ANGLO-FRANCO LANGUAGE CONTACT: THE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

ANGLO-FRANCO CONTATO DE LÍNGUAS: A INFLUÊNCIA LINGUÍSTICA DA CONQUISTA NORMANDA NA LÍNGUA INGLESA

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RESUMO: O lema do brasão real de armas do Reino Unido, *Dieu et mon droit* (Deus é meu direito), é em francês. Isso é porque a conquista normanda (1066) mudou o inglês consideravelmente por um influxo expressivo de empréstimos normando-franceses. Portanto, o foco deste artigo é descrever a conquista normanda, o contato da língua anglo-francesa e sua evolução linguística durante a Idade Média, período de maior afluência dos empréstimos normando-franceses. Infelizmente, a influência normanda é subestimada, o que também será analisado. Para tanto, serão examinados inglês, francês, normando e sua conexão nórdica e também o renascimento do inglês. A pesquisa deste artigo etimológico foi realizada a partir de uma abordagem descritiva que fornece exemplos categorizados, como listas de palavras, para a compreensão do leitor. Percebe-se que mudanças na ortografia e na pronúncia do inglês foram responsáveis por subestimar o impacto do Francês-Normando na língua inglesa. Além disso, o contato com a idioma anglo-normanda tornou o inglês uma língua germânica com traços de uma língua românica, explicando sua acessibilidade aos falantes, ambos de línguas germânicas e românicas. Assim, o inglês tornou-se uma língua franca, o que provocou na França uma lei para impedir empréstimos do inglês. Ironicamente, muitos empréstimos foram de origem Fran

ês-Normando. Em suma, este artigo pode contribuir para o reconhecimento da influência normando-francesa no inglês e que rivalidade entre as línguas é irrelevante, pois cada língua tem sua importância.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Contato de Línguas; Empréstimos do Francês-Normando; Língua Inglesa; Conquista Normanda.

ABSTRACT: The royal coat of arms motto of The United Kingdom, *Dieu et mon droit* (God and my right), is in French. This is because the Norman Conquest (1066) has changed English considerably through an influx of Norman-French borrowings. Therefore, the focus of this article is to describe the Norman Conquest, the Anglo-Franco language contact and its linguistic outcome during the Middle Ages, being the period of the main influx of Norman-French loanwords. Unfortunately, the Norman influence is underestimated, which will be analysed as well. To do so, English, French, Norman and its Norse connection and the rebirth of English will be examined. The research for this etymological article was conducted through a descriptive approach, which provides categorised examples, such as wordlists, for the reader's comprehension. Concluded is, that the changed spelling and pronunciation of English has been responsible for underestimating the Norman-French impact on the English language. In addition, the Anglo-Norman language contact has made English a Germanic language with traces of a Romance language, which explains its accessibility to both Germanic and Romance language speakers. This way, English has become a *língua franca*, which has led in France to a law to avoid borrowings from English. Ironically, many borrowings were of Norman-French re-origin. Overall, this article may contribute to the

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acknowledgement of the Norman-French influence on English and that rivalry amongst languages is irrelevant as each language has its significance.

KEYWORDS: Language Contact; Norman-French Loanwords; English Language; Norman Conquest.

1 Introduction

A coat of arms and its motto is an important national heraldic symbol for a country. For instance, the Nigerian coat of arms has as motto Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress, the Brazilian one has as motto is *República Federativa do Brasil - 15 de Novembro de 1889*[2]. In most countries, such an important national symbol is in the vernacular language. However, the royal coat of arms of the United Kingdom presents as its motto *Dieu et mon droit*[3]. This motto is in French and not in English. What could be the reason that the British coat of arms is in French, a foreign language?

