

H. M. CHADWICK MEMORIAL LECTURES 28

ANTHONY HARVEY AND PHILIP DURKIN

SPOKEN THROUGH: HOW SCHOLARLY
DICTIONARIES MEDIATE THE PAST



DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Hector Munro Chadwick (1870–1947) was Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge from 1912 to 1941. Through the immense range of his scholarly publications, and through the vigorous enthusiasm which he brought to all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies — philological and literary, historical and archaeological — he helped to define the field and to give it the interdisciplinary orientation which characterizes it still. The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, which owes its existence and its own interdisciplinary outlook to H. M. Chadwick, has wished to commemorate his enduring contribution to Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic studies by establishing an annual series of lectures in his name.

Spoken Through: How Scholarly Dictionaries Mediate the Past

© Anthony Harvey and Philip Durkin

First published 2018 by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP.

ISBN 978-1-909106-18-5

ISSN 0962-0702

Set in Times New Roman by Dr Richard Dance, Prof. Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Lisa Gold, University of Cambridge

Printed by the Reprographics Centre, University of Cambridge

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Part One

Anthony Harvey, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic sources*

It is an enormous privilege to have been invited to give this year's address in honour of Hector Munro Chadwick, in many ways the founder of what has become today's illustrious Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic. Incredibly knowledgeable, extremely imaginative, formidably determined, and of course genially eccentric, Chadwick was just the right person to get such a venture off the ground in Cambridge, at least in the early twentieth century. As for scholarship, the combination of his own erudition with that of the comparably impressive Nora Kershaw meant that, between them, this husband and wife team already fairly well spanned the range of disciplines that the Department covers today — in principle, all aspects of the cultural life of these islands between when the Romans left Britain and when the Normans came, plus a bit. Of course, various sub-fields have been added to the remit since then, such as manuscript studies; but on the other hand 'ASNaC' is now institutionally separated from archaeology, which Chadwick would probably have seen as central. Indeed, from a wonderful composite portrait of him compiled and published in 2015,¹ one gets the impression that Chadwick was very much an 'artefacts man', at least in his enthusiasms. Admittedly, the approach he took to artefacts could be somewhat direct: he trained his students in archaeology by getting them to jump up and down on the edge of an excavation until part of it gave way, and then searched through the spoil for any bits of pottery that had thus become broken off or otherwise dislodged; he would then take these to the museum, where there was a man specially charged with putting the fragments back together again!² And Chadwick was certainly 'a quite brilliant philologist' in the technical sense,³ as well as having what has rightly enough been described as a 'pentecostal knowledge of

¹ *H. M. Chadwick and the Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge*, ed. M. Lapidge as *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 69/70 (Aberystwyth, 2015).

² See T. C. Lethbridge, *The Ivory Tower*, ed. M. Lethbridge (Cambridge, 1988), p. 16, quoted in M. Lapidge, 'Appendix III', in *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, pp. 242–53 (p. 246).

³ R. Dance, 'H. M. Chadwick and Old English', in *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 83–97 (p. 83).

tongues’;⁴ also he did assist in lexicographical work for a time.⁵ On the other hand the only reference I have found to dictionaries actually in the Chadwick house was in their capacity as a physical prop to support the screen on which Hector Munro and Nora Kershaw were projecting slides of the artefacts;⁶ and this is somehow symbolic. Chadwick was a man ahead of his time in many ways, but still inevitably part of it.

In Humanities research as conducted in the early twentieth-century anglophone world you investigated the past by looking directly at artefacts, with little mediation; and you read about the past by reading texts, both secondary and, crucially, the primary ones, in the original languages. You read what the texts said, and evaluated that: was it poetry, or legend, or history? If the latter, who had written it? And why? And what spin were they putting on it? In participating in (indeed in his championing of) scholarship along these lines, Chadwick saw and engaged with the writings of the past as further artefacts of the civilizations that had produced them. However, as regards lexical matters he was perhaps less of a ‘words man’ when it came to those aspects of the discourse that were outside the consciousness, control and artistry of the author. Chadwick appreciated how his medieval authors used the words they had; but what alternative words were available to them, in the particular language in question, at that time and place, and with that meaning? If a given word that the author did use had a long pedigree in the language, how had it evolved semantically so as to convey the very meaning that the author wanted, at the time that he wanted it? Or if the word had been coined from scratch at some point, what was the semantic need that it was felt to address, and why did the coining assume the shape that it did? Alternatively, if the word had been borrowed from another language, in what societal context had that taken place, and how had it been transmitted down to the author in question? Such questions have largely come to the fore since Chadwick’s time.

The literate past comes to us in the form of words, but though these words seem to be speaking directly to the reader and indeed were intended to do so, the fact is that each of them is so much part of a complex semantic ecology that varied with time, location, place in society, and genre in literature that even the author responsible for deploying them could seldom be more than dimly aware of the various factors involved. In short, the words in a medieval text are in just as much need of expert analysis, quite apart from any necessary translation, as were the

⁴ J. M. de Navarro, ‘Hector Munro Chadwick, 1870–1947’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 33 (1947), 323, quoted in M. Lapidge, ‘Hector Munro Chadwick’, in *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, pp. 59–82 (p. 61).

⁵ Chadwick’s 1912 application for the Elrington and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon notes that he had helped his predecessor in the Chair, Walter W. Skeat, in the revision of *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (presumably for the new edition published by the latter at Oxford in 1901; see *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 233–4).

⁶ See *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, ed. Lapidge, p. 251, quoting the reminiscences of G. Daniel, *Some Small Harvest* (London, 1986), pp. 82–5.

shards of pottery collected by Chadwick's students, quite apart from the need for these to be reassembled by the man in the museum. At this point, enter the scholarly dictionary! Today's lecture is about how such a dictionary mediates the past to us — or rather (since lexicographical work worthy of the name wishes to perform this task while obtruding its own presence on the process as little as possible), it is about the manner in which the dictionary seeks to enable the past to speak to us as clearly as it can: channelling, amplifying and clarifying, but attempting never to distort. So, how does a dictionary effectively get 'spoken through' in this way?

The beginning of an answer would be to point out that, at the crassest and most obvious level, a dictionary of a language that we do not know mediates that foreign or historical language to us by translating its words. Indeed, the purpose of dictionaries is usually understood as being to give the meaning of individual items of vocabulary; and with pocket dictionaries it is fairly well the sole purpose. But if one may cite the notes of the great Anglo-Latin dictionary project that was recently brought to heroic completion in Oxford after a hundred years' work,⁷ the mission of scholarly, so-called 'historical' dictionaries is 'to provide an authoritative, documented guide to the meaning *and usage* of individual words'.⁸ Giving a guide to usage means showing which texts have used the words, in what periods and where. If a basic phrasebook-type dictionary is like an old-fashioned private collector's museum, in which the separate artefacts are at best simply displayed and labelled without any context, so the scholarly dictionary is like a professional modern educational and interpretative museum. Such a museum will specify the find-site, date, material, and archaeological context of each artefact, while relating it to the wider cultural background from which it comes, analysing it in terms of its development and comparing it with relevant other artefacts. In the same way the dictionary will analyse each word etymologically, chronologically, geographically, comparatively, and in terms of its field of application. All this information is then compacted into the relevant entry with algebraic precision, and these days — whatever the language involved, provided it is an alphabetically written one — the result will be presented in a standard format typically showing the headword in bold type, an etymology in square brackets, and then the meaning or meanings in the reader's language. Under each definition, a carefully chosen range of illustrative examples found in the relevant corpus of the language is then cited, in chronological order and with coordinates

⁷ The decades of preparation culminated in the publication, under the title *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS), of seventeen fascicules between 1975 and 2013, with a London imprint; initially under the editorship of R. E. Latham, the great bulk of the work was overseen by D. R. Howlett, with R. K. Ashdowne assuming overall responsibility for the final two fascicules.

