In this study, we aim to explore how far lexicological resources now at our disposal, specifically the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England (https://thesaurus.ac.uk/bth/) allow us to characterise such cases as these as instances of code-switching, or whether a loanword interpretation would be better justified. This resource was specifically assembled in order to identify large numbers of French-origin items occurring in ME texts. In section 2, key aspects of contemporary approaches to CS are reviewed, as well as treatments of CS in the medieval period. In section 3, methodological criteria for favouring either a loanword or a CS interpretation are discussed, the data source used in the study, a thesaurus of everyday medieval occupations, is introduced, and the methodology used in the analyses presented is outlined. Section 4 presents the results of the investigation into uses of the target items in ME and discusses how well they support theoretically grounded conclusions.

2. Code-switching in modern contexts

There are a number of problems to be addressed before the issues identified above can be pursued in a medieval context. First, identifying CS reliably can be challenging even when dealing with contemporary language settings. Typically, it is characterised as the use in the same discourse of items from more than one language. A fairly generally held assumption is that intrasentential CS involves 'embedded language' material from one language occurring within a sentential context drawn from another language, referred to as the 'matrix language' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 68). However, the concept of a matrix language can be controversial, in particular as regards whether it is adequately handles switch-points in contemporary CS (Gardner-Chloros 2009). Nevertheless, it is very often possible to identify a 'dominant' language' of the utterance, i.e. the one that contributes the lexical items that are established members of that language, and enclose the other-language material, an approach which seems feasible in relation to data such as (1) above, and will be adopted here.

Criteria for code-switching versus borrowing usually turn on whether an etymologically 'other-language' item has been integrated into the dominant language of a discourse. In spoken discourse in contemporary settings, phonology is involved, but for historical contexts this resource is effectively unavailable. Weinreich (1953), Poplack (1988) and more recent researchers have seen morphosyntactic integration into the target language as serving to identify a loan rather than a code-switch, whereas retention of source language morphology would indicate a switch. The absence of grammatical marking on vernacular words in (1)a-b and (3)a-b, in grammatical contexts where Latin required grammatical inflections, allows them to be called unintegrated, and thus to treat at least these cases as CS. Similarly, morphological integration fails to take place when a source-language verb is used bare, without source-language inflections (or those of the target language). Matras (2009) notes the use of French-origin verbs in root (uninflected) form in Maghrebi Arabic, before they eventually become assimilated as loans and take Arabic inflections.

In Poplack's approach, syntax provides a further criterion for distinguishing CS and borrowing. The distribution of a lexeme with non-native etymology occurring in native-language contexts is analysed to see whether it behaves according to the rules of the native language, or as it would behave in the non-native language. In nominal phrases this allows the following distinction to be drawn between using an item in CS and using it as a loan (Poplack and Meechan 1995: 221, adapted):

(2) 'If lone [language A]-origin nouns in otherwise [language B] discourse show the detailed patterns of noun modifier usage of monolingual [language B] nouns, but none of the patterns of language A nouns in monolingual [language A] discourse, the interpretation must be that their structure is that of [language B], and not that of [language A], regardless of the etymology of the noun.'

The following example from Poplack et al. (2015: 178) illustrates the point:

(3) ɛʃnyya ha   l-   bac?   (Recording 012/44)

   what   DEM   DEF.ART   diploma

   'What's this diploma?'

Here, the French-origin noun *bac* ('baccalauréat, diploma') is used with the Arabic demonstrative modifier *ha* and definite article *l-*, in accordance with the Noun Phrase structure of Arabic, in which a demonstrative requires an accompanying definite article. Such co-occurrence, however, is ungrammatical in French. The context therefore complies with the grammar of the Recipient language (Arabic), not of the Source language (French). Poplack and her co-workers take this to indicate a loan, rather than CS. In the following example, however, the Arabic possessive determiner item *dyalu* ('his/its own') appears postnominally, conflicting with the dominant language of the utterance (French), where determiner elements must stand in pre-head position:

(4) Chaque type de   jeu   a une grande <u>importance dyalu</u>.   (Aabi 1999: 17)

  Each   type of game has a   big   importance its

  'Each game has its own importance'

The other-language item, *dyalu*, is here not integrated into French morpho-syntax, so (4) is a case of CS, in Poplack et al.'s terms: French does not allow a post-nominal determiner, but Arabic does, so the syntax of the two languages conflict. In (3), however, the pre-head position of the definite article matches in the two languages, so there is no conflict and the noun *bac* is integrated. Not all switch sites involve a conflict between the grammatical rules of the two languages, but those that do, referred to as 'conflict sites', provide a convenient means of distinguishing CS from immediate borrowing.

     As mentioned above, Thomason (2001) claimed that CS provides a route by which new words enter a language from a variety with which it is in contact, and she preferred not to draw a sharp distinction between borrowing and code-switching. She saw the situation instead as a cline: beginning with occasional uses as switches into the other language, the non-native form becomes more and more commonly used until it ends up as a bona fide word in the borrowing language. Poplack (1988) took a different position, claiming that individual words are borrowed more or less immediately, without needing to be acclimatized to the recipient language through being used in CS. In a later study, Poplack and Dion (2012) adopted a diachronic perspective, investigating English-origin material used in Canadian French over a period of two to three generations. The vast majority of such elements in the recordings they analysed were single words. They found only a very few nonce uses (hapaxes), which 'require active recourse to the other language': the others were already 'established... in the recipient-language lexicon' (Poplack and Dion 2012: 308). Since established loanwords can be used and understood with little or no knowledge of the other language, they do not involve CS. Importantly, the authors found no sign that English words not established in Canadian French at the point of use would become established in Canadian French later. If Poplack and Dion's modern findings are typical, intra-sentential CS is not a major avenue by which foreign words enter the language,

contrary to Thomason (2003), and other-language origin items in vernacular medieval texts should best be handled as having entered the recipient language via immediate borrowing, not by code-switching.

The next section considers how far these approaches to contemporary other-language phenomena allow us to better conceptualise the textual evidence from the medieval period.

2.1 Code switching in medieval contexts

There is a now a sizable literature on code-switching in medieval Britain, in which it is argued that users of French, English and Latin quite often switched between them (Mairey 2009, Schendl and Wright 2011 (eds.), Jefferson and Putter (eds) 2013, Schendl 2013). This phenomenon has been described as follows:

(5) 'The patterns of language-mixing in England in the Middle Ages are not only perfectly normal, but constitute, in certain text-types, the predominant discourse mode (notably, in business texts; Wright 1996). [There was] a complex interplay of languages, the understanding of which requires an often sophisticated analysis of .... code-switching and language-mixing.' (Trotter 2013: 143)

The examples in (1)a-f above illustrate this 'complex interplay of languages', and may be considered as illustrative of a larger picture, of how linguistic proficiency at least among some social classes favoured a high degree of non-native lexical admixture. Building on the documentary evidence such as this, of multilingual usage in the medieval period, light may then be shed on the processes by which the lexis of English underwent contact influence. It must always be borne in mind, naturally, that such evidence is restricted to the written medium, and how far the background of spoken usage displayed code-switching, and among which social groups, as well as the related question of how scribes mediated spoken usage for the purposes of documentary record-keeping, necessarily remain inaccessible to research (though see Ingham 2009 for an attempt to make plausible inferences here).

Relating the findings of research into modern-day code-switching to historical data offers further challenges. No dictionaries then existed that would offer contemporary guidance on whether French words had become established in the lexicon of English, or vice versa. Native speakers of older states of language cannot be observed or consulted, as would be possible in a contemporary setting. As noted above, some criteria used by modern-day analysts to distinguish between loans and code-switched items may be unavailable. For instance, Halmari (1997: 17) considered that 'a lexical item is not a code switch if it is phonologically… integrated into the host language.' In the absence of medieval oral data, phonological assimilation to the dominant language of the utterance cannot be reliably observed. Fortunately, other criteria that are applicable to historical data have been proposed for drawing the loan/code-switch distinction, to which we return below.

By no means all researchers agree, furthermore, that a categorical distinction can in fact be drawn between one-word code-switching and loanwords. Thomason (2003: 695) viewed code-switched items and well-established loan words as two ends of a continuum. Importantly for our purpose here, she considered

that 'code-switching is a (perhaps the) major route by which loanwords enter language' (2003: 695). This notion receives some support from recent studies of Middle English CS. Schendl (2013:48) showed that a code-switched letter used the French-origin item *rebel* a generation before the word's earliest *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth MED) attestation, while Skaffari (2018: 273) considers as potential CS the use of French *trubuil* ('trouble') in an early 13th century Middle English text, after which the word is not found in the English textual record for another 200 years. This suggests the value of investigating on a larger scale the possible role of CS in the process of adopting other-language items into English, at a time when multilingual practices were common. Loans from French into later Middle English are known to have been very numerous (Prins 1941, Dekeyser 1986, Kastovsky 2006, Durkin 2104), but much less attention has been given to the means by which that lexical influence operated among speakers of the period.

It is self-evident that, for language contact influence to occur at all, at least some speakers of the language receiving that influence must understand at least some portions of the other language. Following the Norman conquest of England in the later 11th century, societal bilingualism prevailed: English was the language of the conquered population, while French was used by the socially dominant elite not only among themselves, but in aspects of public life affecting the native population (Rothwell 1993, Sharpe 2013). To work with members of this elite, a knowledge of French would have been required of native English speakers. By the end of the following century, contemporary testimony tells us that sociolinguistic differences between native-origin and Norman-origin members of society were becoming blurred (Short 1980). A bilingual segment of the population had thus come into existence, and with it a milieu in which English speakers could readily import French lexemes and phraseology into their discourse. The initial post-Conquest divide between monolingual French and monolingual English speakers had given way to a scenario of substantial individual bilingualism, especially among the educated classes. The fact that the school system now delivered educational content via French, and that school fees were affordable by the moderately prosperous strata of society (Leach 1915, Orme 1975), provided a continuing stream of bilinguals at these social levels well into the 14th century. Professional group members such as local and central government administrators, doctors, traders and manorial officials are known to have used French for record-keeping and correspondence in the 13th and 14 centuries (Ingham and Marcus 2016). Few of these would have been French-born, and all of them would have needed at times to interact with monolingual anglophones. Although traditional textbook treatments, e.g. Baugh and Cable (2002), characterised French influence on English in terms of aristocratic lifestyles, there is ample evidence of individual bilingualism practised at sub-aristocratic levels of the population in later mediaeval England.[1]

On Thomason's (2001) approach, therefore, the use of French lexis in English discourse by bilingual speakers could well have been the channel by which lexical borrowing was implemented, a process implemented by code-switching between English and French. An indirect route by which English acquired loans may have been for French lexis to appear initially in code-switched discourse such as the following, where the matrix language was Latin, and thence to gain entry into English. The following show the first

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[1] The use of French in England was seemingly skewed in favour of male urban dwellers (Richter 1979).

attestations in MED of the French-origin Middle English *maser* ('wooden drinking bowl') and *coverlet* ('bed-cover'):

(6)a … j mazer cum pede argenteo.   *Doc.Finchale in Sur.Soc.6   p.iv* (1311)

(6)b. Et de uno blaunketo, tribus cuverlys…Et de uno blaunket et uno cuverlyt.

Acc.Executors in Camd.n.s.10   57 (1303)

Wright's (1996, 2002) work on language-mixing contains many instances of French-origin lexemes occurring in Latin documentary texts well before being attested in English-dominant works.