The response comes from Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 98) as they clarify that "toward the close of the Old English period an event occurred that had a greater effect on the English language than any other in the course of its history. The Norman Conquest changed the whole course of the English language". The Norman Conquest took place in 1066, when the English were defeated at the Battle of Hastings by the Normans under William the Conqueror, who became King of England. The languages of the new rulers were Old French and Norman, a variety of Old French. The Norman rulers imposed their language on the English, thus leaving a remarkable contribution and influence on the English language:

> […] some 10,000 French words came into English at that time [...]. These words were largely to do with the mechanisms of law and administration, but they also included words from such fields as medicine, art and fashion. Many of the new words were quite ordinary, everyday terms. Over 70 percent were nouns (CRYSTAL, 1997, p. 46).

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[2] Federative Republic of Brazil - 15 November 1889.
[3] God and my right. Richard I, who did not speak English, first used this motto in 1198.

Indeed, as several sources[4] mention, 45% of the English vocabulary has been borrowed from French, and "one has only to glance over a miscellaneous list of words—nouns, adjectives, verbs—to realize how universal was the French contribution" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 130). Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 49) further add that "such words […] are so essential to the expression of our ideas; seem so familiar and natural to us, that we miss them [...] in Old English", although the English grammar, pronunciation and orthography have also been influenced by French. Hence, the objectives of this article are to describe the changes in the English language that occurred in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest and the borrowing process through the Norman linguistic influx.

Therefore, the focus of this article is on the Anglo-Franco language contact during the Middle Ages, since this was the period of the chief influx of borrowings, albeit French has continued to influence English through more recent borrowings, such as: *boutique*, *chic*, *croissant* and *perfume* (CRYSTAL, 1997). However, these are 19th and 20th century borrowings and consequently do not pertain to the content and context of this article.

Unfortunately, the French influence may be underestimated as a considerable number of words in English and French were derived from Latin, concealing the French influence. The French influence was likewise obscured by Anglo-Franco rivalry through conflicts as the Norman Conquest itself (1066), the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) and colonial conflicts, amongst others. Another factor is that changes in English spelling and pronunciation have also contributed to an underestimated French influence, which is confirmed by Wiley (p. 16, 2018): "oftentimes it is entirely imperceptible, as orthography has changed over time".

The research for this etymological article was conducted through a descriptive approach. A descriptive research includes categorised information, intended to

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[4] Baugh and Cable (2002), Crystal (1997), Durkin (2014), Lawless (2019), Lodge (1993, McColl-Millar (2016), Rothwell (1991).

emphasise the data and to aid the reader to observe the data through the description and visualization of, for instance, wordlists. The wordlists in this article illustrate the Anglo-French Norman element in the English language and were compiled, based on Baugh and Cable (2002), Crystal (1997) and the World Loanword Database (2009) (KEY, 2007).

After this introduction, the Norman Conquest will be described as well as the outcome of Anglo-Norman language contact, such as: doublets, the Norman Conquest and its linguistic consequences on the English upper class, middle class and lower classes. Other sections will relate to the Norman's influence on phonological and spelling changes and the English grammar. The rebirth of English and the final remarks will conclude this article. However, first, Old English, Old French, Old Norman and its Norse connection will be discussed to sketch the linguistic situation before the Norman Conquest.

2 Old and Middle English

Old English[5] was an Indo-European language and part of the Germanic languages, which are divided into three groups: East Germanic languages, which are dead languages such as Gothic; North Germanic languages, such as Danish, Islandic, Norwegian and Swedish and the West Germanic languages, for example, Afrikaans, Dutch, English, Frisian and German (HARBERT, 2006).

Old English was spoken during a part of the Middle Ages and was derived from dialects brought to Britain in the 5th century by Germanic invaders and settlers: the Angles, Saxons and Jutes[6]. Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 45) remark that "[...] it is impossible to say how much the speech of the Angles differed from that of the Saxons

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[5] Old English: from 450 to 1150. Middle English: 12th to 15th century. Early Modern English: 1500 to 1650. Modern English: after 1650 (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002).
[6] The Angles and Jutes were from present-day Denmark. The Saxons from contemporary Germany and the Netherlands (BARBER, 2009).

or that of the Jutes. The differences were certainly slight". The Angles, Saxons and Jutes invaders were to be called Anglo-Saxons and became dominant in England.