⁸ Unpublished 'Notes for the Guidance of Editors [of DMLBS]' (2nd version, September 1986), 2 (emphasis supplied).

that show whence in the texts that make up the corpus the examples of the lexeme in question have been drawn. Plenty of examples of this layout are to be found throughout the remainder of this lecture; the ones in the first part of it are drawn from work on the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources (DMLCS),⁹ whereas the second part of the talk is illustrated from the lexicography of the English language of various periods. In principle, though, what we have to say is applicable to dictionaries of any language — including those that ASNaC members themselves have become involved in developing over the last few years.¹⁰

To give a bit of background to the DMLCS project, then: it takes its place as one of a family of medieval Latin dictionary enterprises being conducted across Europe under a plan originally mooted by the Union académique internationale (UAI) as long ago as 1913. There are about sixteen of these ventures; years or even decades of work have already gone into most of them, and a few are now complete.¹¹ Each of these enterprises has as its mission the detailed scientific analysis and interpretation of the Latin written within a particular geographical area. In the case of DMLCS, whose domain was determined in 1980, the relevant area consists of the territories that were Celtic-speaking in the early Middle Ages (Ireland, the former Roman Britain, Brittany, Scotland, and the Isle of Man), as well as the monasteries that had been founded by Irish pilgrims as they travelled across much of the Continent. The work is carried out under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin. The other projects are likewise mostly conducted under the oversight of national or quasi-national academies: thus DMLBS was sponsored by the British Academy; the Bavarian Academy of Sciences is responsible for the famous *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, covering the medieval Latin of the German-speaking lands;¹² the respective academies of Catalonia and of some of the other autonomous communities in Spain are each conducting lexicographical work on the Latin of their areas;¹³ territorial dictionaries of

⁹ The elements of this dictionary published to date are A. Harvey and J. Power, *The Non-Classical Lexicon of Celtic Latinity*, vol. 1: *Letters A–H* (Turnhout, 2005), and A. Harvey and A. Malthouse, *The Non-Classical Lexicon of Celtic Latinity*, Supplement: *Letters A–H*, available on line since 2016 for downloading as <http://journals.eecs.qub.ac.uk/dmlcs/supplmnt.pdf>.

¹⁰ Professor Máire Ní Mhaonaigh is Co-Investigator of the latest phase of eDIL (website at <http://edil.qub.ac.uk>), a project to update and render electronically searchable the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language* which, 'based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials' (as its subtitle states), was prepared by a succession of editors and originally published in Dublin in fascicules between 1913 and 1976; while Dr Richard Dance is Principal Investigator of the Gersum project, studying the Scandinavian influence on English vocabulary (website at <http://www.gersum.org>).

¹¹ For details see below and nn. 12–15.

¹² This work has been appearing in fascicules from Munich under a series of editors since 1967; by 2017 publication had reached words beginning *in-*.

¹³ The first volume (letters *A* to *D*) of a *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Cataloniae* appeared from Barcelona in 1985 under the directorship of the late Joan Bastardas Parera (oversight has

medieval Latin have long been under way in Prague and Cracow under the auspices of the Czech and Polish Academies of Sciences;¹⁴ Latin lexicons have been completed for their areas by the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters and by a consortium of academies of the former Yugoslavia,¹⁵ and so on. In a mosaic-like way, these projects between them cover nearly all the territory in which Latin was used in the Middle Ages, thus providing a key to understanding the thousand years of western European history locked up in the documents that were penned in those times.

It is around now in an exposition like this that one often encounters the question ‘Why do we need all these different Latin dictionaries? Surely Latin, of all languages, has been sufficiently studied and codified over the centuries; and every Humanities scholar is aware of the large, definitive dictionaries of it that have been prepared, to modern academic standards, for readers of most of the languages that are used for scholarship today — the *Oxford Latin Dictionary (OLD)* for the English-speaking world, for example.’¹⁶ And indeed H. M. Chadwick himself, though personally an expert Latinist, saw no reason for the language to be studied in the medieval context.¹⁷ But the answer is that the big, well-known Latin dictionaries are at least mainly lexicons of the Classical language, that of the Roman empire and antiquity; *OLD* itself, for example, covers few texts from after the year 200 AD. And no language ever stands still! An argument that has proved useful in illustrating the significance of this runs as follows. Imagine you are an intelligent and long-lived yew tree, germinating in the year 250 and growing for over a millennium and a half in a continually populated centre of literate culture in, say, Spain, or Italy, or France. At first the vocabulary you hear spoken by the educated human adults conversing around you is fairly well covered by a standard dictionary of Latin of the sort exemplified by

since passed to Pere J. Quetglas Nicolau) while, for Castille and León, a *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Castellae et Legionis* is under way; this is now directed by Estrella Pérez Rodríguez, and builds upon an initial volume (ed. M. Pérez González and published in Turnhout in 2010) that dealt with material from León alone.

¹⁴ These are, respectively, the *Latinitatis Medii Aevi Lexicon Bohemorum*, of which publication commenced in 1980 and by 2016 had reached the end of the letter *M*, and the *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, in publication since 1953 and now stretching as far as the letter *S*. Many editors have been involved in each case.

¹⁵ The *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Sueciae* was published in Stockholm between 1968 (*A–attinentiae*) and 2002 (*sabaterius–Zundensis*), with a Supplementum for the whole alphabet following in 2002; following the death of Ulla Westerbergh (the initial editor), Eva Odelman had taken over by 1976 and saw the project to completion. The *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Jugoslaviae* began to appear from Zagreb in 1969 and reached the letter *Z*, including some thematic indexes, in 1978, the (by then late) Marko Kostrenčić being credited with the editorship of the whole.

¹⁶ *OLD* was published in fascicules between 1968 and 1982 under the editorship of P. G. W. Glare.

¹⁷ See M. Lapidge, ‘Introduction: The Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge, 1878–1999’, in *H. M. Chadwick and the Study*, pp. 1–58 (p. 34).

OLD. But by the end of your life — if you are very long-lived indeed — it is to be found codified instead in a dictionary of Spanish (if you are in Spain), or French (if you are in France), or Italian (if you are in Italy). The former language has gradually turned into the latter in each place. But what about the thousand-plus years' gap between the dictionaries? People have neither stopped talking nor writing during that time; and millions of words of the texts so written have in fact survived down to today, dwarfing the Classical output.¹⁸ Of those words, many were new developments — hence the need for the lexicographical study of medieval Latin in general. But also, Spanish, French and Italian are now foreign languages to each other. This shows how Latin usage diverged geographically during that millennium — hence the need for the different, territorially based medieval Latin dictionaries in the European scheme, to trace the written dialects as they drew apart. Some, like those being compiled in Spain, are like the yew tree, in that they track the seamless development of their local vernaculars from something very like Classical Latin down to something approaching the modern Romance tongues of their various areas. Others, like the Royal Irish Academy's project, deal with a Latin that may never have been the everyday tongue of the regions they cover,¹⁹ but which nevertheless was in many ways *the* language in which the local medieval civilization enshrined itself for written transmission to posterity. The sixteen dictionaries excavate those shrines and go on, as it were, to provide and constitute interpretative museums thereof; to continue the archaeological metaphor, each is at once a unique linguistic 'dig', a carefully curated display of words, and an authoritative centre of cultural interpretation. In respect of the territory covered by the Dublin project, and in addition to the material already published by it for letters *A* to *H*,²⁰ finalized drafts have by now been completed for non-Classical words beginning with *L*, *M*, *N*, and *Q*, as well as for the tiny letters *W*, *X*, *Y*, and *Z*. A commitment has been made to finish by the year 2023; if that is achieved, DMLCS will be in about the middle of the pack in terms of progress made by the various ventures in the European scheme.

In the meantime, every few years the editorial teams meet for a colloquium; this usually proves useful because they have so much in common. Indeed, they

¹⁸ The DMLCS corpus, that of Celtic medieval latinity, is estimated to add up to six or seven million words of continuous text; this on its own approaches half the size of the output of all of the authors of Classical Latin put together, and of course it is small beer compared with some of the continental corpora of medieval Latin.

¹⁹ This is certainly true for Ireland, never part of the Roman empire; however, recent research arising directly from DMLCS work now suggests that Latin may in fact have continued as the language of first recourse of at least some communities in post-imperial Celtic Britain for much longer than had previously been thought. See A. Harvey, 'Cambro-Romance? Celtic Britain's Counterpart to Hiberno-Latin', in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship: A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, ed. P. Moran and I. Warntjes (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 179–202, and 'Philological Considerations Set in Stone: Looking Again at the Early Medieval Inscriptions of Wales' (forthcoming).