Identifying CS in languages morphologically less rich than Latin is challenging, as suggested by examples (1)c-f above, where the lack of case-marking in English and French by the 14th-15th c. greatly reduces the scope for observing possible instances. However, retention of source-language verb morphology is sometimes found, in this case of the Latin verb form *significat* in a French-dominant Anglo-Norman text from the 12th c.:

(7) Ço   significat David la   u   il dit...   *Proverbes Salomon* 40
    This means   D.   there where he says
    'This is what D. means by saying...'

Clear cases where source-language morphology is retained, producing one-word switches, do therefore seem to have existed in medieval texts written in England.

3. The study: methodology

In this study we apply the approach outlined above to later medieval data, in order to clarify the status of lone other-language items (hencforth LOLIs) appearing in running text. Two kinds of analysis are pursued in this research. First, how far is code-switching a valid account of LOLI phenomena? Secondly, how does the data analysed illuminate routes by which French-origin words entered the English language?

Certain challenges need first to be acknowledged. As regards the morphological distributional criterion, Noun inflection was largely uninformative, as the plural suffix morpheme *-s* was generally the same in the two languages. Focusing therefore on inflections on verbs including French in their etymology, we looked at their first attestations in MED, to see if these already offered positive evidence of integration if suitably inflected, or if uninflected where inflections should have been supplied, of non-integration.

The position taken by some researchers, e.g. Thomason (2003), is that CS and borrowing are on a cline: words may have entered a language such as Middle English (ME) initially as CS, but as they became increasingly used by ME speakers, their status gradually changed to that of loan-words. Supposing LOLIs in

(1) to have been early occurrences of these items in English, which later became used regularly, they would stand closer to the code-switching end of the cline than to borrowing. On the other hand, supposing with Poplack (1988) that other-language items do not go through a process of gradual acclimatization via CS, but would have been borrowed into the recipient language from the start, taking on its morphosyntactic character, the vernacular examples (1)c-f should be seen as loans, the other-language items in Latin (1a-b), which do not abide by Latin morphosyntactic properties, probably as instances of CS.

Medieval-language dictionaries compiled by modern researchers were consulted to see if the other-language item in question occurs elsewhere in texts of the period, or if it is a hapax legomenon. If the latter, CS or failed loan can be envisaged. As regards (1e-f), *dever* meaning 'duty' (in various spellings) was used in a formal literary register of English until the 19th century, and *governail* in the sense of 'governance' until the 16th century. These items cannot be treated as hapaxes, so they may have been borrowed into English. Grammatical considerations will also be brought to bear: as suggested above for 1(a-b), the words in question appear morphologically not to belong to the language of their immediate context, Latin, favouring a CS interpretation. In principle, where morphological integration into the dominant language of a discourse occurs, a loan may be assumed, otherwise CS is present (see e.g. Adalar and Tagliamonte 1998). In the case of the two vernaculars, French (1c-d) and Middle English (1e-f), which were less heavily inflected than Latin, grammatical criteria may be harder to apply. Here, the items are all nouns, and noun morphology was very similar in these languages, so verbs were used for the purpose of analysing morphological integration.

The third type of analysis carried out concerned conflict sites, seeking to identify French-origin items in English-particular syntactic contexts, in a similar fashion to the approach taken by Poplack and Meechan (1995). In written texts such as those illustrated in (1), morpho-syntactic conflict sites can in principle be determined and it can at least be established whether in the extant textual record a given LOLI patterned in its host language as it did in its source language. Poplack and Meechan (1995) and Poplack and Dion (2012) conducted their research using spoken corpora, resources not available to historical linguistics researchers. Nevertheless, their analytic approach may be adapted to historical data when substantial corpora are available for both the source and the host language. Finding corpora for both the source and host languages constituted along similar lines at the same periods is difficult, if not impossible. Problems may also arise with over- and under-representation of particular genres. For example, a much-used Middle English corpus, the PPCME2 (Kroch and Taylor 2000), is an expanded version of the Middle English part of the Helsinki Corpus of English. The latter provided roughly balanced though relatively limited amounts of textual material across specified genre and content domains. The PPC ME2, however, very substantially increased the proportion of religious prose in particular, gaining greatly in size but at the expense of genre balance. Poplack's variationist methodology, with its origins in Labovian sociolinguistics, is frequency-based. Difficulties arise in transposing that approach to historical periods where frequency counts may be badly skewed thanks to under or over-representation of content lexis. Medieval French and Anglo-Norman corpora have widely differing shares of verse fiction and documentary prose. A third textbase source, the ME Compendium, which was used for the lexicological research of the MED, is substantially larger, with a very full representation of the later ME period relevant to the research questions pursued here, and was used for

the syntactic analysis. It contains numerous late ME fictional texts that were not included in the Helsinki Corpus and PPCME2.

3.1 The Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England

The research questions set out above were addressed by analysing words of French origin collected in a recently completed lexicological resource named the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England (henceforth BTh). This freely available online searchable resource consists of Middle English and Anglo-Norman vocabulary is organised into seven domains of ocupational life, and provides a data source for researchers interested in questions relating to bi-/multilingualism in medieval Britain, especially where the focus is on the language used by more modest strata of society. The BTh allows researchers to avoid bias towards the lexis of aristocratic pursuits favoured in earlier discussions of French influence on Middle English, and base their work on more sociolinguistically representative lexical coverage, taking in as it does the lexis of what more ordinary people did for a living at the time (cf. Dyer 2002). It is based on the category and subcategory structure of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED), with some adjustments for the specificities of medieval daily life as the HTOED taxonomy was designed with the whole diachronic spread of the language in mind (Sylvester, Ingham and Marcus 2017). Each of the seven occupational domains can be seen as a set of practices and conceptual spaces, articulated by a conventional (linguistic) code (cf. Bourdieu's (1979) concept of 'habitus', i.e. a system of socially regulated conventions, including linguistic ones, offering individuals within a given group shared behaviours and expectations). These domains are: Building, Domestic Activities, Farming, Food Preparation, Manufacture, Trade, and Travel by Water. The practices within these occupational domains reflected some degree of input from bilingual English-French speakers, and would have been particularly receptive to French-origin lexis in domains where supervisory control, as well as the introduction of innovative wares and technologies, were exercised by higher-status French users. Within each of these domains, the vocabulary was classified again according to semantic role, e.g. agents, processes and specialized location. Working out which semantic roles applied to each domain presented a number of conceptual challenges, however. Whilst the processes, agents and locations roles are fairly straightforward, other semantic roles were specific to particular domains, and had to be tailored accordingly. For example, as noted in Ingham, Sylvester and Marcus (forthcoming, 2019), we distinguished between Instruments (of tillage etc.) and Products (crops, butter etc.) in the domain of Farming. The process of populating the semantic domains involved using the headwords of relevant categories in the HTOED as keywords. These keywords then provided the basis for reverse look-up searches of two electronic dictionary sources, the MED for English and the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND) for Anglo-Norman. Some 526 out of just over 3,000 ME headwords in MED were designated etymologically as exclusively French-origin items.

Findings were then evaluated in terms of whether a code-switching or a lexical borrowing interpretations of the uses of French-origin ME words thus obtained. Methodologically, we focused on

analysing the BTh data for three factors: the presence or otherwise of morphological integration, the textual context of other-language items, and the length of attestation of individual items, using the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) for later developments in English. These will be dealt with in turn in the following sections.

4. Data analysis: French-origin words in English-dominant texts

4.1 Morphological integration of French-origin words

It was hypothesised that if French-origin words were at first not fully integrated into English, and appeared as code-switches, they might have been used without appropriate inflections, or still bearing inflections of the source language, French. The earliest MED citations of 152 French-origin verb headword forms were accordingly probed. Of these, 108 were inflected with one of the ME verbal endings, the plural *-en* inflection, or the *-i* or *-en* participle and infinitive inflections respectively. The remaining 44 verb items were uninflected, but in all except one case in contexts consistent with their being an imperative, infinitive, subjunctive or 1st person singular present form. The only potential exception was the form *plat*, used as the past tense of the verb *platten* ('go down flat') in:

(8) Wawain ȝaue Oriens swiche a flat, Boþe on helme and ysen hat, Þat he to grounde plat

Arthur and Merlin 7115.

 'Gawain gave Oriens such a blow, both on his helmet and an iron hat, that he fell to the ground'

However, ME *plat* could be a zero-inflected past tense form, as in:

(9) Peronelle proude-herte platte hir to þe erthe. *P. Plowman, version A*. Passus V

 'P. proud-heart dropped flat on the ground'

The morphological form of the earliest attested uses of French-derived verbs in the BTh thus gives no support to the notion that LOLIs are initially code switches, before becoming integrated.

Only first attestations were initially considered, but the result was the same when all citations in our date range were inspected. No occurrences of French-origin verbs with clearly French inflections were positively identified in the Middle English citations in our database, and the target verbs occurred in uninflected form only when in Middle English such forms were grammatically appropriate, e.g. as imperatives, infinitives in non-finite clauses, or infinitives dependent on an auxiliary, e.g. respectively:

(10) Sethe þam in-to a qwarte or lesse, and sythen pure it thorow a clathe or a clene streynȝour.

Thrn.Med.Bk.(Thrn) 34/13. (c1440)

'Boil them down to a quart or less and pour it through a cloth or a clean strainer'

(11) Ferst forto gete it [metal] out of Myne, And after forto trie and fyne.

Gower CA (Frf 3)   4.2456. (a1393)

'First to get it [metal] out of a mine and then test it and refine it'

(12) He let þoruȝ þe contreies an-quere hov muche ech Man scholde paiȝe.

SLeg.Becket 388 (c1300)

'He had an enquiry made throughout the country how much each man should pay'

No cases of bare forms were found where an inflection was required on a present tense finite verb with 3rd person clause subject, or where the narrative context required a past tense form.

In fact, verb inflections in Middle English were not uniformly obligatory. By the 14th century, both the *-en* plural ending (in Midland dialects), and infinitive *-en* were becoming optional. In such cases, French-origin verbs might be thought to have shown less integration into English, since on a gradualness account of loan integration, inflections that a borrowed item need not take can be more readily omitted. It seemed worthwhile to investigate this possibility.

Results obtained were as follows. In the same sample of the three domains used above, Building, Manufacture and Trade, it was found that an *-en* inflection in either an infinitive or a plural agreement context was used with French-origin verbs 44% of the time. This compared with a figure for Old English-origin verbs of 57%,. This could be interpreted as an indication that French-origin verbs showed less integration into English, but the difference is hardly a major disparity, and may well reflect the typically later occurrences of French-origin verbs, at a time when the *-en* inflection was becoming optional.

In short, no good evidence was found of a period of gradual code-switching in which French-origin verbs were initially unintegrated into the ME inflectional system, but later appeared with the requisite English morphology. English morphology was used when required, from the earliest attestations. The results obtained are consistent with the adoption, at least in writing, of other-language items into English without an extensive period in which they were used only as code-switches.

4.2. French-origin words in Latin-dominant texts

In this section the possibility is considered that items were used as code switches initially in Latin-dominant 'mixed-language' texts, from which they found their way into English. Sources whose dominant language is generally Latin have been shown by Wright and others to be a significant locus of code-switching between Latin, the dominant language, and the vernaculars. Latin contributes the functional grammatical words to the text, whereas some content words are in the non-dominant language, English (e.g. (1)a-b above).