The original languages of England such as Brittonic (a Celtic language) and Latin, which was brought to Britain by the Romans, hardly made any impact on the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary and were even considered as 'inferior' and 'non-native' by the Germanic Anglo-Saxon invaders. Eventually, Anglo-Saxon replaced the original languages of England (BARBER, 2009). After several decades, by "[...] the end of the 5th century, the foundation was established for the emergence of the English language" (CRYSTAL, 1997, p. 7). This Old English language, also known as Anglo-Saxon, had four dialects: Mercian, Northumbrian, West Saxon and Kentish.

Anglo-Saxon literacy developed after the Christianisation of Britain in the late 7th century, resulting in the first Old English literature. This literature was written in runic, which was replaced by the Latin alphabet during the 7th century, though "[...] very little material remains from this period. Doubtless many manuscripts were burned during the 7th-century Viking invasions", as Crystal (1997, p. 10) remarks. King Alfred the Great unified the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (excluding the Danelaw territory) in the 9th century, leading to a certain level of standardisation of the language (PYLES; ALGEO, 1993).

A new literary standard arose under the influence of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester during the 10th century, the so-called "classical" form of Old English. This "classical Old English" retained its prestige until the Norman Conquest, after which English lost for centuries its importance as a literary language. English was replaced as the elite's language by Norman-French. This event marks the end of the Old English era. The Norman domination was therefore important for the development from Old English into Middle English (PYLES; ALGEO, 1993).

The period of Middle English "[...] was marked by momentous changes in the English language, changes more extensive and fundamental than those that have taken place at any time before or since" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 147). Some of these

changes had begun during the Old English period. Other changes were triggered in part by the Norman Conquest, which was responsible for a sizeable loss of the Old English vocabulary.

Hence, the most prolific period of borrowings from Norman-French dates from 1250 to 1400, during the Middle English period, as forty percent of these words appear for the first time in English during this period. Afterwards, the borrowing decreased considerably (THOMASON, 2001), as will be discussed further on.

Not only the Middle English vocabulary changed drastically, but also its pronunciation and grammar. The changes in grammar were marked "[...] by a fairly dramatic shift [...] from a highly synthetic system to one more analytic [...]", as Dawson (2003, p. 45) remarks. An analytic language establishes relationships between words in sentences through *helper* words (prepositions, particles, etc.) and word order. A synthetic language uses inflection or agglutination to indicate syntactic relationships in a sentence. Inflection adds morphemes to a root word to determine a word's grammatical property. Agglutination combines two or more morphemes into one word to include a word's grammatical category: subject, object, etc. (POTTER, 1950).

The grammar was altered by pronunciation shifts. For instance, the case, number and gender that marked the adjectives and noun endings lost their usefulness. This instigated a reduction of inflections and consequently the conjugation of Middle English strong verbs was simplified (TROTTER, 2006). The specific grammar changes as a result from the Norman presence will be described further on.

The Great Vowel Shift likewise affected the pronunciation of the English language along the Middle English period. The Great Vowel Shift was a series of changes in the pronunciation of the long vowels that occurred roughly between 1350 and 1600 and was partially influenced by the Normans. As a result, the vowels, /iː/ and /uː/, became diphthongs and the others, /eː/, /ɛː/, /aː/, /ɔː/ and /oː/, rose in tongue height (AITCHISON, 2010).

Thus, before the Great Vowel Shift, the long *i* in *bite* was pronounced as /iː/. Therefore, Middle English *bite* sounded like Modern English *beet*. The long *e* in *meet* was pronounced as /eː/ so Middle English *meet* sounded like modern *mate* /meɪt/. The long *a* in *gate* was pronounced as /aː/, with a vowel as in *rather*. Old English had a long /ɛː/ in *heat*, like the short *e* in *bed*, but pronounced longer. The long *o* in *loot* was pronounced as /oː/, as in modern *oa* as in *toad*. The long /ɔː/ was uttered as in *goat* (AITCHISON, 2010).