²⁰ For the details see n. 9 above.

have a lot in common with the staff of dictionary projects generally, even when their subject matter is not Latin at all but a different language entirely; and this because of similar methodologies. In particular, it is helpful to be able to compare notes with one another when something new comes up in terms of technique, so as to avoid inefficiently reinventing the wheel. If one were to wonder in what context such ‘new things’ could come up, after all these years, the answer these days would be one word: *digitization*. All of the medieval Latin projects, as well as others, are engaged in various forms of this process. There are three main aspects to it: digitization of the text corpus from which a dictionary draws its examples; the use of computers in the composition, editing and construction of the dictionary; and online publication of the lexicographical work itself, when that is complete. Most of the medieval Latin projects on the Continent were founded long before the days of computerization and, by the time that development began, had accumulated thousands or even millions of slips on paper. To take a non-Latin example of interest to ASNaC, the same goes for the Welsh national dictionary enterprise, which began publication in 1950 after nearly thirty years’ preparation on slips;²¹ for such projects the transition is a complex one.²² In the case of more recently commenced projects, however, such as DMLCS, it has been possible to make use of computer techniques from the start, and as part of the overall design.²³ Thus in DMLCS the construction and maintenance of a full-text, searchable database of the sources has always been one of the principal objectives, both to form the resource from which the project’s lexicographical work draws its examples but also as an independently useful tool for researchers in many disciplines, whether they be editors of texts, linguists, investigators of the geographical or chronological spread of terminology for skills or artefacts, theologians, liturgists, historians interested in the transmission of ideas or texts, or scholars working in other areas entirely. The latest online edition of the digital archive in question contains, in their entirety, well over five hundred medieval Latin works written in the Celtic-speaking areas of Europe or by Celts abroad;²⁴ the publication of the archive by the venture’s Belgian partners Brepols, of Turnhout, has made it available to subscribers worldwide and it can now be

²¹ By the time the final fascicule of the first edition appeared, from Cardiff in 2002, the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (GPC)* had been edited successively by R. J. Thomas, Gareth A. Bevan, and Patrick J. Donovan.

²² A second edition of *GPC* has been under way since 2002, directed from 2008 by Andrew Hawke, and based on electronic sources as well as slips. As for computerizing the dictionary itself as well as its sources, a three-year digitization operation culminated in 2014 in the launch of *GPC On Line* at <http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>.

²³ See the narrative account by A. Harvey, ‘From Full-Text Database to Electronic Lexicon and Beyond: The Role of Computers in the *Dictionary of Celtic Latin* Project’, *Folia philologica (Listy filologické)* 131 (2008), 469–91.

²⁴ The *Royal Irish Academy Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature*, second (developed and expanded) edition (*ACLL-2*), compiled by A. Harvey and A. Malthouse, has been online since 2010 at <http://www.brepolis.net>.

claimed, broadly speaking, that the DMLCS academic constituency embraces scholars working throughout the fields of Patristic, Medieval, Celtic, and Latin studies, and doing so across four continents. In the same way Faclair na Gàidhlig, the Scottish universities' dictionary of the Gaelic of that country, is basing itself upon a thirty-million-word subset of DASG, the now vast *Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic* being compiled in Glasgow;²⁵ while its counterpart for medieval Irish is digital by its very nature.²⁶ And other projects have digitization strategies that could be described. This is not the place to do that, though; it would amount to an account of how lexicographers carry out their craft, while readers of the present publication are probably (and rightly) more interested in the results. One does not go to a restaurant and expect to be shown round the kitchen! Accordingly, the remainder of this section of the paper concentrates on trying to demonstrate how the actual publication of a dictionary in digital form potentially makes it much more informative to the user than is the very same dictionary, containing the same information, when presented on paper. (Incidentally the DMLCS dictionary, for one, is appearing in both guises — it is to be hoped that book versions will never go out of use, but digitization can supplement them wonderfully.) To return to our title for this lecture, the past when speaking through an online dictionary can, as it were, do so with high fidelity. Here is how.

Let us take a more or less randomly selected set of consecutive entries from the DMLCS dictionary, as in Figure 1. As with all dictionaries, the reason that these particular entries are consecutive is of course the fact that they are alphabetically arranged. But if that is the reason for their sequencing, it follows that their definitions may come from all over the semantic range. As one can see, even just this set of a few consecutive Latin words beginning with the letter *A* manages to embody meanings as diverse as a joining together, combining or integrating; to hook or catch; and words for the tide, for intercession, and for 'supportive'.

²⁵ These two complementary (indeed, by now symbiotic) projects maintain websites at <http://www.faclair.ac.uk> and <http://dasg.ac.uk> respectively.

²⁶ This is the eDIL undertaking (see above, n. 10). For modern Irish the Royal Irish Academy's Foclóir Stairiúil na Gaeilge project, under way since the mid-1970s, is also now for its part actively embracing digital techniques (see the website at <https://www.ria.ie/eolas-ginearalta-focloir-stairiuil-na-gaeilge>).

adunatio [LL] 1. a joining together, combining, integrating JSCE:C704@19 i.a., JSCE:C698@257, JSCE:C700LIB5@883, JSCE:C708@50; (phil.) a unifying, a making as one JSCE:C700LIB3@52, JSCE:C700LIB5@879 i.a., JSCE:C701@1 i.a., JSCE:C703@184. 2. a bringing together, collecting (in ex., relics) HAG:D923@547. 3. a structuring, composition (in ex., sc. of melody) JSCE:C698@219. 4. (sc. **parietis**, (internal) apex of a building, roof space) JSCE:C698@226

aduncare [LL = to bend, curve (trans.)] to hook, catch (in ex., of fish) HAG:B396@160

adundatio [cf. CL *inundatio* or *adundare*] high water (greatest elevation of the tide) or quantity, (sheer) volume (of water) THL:B342@150. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

aduocamen [cf. CL *aduocare*] (act of) intercession LIT:B582@19

aduocatiuus [cf. CL *aduocare*] (of words) supportive JSCE:C701@124

ae- (also s.v. **e-** [also CL])

aebraicus (s.v. **hebraicus**)

[Fig. 1. A set of consecutive entries from the DMLCS dictionary. Alphabetical arrangement (as shaded) of headwords means that their sense-fields (here indicated by underlining) are liable to be unconnected semantically.]

Now, let us say we are interested in a particular one of these sense-fields, namely that associated with tides; in Figure 1, **adundatio** is the example that we already have. But if we want to find out what *other* Latin words have meanings relating to tides, a hard-copy version of the dictionary will not help us: the words will be scattered around the alphabet, and we should have to leaf through the whole dictionary to find them. But with the digital version we can base searches on the definitions just as readily as on the Latin headwords. Searching electronically for the English word ‘tide’ duly produces the result shown in Figure 2.

adsis(s)a [cf. CL *accessus*] rising (tide), “flood” *SCH*:B325@94, *SCH*:B328@6, *THL*:B342@148, *THL*:B342@150, *DICL*:C660@435, *BILI*:D825PROSE@248.1, *BILI*:D825PROSE@404; tidal movement (apparently either way) *THL*:B342@148. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

adundatio [cf. CL *inundatio* or *adundare*] high water (greatest elevation of the tide) or quantity, (sheer) volume (of water) *THL*:B342@150. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

deundare [opp. CL *inundare*] to leave (land) dry, to ebb (of tide) *VGLG*:B295@32. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

discurrimina (pl.) [cf. CL *discurrere*] oscillation, movement to and fro (in ex., of the tide) *SCH*:B325@94. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

enudare [LL] to lay bare, expose (in exx., foreshore at low tide) *WRMC*:D828@423, *WRMC*:D828@435

exuberatio [LL] 1. (*sc.* **pluuiialis**) a flood, flooding *ADMN*:B304@42.
2. an upwelling (of the sea at high spring tide) *GRLD*:A52@78

[Fig. 2. DMLCS dictionary entries for the ‘tidal’ sense-field. Searching for a particular definition (here underlined) gathers headwords from around the alphabet (as is shown by shading).]

As one can see, the Latin headwords now begin with various letters of the alphabet, because the organizing principle of the set has switched to the definition, not the alphabetical sequence. This particular result, on tides, has actually been published,²⁷ the information having originally been requested of the DMLCS project by a retired sea captain — not a Latinist at all. This shows how digitally searching on *definitions* can be useful for people interested in a particular *topic*, *concept* or *entity*.