Nouns with genitive *-s*, words of French+ origin, words that were non-occupational surnames and words that are only attested in glosses were excluded. On this basis, 15 items were found in mixed-language

texts -- this time across all occupational domains -- but not in English-dominant texts. They are shown below:

table 1 about here

As an example of the candidate data obtained, the occupational domain of Manufacture contains *gauntre* from Old French *gantier* or *chantier,* defined by the MED as 'a wooden frame on which casks or the like may be set', and *dogeon,* from Anglo-Norman *dogeon* or *digeon,* defined as 'a kind of hard wood', or possibly 'boxwood'. These items are exemplified in:

(13)a. In ij sappelynges emptis de Gilberto Walker pro gauntrees. *Fabric R.Yk.Min.,* Sur.Soc.35 35. (1415)
     'In [respect of] two saplings bought from G.W. for gantries'
(13)b. Unum par cultellorum cum manubrio de dugion.   Will York in Sur.Soc.30 88. (1443)
     'One pair of knives with a hard-wood handle'

The Building domain contains the French-origin item *morteise*, ('mortise' or 'joint'). Domestic Activities contributed only one word, namely *furnaise,* in the sense of 'a device for boiling wort or unfermented liquor'. Although widely used elsewhere in the ordinary meaning 'furnace', this instance could be a code-switch with a specific brewing sense. Though these words did not enter English with these senses in the medieval period, to judge from surviving Middle English-dominant texts, a number of them can be found in later English, e.g. *gantry* and *mortice*.

The great majority of the source texts used by the MED were naturally English-dominant, so the relatively low numbers of target items from Latin-dominant texts are to be expected in a study using the MED as a resource. Still, these LOLIs do appear to constitute candidates for a code-switching phase prior to integration if they subsequently became used in later English. They can be taken as medieval code-switches, but out of Latin into French, not into English. However, we know from other sources (see e.g. the studies in Schendl and Wright (eds.) 2011) that the educated class of clerks and scribes, code-switched between vernaculars. It is not difficult to see how in the three-way linguistic ecology of the medieval period, material from one vernacular used in a switch with Latin could have appeared in switches between that and other vernacular. To that extent, then, the view of CS as an initial phase in the adoption of other-language lexis (Thomason 2001) can be upheld.

4.3 Continuity of attestation

To call an other-language item a loanword tends to imply that it is in regular use in the host language. However, Poplack and Dion (2012) found other-language items in their data which after a single attested use failed to recur and thus never became established loans. From this perspective, single attestations of LOLIs could be seen as code-switches that had failed to establish themselves in the language at the time produced. It was therefore deemed worth investigating the occurrences of hapax items in medieval texts. In this study, relevant medieval hapaxes were taken as ME words of French origin that had only one citation, in a particular sense, from before or up to (but not after) 1450, in the MED (accessed via the BTh).

A total of 82 French-origin lexemes in the BTh (excluding Latin-origin items and compounds part-formed with English) were found to be medieval hapaxes. The next methodological question to address is: are these medieval hapaxes code-switches or loans? The 82 lexical items were categorized into three categories:

1) Form does not recur post-1450 according to the OED

2) Form recurs post-1450 according to the OED, but with different sense

3) Both form and sense recur post-1450 according to the OED

If the form of these medieval hapaxes does not recur later on in the language, they are classed as potential code switches. If their form recurs with a different sense, or if both form and sense recur, which is unlikely but possible, this would be consistent with initial CS, followed later by the establishment of such items as loanwords. As can been seen from table 2 below, which details exclusively French-origin Middle English hapaxes in the BTh by semantic domain, the 82 medieval hapaxes are distributed across the seven domains roughly in proportion to their size, with Manufacture having the most and Domestic activities the fewest. Furthermore, the majority of the hapaxes fall into category 1 listed above, i.e. 'form does not recur', which suggests they were potentially code-switches.

 table 2 about here

The great majority of these hapaxes (67/82), occurred in Middle English texts, the rest in the MED's Latin sources. Leaving aside the latter for now, most were uninflected nouns, e.g. the underlined items in:

(14) All froytez foddenid was þat floreschede in erthe, Faire frithed in <u>frawnke</u> appon

      tha free bowes.   *Morte Arth*.(1) c1440(?a1400) [s.v. *franke* 'enclosure']

      'All fruit was nourished that flourished on earth, well protected in a pen on the open boughs'

(15) Of eche <u>garbe</u> of bras seld bye hym self.   *Ipswich Domesday(2)* (c1436) [s.v. *garbe*

'bundle']   'Of each bundle of brass that he himself sells'

(16) The thrid purgacion is of vynes and of trees, that is ymaad by þe <u>sarcler,</u> a knyf, or a sawe, in keruynge

of the braunches of the vyne.   *12 PTrib*.(3) 52/16 (a1450) [s.v. *sarcler* 'secateur']

'The 3rd purging is of vines and trees, made by a secateur, a knife, or saw, by carving the vine branch

es'.

(17) A skyn, wrouht be good <u>curray</u>.   *Lydg. FP* 2.1997 (?a1439) [s.v. *currei* 'leatherwork']

'A hide skilfully worked'

Sometimes the plural noun form was used, but in all cases this was identical with the morphology of French,

so no conclusion can be drawn, e.g.:

(18) Þe kyng..shipped his folk in grete <u>caynars</u>, Jn dromons and in shippes lumbars.

KAlex. 6052   c1400(?a1300) [s.v. *caynart* 'type of boat']

'The King shipped his people in great 'caynarts' in dromonds and lombard ships'

(19) That noon of hem…shold do or medle him of eny manere Correctage or Brocage, nor be mene of eny

manere contract, eschaunge or eny bargeyn make, or do to be made, bitwix Merchaunt and Merchaunt...

RParl. 5.56a (1442) [s.v. *correctage* 'brokerage']

'That none of the should do or become involved with any kind of 'corectage' or brokerage, or by means

of any kind of contract exchange or arrangement make or cause to be made between one merchant and

another...'

A few French-origin verbs occurred, but these were always either suitably inflected for English, or left

uninflected where appropriate, e.g.:

(20) He made brugges and causes, Heye stretes for comun passage; Brugges ouer watres dide he <u>stage</u>.

*Mannyng Chron.Pt.1 3*090 a1450(a1338) [s.v. *stage* 'construct']

'He made bridges and causeways, high streets for general traffic; he had bridges erected over waterways'

(21) A porch bilt of square stonys, Ful myghtely <u>enarched</u> envyroun.

Lydg. ST 1253   (a1450, ?c1421) [s.v. *enarch* 'make an arch']

'A porch built of square stones. Very strongly enarched roundabout'

These items occurred in a mix of literary and non-literary ME texts, with no clear tendency to prefer either.

Overall therefore, our investigation of French-origin ME hapaxes gives a similar picture to the investigation

of textual context code-switches. While some French-origin words in the BTh database do lend support to a code-switching interpretation, they do not occur in Middle English texts, but in Latin-dominant ones. The evidence therefore favours an immediate borrowing explanation, much as Poplack et al. found for modern times.

Finally, attestations of various French-origin words in the MED were found in Latin-dominant texts, e.g. the underlined items in:

(22) Sciatis quod..concessimus..Johanni Fastolf… pro expeditione operationum suarum… duas naves

vocatas <u>playtes</u>… habere and occupare.　　　　　　　　　　*Rymer's Foedera* (1709-10)11.44 (1443)

'Know that… we have authorised… J.F, to expedite his operations…, to have and use two ships

called playtes'

(23) … ij <u>colerys,</u> cum una sella et cruper, ad unum currum pertinentibus

'… two collars, with a saddle and horse's hindquarters cover, relating to a wagon'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Doc.Coldingham in Sur.Soc.12p.xlviii (1365)

(24) … iiij haunsers pro <u>seyntours</u> ponderis inter se iii C j quarterii.　*For.Acc.(PRO) 3 Hen.VII* (1420)

'… four hawsers for the mooring girdle, weighing all together 3¼ hundredweight'

The attested forms *playtes*, *colerys* and *seyntours* in (22)-(24) clearly do not belong to the dominant language, suggesting an interpretation in terms of CS. However, the switches here do not involve English, so it cannot be claimed that they directly formed part of a contact influence process taking French words into the English language.

4.4 Syntactic integration

As described above, the online textbase of the MED, known as the ME Compendium, was used to establish whether French-origin nouns in the BTh have a similar distributional profile to that of native lexemes that are conceptually related in terms of their status in the hierarchies created by the HTOED e.g. for types of boat, or instruments/devices used in farming or manufacture. As will be recalled from the discussion in section 2, an immediate borrowing rather than a code-switching interpretation is proposed by Poplack and her co-authors in cases of morphosyntactic 'conflict sites', i.e. points in the structure of a sentence where the grammars of the two languages in contact diverge. Where we find a LOLI complying, not with the grammar of its source language, but with that of the linguistic context in the utterance, this item can plausibly be taken as having been borrowed. Conflict sites with respect to the grammars of Old French and Middle English Noun phrases were accordingly analysed in order to investigate the behaviour of French-origin nouns in such contexts in running ME text. To obtain more data, target French-origin lexemes were searched for in the whole MED textbase, rather than just among MED citations. Three suitable contexts were identified, all

involving a sequence where within a Noun Phrase a non-head noun precedes the head noun. In the first, the non-head noun bears a genitive inflection, e.g. *Cadwalenes* in:

(25) Swiðe heo gunnen dreden of Cadwalanes deden.   *Lay. Brut* (Clg A.9)   31165

    'They started to fear C.'s deeds greatly'

Old French did not permit this structure, instead using postmodification by *de* + NP, e.g.:

(26) Li rois sire Edward avisez estoit/Des gestes des Engleis.   *Langtoft* 459.16

    'The Lord king Edward was informed of the deeds of the English'

In the second case, a non-head noun modifies the head noun, as with *hous dore* in:

(27) He syttez... byfore his hous dore, under an oke grene.   *Cleneness* 602

    'He sits in front of his house door, under a green oak'

This was likewise not a possible structure in French, where again a postmodifying PP was used to express the element corresponding to the English non-head noun, e.g.:

(28) Prie Peres Stonham que vous luy pleise graunter la gard de touz les terres et tenementes queux furent a

    Maistre de la mesoun.   *Kingscouncil* 30 (1392)

    'P. S. requests you to please grant him the keeping of all the lands and tenements which belonged to the

    master of the house'

The third conflict site concerns deverbal compounds, where the noun corresponding to the object of the root verb precedes the deverbal nominal, e.g. *Swerde berer* in:

(29) Item, payd to the Swerde berer for ij yere iij s. iiij d.

                            Medieval records of a London city church, 1479-1481.

    'Item, paid to the sword-bearer for two years 3s 4d'

Again, this configuration was impossible in Old French, where the alternative structure involved a postmodifying *de*-PP, illustrated by: .

(30) Et vous mandoms que meisme la note facez translater en Latyn, ... and liverer as porteurs de ces lettres.

                                Foedera 1, 1007 (1307)

    'And we order you to have the same note translated into Latin ... and delivered to the bearers of these

    letters.'

We analysed the distribution of French-origin items to see whether they occurred in conflict sites and complied with the native grammar. French-origin nouns featuring in the BTh and denoting occupational agents were targeted. The twelve agent nouns c*arpenter, draper, fletcher, forrester, gardiner, grocer, glazier, spicer, potter, mercer, merchant, mason* fitted these requirements, having animate human denotation, and thus being able to stand as possessor nouns in genitive NP structures such as (25) above. Of these twelve items, seven were found as the possessor noun in nominals with a possessive genitive:

(31) carpenterys wyf, draperys shopis, forsters hous, marchauntes tale, masons hire, potters howse, glasieres craft

Genitive-inflected nouns such as *carpenterys*, *draperys* etc. cannot be seen as short stretches of CS into French.