However, some of the features of Old English pronunciation and spelling survived the Middle English period while the Great Vowel Shift was taking place. Eventually, Old English and Middle English spelling and pronunciation both became part of Modern English. In this manner, the Great Vowel Shift has contributed to the peculiarities of spelling and pronunciation of Modern English.

As Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 162-163) confirm: "[…] the French words introduced into English as a result of the Norman Conquest often present an appearance quite different from that which they have in Modern French". This is one of the reasons why the influence of Norman-French is obscured as the Norman-French borrowings are in some cases difficult to detect from Modern English pronunciation and spelling.

2.1 Old French

Modern French is a Romance language, which evolved from Vulgar Latin from the third to the eighth century. Vulgar Latin was the common language of the West Roman Empire and differed from Classical Latin regarding vocabulary, phonology and morphology. Romance languages are a subgroup of the Italic languages of the Indo-European languages and include modern languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian and Romanian. Romance languages count more than 900 million

speakers and are to be found mainly on the American, European and African continents (HERMAN, 1997).

French is mainly derived from Vulgar Latin, but influences from Gaulish and Germanic languages such as Old Frankish are noticed. Gaulish was a Celtic language, spoken before and during the presence of the Roman Empire in Gaul, which included parts of modern-day France Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands (SMITH; BERGIN, 1984).

In addition, Old Frankish influenced Old French. Old Frankish was a West Germanic language, spoken by the Franks[7] between the 4th and 8th century. The Franks conquered the Old French-speaking region around the 530s. The syntax, pronunciation and vocabulary of the Vulgar Latin in Roman Gaul were modified by the Old Frankish language during the end of the West Roman Empire. Furthermore, the Latin accent was substituted by a Germanic stress that resulted in the elimination of the unaccented syllable and of the final vowels and a differentiation between long and short vowels. Likewise, the names *France* and *français* are derived from the Franks, underlining the Frankish influence on the development of Old French (LODGE, 1993).

Old French was spoken in the north of France, the Dutchy of Lorraine, Burgundy and Wallonia from the 8th century to the 14th century The Old French Romance languages of Medieval France are divided into three geographical groups: the *Langues d'oïl*, *the Langues d'oc*, (both named after their words for 'yes' (*oïl* and *òc*) and *Provençal*. *Langue d'oïl* was spoken from the 8th century to the 14th century. The *langues d'oïl* are a dialect continuum[8] that includes standard French and its other varieties in the north of France, Southern Belgium and the Channel Islands. These languages belong to the Gallo-Romance languages[9] (LODGE, 1993).

Langue d'oc, or *Occitan* is a Romance language located in the south of France as well as in regions of Italy and Spain. These regions are also known as Occitania. There

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[7] Germanic people from contemporary Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands.
[8] Spreading of language varieties. Neighbouring varieties differ slightly, the differences strengthen over distance. Much separated varieties might not be mutually intelligible.
[9] Romance languages, including French, Occitan and Provençal.

is no standard *Occitan* language; neither has *Occitan* an official status in modern France[10], homeland to most of Occitania. The third geographical group, *Provençal*, was located in Upper Burgundy and was diverged from the *Langue d'oïl* in the early 9th century. In the 12th century, *Provençal* was considered as a recognizable Gallo-Romance variety (SMITH; BERGIN, 1984).

The mid-14th century is a transitional period toward Middle-French, when the *Langues d'oïl* dialects, mainly of the Île-de-France region (the region around Paris), became the dominating language. Later, in the 16th century, King François I established French as the official language throughout France, including the *Langue d'oc* territories in the south. A standardised French language spread throughout the country in the 17th and 18 th century (SMITH; BERGIN, 1984).