Something else that one can see varying between the entries that are united by referring to tides is of course the different sources from which the examples are drawn. In DMLCS project usage, three-letter abbreviations refer to classes of texts where these are anonymous (hence *SCH* means scholastic and *THL* means theological), and four-letter ones name identifiable authors. So we can see from Figure 2 that writers in the Celtic-Latin corpus who refer to tides include the geographer Dicuil (that is, *DICL*), the Breton monk Bili, and others — including,

²⁷ A. Harvey, ‘Some Terms for Tides in Celtic-Latin Literature’, *Ériu* 54 (2004), 259–62.

perhaps most interestingly, the mysterious seventh-century Irishman Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (reference code *VGLG*). As one can see, he coined the Latin word **deundare** to refer to the ebb of the tide. But what other new words did he generate? Again, it would take an age to trawl through the paper dictionary and find out. But with a digital version we can use a category-code or an author's code, in Virgilius' case *VGLG*, as a search-term that will locate all the items that the DMLCS dictionary attests from the works that fall into that category or are by that author. Part of the result for Virgilius is shown in Figure 3; as can be seen, the headwords are spread widely through the alphabet, and the definitions range equally widely in semantic terms.

adorus [hisp.; dfnd = *qui se ipsum ad omnium ora ostendit*] one who is renowned, much spoken of *VGLG*:B296@282

breuellus [cf. CL *breuis*] very short, concise *VGLG*:B296@228

canitus (adv.) [cf. CL *canus*] long ago, in former times *VGLG*:B295@4

deundare [opp. CL *inundare*] to leave (land) dry, to ebb (of tide)
VGLG:B295@32. Cf. *Ériu* 54.259–62

explanatiuncula [cf. CL *explanatio*] short exposition *VGLG*:B295@146,
SDSC:C678@279.3

1. **fer** (sb.) [hisp.; back-formation from CL *ferculum*] (dfnd = *epulum*
VGLG:B295@46) a meal *VGLG*:B295@142 (?)

glifia [hisp.; cf. CL *griphus*, next] obscurantism, the making of riddles or puzzles
VGLG:B296@240

hastare [hisp.; coined from CL *hastatus*] to arm with a spear
VGLG:B296@302

[Fig. 3. The result of searching on *VGLG* (as a particular author's reference code). Neither the alphabetization of the headwords (shaded) nor the semantic range (see underlining) is now preconditioned.]

This author made up a great many words, so what we have here is just a selection; but even from this Virgilius can be seen to have coined an adjective meaning concise and an adverb for long ago, together with new nouns for things as disparate as famous people, an exposition, a meal, and the making of riddles or puzzles, as well as generating a verb meaning to arm with a spear. His ‘tide’ word (**deundare**) is now seen to be merely one of these. Indeed, by searching on the *VGLG* code in this way, and using all the data from the result, it has in fact been possible to publish a thorough scholarly article on, precisely, the word-coinings of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus,²⁸ as well as separate analyses of the usages of other named authors by means of searching on the specific codes that had been allocated to them.²⁹ This shows how digitally searching on *authors* (or categories) can be useful for people interested in *literary history*.

Let us go back to another set of consecutive words from the DMLCS dictionary, namely that shown in Figure 4.

addicare [cf. (or ?l.) CL *addicere* or *abdicare*] to set apart for a purpose, hand over (fig.) **HAG:A114@407**

adductio [med. in LL] (phil.) a conducting, attraction (from one plane of existence to another) **JSCE:C701@70**, **JSCE:C701@78**

adelingus [O.E. *ætheling*] prince **DOC:E1050SHR@104.2**

<**adelpa**>/**adelpa** [hisp.; Gk *ἁδελφή* (or fem. of next)] sister (in ex., in spiritual sense) **LIOS:D829@280**

adelphus [Gk *ἁδελφός*; CL pl. only (as title of plays)] brother **RHYG:A31@88**

adenes (pl.) [(?) Gk *ἁδῆν*; cf. CL *inguen*] glands (?) **JSCE:C698@261**

adequ- (var. *adaequ-* [CL])

[Fig. 4. The latinization of a Greek word to serve a particular meaning (here underlined) is shown by the associated geographical coding (**shaded**) to be, in this case, the innovation of an author from Brittany.]

²⁸ Idem, ‘Linguistic Method in his Literary Madness? The Word-Coinings of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus’, in *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish*, ed. E. Roma and D. Stifter (Lewiston NY and Lampeter, 2014), pp. 79–104.

²⁹ Idem, ‘Non-Classical Elements (Letters A to H) in the Schaffhausen Adomnán’, in *The Schaffhausen Adomnán*, vol. 2: *Commentary*, ed. D. Bracken and E. Graff (Cork, 2014), pp. 95–102, and ‘Muirchú and his *remi cymba*: Whence his Latin and its Wordstore?’, *Peritia* 27 (2016), 43–62.

As before, these are consecutive because of being arranged according to how they are spelled, and they mean all sorts of different things; but this time let us concentrate on something else that varies about them, namely the geographical areas from which the examples in the texts are derived. This information is embodied in the codes that the DMLCS project uses to key the references; hence A refers to the former Roman Britain, C to works by Irish monks on the continent, E to Scotland, and D to Brittany. Thus in Figure 4 we can pick out the fact that it is a Breton author who is using a new word to designate a sister. But how many other coinings in Celtic latinity were generated by, specifically, Bretons? Again, having a digital version of the dictionary means we can search on geographical codes; Figure 5 shows some of the results if we duly use the D-code to look for items from Brittany. Again, the Latin headwords, though of course still in alphabetical order, are no longer sequential; and again they mean all kinds of things (the ‘sister’ word, <adelpha>, now being seen to be merely one of them). By using a similar search to identify words coined in Wales and compare them with Latin words invented by the Irish, DMLCS research in fact recently gave rise to an assessment of the nature of the language in the two countries in the early Middle Ages. It was striking how different it appears to have been, and it was largely this that prompted the surprising, but one hopes convincingly documented, conclusion referred to above about the longevity of Latin in Celtic Britain after the Roman withdrawal³⁰ — it may even have lasted down to Norman times, a point of great interest to national and social historians of Wales. This shows how digitally searching on *geographical provenance* can be useful for people interested in *comparative philology*.

³⁰ See n.19 above.

abscribere [cf. CL *ab, scribere*] to ignore, discount WRDN: D827TXTA@191

accepte [cf. CL *acceptus*] willingly, whole-heartedly (? or in a (spiritually) acceptable manner) HAG: D950@139

<**adelpa**>/**adelpa** [hispanic; Gk 'αδελφή (or fem. of next)] sister (in ex., in spiritual sense) LIOS: D829@280

adminiculatim [cf. CL *adminiculare*] helpfully, as a support HAG: D950@95, HAG: D950@159

aduentio [cf. CL *aduenire, aduentus*] a coming, arrival BILLI: D825PROSE@247

albigantes (pl.) [cf. CL *albus, ganta*] white-fronted geese (zool.) BILLI: D825PROSE@72

aliquantumcumque [cf. CL *aliquantum* (sb.), *quantulumcumque/quantuluscumque* (sb./adj.), LL *aliquantuluscumque* (adj.)] (sb.) some degree however small HAG: D950@136

[Fig. 5. Part of the result of searching on D (shaded, as a particular geographical code). Again, though the items in this sample all begin with *a-*, neither the alphabetization of the headwords nor the semantic range (see underlining) is preconditioned.]

But back to Brittany. It will be seen from Figure 5 that one of the Latin words coined there, the plural **albigantes**, means white-fronted geese. The context shows that the term is being used precisely here, in what can be classified as a specifically zoological sense; hence the label '(zool.)' immediately following the definition. Now, much revealing light can be cast upon the particular interests or concerns of any society by looking to see what technical terms it has felt necessary to coin. Embedded in the entries of the DMLCS dictionary are fourteen distinct labels to flag such specialist vocabulary — the zoological label that we see in Figure 5 is just one of them, the others including botanical, musical, medical, philosophical and so on — and the results of this flagging are potentially of considerable value to scholars of any of the disciplines concerned. This shows how digitally searching on *technical labels* can be useful for people interested in particular *areas of specialization* — a theme fruitful enough to occupy the full colloquium of editors that was held in Munich in 2012.³¹ As an example, taking

³¹ The proceedings, ed. H. Leithe-Jasper and M.-L. Weber, occupied almost a whole issue of the UAI network's 'house journal' *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (*ALMA*, the so-called '*Bulletin du Cange*'); to this the DMLCS contribution was A. Harvey's 'Technical Vocabulary and its Identification in Medieval Celtic Latinity', *ALMA* 71 (2013), 377–88. An earlier colloquium in the series had, analogously, been facilitated by the ability to search on the

the zoological label specifically and searching for that across all areas of the DMLCS dictionary gives the result shown in Figure 6.

albigantes (pl.) [cf. CL *albus*, *ganta*] white-fronted geese (zool.)
BILI:D825PROSE@72

caecula [cf. CL *caecus*] (zool.) a blindworm (slow-worm) SDSC:C686@VIII.viii

cercella [O.F. *cercelle*; cf. CL *querquedula*] teal (zool.) GRLD:A52@13,
GRLD:A52@117

coquilla [cf. French *coquille*, CL *conchylium*] (zool.) (dfnd = Mid.I. *faechóg beg* “periwinkle or some other kind of small shellfish”) SCH:B337@8

<**diptychum**>/**dipticum** [LL; cf. Gk pl. δίπτυχα = paired writing tablets]
(zool.) bivalve shell SDSC:C686@LXX

enydros (sb.) [cf. CL *enydros* (var. *enhygros*), Gk adj. ἔνυδρος]
1. (= CL) (dfnd = *gemma ab aqua uocata*) JSCE:C704@46, JSCE:C705@161.
2. (zool.) (dfnd = *bestiola quae corcodillum uentre interimit* SDSC:C686@LXXIII) the Egyptian ichneumon SDSC:C685@63

{**erminis**} (abl. pl.) [cf. O.F. (*h*)*ermine*] (zool.) ermine, stoat GRLD:A52@59

faluus [cf. O.E. *fealu* (E. *fallow*), O.F. *fauve*] (**faruus** (fem. pl. in ex.,
sc. **anseris**, bean- (or some similar kind of) geese (opp. *albigantes* q.v.))
HAG:D951@133) (zool.) dun-coloured (in ex., of a horse) GRLD:A66@ParsII.15

nisus (2nd decl. sb.) [CL P.N. only] (zool.) sparrow-hawk
TMSM:A43@258 i.a., WLTR:A76@40, GRLD:A52@37 i.a., GRLD:A53@38,
LEX:A151@282 i.a., LEX:A150@198 i.a., LEX:A152@328 i.a.