Next, a search was conducted for French-origin items that were either locations to which some property could be attributed, or artifacts of which a part could be named; these semantic relations are commonly involved in Noun-Noun compounds, such as *garden gate* and *door handle* respectively. The following twelve French-origin items of these types in the Location and Material sections of the BTh (spelling modernised) were identified, and were analysed for whether they occurred as noun premodifiers: *grange, stable, dairy, staple, gaol, port, castle, garden, trestle, plank, scaffold, bar.* The following occurrences of these items as compound non-heads were noted:

(32) barr hokes, schaffold nail, planche bord, trestell hede, garden dorre, graunge place, staple court, stable dore, gaol hall, castel walle

All the items chosen from the BTh thus appeared in the target construction, in which CS is excluded. Finally, French-origin nouns used as the non-head of a deverbal compound were searched for in the ME Compendium, by using as probes the Modern English words *bearer, maker, bearing* and *making* in various attested medieval spellings. These four items had already been noted observationally as headwords in such compounds, cf. (26). Non-head items of French origin modifying these forms were then identified. The following items featuring a French-origin non-head word were obtained:

(33) fruit berere, fruyt making, candel berynge, parchemyn makere

In all three - site types, then, a French-origin noun appeared in a structural position not admitted by French syntax. In these critical contexts, CS must be rejected; the grammar of the NPs in which the items appeared must have been English, or else grammatical conflict incompatible with CS would have arisen. Thus by the time of the mainly 14th- and early 15th-century data studied, the French-origin lexemes targeted here were loans, allowing them to be integrated into native grammatical structures.

5. Discussion and evaluation of findings

Contexts for French-origin lexemes have been analysed. It was considered possible that after their initial use their integration into medieval English would have been delayed. This could have taken the form of unimflected verb use and avoidance of conflict sites. It was also envisaged that a borrowed item might initially show up as a medieval-period hapax, its hapax status indicating that it was not established in English, and then have become established in English. Its initial use could then be considered as a potential code-switch.

The results of this enquiry into the nature of LOLIs in the medieval written record generally do not support a gradualist scenario. By the 14th century, as soon as English-dominant texts become plentiful, French-origin lexis appears to have been fully integrated into English, on the basis of the morphosyntactic criteria adopted, i.e. verbal inflections, and the positioning of nouns within nominal structures. There is some evidence, however, of French-origin lexemes appearing only in Latin-dominant sources for a while, then later becoming adopted in English. A potential explanation of this outcome is that Latin-dominant documentary texts were written by and often for members of professional multilingual speech communities such as lawyers and administrative clerks, whereas English-dominant texts containing French-origin lexemes were most likely written for a largely monolingual readership. Texts such as medieval English romances, which contributed very substantially to the ME Compendium textbase, were often translated from the original French for lay audiences assumed to have known only English. The fact that potential code switches out of Latin into French were found to exist only in non-literary, documentary texts highlights the need to take into account the nature of speaker communities forming the complex multilingual contact situation in England during the medieval period. For instance, *cuverlyt* in example (6)b is taken from a legal document relating to the work of executors following a death. Members of certain speech communities, especially professional ones such as the legal profession, would normally have been conversant with French, Latin and English. These potential switches into French from Latin would not have been unexpected on the part of its members.

The analysis of the textual evidence presented here has inevitably left out of account the spoken practices in the speech communities, bilingual or otherwise, to which their authors and audiences belonged. The lack of spoken language data is a well-known limitation on all studies seeking to clarify the language practices and abilities of speaker communities in past eras, and is not specific to investigations of historical code-switching. It can be assumed that communities of practice responsible for documenting professional and occupational life in the medieval period, with their multilingual skills (Wright 2002, Trotter 2011), were well able to allow lexis to percolate from language to another, and may well have initiated much of the process of borrowing French-origin lexis via oral CS. What is available for studying this issue, however, is inevitably only the written record, where no resistance to the incorporation of French-origin items into the lexis of English can be discerned in the cases we have analysed. They offer no reason to treat these LOLIs as

one-word code-switches. There is perhaps a practical reason for the avoidance of code-switching in ME texts: for the audiences of the English-dominant texts to have understood French-origin lexis in texts addressed to them would have required a process of diffusion of such items in the speech community to have taken place already before the composition and delivery of those texts. We have no direct access to how that process of diffusion may have taken place. However, later medieval speech communities in England should not be seen as either fully proficient in French or as entirely lacking knowledge of the language: active use of French-origin lexis on the part of audience members would not have been required for them to follow what they heard or read. We would like to suggest that the audiences of many of the English-dominant texts collected in the ME Compendium and therefore used in the study, especially romances and the like, possessed a degree of passive knowledge of French sufficient to allow them to identify the intended meanings of French-origin lexis used by authors composing works in Middle English. Thus writers could have drawn on a French word and use it in an English text, counting on the comprehension of their audience. This would have been a case of immediate borrowing requiring no prior process of code-switching to have taken place.

6. Conclusion

In this study, French-origin lexemes retrieved from the BTh have been analysed to explore hypotheses concerning their occurrence as LOLIs in Middle English- and Latin-dominant texts. They have been analysed for whether their uses should most plausibly be seen as loans or as code-switches, on criteria conventionally applied in the contemporary language contact literature. Applying these criteria generally gave results consistent with borrowing, rather than with CS, in English-dominant texts: no evidence pointed towards LOLIs having been treated as non-English items. In Latin-dominant documentary texts discussed by Wright and others in the context of medieval multilingualism, CS between French lexemes and Latin was identified, but provided no support for CS as a route for French lexemes to have entered Middle English, as these were not English texts. LOLIs that were hapaxes in the medieval period were of particular interest, in that they could be seen as lexemes borrowed from French that initially appeared as CS, but then established themselves as loans, in line with the sequential approach of Thomason (2001). It was found that such medieval hapax terms were often taken up subsequently by the post-medieval speech community, though sometimes they were not. In the latter case, they attest to what must have been the fate of many such hapaxes in the medieval period, as in modern periods (cf. Poplack and Dion 2012). The very few LOLIs used as medieval hapaxes and not recurring in later English could thus conceivably be seen as one-word code-switches. Even here, however, an alternative interpretation as nonce borrowings cannot be excluded. Finally, French-origin items in conflict sites for code-switching were investigated, showing common use in these contexts and undoubtedly indicating borrowing by the time addressed here. On balance, then, the borrowing approach of Poplack and Dion (2012), Poplack et al. (2015), which has contemporary justification, appears to be a plausible account also of the medieval data surveyed in this research.

Our findings imply, in sum, that in discussion of medieval multilingual LOLI phenomena a CS interpretation of single-word items of foreign origin in Middle English texts is dispreferred by comparison with an interpretation in terms of borrowing. That is not, of course, to deny that stretches of CS in the form of phrases are a feature of medieval discourse. However, it appears that medieval LOLIs do not attest to code-switching practices, but should more plausibly be handled as a matter of immediate borrowing, as is claimed for recent times. Using what is known of modern-day language contact may thus help us to understand the ways in which linguistic change in contact conditions operated in earlier centuries too.

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Table 1: Exclusively French-origin items that occur in Latin-dominant texts pre-1450

Semantic Domain	No. of French-origin items that occur only in Latin dominant texts pre-1450
Travel by Water	3
Farming	3
Food Prep	2
Building	1
Manufacture	2
Domestic Activities	1
Trade	3
Total	15

Table 2: Exclusively French-origin Middle English hapaxes in the

Bilingual Thesaurus, by semantic domain

Length of attestation	Form doesn't recur	Form recurs, but with different sense	Both form and sense recurs
Semantic domain			
Travel by Water	9	1	0
Farming	14	1	1
Food Prep	8	0	0
Manufacture	13	3	1
Building	12	2	0
Domestic Activities	6	0	0
Trade	9	2	0
TOTAL	71	9	2

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Both reviewers' recommendations have been carried out. In particular:

Rev, 1 Although my impression was that the topic had been covered in the introduction, a section has been added on page 18 providing further material requested, paragraph beginning 'The foregoing discussion...'

The structure of the introduction has been revised as requested, placing Poplack et al. after the other sections.

Comments on the text pdf have been adopted.

Rev 2.

The recommendation beginning 'I paused over this at the end of 2.1...' has been adopted, taking account of alternative possibilities.

'French+'has been explained.

The transition from 4.2 to 4.3 has been re-worded and amplified, with more argumentation provided.

The paragraph on French origin words in Latin dominant texts has been revised to make their separate status clearer.

Lone other-language items in later medieval texts

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the use in medieval texts of 'lone other-language items' (Poplack and Dion 2012), considering their status as loans or code-switches (Schendl & Wright 2011, Durkin 2014). French-origin and English-origin lexemes in Middle English, respectively, were taken from the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England, a source of loan words chosen for its sociolinguistic representativeness, and studied via *Middle English Dictionary* citations and textbase occurrences. Four criteria were applied for whether they should be treated as code-switches or as loans: the textual context in which the item appears, the adoption of target language verbal morphology, the length of attestation within the target language of individual lexical items (Matras 2009), and the integration of items into the syntactic structure of nominal phrases in conflict sites for code-switching (Poplack et al. 2015). Results provide little support for code-switching as the channel for the integration of lone other-language items, suggesting rather that individual items of foreign origin were immediately borrowed, consistently with Poplack and Dion's (2012) treatment of contemporary contact phenomena.

Key words: loanwords, code-switching, Middle English, French

1. Introduction

Loans from French into later Middle English are known to have been very numerous (Prins 1941, Dekeyser 1986, Kastovsky 2006, Durkin 2104), but much less attention has been given to the means by which that lexical influence operated among speakers of the period. Medieval British documentary texts, and to some extent other genres, are known to make use of lone items seeming not to belong to the main language of the text (Wright 1996, 2002, Ingham 2009, 2013, Skaffari 2009, Hunt 2011, Trotter 2011, Schendl 2013). This phenomenon is illustrated by the underlined items in the following examples, which etymologically speaking are in each case not in the dominant language of the extract. On that basis, English words were used in Latin texts (1a-b), French words in English texts (1c-d), and English words in French texts (1e-f):

(1)a. Item una longa tabula de beche.   *Stonor* 43 (c. 1425)

     'Item a long beechwood table'

(1)b. Quatuor vacce quelibet precii 7s 6d; una juvenca <u>brendyt </u>precii 5s. *Paston letters* 2. 58 (1444)

'Four cows each costing 7/6; a branded heifer costing 5/-'

(1)c. Do þi <u>deuer </u>þat þow hast to done.   *WPal.*(KC 13)   2546 (a1375)

'Do your duty as you have to do'

(1)d. He took on hym al the <u>gouernaille</u> Of the Romeyns.   *Lydg. FP* (Bod 263) 6.2228 (?a1439)

'He took on himself all ruling authority over the Romans'

(1)e. Un mille de harang sor pur vi soutz, le meillour; i <u>stokfishe</u> pur i dener, le

meillour; une morue pur vi deners, la meillure.   *Lib Cust.* p. 192 (c. 1400)

'One thousand cured herrings for 6 s., best quality; 1 stockfish for 1 d., best quality, 1 cod for 6d, best

quality'

(1)f. A receivre de la dite rente chescun an al <u>Hockedaie</u> vinte deus souz deus deners e ala Nativite Seint Jo

han le Bapt' vintedeus souz e deus deners.   *Bridgewater borough archives* 1200-1377 (1322)

'To be received from the said rent yearly at Hockday 22s.2.d, and at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist

22s. 2d'

Data such as those in (1) undoubtedly pose interesting challenges as to the criteria on which the boundaries

of language membership in pre-modern times should be drawn (Trotter 2013). They could be taken as

instances of 'insertional' code-switching (Muysken 2000), e.g. *Hockedaie* as an English item in the French-

dominant (1f), and *dever* as a French item in the English-dominant (1c). Alternatively, they could be seen as

loanwords borrowed into the dominant language of the respective texts, in which case *Hockedaie* would have

been borrowed into insular French, and *dever* into Middle English (henceforth ME). The medieval

bilingualism literature often considers such instances as those in (1) as cases of code-switching (henceforth

CS), e.g. Schendl and Wright (2011: 24). In the present study, so as not to pre-judge the issue, Poplack &

Dion's (2012) neutral term 'other-language item' is adopted, indicating only that the items in question do not

belong etymologically to the language in which the text appears to be mainly composed. In this study, we

aim to explore how far lexicological resources now at our disposal, specifically the *Bilingual Thesaurus of*

Everyday Life in Medieval England (https://thesaurus.ac.uk/bth/) allow us to characterise such cases as these

as instances of code-switching, or whether a loanword interpretation would be better justified. This resource

was specifically assembled in order to identify large numbers of French-origin items occurring in ME texts.

In section 2, key aspects of treatments of CS in the medieval period are reviewed, as well as contemporary

approaches to CS. In section 3, methodological criteria for favouring either a loanword or a CS interpretation

are discussed, the data source used in the study, a thesaurus of everyday medieval occupations, is introduced,

and the methodology used in the analyses presented is outlined. Section 4 presents the results of the

investigation into uses of the target items in ME and discusses how well they support theoretically grounded conclusions.

A central issue which must always be kept in mind when discussing pre-modern code switching is that our only evidence for it comes from written texts, the spoken language practices of the medieval past being irretrievably lost. The lack of spoken language data is a well-known limitation on all studies seeking to clarify the language practices and abilities of speaker communities in past eras. It means that we are able in this study, as in others, to evaluate only what textual evidence can provide for the of the language of the medieval period. We will also keep in mind the fact that there was, in the medieval period perhaps even more than now, no single English-speaking speech community, but rather a multiplicity of economically, regionally and educationally differentiated communities, some of which had access to other languages than English with which to code-switch and from which to borrow, while probably the greatest number of the population did not. The textual record we possess was created by a literate class which thanks to its education typically had knowledge some competence in more languages than only English. For one thing, not only written, but also oral abilities in Latin and French were encouraged within the educational system of the time (Orme 1973). The language practices of that era were socio-historically determined, therefore, in ways which may differ from contexts in which cross-linguistic influence has been researched in more recent periods. While we acknowledge this point, it is nevertheless important to identify features of other language items in contemporary settings so as to proceed on methodologically comparable lines as far as possible, and the next section addresses this requirement.

2.0 Code switching in medieval contexts

There is a now a sizable literature on code-switching in medieval Britain, in which it is argued that users of French, English and Latin quite often switched between them (Mairey 2009, Schendl & Wright 2011 (eds.), Jefferson & Putter (eds) 2013, Schendl 2013). This phenomenon has been described as follows:

(2) 'The patterns of language-mixing in England in the Middle Ages are not only perfectly normal, but constitute, in certain text-types, the predominant discourse mode (notably, in business texts; Wright 1996). [There was] a complex interplay of languages, the understanding of which requires an often sophisticated analysis of .... code-switching and language-mixing.' (Trotter 2013: 143)

The examples in (1)a-f above illustrate this 'complex interplay of languages', and may be considered as illustrative of a larger picture, of how linguistic proficiency at least among some social classes favoured a high degree of non-native lexical admixture. Building on the documentary evidence such as this, of multilingual usage in the medieval period, light may then be shed on the processes by which the lexis of English underwent contact influence. It must always be borne in mind, naturally, that such evidence is restricted to the written medium, and how far the background of spoken usage displayed code-switching, and

among which social groups, as well as the related question of how scribes mediated spoken usage for the purposes of documentary record-keeping, necessarily remain inaccessible to research (though see Ingham 2009 for an attempt to make plausible inferences here).

However, it is self-evident that, for language contact influence to occur at all, at least some speakers of the language receiving that influence must understand at least some portions of the other language. What we do know is that following the Norman conquest of England in the later 11th century, societal bilingualism prevailed. English was the language of the conquered population, while French was used by the socially dominant elite not only among themselves, but in aspects of public life affecting the native population (Rothwell 1993, Sharpe 2013). To work with members of this elite, a knowledge of French would have been required of native English speakers. By the end of the following century, contemporary testimony tells us that sociolinguistic differences between native-origin and Norman-origin members of society were becoming blurred (Short 1980). A bilingual segment of the population had thus come into existence, and with it a milieu in which English speakers could readily import French lexemes and phraseology into their discourse. The initial post-Conquest divide between monolingual French and monolingual English speakers had given way to a scenario of substantial individual bilingualism, especially among the educated classes. The fact that the school system now delivered educational content via French, and that school fees were affordable by the moderately prosperous strata of society (Leach 1915, Orme 1975), provided a continuing stream of bilinguals at these social levels well into the 14th century. Professional group members such as local and central government administrators, doctors, traders and manorial officials are known to have used French for record-keeping and correspondence in the 13th and 14 centuries (Ingham & Marcus 2016). Few of these would have been French-born, and all of them would have needed at times to interact with monolingual anglophones. Although traditional textbook treatments, e.g. Baugh and Cable (2002), characterised French influence on English in terms of aristocratic lifestyles, there is ample evidence of individual bilingualism practised at sub-aristocratic levels of the population in later mediaeval England.[1]

2.1 Applying approaches to contemporary other-language phenomena to potential historical code-switching

Reliably identifying CS can be challenging even when dealing with contemporary language settings. Typically, it is characterised as the use in the same discourse of items from more than one language. A fairly generally held assumption is that intrasentential CS involves 'embedded language' material from one language occurring within a sentential context drawn from another language, referred to as the 'matrix language' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 68). The concept of a matrix language can be controversial, in particular as regards whether it adequately handles switch-points in contemporary CS (Gardner-Chloros 2009). Nevertheless, it is very often possible to identify a 'dominant' language' of the utterance, i.e. the one that contributes the lexical items that are established members of that language, and enclose the other-language material, an approach which seems feasible in relation to data such as (1) above, and will be adopted here.

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[1] The use of French in England was seemingly skewed in favour of male urban dwellers (Richter 1979).

Relating the findings of research into modern-day code-switching to historical data does offer further challenges. No dictionaries then existed that would offer contemporary guidance on whether French words had become established in the lexicon of English, or vice versa. Native speakers of older states of language cannot be observed or consulted, as would be possible in a contemporary setting. As noted above, some criteria used by modern-day analysts to distinguish between loans and code-switched items may be unavailable. For instance, Halmari (1997: 17) considered that 'a lexical item is not a code switch if it is phonologically… integrated into the host language.' In the absence of medieval oral data, phonological assimilation to the dominant language of the utterance cannot be reliably observed.

By no means all researchers agree, furthermore, that a categorical distinction can in fact be drawn between one-word code-switching and loanwords. Thomason (2003: 695) viewed code-switched items and well-established loan words as two ends of a continuum. Importantly for our purpose here, she considered that 'code-switching is a (perhaps the) major route by which loanwords enter language' (2003: 695). This notion does receive some support from recent studies of Middle English CS. Schendl (2013:48) showed that a code-switched letter used the French-origin item *rebel* a generation before the word's earliest *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth MED) attestation. Meanwhile, Skaffari (2018: 273) considers as potential CS the use of French *trubuil* ('trouble') in an early 13th century Middle English text, after which the word is not found in the English textual record for another 200 years. These previous findings suggest the value of investigating on a larger scale the possible role of CS in the process of adopting other-language items into English, at a time when multilingual practices were common.

If Thomason's (2001) approach is adopted, it could potentially be suggested that the use of French lexis in English discourse by bilingual speakers could have been the channel by which lexical borrowing was effected, a process implemented by code-switching between English and French. An indirect route by which English acquired loans may have been for French lexis to appear initially in code-switched discourse such as the following, where the matrix language was Latin, and thence to gain entry into English. The following show the first attestations in MED of the French-origin Middle English *maser* ('wooden drinking bowl') and *coverlet* ('bed-cover'):

(3)a … j mazer cum pede argenteo.   *Doc.Finchale in Sur.Soc.6   p.iv* (1311)

(3)b. Et de uno blaunketo, tribus cuverlys…Et de uno blaunket et uno cuverlyt.

                                                       Acc.Executors in Camd.n.s.10   57 (1303)

Wright's (1996, 2002) work on language-mixing contains many instances of French-origin lexemes occurring in Latin documentary texts well before being attested in English-dominant works. This cannot, of course, be taken to mean that their first uses would have been in such documentary texts. As mentioned in the introduction, we can in this study deal only with written evidence, and how early the term *maser* was employed in English spoken discourse remains impossible to determine. What is noticeable from MED citations, however, is that the first seven all occur in 14th c. documentary texts (Latin or French), and the

word becomes common in English texts only from the early 15th century onwards. It is also worth noting that during this process the French-origin lexeme appears to have ousted the native term *nap* (OE *hnap*, 'drinking bowl'), last attested around 1330, though once again the caveat that we have evidence only of written usage must be recognised.

Identifying CS in languages morphologically less rich than Latin is challenging, as suggested by examples (1)c-f above, where the lack of case-marking in English and French by the 14th-15th c. greatly reduces the scope for observing possible instances. However, retention of source-language verb morphology is sometimes found, in this case of the Latin verb form *significat* in a French-dominant Anglo-Norman text from the 12th c.:

(4) Ço significat David la   u   il   dit...   *Proverbes Salomon* 40
    This means   D.   there where he says
    'This is what D. means by saying...'

Clear cases where source-language morphology is retained, producing one-word switches, thus do seem to have existed in medieval texts written in England.

Whilst Thomason (2001) claimed that CS provides a route by which new words enter a language from a variety with which it is in contact, she preferred not to draw a sharp distinction between borrowing and code-switching. She saw the situation instead as a cline: beginning with occasional uses as switches into the other language, the non-native form becomes more and more commonly used until it ends up as a bona fide word in the borrowing language.

Poplack (1988), however, took a different position to Thomason (2001), claiming that individual words are borrowed more or less immediately, without needing to be acclimatized to the recipient language through being used in CS. In a later study, Poplack & Dion (2012) adopted a diachronic perspective, investigating English-origin material used in Canadian French over a period of two to three generations. The vast majority of such elements in the recordings they analysed were single words. They found only a very few nonce uses (hapaxes), which 'require active recourse to the other language': the others were already 'established... in the recipient-language lexicon' (Poplack & Dion 2012: 308). Since established loanwords can be used and understood with little or no knowledge of the other language, they do not involve CS. Importantly, the authors found no sign that English words not established in Canadian French at the point of use would become established in Canadian French later. If Poplack & Dion's modern findings are typical, intra-sentential CS is not a major avenue by which foreign words enter the language, contrary to Thomason (2003), and other-language origin items in vernacular medieval texts should best be handled as having entered the recipient language via immediate borrowing, not by code-switching.