[Fig. 6. The result of searching on ‘zool.’ (as a flag for a particular field of technical terminology). The semantic range (see underlining) is now preconditioned by this, and the alphabetization of the headwords (shaded) is free.]

[square-bracketed] *etymological fields* of digitized dictionaries; this duly led to the publication of a collaborative study of *Lexical Influences of Other Languages on Medieval Latin*, ed. M. Pérez González and E. Pérez Rodríguez (León and Valladolid, 2011), for which the findings from DMLCS enabled A. Harvey to provide a survey of ‘Lexical Influences on the Medieval Latin of the Celts’, pp. 65–77.

Again the entries come from across the alphabet (as far as it had been compiled at the time of preparation of this contribution). As far as the meanings are concerned, they range across the whole animal and bird kingdom, from slow-worms to sparrow-hawks and from periwinkles to stoats. Comparing the information under **albigantes** with that under **faluus**, one sees that the search even reveals a contrastive cross-reference between different kinds of geese: so natural historians should please take note!

As was stated above, specific research exercises of the kind here demonstrated are in principle applicable to any systematic dictionary of any language — all the information will already have been packed into it by the hard-working lexicographers. The value that digitization adds is the ability to retrieve all the data again in the necessary logical, comprehensive and useful way. And making known the results of surveys conducted by such means helps to answer what has until recently been a valid charge of long standing, as voiced by Manfred Görlach: ‘It happens too often in the history of dictionaries that ... general statements which could have been put forward by the compilers, after many years of dedicated research, are never put together in coherent form.’³² In short, just as digitizing their original textual sources makes dictionaries sounder and less subjective, so digitizing the dictionaries that are compiled from those sources makes possible much more systematic and illuminating syntheses and surveys of the lexical treasures that those dictionaries contain.

So much for making the most out of the information that is compacted into any given single *dictionary*. But if what we are interested in is a particular word, or word-field, in any given single *language*, what scope is there for letting the history of that one linguistic item speak through an array of several different dictionaries at once, when these are collectively focused upon it? To examine this question it is probably the lexicography of the English language that provides the richest resources.

Part Two

Philip Durkin, *Oxford English Dictionary*

Like Anthony Harvey, I feel enormously privileged to be asked to contribute part of this Chadwick memorial lecture, in honour of one of the illustrious founding fathers of a department that is rightly renowned for the extraordinary quality, breadth, and depth of the scholarship and teaching it brings to the study of medieval Britain. I would like to take as my topic for the second part of this two-hander the ‘conversations’ between different dictionaries, of English and of other languages of medieval Britain, and beyond, and also between dictionaries and

³² M. Görlach, ed., *English in Europe* (Oxford, 2002), p. 1.

other collections of data. In doing so, I would like to broaden our shared theme of ‘talking through’, to illustrate how historical dictionaries and other resources can work together to mediate rich lexical data from the multilingual contexts of medieval Britain.

I would like to start off by taking a brief look at how the three major historical dictionaries of English, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), tell aspects of the history of words in complementary ways.³³ I will start that investigation with a dictionary entry that is of significant size and a fair degree of complexity in each of these dictionaries, the colour term *black*. An important recent technical development is that all three of these online dictionaries now link explicitly to the corresponding entry or entries in each of the other dictionaries, encouraging readers to explore what each has to offer. This is in itself an important acknowledgement that what is to be found in each dictionary is complementary. (We also hope before too long to be able to extend this range of links to include historical dictionaries of varieties defined by place, such as the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary*.)³⁴ The *OED* entry also links to another resource produced and published by Oxford University Press, oxforddictionaries.com, where definitions and examples are presented based on analysis of synchronic contemporary English corpus data. This is a useful reminder of the very diverse audiences and users of the *OED* — and indeed, of how the very same user may well have different questions to ask of the *OED* on different occasions, some anchored in the fairly distant past, some anchored in the present and near past, some (often among the most interesting) spanning a very wide chronological perspective.

Looking briefly at how the *OED*, *DOE* and *MED* treat some aspects of the history of *black* helps show how these three dictionaries are truly

³³ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions (Oxford, 1884–1928); Supplement and Bibliography (Oxford, 1933); Supplement (Oxford, 1972–86), ed. R. W. Burchfield. 2nd ed., ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989). Additions Series (Oxford, 1993–7), ed. J. A. Simpson, E. S. C. Weiner and M. Proffitt. 3rd ed. (in progress), *OED Online* (Oxford, March 2000–), ed. J. A. Simpson (–2013), M. Proffitt (2013–), www.oed.com.

The Dictionary of Old English, ed. A. Cameron, A. C. Amos, A. diP. Healey and H. Momma, published to H (Toronto, 1986–), <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca>.

The Middle English Dictionary, ed. H. Kurath, S. Kuhn and R. E. Lewis (Ann Arbor, 1952–2001), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med>.

³⁴ *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, ed. W. A. Craigie, A. J. Aitken, J. A. C. Stevenson and M. Dareau, (Oxford, 1931–2002).

The Scottish National Dictionary: designed partly on Regional Lines and partly on Historical Principles, and containing all the Scottish Words known to be in Use or to have been in Use since c. 1700, ed. W. Grant and D. D. Murison (Edinburgh, 1931–76; Supplement 2005).

Both available online as part of Dictionary of the Scots Language: <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/>

complementary.³⁵ If we start with one of the figurative sense developments picked out in the *OED*, sense 10 is defined by *OED* as ‘Very evil or wicked; iniquitous; foul, hateful’; *DOE* offers a definition more firmly rooted in the cultural specifics of Anglo-Saxon England, ‘with connotations of evil or wickedness, referring to devils, the sinful, and other sinister creatures’, and offers fuller documentation, four Old English quotations as opposed to *OED*’s one (in *OED*’s case followed by fourteen quotations from later periods in the history of English). The differences in this case in *MED* are more radical, with *MED*, perfectly legitimately (and somewhat characteristically) choosing to identify two separate strands of meaning here, ‘of ... the color of sin, sorrow, etc.’ (with subsidiary lemmas *blak berd* ‘the Devil’ and the phrase *blak is his eie* ‘he is guilty’) and additionally ‘fierce, terrible, wicked’, and illustrating each strand separately. Furthermore, it places them at different points in its sense structure (senses 1(e) and 3(b) respectively), reflecting an essentially synchronic analysis of the sense structure of the Middle English word. A further difficult task that falls particularly to *OED* is covering senses over a very long chronological span where there have been profound changes in social and cultural assumptions, and where there is significant sensitivity and contestation over areas of both denotation and usage today, as for instance with uses of *black* in connection with ethnicity and conceptions of race. Some other points of difference one can highlight are the listing of variant forms: *OED* offers a fairly comprehensive listing, without any normalization in the word stem but without exemplification of most inflections; *MED* has rather more normalization; *DOE* has a detailed (and heavily encoded) presentation of the word’s inflections in Old English, reference to the detail of specific text languages, and interestingly some word-frequency data derived from its companion corpus (a feature *OED* has also introduced for contemporary English, and is looking to push back diachronically).