Fortunately, some criteria that are applicable to historical data have been proposed for drawing the loan/code-switch distinction in contemporary contexts. Criteria for contemporary code-switching versus borrowing usually turn on whether an etymologically 'other-language' item has been integrated into the dominant language of a discourse. In spoken discourse in contemporary settings, phonology is involved, but

for historical contexts this resource is effectively unavailable. Weinreich (1953), Poplack (1988) and more recent researchers have however seen morphosyntactic integration into the target language as serving to identify a loan rather than a code-switch, whereas retention of source language morphology would indicate a switch. The absence of grammatical marking on vernacular words in (1)a-b and (1)e-f, in grammatical contexts where Latin required grammatical inflections, allows them to be called unintegrated, and thus to treat at least these cases as CS. Similarly, morphological integration fails to take place when a source-language verb is used bare, without source-language inflections (or those of the target language). For example, Matras (2009) notes the use of French-origin verbs in root (uninflected) form in Maghrebi Arabic, before they eventually become assimilated as loans and take Arabic inflections.

In Poplack's approach, syntax provides a further criterion for distinguishing CS and borrowing. The distribution of a lexeme with non-native etymology occurring in native-language contexts is analysed to see whether it behaves according to the rules of the native language, or as it would behave in the non-native language. In nominal phrases this allows the following distinction to be drawn between using an item in CS and using it as a loan (Poplack & Meechan 1995: 221, adapted):

(5) 'If lone [language A]-origin nouns in otherwise [language B] discourse show the detailed patterns of noun modifier usage of monolingual [language B] nouns, but none of the patterns of language A nouns in monolingual [language A] discourse, the interpretation must be that their structure is that of [language B], and not that of [language A], regardless of the etymology of the noun.'[2]

The following example from Poplack et al. (2015: 178) illustrates the point:

(6) ɛʃnyya ha   l-   bac?   (Recording 012/44)
    what   DEM DEF.ART   diploma
    'What's this diploma?'

Here, the French-origin noun *bac* ('baccalauréat, diploma') is used with the Arabic demonstrative modifier *ha* and definite article *l-*, in accordance with the Noun Phrase structure of Arabic, in which a demonstrative requires an accompanying definite article. Such co-occurrence, however, is ungrammatical in French. The context therefore complies with the grammar of the Recipient language (Arabic), not of the Source language (French). Poplack and her co-workers take this to indicate a loan, rather than CS. In the following example, however, the Arabic possessive determiner item *dyalu* ('his/its own') appears postnominally, conflicting with the dominant language of the utterance (French), where determiner elements must stand in pre-head position:

(7) Chaque type de jeu   a   une grande importance dyalu.   (Aabi 1999: 17)
    Each   type of game has a   big   importance its

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[2] Mutatis mutandis, the same approach can be followed with other content word classes, especially verbs and adjectives, as was done for the analyses in the present research.

'Each game has its own importance'

The other-language item, *dyalu*, is here not integrated into French morpho-syntax, so (4) is a case of CS, in Poplack et al.'s terms: French does not allow a post-nominal determiner, but Arabic does, so the syntax of the two languages conflict. In (3), however, the pre-head position of the definite article matches in the two languages, so there is no conflict and the noun *bac* is integrated. Not all switch sites involve a conflict between the grammatical rules of the two languages, but those that do, referred to as 'conflict sites', provide a convenient means of distinguishing CS from immediate borrowing.

3. The study: methodology

In this study we apply the approach outlined above to later medieval data, in order to clarify the status of lone other-language items (hencforth LOLIs) appearing in running text. Two kinds of analysis are pursued in this research. First, how far is code-switching a valid account of LOLI phenomena? Secondly, how does the data analysed illuminate routes by which French-origin words entered the English language?

Certain challenges need first to be acknowledged. As regards the morphological distributional criterion, noun inflection was largely uninformative, as the plural suffix morpheme *-s* was generally the same in the two languages. Focusing therefore on inflections on verbs including French in their etymology, we looked at their first attestations in MED, to see if these already offered positive evidence of integration if suitably inflected, or if uninflected where inflections should have been supplied, of non-integration.

The position taken by some researchers, e.g. Thomason (2003), is that CS and borrowing are on a cline: words may have entered a language such as Middle English (ME) initially as CS, but as they became increasingly used by ME speakers, their status gradually changed to that of loan-words. Supposing LOLIs in (1) to have been early occurrences of these items in English, which later became used regularly, they would stand closer to the code-switching end of the cline than to borrowing. On the other hand, supposing with Poplack (1988) that other-language items do not go through a process of gradual acclimatization via CS, but would have been borrowed into the recipient language from the start, taking on its morphosyntactic character, the vernacular examples (1)c-f should be seen as loans, the other-language items in Latin (1a-b), which do not abide by Latin morphosyntactic properties, probably as instances of CS.

Medieval-language dictionaries compiled by modern researchers were consulted to see if the other-language item in question occurs elsewhere in texts of the period, or if it is a hapax legomenon. If the latter, CS or failed loan can be envisaged. As regards (1e-f), *dever* meaning 'duty' (in various spellings) was used in a formal literary register of English until the 19th century, and *governail* in the sense of 'governance' until the 16th century. These items cannot be treated as hapaxes, so they may have been borrowed into English. Grammatical considerations will also be brought to bear: as suggested above for 1(a-b), the words in question appear morphologically not to belong to the language of their immediate context, Latin, favouring a CS interpretation. In principle, where morphological integration into the dominant language of a discourse

occurs, a loan may be assumed, otherwise CS is present (see e.g. Adalar & Tagliamonte 1998). In the case of the two vernaculars, French (1c-d) and Middle English (1e-f), which were less heavily inflected than Latin, grammatical criteria may be harder to apply. Here, the items are all nouns, and noun morphology was very similar in these languages, so verbs were used for the purpose of analysing morphological integration.

The third type of analysis carried out concerned conflict sites, seeking to identify French-origin items in English-particular syntactic contexts, in a similar fashion to the approach taken by Poplack & Meechan (1995). In written texts such as those illustrated in (1), morpho-syntactic conflict sites can in principle be determined and it can at least be established whether in the extant textual record a given LOLI patterned in its host language as it did in its source language. Poplack & Meechan (1995) and Poplack & Dion (2012) conducted their research using spoken corpora, resources not available to historical linguistics researchers. Nevertheless, their analytic approach may be adapted to historical data when substantial corpora are available for both the source and the host language. Finding corpora for both the source and host languages constituted along similar lines at the same periods is difficult, if not impossible. Problems may also arise with over- and under-representation of particular genres. For example, a much-used Middle English corpus, the PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000), is an expanded version of the Middle English part of the Helsinki Corpus of English. The latter provided roughly balanced though relatively limited amounts of textual material across specified genre and content domains. The PPC ME2, however, very substantially increased the proportion of religious prose in particular, gaining greatly in size but at the expense of genre balance. Poplack's variationist methodology, with its origins in Labovian sociolinguistics, is frequency-based. Difficulties arise in transposing that approach to historical periods where frequency counts may be badly skewed thanks to under or over-representation of content lexis. Medieval French and Anglo-Norman corpora have widely differing shares of verse fiction and documentary prose. A third textbase source, the ME Compendium, which was used for the lexicological research of the MED, is substantially larger, with a very full representation of the later ME period relevant to the research questions pursued here, and was used for the syntactic analysis. It contains numerous late ME fictional texts that were not included in the Helsinki Corpus and PPCME2.

3.1 The Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England

The research questions set out above were addressed by analysing words of French origin collected in a recently completed lexicological resource named the Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England (henceforth BTh). This freely available online searchable resource consisting of Middle English and Anglo-Norman vocabulary is organised into seven domains of ocupational life, and provides a data source for researchers interested in questions relating to bi-/multilingualism in medieval Britain, especially where the focus is on the language used by more modest strata of society. The BTh allows researchers to avoid bias towards the lexis of aristocratic pursuits favoured in earlier discussions of French influence on Middle English, and base their work on more sociolinguistically representative lexical coverage, taking in as it does

the lexis of the manual and commercial occupations that more ordinary people pursued at the time (cf. Dyer 2002). It is based on the category and subcategory structure of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED), with some adjustments for the specificities of medieval daily life as the HTOED taxonomy was designed with the whole diachronic spread of the language in mind (Sylvester, Ingham & Marcus 2017). Each of the seven occupational domains can be seen as a set of practices and conceptual spaces, articulated by a conventional (linguistic) code (cf. Bourdieu's (1979) concept of 'habitus', i.e. a system of socially regulated conventions, including linguistic ones, offering individuals within a given group shared behaviours and expectations). These domains are: Building, Domestic Activities, Farming, Food Preparation, Manufacture, Trade, and Travel by Water. The practices within these occupational domains reflected some degree of input from bilingual English-French speakers, and would have been particularly receptive to French-origin lexis in domains where supervisory control, as well as the introduction of innovative wares and technologies, were exercised by higher-status French users. Within each of these domains, the vocabulary was classified again according to semantic role, e.g. agents, processes and specialized location. Working out which semantic roles applied to each domain presented a number of conceptual challenges, however. Whilst the processes, agents and locations roles are fairly straightforward, other semantic roles were specific to particular domains, and had to be tailored accordingly. For example, as noted in Ingham, Sylvester and Marcus (forthcoming, 2019), we distinguished between Instruments (of tillage etc.) and Products (crops, butter etc.) in the domain of Farming. The process of populating the semantic domains involved using the headwords of relevant categories in the HTOED as keywords. These keywords then provided the basis for reverse look-up searches of two electronic dictionary sources, the MED for English and the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND) for Anglo-Norman. Some 526 out of just over 3,000 ME headwords in MED were designated etymologically as exclusively French-origin items, and another 247 as 'French+', i.e. their etymology involved another possible source of the word, typically Latin, as well as French.

Findings were then evaluated in terms of whether a code-switching or a lexical borrowing interpretations of the uses of French-origin ME words thus obtained. Methodologically, we focused on analysing the BTh data for three factors: the presence or otherwise of morphological integration, the textual context of other-language items, and the length of attestation of individual items, using the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) for later developments in English. These will be dealt with in turn in the following sections.

4. Data analysis

4.1 Morphological integration of French-origin words into Middle English

It was hypothesised that if French-origin words were at first not fully integrated into English, and appeared as code-switches, they might have been used without appropriate inflections, or still bearing inflections of

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the source language, French. The earliest MED citations of 152 French-origin verb headword forms found in three sample domains, Building, Manufacture and Trade, were accordingly probed. Of these, 108 were inflected with one of the ME verbal endings, the plural *-en* inflection, or the *-i* or *-en* participle and infinitive inflections respectively. The remaining 44 verb items were uninflected, but in all except one case in contexts consistent with their being an imperative, infinitive, subjunctive or 1st person singular present form. The only potential exception was the form *plat*, used as the past tense of the verb *platten* ('go down flat') in:

(8) Wawain ȝaue Oriens swiche a flat, Boþe on helme and ysen hat, Þat he to grounde **plat**

Arthur & Merlin 7115. (c1300)

   'Gawain gave Oriens such a blow, both on his helmet and an iron hat, that he fell to the ground'

However, ME *plat* could be a zero-inflected past tense form, as in:

(9) Peronelle proude-herte · platte hir to þe erthe.   *P. Plowman, version A*. Passus V   (a1376)

   ' P. proud-heart dropped flat on the ground'

The morphological form of the earliest attested uses of French-derived verbs in the BTh thus gives no support to the notion that LOLIs are initially code switches, before becoming integrated.

Only first attestations were initially considered, but the result was the same when all citations in our date range were inspected. No occurrences of French-origin verbs with clearly French inflections were positively identified in the Middle English citations in our database, and the target verbs occurred in uninflected form only when in Middle English such forms were grammatically appropriate, e.g. as imperatives, infinitives in non-finite clauses, or infinitives dependent on an auxiliary, e.g. respectively:

(10) **Sethe** þam in-to a qwarte or lesse, & sythen pure it thorow a clathe or a clene streynȝour.

Thrn.Med.Bk.(Thrn)   34/13. (c1440)

   'Boil them down to a quart or less and pour it through a cloth or a clean strainer'

(11) Ferst forto gete it [metal] out of Myne, And after forto **trie** and **fyne**.

Gower CA (Frf 3)   4.2456. (a1393)

   'First to get it [metal] out of a mine and then test it and refine it'

(12) He let þoruȝ þe contreies an-quere hov muche ech Man scholde **paiȝe**.

SLeg.Becket 388 (c1300)

   'He had an enquiry made throughout the country how much each man should pay'

No cases of bare forms were found where an inflection was required on a present tense finite verb with 3rd person clause subject, or where the narrative context required a past tense form.

In fact, verb inflections in Middle English were not uniformly obligatory. By the 14th century, both the *-en* plural ending (in Midland dialects), and infinitive *-en* were becoming optional. In such cases, French-origin verbs might be thought to have shown less integration into English, since on a gradualness account of loan integration, inflections that a borrowed item need not take can be more readily omitted. It seemed worthwhile to investigate this possibility.

Results obtained were as follows. In the same sample of the three domains used above, Building, Manufacture and Trade, it was found that an *-en* inflection in either an infinitive or a plural agreement context was used with French-origin verbs 44% of the time. This compared with a figure for Old English-origin verbs of 57%. This could be interpreted as an indication that French-origin verbs showed less integration into English, but the difference is hardly a major disparity, and may well reflect the typically later occurrences of French-origin verbs, at a time when the *-en* inflection was becoming optional.

In short, no good evidence was found of a period of gradual code-switching in which French-origin verbs were initially unintegrated into the ME inflectional system, but later appeared with the requisite English morphology. English morphology was used when required, from the earliest attestations. The results obtained are consistent with the adoption, at least in writing, of other-language items into English without an extensive period in which they were used only as code-switches.

4.2. French-origin words in Latin-dominant MED citations

In this section the possibility is considered that items were used as code switches initially in Latin-dominant 'mixed-language' texts, from which they found their way into English. Sources whose dominant language is generally Latin have been shown by Wright and others to be a significant locus of code-switching between Latin, the dominant language, and the vernaculars. Latin contributes the functional grammatical words to the text, whereas some content words are in the non-dominant language, English (e.g. (1)a-b above).

Nouns with genitive *-s*, words of French+ origin, words that were non-occupational surnames and words that are only attested in glosses were excluded. On this basis, 15 items were found in mixed-language texts - this time across all occupational domains - but not in English-dominant texts. They are shown below:

table 1 about here

As an example of the candidate data obtained, the occupational domain of Manufacture contains *gauntre* from Old French *gantier* or *chantier*, defined by the MED as 'a wooden frame on which casks or the

like may be set', and *dogeon*, from Anglo-Norman *dogeon* or *digeon*, defined as 'a kind of hard wood', or possibly 'boxwood'.   These items are exemplified in:

(13)a. In ij sappelynges emptis de Gilberto Walker pro **gauntrees**. *Fabric R.Yk.Min.,* Sur.Soc.35   35. (1415)

　　　'In [respect of] two saplings bought from G.W. for gantries'

(13)b. Unum par cultellorum cum manubrio de **dugion**.　　　　　Will York in Sur.Soc.30   88. (1443)

　　　'One pair of knives with a hard-wood handle'

The Building domain contains the French-origin item *morteise*, ('mortise'or 'joint'). Domestic Activities contributed only one word, namely *furnaise,* in the sense of 'a device for boiling wort or unfermented liquor'. Although widely used elsewhere in the ordinary meaning 'furnace', this instance could be a code-switch with a specific brewing sense. Though these words did not enter English with these senses in the medieval period, to judge from surviving Middle English-dominant texts, a number of them can be found in later English, e.g. *gantry* and *mortice*.

　　　Naturally, the great majority of the source texts used by the MED were English-dominant, so the relatively low numbers of target items from Latin-dominant texts are to be expected in a study using the MED as a resource. Still, these LOLIs do appear to constitute candidates for a code-switching phase prior to integration if they subsequently became used in later English. They can be taken as medieval code-switches, but out of Latin into French, not into English. However, we know from other sources (see e.g. the studies in Schendl & Wright (eds.) 2011) that the educated class of clerks and scribes code-switched between the vernaculars of French and English. Therefore, even though all fifteen of the French-origin lexical examples in our data were found in Latin-dominant mixed language texts, it is possible that in the trilingual linguistic environment of the medieval period, material from one vernacular (i.e. French) used in a switch with Latin could have appeared in switches between that and other vernacular, i.e. in English-dominant discourse. Furthermore we know that some of the words in our data did come to be adopted in later English (e.g. in the case of *morteise,* as *mortice*). To that extent then, the view of CS as an initial phase in the adoption of other-language lexis (Thomason 2001) can be upheld.

4.3 Attested continuity of French-origin Middle English words

This section brings the focus back to Middle English. To call an other-language item a loanword tends to imply that it is in regular use in the host language. However, Poplack and Dion (2012) found other-language items in their data which after a single attested use failed to recur and thus never became established loans. From this perspective, single attestations of LOLIs could be seen as code-switches that had failed to establish themselves in the language at the time produced. It was therefore deemed worth investigating the occurrences of ME words of French origin that had only one citation, in a particular sense, from before or up

to (but not after) 1450, in the MED (accessed via the BTh). These items were taken as relevant medieval hapaxes.

A total of 82 French-origin lexemes in the BTh (excluding Latin-origin items and compounds part-formed with English) were found to be medieval hapaxes. The next methodological question to address is: are these medieval hapaxes code-switches or loans? The 82 lexical items were categorized into three categories:

1) form does not recur post-1450 according to the OED

2) form recurs post-1450 according to the OED, but with different sense

3) both form and sense recur post-1450 according to the OED

If the form of these medieval hapaxes does not recur later on in the language, they are classed as potential code switches. If their form recurs with a different sense, or if both form and sense recur, which is unlikely but possible, this would be consistent with initial CS, followed later by the establishment of such items as loanwords. As can been seen from table 2 below, which details exclusively French-origin Middle English hapaxes in the BTh by semantic domain, the 82 medieval hapaxes are distributed across the seven domains roughly in proportion to their size, with Manufacture having the most and Domestic activities the fewest. Furthermore, the majority of the hapaxes fall into category 1 listed above, i.e. 'form does not recur', which suggests they were potentially code-switches.

 table 2 about here

The great majority of these hapaxes (67/82), occurred in Middle English texts, the rest in the MED's Latin sources. Leaving aside the latter for now, most were uninflected nouns, e.g. the underlined items in:

(14) All froytez foddenid was þat floreschede in erthe, Faire frithed in <u>frawnke</u> appon

tha free bowes.   *Morte Arth*.(1) c1440(?a1400) [s.v. *franke* 'enclosure']

'All fruit was nourished that flourished on earth, well protected in a pen on the open boughs'

(15) Of eche <u>garbe</u> of bras seld bye hym self.   *Ipswich Domesday(2)* (c1436) [s.v. *garbe* 'bundle']

'Of each bundle of brass that he himself sold'

(16) The thrid purgacion is of vynes and of trees, that is ymaad by þe sarcler, a knyf, or a sawe, in keruynge

   of the braunches of the vyne.   *12 PTrib*.(3) 52/16 (a1450) [s.v. *sarcler* 'secateur']

    'The 3rd purging is of vines and trees, made by a secateur, a knife, or saw, by carving the vine branch

    es'.

(17) A skyn, wrouht be good curray.   *Lydg. FP* 2.1997 (?a1439) [s.v. *currei* 'leatherwork']

     'A hide skilfully worked'

Sometimes the plural noun form was used, but in all cases this was identical with the morphology of French,

so no conclusion can be drawn, e.g.:

(18) Þe kyng..shipped his folk in grete caynars, Jn dromons and in shippes lumbars.

                              KAlex. 6052   c1400(?a1300) [s.v. *caynart* 'type of boat']

   'The King shipped his people in great 'caynarts' in dromonds and lombard ships'

(19) That noon of hem…shold do or medle him of eny manere Correctage or Brocage, nor be mene of eny

   manere contract, eschaunge or eny bargeyn make, or do to be made, bitwix Merchaunt and Merchaunt...

                              RParl. 5.56a (1442) [s.v. *correctage* 'brokerage']

   'That none of the should do or become involved with any kind of 'corectage' or brokerage, or by means

   of any kind of contract exchange or arrangement make or cause to be made between one merchant and

   another...'

A few French-origin verbs occurred, but these were always either suitably inflected for English, or left

uninflected where appropriate, e.g.:

(20) He made brugges & causes, Heye stretes for comun passage; Brugges ouer watres dide he stage.

                      *Mannyng Chron.Pt.1 3*090 a1450(a1338) [s.v. *stage* 'construct']

   'He made bridges and causeways, high streets for general traffic; he had bridges erected over waterways'

(21) A porch bilt of square stonys, Ful myghtely enarched envyroun.

                      Lydg. ST 1253   (a1450, ?c1421) [s.v. *enarch* 'make an arch']

   'A porch built of square stones. Very strongly enarched roundabout'

These items occurred in a mix of literary and non-literary ME texts, with no clear tendency to prefer either.

Overall therefore, our investigation of French-origin ME hapaxes gives a similar picture to the investigation

of textual context code-switches. The evidence therefore favours an immediate borrowing explanation of the

cases discussed here, much as Poplack et al. found for modern times.

        Some French-origin words in the BTh database do favour a code-switching interpretation, but they

occur in Latin-dominant texts, without Latin inflections, e.g. the underlined items in:

(22) Sciatis quod..concessimus..Johanni Fastolf… pro expeditione operationum suarum… duas naves

vocatas <u>playtes</u>… habere & occupare.   *Rymer's Foedera* (1709-10)11.44 (1443)

  'Know that… we have authorised… J.F, to expedite his operations…, to have and use two ships

   called playtes'

(23) … ij <u>colerys,</u> cum una sella et <u>cruper</u>, ad unum currum pertinentibus

  '… two collars, with a saddle and horse's hindquarters cover, relating to a wagon'

         Doc.Coldingham in Sur.Soc.12p.xlviii (1365)

(24) … iiij <u>haunsers</u> pro <u>seyntours</u> ponderis inter se iii C j quarterii.   *For.Acc.(PRO) 3 Hen.VII* (1420)

  '… four hawsers for the mooring girdles, weighing all together 3¼ hundredweight'

The forms *playtes, colerys, cruper* and *seyntours* in (22)-(24) clearly do not belong to the dominant language of the text, suggesting an interpretation in terms of CS. Indeed, *playtes* in (22) is flagged such by the use of *vocatas playtes* ('called plates'). The switches here, though, do not involve native-origin items, so it will not be claimed here that they directly show a contact influence process taking French words into the English language.