If we turn to the etymology section, *OED*’s attempts to synthesize a complex story over a very long chronology — and over a very broad diatopic (geographical) spread — become evident. (See the Appendix for the full text of the etymology section from the *OED* entry.) Firstly, the etymology in the narrow, formal sense represents a further crucial ‘conversation’ between dictionaries and historical grammars of English, and their counterparts for other Germanic languages, triangulated with dictionaries of other branches of Indo-European, and with etymological dictionaries which synthesize this information at various levels. The etymology section also includes discursive commentary on several topics that complement the main presentation of the meaning history, and that open up connections with further bodies of scholarship. The section on form history deals with the effects of Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (thus intersecting with historical grammar), as well as dealing in some detail with a topic that all

³⁵ *OED Online* *black* *adj.* and *n.*, first published 2011 (original *OED* entry published 1887); *DOE* *blæc* *adj.*, first published 1991; *MED* *blak* *adj.*, first published 1958. (All entries subject to minor corrections in their online versions, last consulted February 2018.)

three dictionaries have to address in one way or another: the fact that the etymologically and semantically distinct words *black* and *blake* ‘pale’ overlap in form (especially as a result of Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening), and quite a number of actual instances of one word or the other in Old English and Middle English texts are ambiguous. This is followed by a section opening up a new topic, the relation of *black* to its near synonyms, and the interesting fact that in the earliest stages of the history of English *swart* was the more usual colour term, as it remains in most other Germanic languages (compare German *schwarz*); a brief but, in my view, very important note in the same section sketches the long-term historical connections between negatively connoted uses in medieval European culture and the proliferation of such uses in the Early Modern period, intersecting with the discourse of race and slavery in this period. The discussion of the relationship with *swart* intersects with a systematic linkage between senses in the *OED* and the semantic hierarchy of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (prepared over a forty-year period at the University of Glasgow by a team led by Michael Samuels and Christian Kay);³⁶ this gives readers the ability to gain an overview of near-synonyms with an indication of their date of first attestation via a pop-up, and linkage into the full *HTOED* data for much more detailed investigation of change in a semantic field over time. (I will come back to some of the uses to which this data can be put soon.)

The next section details a further significant ‘conversation’ with another area of scholarship which shows a good deal of overlap and which gains mutually from careful comparison of different categories of data, namely onomastics, in the form of both surname and place-name studies. In this case place-name and lexical research intersect particularly densely and ambiguously in the boundary clauses of Old English charters.

Last but not least in this tour through *black*, I would like to look at linkage to source texts. *DOE* has been built on a close relationship between dictionary and a corpus containing almost all of its source materials. *MED* has for some years had a sizeable companion collection of electronic texts, in which some quotations can be seen in their fuller context, and further examples of words, meanings or forms can be searched for. *OED* is now beginning to offer linkage out from its quotations to source texts, currently to scholarly editions of Early Modern English literary texts in the *Oxford Scholarly Editions Online* platform (<http://www.oxford-scholarlyeditions.com/>). A good example of one of the ways in which this sort of linkage can enrich what is offered even by a dictionary like *OED*, which offers a good deal of its own interpretative commentary on content, is provided by some linkage from the *OED black* entry to Shakespeare editions. At sense 2a ‘Having black hair or eyes; dark-complexioned’, *OED* has an

³⁶ *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. C. Kay, J. Roberts, M. Samuels and I. Wotherspoon (Oxford, 2009). Consultable online (in slightly differing versions) at <http://historicalthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/> and (integrated with the *OED*) at www.oed.com.

illustrative quotation from *Othello* (II. i. 134).³⁷ The sense goes back to Old English, with the quotation from *Othello* appearing in the middle of a list of fifteen quotations, which are in turn drawn from a far larger base of examples of use in this sense; it would seem otiose to have a note in the dictionary at this point that, as so often in *Othello*, there is probably some ironic wordplay involved in this instance of the word's use. Michael Neill's Oxford Shakespeare edition records that, beyond the equivocation here between "having black hair" (probably the primary meaning here) and "dark-complexioned" (probably an important secondary) there could be further allusion to a use in sexual slang of the period (in a passage which is certainly bawdy) and perhaps also to the vocabulary and imagery of archery targets, drawing in also questions of textual criticism in the preference of a Quarto reading over a Folio one.³⁸ Detailed commentary of this sort on a single instance (especially when it is not a crucial one for the narrative of word history) is well beyond the scope of the dictionary, but linkage to the text and edition in OSEO can take the reader by two clicks first to a larger contextual chunk of the text, and then to the detailed commentary in the scholarly edition.

So far, apart from the briefest of mentions of comparative Germanic and Indo-European etymology, my contribution has been focussed on data entirely from English. However, as I am sure no one in today's audience needs reminding, medieval Britain had many languages, in contact with one another. Today's lecture started with Latin in the Celtic world; for my concluding examples I would like to turn back to Latin, but as part of the trilingual mix of post-Conquest England. Thus I will need to beg your indulgence to move a little bit outside ASNaC core territory, although my final example will bring us back to the importance of viewing such material in the context of what we know about Old English and other early Germanic languages.

In the centuries following the Conquest, England had a rich Anglo-Norman literary tradition; this variety of French also filled a key role in both spoken and written use in areas such as law (in a very broad sense, including parliament) and business. As is well known, the Conquest also brought England much more in line with prevailing continental practices in cementing the position of Latin as the usual language of record, in official and legal functions, in addition to the Church and scholarship. In everyday record-keeping, for instance in business, a particular mode became widespread in which Latin is used as the matrix language, i.e. providing the basic structure of the sentence, while embedded vernacular words, either Anglo-Norman or Middle English (and often indeterminate), often provide many of the content words, particularly nouns. Data from each of these languages, in all of these functions, can often be of key importance in tracing and

³⁷ *OED*'s references to locations in Shakespeare follow act, scene, and line as given in S. Wells and G. Taylor, eds., *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1988), while the text cited is that of the original quarto or folio witnesses; in the edition by M. Neill referred to in the text the location is II. i. 131.

³⁸ See M. Neill, ed., *The Oxford Shakespeare: Othello* (Oxford, 2006), p. 249.

understanding the history of English words — and this does not apply only to the Latinate and Romance elements of the vocabulary.³⁹

In investigating the history of a compound of two English words, such as *streetward* (see Figure 7), we may not expect that we will need to stray too far beyond English. Certainly, *street* is ultimately a borrowing from Latin, but is definitely (as phonological evidence shows) a very early one, probably borrowed on the continent even before the Anglo-Saxons came to England.⁴⁰ *Ward* is of native origin; it does show some interplay in Middle English with a borrowing of the same Germanic base into French, but its meaning in the compound *streetward* is one that is firmly based in the meanings that the English word already showed in Old English. So on etymological and broad semantic grounds *streetward* seems untroublingly ‘English’. However, in this case if we did not cast our net a little wider we would risk missing the fact that borrowings of the English word into Anglo-Norman and Latin occur a full century earlier than any other evidence⁴¹ (and the *DMLCS*’s sister dictionary *DMLBS* helpfully has an entry for the item).⁴² If we look a little closer at the three quotations presented below the definition of this word in *OED*, we may also remark that, as so often with vocabulary recorded in documentary sources, it is in every instance somewhat debatable to which language the word should be assigned. In all three of the *OED* quotations the word is uninflected, suggesting that it is vernacular not Latin; but if *stretwarde* is recorded in c. 1150 as an Anglo-Norman word in a text that has Anglo-Norman as matrix language, then there is no certainty that we do not have the same phenomenon in all of our quotation evidence. A ‘conversation’ between the lexical resources for Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English is thus essential for tracing the history of this compound of two English words, as well as reminding us forcefully of the functional trilingualism of the communities in which it was used. When we attempt to mediate such data through a historical dictionary devoted to a particular language — as we must — it is always necessary to

³⁹ For points of entry to the now large literature on (particularly Latin-French-English) multilingualism in later medieval Britain, see especially the following collections: D. Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2000); R. Ingham, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts* (York, 2010); (especially on literary impacts) A. Putter and Judith Jefferson, eds., *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520)* (Amsterdam, 2013). For an overview of the implications for the study of Middle English lexis see P. Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford, 2014).

⁴⁰ See Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, pp. 99–119 and references there to the (substantial) literature on the dating of Latin loanwords found in Old English.

⁴¹ A complication in comparing evidence from each language as reflected in dictionaries is that French and to a large extent medieval Latin lexicography typically use date of composition as the primary date assigned to material (in cases where there are not strong grounds for assuming that a particular reading is not original), whereas *OED* and *MED* both now use date of the manuscript witness as the primary date for English material, with the (probable) date of original composition given as a secondary date. However, in this instance the Anglo-Norman evidence is earlier than the English both by date of composition and by date of manuscript witnesses.

⁴² *DMLBS* *stretwarda*; on *DMLBS* see part one of this lecture, and especially note 7.

exercise considerable sensitivity in the handling of evidence, and to be aware that categorical certainty may prove elusive.

Etymology: < STREET *n.* + WARD *n.*²

Earlier currency is implied by Anglo-Norman *stretwarde* (c1150), and post-classical Latin *stretwarda* (from late 12th cent. in British sources), both borrowings < English. Compare:

c1150 *Laws of William I* in F. Liebermann *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903) I. xxviii. 512 (*heading*) De stretwarde [a1350 Pseudo-Ingulf *strewarde*]: De chascuns x hides del hundred un hume dedenz la feste seint Michel e la seint Martin.