4.4 Syntactic integration

As described above, the online textbase of the MED, known as the ME Compendium, was used to establish whether French-origin nouns in the BTh have a similar distributional profile to that of native lexemes that are conceptually related in terms of their status in the hierarchies created by the HTOED e.g. for types of boat, or instruments/devices used in farming or manufacture. As will be recalled from the discussion in section 2, an immediate borrowing rather than a code-switching interpretation is proposed by Poplack and her co-authors in cases of morphosyntactic 'conflict sites', i.e. points in the structure of a sentence where the grammars of the two languages in contact diverge. Where we find a LOLI complying, not with the grammar of its source language, but with that of the linguistic context in the utterance, this item can plausibly be taken as having been borrowed. Conflict sites with respect to the grammars of Old French and Middle English Noun phrases were accordingly analysed in order to investigate the behaviour of French-origin nouns in such contexts in running ME text. To obtain more data, target French-origin lexemes were searched for in the whole MED textbase, rather than just among MED citations. Three suitable contexts were identified, all involving a sequence where within a Noun Phrase a non-head noun precedes the head noun. In the first, the non-head noun bears a genitive inflection, e.g. *Cadwalenes* in:

(25) Swiðe heo gunnen dreden of Cadwalanes deden.   *Lay. Brut* (Clg A.9)   31165

  'They started to fear C.'s deeds greatly'

Old French did not permit this structure, instead using postmodification by *de* + NP, e.g.:

(26) Li rois sire Edward avisez estoit/Des gestes des Engleis.   *Langtoft* 459.16

   'The Lord king Edward was informed of the deeds of the English'

In the second case, a non-head noun modifies the head noun, as with *hous dore* in:

(27) He syttez... byfore his hous dore, under an oke grene.   *Cleneness* 602

   'He sits in front of his house door, under a green oak'

This was likewise not a possible structure in French, where again a postmodifying PP was used to express the element corresponding to the English non-head noun, e.g.:

(28) Prie Peres Stonham que vous luy pleise graunter la gard de touz les terres et tenementes queux furent a

   Maistre de la mesoun.   *Kingscouncil* 30 (1392)

   'P. S. requests you to please grant him the keeping of all the lands and tenements which belonged to the

   master of the house'

The third conflict site concerns deverbal compounds, where the noun corresponding to the object of the root verb precedes the deverbal nominal, e.g. *Swerde berer* in:

(29) Item, payd to the Swerde berer for ij yere iij s. iiij d.

                    Medieval records of a London city church, 1479-1481.

   'Item, paid to the sword-bearer for two years 3s 4d'

Again, this configuration was impossible in Old French, where the alternative structure involved a postmodifying *de*-PP, illustrated by: .

(30) Et vous mandoms que meisme la note facez translater en Latyn, ... & liverer as porteurs de ces lettres.

                    Foedera 1, 1007 (1307)

   'And we order you to have the same note translated into Latin ... and delivered to the bearers of these

   letters.'

We analysed the distribution of French-origin items to see whether they occurred in conflict sites and complied with the native grammar. French-origin nouns featuring in the BTh and denoting occupational agents were targeted. The twelve agent nouns *carpenter, draper, fletcher, forrester, gardiner, grocer, glazier, spicer, potter, mercer, merchant, mason* fitted these requirements, having animate human

denotation, and thus being able to stand as possessor nouns in genitive NP structures such as (25) above. Of these twelve items, seven were found as the possessor noun in nominals with a possessive genitive:

(31) carpenterys wyf, draperys shopis, forsters hous, marchauntes tale, masons hire, potters howse, glasieres craft

Genitive-inflected nouns such as *carpenterys, draperys* etc. cannot be seen as short stretches of CS into French.

Next, a search was conducted for French-origin items that were either locations to which some property could be attributed, or artifacts of which a part could be named; these semantic relations are commonly involved in Noun-Noun compounds, such as *garden gate* and *door handle* respectively. The following twelve French-origin items of these types in the Location and Material sections of the BTh (spelling modernised) were identified, and were analysed for whether they occurred as noun premodifiers: *grange, stable, dairy, staple, gaol, port, castle, garden, trestle, plank, scaffold, bar.* The following occurrences of these items as compound non-heads were noted:

(32) barr hokes, schaffold nail, planche bord, trestell hede, garden dorre, graunge place, staple court, stable dore, gaol hall, castel walle

All the items chosen from the BTh thus appeared in the target construction, in which CS is excluded. Finally, French-origin nouns used as the non-head of a deverbal compound were searched for in the ME Compendium, by using as probes the Modern English words *bearer, maker, bearing* and *making* in various attested medieval spellings. These four items had already been noted observationally as headwords in such compounds, cf. (26). Non-head items of French origin modifying these forms were then identified. The following items featuring a French-origin non-head word were obtained:

(33) fruit berere, fruyt making, candel berynge, parchemyn makere

In all three - site types, then, a French-origin noun appeared in a structural position not admitted by French syntax. In these critical contexts, CS must be rejected; the grammar of the NPs in which the items appeared must have been English, or else grammatical conflict incompatible with CS would have arisen. Thus by the time of the mainly 14th- and early 15th-century data studied, the French-origin lexemes targeted here were loans, allowing them to be integrated into native grammatical structures.

5. Discussion and evaluation of findings

Contexts for French-origin lexemes have been analysed. It was considered possible that after their initial use their integration into medieval English would have been delayed. This could have taken the form of unimflected verb use and avoidance of conflict sites. It was also envisaged that a borrowed item might initially show up as a medieval-period hapax, its hapax status indicating that it was not established in English, and then have become established in English. Its initial use could then be considered as a potential code-switch.

The results of this enquiry into the nature of LOLIs in the medieval written record generally do not support a gradualist scenario. By the 14th century, as soon as English-dominant texts become plentiful, French-origin lexis appears to have been fully integrated into English, on the basis of the morphosyntactic criteria adopted, i.e. verbal inflections, and the positioning of nouns within nominal structures. There is some evidence, however, of French-origin lexemes appearing only in Latin-dominant sources for a while, then later becoming adopted in English. A potential explanation of this outcome is that Latin-dominant documentary texts were written by and often for members of professional multilingual speech communities such as lawyers and administrative clerks, whereas English-dominant texts containing French-origin lexemes were most likely written for a largely monolingual readership. Texts such as medieval English romances, which contributed very substantially to the ME Compendium textbase, were often translated from the original French for lay audiences assumed to have known only English. The fact that potential code switches out of Latin into French were found to exist only in non-literary, documentary texts highlights the need to take into account the nature of speaker communities forming the complex multilingual contact situation in England during the medieval period. For instance, *cuverlyt* in example (6)b is taken from a legal document relating to the work of executors following a death. Members of certain speech communities, especially professional ones such as the legal profession, would normally have been conversant with French, Latin and English. These potential switches into French from Latin would not have been unexpected on the part of its members.   The foregoing discussion should make it clear that by the later medieval period the immediate post-Conquest sociolinguistic landscape of ethnically distinct 'English-speaking' and 'French-speaking' communities, familiar from many textbook accounts, no longer held sway. Furthermore, knowledge of French should by this time not be attributed principally to aristocratic individuals, but was a property of members of educated classes including those in various professional practices. The expansion of trade and economic specialisations (Dyer 2002), as well as of the school system (Orme 1973), may have favoured a diffusion of French and loanwords taken from it into English, to an extent not feasible previously. Certainly, the dynamic character of the sociolinguistic setting in the post-Conquest centuries needs to be recognised in order for a full appreciation of the impact of French in this period to be appreciated.

The analysis of the textual evidence presented above has inevitably left out of account the spoken practices in the speech communities, bilingual or otherwise, to which their authors and audiences belonged. The lack of spoken language data is a well-known limitation on all studies seeking to clarify the language practices and abilities of speaker communities in past eras, and is not specific to investigations of historical code-switching. It can be assumed that communities of practice responsible for documenting professional and occupational life in the medieval period, with their multilingual skills (Wright 2002, Trotter 2011), were

well able to allow lexis to percolate from language to another, and may well have initiated much of the process of borrowing French-origin lexis via oral CS. What is available for studying this issue, however, is inevitably only the written record, where no resistance to the incorporation of French-origin items into the lexis of English can be discerned in the cases we have analysed. They offer no reason to treat these LOLIs as one-word code-switches. There is perhaps a practical reason for the avoidance of code-switching in ME texts: for the audiences of the English-dominant texts to have understood French-origin lexis in texts addressed to them would have required a process of diffusion of such items in the speech community to have taken place already before the composition and delivery of those texts. We have no direct access to how that process of diffusion may have taken place. However, later medieval speech communities in England should not be seen as either fully proficient in French or as entirely lacking knowledge of the language: active use of French-origin lexis on the part of audience members would not have been required for them to follow what they heard or read. We would like to suggest that the audiences of many of the English-dominant texts collected in the ME Compendium and therefore used in the study, especially romances and the like, possessed a degree of passive knowledge of French sufficient to allow them to identify the intended meanings of French-origin lexis used by authors composing works in Middle English. Thus writers could have drawn on a French word and use it in an English text, counting on the comprehension of their audience. This would have been a case of immediate borrowing requiring no prior process of code-switching to have taken place.

6. Conclusion

In this study, French-origin lexemes retrieved from the BTh have been analysed to explore hypotheses concerning their occurrence as LOLIs in Middle English- and Latin-dominant texts. They have been analysed for whether their uses should most plausibly be seen as loans or as code-switches, on criteria conventionally applied in the contemporary language contact literature. Applying these criteria generally gave results consistent with borrowing, rather than with CS, in English-dominant texts: no evidence pointed towards LOLIs having been treated as non-English items. In Latin-dominant documentary texts discussed by Wright and others in the context of medieval multilingualism, CS between French lexemes and Latin was identified, but provided no support for CS as a route for French lexemes to have entered Middle English, as these were not English texts. LOLIs that were hapaxes in the medieval period were of particular interest, in that they could be seen as lexemes borrowed from French that initially appeared as CS, but then established themselves as loans, in line with the sequential approach of Thomason (2001). It was found that such medieval hapax terms were often taken up subsequently in English, though sometimes they were not, probably depending to some extent on whether professional or lay speech communities were involved. Items that were not adopted later attest to what must have been the fate of many such hapaxes in the medieval period, as in modern periods (cf. Poplack & Dion 2012). The very few LOLIs used as medieval hapaxes and not recurring in later English could thus conceivably be seen as one-word code-switches. Even here,

however, an alternative interpretation as nonce borrowings cannot be excluded. Finally, French-origin items in conflict sites for code-switching were investigated, showing common use in these contexts and undoubtedly indicating borrowing by the time addressed here. On balance, then, the borrowing approach of Poplack & Dion (2012), Poplack et al. (2015), which has contemporary justification, appears to be a plausible account also of the medieval data surveyed in this research.

Our findings imply, in sum, that in discussion of medieval multilingual LOLI phenomena a CS interpretation of single-word items of foreign origin in Middle English texts is dispreferred by comparison with an interpretation in terms of borrowing. That is not, of course, to deny that stretches of CS in the form of phrases are a feature of medieval discourse. However, it appears that medieval LOLIs do not attest to code-switching practices, but should more plausibly be handled as a matter of immediate borrowing, as is claimed for recent times. Using what is known of modern-day language contact may thus help us to understand the ways in which linguistic change in contact conditions operated in earlier centuries too.

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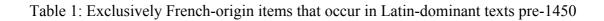Pennsylvania, Department of Linguistics.

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Table 1: Exclusively French-origin items that occur in Latin-dominant texts pre-1450

Semantic Domain	Number of French-origin items that occur only in Latin dominant texts pre-1450
Travel by Water	3
Farming	3
Food Prep	2
Building	1
Manufacture	2
Domestic Activities	1
Trade	3
Total	15

1
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Table 2: Exclusively French-origin Middle English hapaxes in the

Bilingual Thesaurus, by semantic domain

Semantic Domain	Form does not recur	Form recurs, but with different sense	Both form and sense recur
Travel by Water	9	1	0
Farming	14	1	1
Food Prep	8	0	0
Manufacture	13	3	1
Building	12	2	0
Domestic Activities	6	0	0

Trade	9	2	0
TOTAL	71	9	2