Obs. rare.

Probably: a payment for keeping order in the streets; the office of guarding the streets.

1255 in W. Illingworth *Rotuli Hundredorum* (1818) II. 55 (*MED*) Una hid..dat motfey iiijor d., stretward iiijor d.

a1272 *Cal. Inquisitions* (1904) I. 138 (*MED*) [The township of Clebury Mortimer used to..pay 5 s. yearly for] stretward [and] motfeh.

a1600 *Chronicum Abbatiae de Stanlaw* (Cleo. C.iii) f. 323v Preteræ idm comes dedit prefato Nigello constabulario suo de streteward in nundinis cestriæ & marketzeld in omni tera pertinente ad honorem de haulton.

[Fig. 7. *OED Online*, *streetward n.*¹ (revised *OED* third edition entry, published 2008; cited here as consulted 16/2/2018), etymology and sense sections.]

This is also an area where a great deal depends on very careful transcription of, and attention to the possible interpretations of, marks of suspension and other abbreviations in manuscript sources — and unfortunately, lexicographers of all of the languages of medieval Britain are often forced to draw upon printed transcriptions of this material, often rather old ones, frequently prepared by people whose main interests in the material are historical rather than linguistic. Sometimes these are even in the form of calendarized summaries, which simply pick out vernacular words in amongst extensive summary in modern English of the Latin matrix-language text. It would be very easy to find examples of where any or all of the dictionaries have tripped up in handling such material. I will content myself with one example where it appears to be solely *OED* that is to blame — albeit a long-departed generation of editors from the early years of the twentieth century. *Pople* means ‘a type of fur, probably the summer fur of the squirrel’. It almost certainly originates as a (dissimilated) variant of French *porpre* ‘fur or cloth of a dark red colour’, and it was probably from Anglo-Norman that it entered both Middle English and Latin as used in records in England. However,

most of the instances of *pople* are as a vernacular word in Latin-matrix documents, and difficult to assign with complete confidence to either Anglo-Norman or Middle English. Most of the quotation evidence contained in the main body of *OED*'s original entry of 1907 (and likewise in the corresponding entry in *MED*) has been moved to the etymology section in the revised *OED* entry of 2006, leaving just an antiquarian reference from the seventeenth century, and a single Middle English example of 1493 where the compound with *fur* probably tips the balance for analysis as English:

1493 *Will of Thomas Overey* (P.R.O.: PROB. 11/10) f. 27 Unam togam talarem de scarlett penulatam cum popilfurr.

1666 W. DUGDALE *Origines Juridicales* xxxix. 103/2 Two Furr of Pople, each of 6. tires.

The remainder of the evidence is presented in a note in the etymology section introduced by the comment 'It is unclear whether the following early examples should be interpreted as showing the Anglo-Norman or the Middle English word':

1278 *Tournament Purchase Roll* in *Archaeologia* (1814) 17 306 ij fur. pople.

1327 in H. T. Riley *Memorials London* (1868) 153 [A fur of] popelle [of 7 tiers].

1342 in J. E. T. Rogers *Hist. Agric. & Prices* (modernized text) II. 539/3 [Merton Coll. Accts.] Furrura de popel.

1365 in H. T. Riley *Memorials London* (1868) 329 [That no one shall mingle] roskyn [with] populle.

1380–1 in J. T. Fowler *Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham* (1901) III. 590 In una furura de popill empt. pro d'no Priore, 10 s.

We may wonder how far non-core content-rich vocabulary of this sort can be said to belong categorically to one language or another in a context where all three languages are used in different functions by the same individuals, who nearly all have English as their first language. Many of these quotations are also difficult from a bibliographical and textual perspective: for instance, two examples are taken from H. T. Riley's *Memorials of London* (1868), which is both calendarized and, as past experience has shown, sometimes modernizes or otherwise adjusts word forms. Additionally, the 1907 *OED* entry gave a further quotation:

1421 *Will of Norton* (Somerset Ho.), Vnam de togis meis furratis cum popell.

The bibliographical style adopted here suggests that the first edition of *OED* took this quotation directly from consultation of documents in the Public Record Office. However, my own checking of an image of this document shows that there

is very clearly a bar through the second *l*.⁴³ This could be an otiose mark, but it could equally well be a mark of suspension for Latin (ablative) *popello* — hence, this particular quotation may simply show French *pople* borrowed into Latin, and not a single-word switch to a vernacular word at all. Accordingly, this quotation has now been removed from the revised *OED* entry online.

Fine-detailed instances like this show the importance of ‘conversations’ among the dictionaries of the different languages of medieval Britain, and with the work of historians and others whose principal interests may be far from the lexicon. They also show how evidence that can fall between stools if dictionaries define their remit too narrowly can indeed be among the most difficult to interpret, but can also offer our richest insights into the vocabularies of large areas of medieval life.

For my final example, I would like to look at a ‘conversation’ that may at first sight appear extremely one-sided, but which is potentially very revealing about some rather basic vocabulary, namely the kinship terminology of both modern English and modern French. The adjective *grand* is found in English from the second half of the fourteenth century, but seems not to have been particularly common even in late Middle English; it appears an unproblematic borrowing from French, probably specifically Anglo-Norman. The kinship terms involving *grand-* are, however, much earlier in English: *grandame* is found from *c.* 1225 (this is a manuscript date, the composition was probably a little earlier), *grandsire* from *c.* 1300, *grandfather* from 1424, *grandmother* also from 1424 (in the same document, a will). In continental French, *grandame* is first found in the fourteenth century, *grantsire* in the twelfth century, *grant pere* in the mid fifteenth century (or late fourteenth in the meaning ‘male ancestor’), *grant mere* in the thirteenth century. So we have a date in French earlier than the English evidence only for *grandsire* and *grandmother*; for *grandame* (the earliest of all these terms in English) and *grandfather*, all French evidence is later. Perhaps most interesting of all, none of these terms are found in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, and none occur in any of the searchable texts on the *AND Hub* (I am grateful to the late and much missed David Trotter of the *AND* for confirming this for me).⁴⁴ So we have a ‘conversation’ that reveals a startling absence: we would expect the kinship terms in Middle English to be borrowed from Anglo-Norman, not imported from across the Channel; and anyway, even the continental French evidence presents

⁴³ P.R.O.: PROB. 11/2B. See the fuller discussion of this example in P. Durkin and S. Schad, ‘The DMLBS and the OED: Medieval Latin and the Lexicography of English’, in *Latin in Medieval Britain*, ed. R. Ashdowne and C. White, Proceedings of the British Academy 206 (London, 2017), pp. 320–40.

⁴⁴ *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. L. W. Stone, T. B. W. Reid and W. Rothwell (London, 1977–92); *Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Revised Edition, A–C; D–E*, ed. W. Rothwell, S. Gregory and D. Trotter (London, 2005); *Anglo-Norman Dictionary: Revised edition, F–*, ed. D. Trotter (–2015), G. de Wilde (2015–), www.anglo-norman.net, which see also for *The Anglo-Norman On-line Hub*, including a number of searchable source texts.

startling disparities with the English evidence. What could the explanation be? In French, the kinship terms in *grand-* replace the earlier, Latin-derived terms, *aioul* and *aioule* (ultimately from a derivative of Latin *avus*), and these are found in Anglo-Norman (as *ael* and *aele*); a little later, they are also borrowed into English (although they were apparently never common in English). Is this evidence telling us something about register, that the kinship terms were excluded from formal, literary registers in Anglo-Norman, but appear much earlier in English, probably as a result of borrowing in close familial settings, with, perhaps, the prestige of a French borrowing outweighing any sense that these were informal terms? This seems to me the most probable explanation. However, another ‘conversation’, with the *Historical Thesaurus* data, suggests another intriguing possibility (the implications of which I am grateful to colleagues at Ludwigs Maximilian Universität Munich for pointing out to me): Old English had *ealdfæder* and *ealdmōdor* in the meanings ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother’, and these certainly survived well into Middle English; as the *Dictionary of Old English* shows, some of the extended meanings of *eald* ‘old’, such as ‘superior, greater’, show points of contact with those of French *grand*. Could the existing English terms therefore have speeded adoption of a new term from French, or even caused the creation of a calque, with Anglo-Norman or even Middle English forming new Romance-based lexemes on the model of existing English terms? We should note also that other West Germanic languages have similar formations, such as German *Großvater* and *Großmutter*, but these are mostly not attested until late, and hence it would appear most likely that they are calques on French, not vice versa. Additionally, if for instance *grantsire* is in origin an Insular calque, it is striking that it is already found in French on the other side of the Channel in the twelfth century. To my mind, the likeliest ‘main narrative’ here is that these kinship terms already existed in French at the time of the Conquest or shortly after, and were borrowed into English, perhaps helped by the prior existence of *ealdfæder* and *ealdmōdor*; as to whether an areal feature of some sort lies behind the general switch to a synthetic type in French and in West Germanic languages, that is another and larger question. Whatever analysis we take, this example is telling us something interesting both about the contact situation and about what our surviving documents do and do not reflect about contemporary language use.⁴⁵

I apologize if your mind is by now slightly bogging with terms for ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother’ in assorted languages. The reason I find this example such a good illustration of this lecture’s theme, is that none of this investigation would be possible if we did not have good historical dictionaries of each of the languages in question. They collect, analyse, and synthesize the surviving lexical data, and in so doing mediate our knowledge of the language,

⁴⁵ For preliminary discussion of this example see P. Durkin, ‘Evidence from English Lexicography for Otherwise Unrecorded Anglo-Norman Words, Forms, and Meanings’, in *L’anglo-normand: spécificités culturelles d’une langue*, ed. R. Martin and M. Zink (Paris, 2016), pp. 57–74.

and languages, of the past. Many parts of the process are difficult and demand close attention to a lot of fine detail; often, there are big gaps in our knowledge — but sometimes, paying attention even to those gaps can lead to us learning something new.

Appendix

[*OED Online*, *black adj.* and *n.* (revised *OED* third edition entry, published 2011; cited here as consulted 16/2/2018), etymology section (omitting final part, on use with reference to the Benedictines).]

Etymology: Cognate with Middle Dutch *blac* ink, Old Saxon *blac* ink (Middle Low German *blak* ink, black dye, black colour), Old High German *blah-* (only in *blah-faro* of the colour of ink, *blah-māl* niello decoration (Middle High German *blach-māl*), *blah-mālōn* to decorate with niello); further etymology uncertain; on formal grounds the word could be from a base related to the Germanic bases of *BLANK adj.* and the various forms discussed at *BLIK v.*, but since this would give an expected meaning ‘shining, white’ there is an obvious semantic difficulty; many have sought to resolve this by hypothesizing that the word meaning ‘black’ originated as a past participle (with the meaning ‘burnt, blackened’) of a verb meaning ‘to burn (brightly)’ derived from this base; this verb may perhaps be reflected by Middle Dutch *blaken* (Dutch *blaken*) to flame, to burn.

Forms in North Germanic languages.

Old Icelandic *blakkr* and related words in other North Germanic languages probably show a development from the Germanic base of *BLANK adj.*, and hence, although perhaps ultimately related, do not show close morphological parallels. It is likely that the various different meanings documented in Old Icelandic (probably ‘pale’, ‘yellowy brown’, ‘dark brown’, and ‘grey’, chiefly in describing the colour of animals) show semantic developments unrelated to that shown by the English word.

Old Icelandic *blek* ink and related words in other North Germanic languages probably show a borrowing from Old English: see further *BLECK n.* (which may show a reborrowing from early Scandinavian). With use as noun compare also *BLATCH n.*

Form history.

The β . forms reflect early Middle English lengthening in open syllables (although some instances of β . spellings may correspond to pronunciations with a short vowel, and likewise some instances of α . spellings may correspond to pronunciations with a long vowel).

From an early date the orthographical forms of this word and of *BLAKE adj.* show some overlap, and consequently the two words can sometimes be difficult to distinguish where the context does not make clear which word is intended. In addition to identity in certain spellings, occasional overlap of pronunciation perhaps also occurred already in Old English due to the shortening of long vowels before consonant clusters (i.e. in compounds and some inflected forms of *BLAKE adj.*); in Middle English, after lengthening in open syllables in inflected forms of *BLACK adj.* (compare β . forms), the

two words would potentially have had the same pronunciation in northern dialects. In some instances it is unclear which word is shown by a particular example (compare also note at sense A. 4a); a selection of ambiguous examples is given below. (The two Old English verse examples (quots. OE¹, OE²) appear to show respectively a metrically short form, i.e. BLACK *adj.*, in a context where one might expect BLAKE *adj.*, and a metrically long form, i.e. BLAKE *adj.*, in a context where one might expect BLACK *adj.*) Compare:

eOE *Let. to Edward the Elder* (Sawyer 1445) in F. E. Harmer *Sel. Eng. Hist. Docs. 9th & 10th Cent.* (1914) 30 Ða wæs ic ðara monna sum ðe ðærto genemned wæran, & Wihthord & Ælfric ... & Byrthelm & Wulfhun ðes blaca æt Sumortune.

OE *Phoenix* 296 Þonne is se finta fægre gedæled, sum brun, sum basu, sum blacum splottum searolice beseted [L. fulvo distincta metallo].

OE *Christ & Satan* 195 Læte him to bysne hu þa blacan feond for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon.

c1225 (►?c1200) *Sawles Warde* (Bodl.) (1938) 8 His leor deaðlich & blac & elheowet.

c1275 (►?a1200) LA₃AMON *Brut* (Calig.) (1978) l. 9924 Æne stunde he wes blac and on heuwe swiðe wak. ane while he wes reod.

c1330 *Roland & Vernagu* l. 434 [Charlemagne was] of a stern sight, Blac of here & rede of face.

a1400 tr. Lanfranc *Sci. Chirurgie* (Ashm.) (1894) 179 If þou wolt make hem [sc. hairs] blac [L. albos].

c1400 (►?c1380) *Cleanness* l. 747 I am bot erþe ful evel and usle so blake.

c1425 LYDGATE *Troyyes Bk.* (Augustus A.iv) v. l. 2525 Þe riȝt weye he toke To ship ageyn, pale & blak of hewe.

?a1475 *Ludus Coventriae* (1922) 2 Ther were flourys bothe blewe and blake.

c1475 (►a1400) *Awntyrs Arthure* (Taylor) (1842) 5 Alle bare was the body, and blak by the bone.

a1500 *Life St. Alexius* (Titus) l. 236 No man ... hym knwe, So was he lene and blake of hewe.

Semantic history.

Comparative evidence indicates that swart *adj.* shows the reflex of the more usual colour term for ‘black’ in early Germanic (as still in Old English), which has gradually been replaced by black in this basic meaning in English. Compare the following Old English quotation, in which the basic Latin colour term *niger* is glossed as SWART *adj.*, while two other semantically similar words are rendered by BLACK *adj.*:

OE ÆLFRIC *Gram.* (Durh.) 27 Niger sweart, ater blac, teter blac.

Compare also the earlier attestation of swart *adj.* as a second element of compounds in sense A. 1c (see quot. OE at sense A. 1c).

Metaphorical and figurative uses of words meaning ‘black’ with negative connotations similar to those found in English are widespread in other European languages, frequently in an antonymic relationship with senses of words meanings ‘white’. Similar uses are culturally widespread, but became particularly strong in the medieval Christian tradition. Uses with negative connotations proliferate in the early modern period (compare uses at branch A. II.), probably connected in part with negative cultural

attitudes towards black people prevalent in the context of the Atlantic slave trade (compare use in senses A. 3 and B. 10).

Use in names.

The word occurs early as byname and surname, probably often in sense A. 2a. In early instances, it is frequently impossible to distinguish this from onomastic use of BLAKE *adj.* (compare quot. eOE above), unless there is a disambiguating context or source as in quotes. eOE, 1334-5 at sense A. 2a. In Old English the word also occasionally occurs by itself as a male personal name or as an element in personal names (compare discussion at BLACK MAN *n.*).

Similarly, the word occurs frequently in boundary markers in Anglo-Saxon charters and in place names, but, as it usually occurs in inflected forms and compounds, is especially difficult to distinguish formally from BLAKE *adj.*, if the geography of the location does not supply sufficient clues. Compare:

OE *Bounds* (Sawyer 786) in D. Hooke *Worcs. Anglo-Saxon Charter-bounds* (1990) 215 Of hagan geate to þære blacan æc.

OE *Bounds* (Sawyer 1248) in W. de G. Birch *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1885) I. 117 Of gibbe felde in þa blaca dic, andlang blaca dic into beferiþi.

OE *Bounds* (Sawyer 360) in S. Miller *Charters of New Minster, Winchester* (2001) 19 Andlang streames on ðone blacan pol, of ðam blacan pole on hwelpes dell.

Occasionally, interchange with another place-name element within the transmission suggests which of the two words is involved, as *Blacbec* (river name), Westmorland (1170–84; now Black Beck), also attested as *Blabec* (1200–14; compare BLAE *adj.*).

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