The French political and economic force led the zenith of France's power in the 17th century. The creation of the *Académie Française* in 1635 led to the standardisation of French. French became a prestigious international language of the elite, which stimulated that intellectuals, writers and scientists expressed themselves in French (SMITH; BERGIN, 1984).

2.2 Old Norman and its Norse connection

Old Norman was one of the *Langues d'oïl* dialects and was spoken in Normandy. The Norman language still exists as a regional language in Normandy and the Channel Islands and is connected to some degree to the Norsemen who landed at the shores of Normandy during the Viking Age (793 to 1066). According to Sawyer (1995, p. 3), the Viking Age is "[...] best defined as the period when Scandinavians played a large role in the British Isles and Western Europe as raiders and conquerors. It is also the period in which Scandinavians settled in many of the areas they conquered [...]".

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[10] However, Occitan holds an official status as *langue régionale*.

Normandy[11] discloses its Scandinavian origin as it means *Northmannia* or *Land of the Norsemen*, and as such, "derives its name from the Northmen who settled there in the ninth and tenth centuries" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 98). The Scandinavian presence in Normandy began with raids into the Frankish territory from the mid 9th century, including the besieging and sacking of Paris. This forced the Frankish king Charles the Simple to create the Duchy of Normandy for the Viking leader Rollo. In exchange, Rollo was baptized, married Charles's daughter and became a vassal to Charles the Simple in 911 (McARTHUR, 2005).

Rollo's descendants "[...] readily adopting the ideas and customs of those among whom they came to live, the Normans had soon absorbed the most important elements of French civilization" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 98-99), such as the local variation of Old French and the culture through intermarriage with the locals. This way, they became the Normans, a Norman-French speaking amalgam of Scandinavians and the local population of Franks and Gauls and "in the eleventh century, at the time of the Norman Conquest, the civilization of Normandy was essentially French", as Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 99) mention.

Norman-French words with a Norse origin that have survived in English are several words with a 'hard c' and a 'hard g'. The 'hard c' is the voiceless velar stop, /k/ (as in *care*). The 'soft c' sound may be a fricative or affricate and is uttered in English as /s/ (COVINGTON, 2010). The ⟨g⟩ sound is represented in English by the 'hard g' and 'soft g'. The 'hard g' is usually the voiced velar plosive [g] (as in *golf)*. The 'soft g' is uttered as a fricative or as the affricate /ʤ/, as in *gym.* At the end of a word, ⟨g⟩ is mostly uttered as a 'hard g' (*dog*), but ⟨g⟩ is soft when followed by a silent ⟨e⟩ as in *change* (EMERSON, 1997).

For example, vague, /veɪɡ/, is a Norman-French word of Norse origin with a 'hard g' that has survived in English. The 'hard c' is preserved in English through

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[11] The North-West of France.

pocket (from Norman-French *pochette*). The *ch*, as in *chair*, *cherry*, *chisel*, likewise indicates the Scandinavian Norman-French origin, as well as the *w* in *reward*, *wage*, *wait*, *warden*, *waste*, *wise* (McARTHUR, 2005). Also, "equally of Norman-French Norse origin are "an *ai*, *ei* or *ey* spelling (and an *ee* or *ay* pronunciation): *convey*, *deceive*, *faith*, heir, *leisure*, *prey*, *receive*, *veil*" (McARTHUR, 2005, p. 19).

Through the Norman Conquest of England, the Norsemen have left their linguistic marks on the English language when Rollo's descendant, William the Conqueror, occupied the English throne in 1066 after the Battle of Hastings (McArthur (2005). But, it must be remarked that the Norsemen had already made a considerable contribution to English language earlier on.

This started with raids in England from 789 onwards. Most of the English kingdoms could not hold back the Scandinavians, leading eventually to the treaty of Wedmore (878), which "[...] defined the line [...] of which the foreigners were henceforth to remain. This territory was to be subject to Danish law and is hence known as the Danelaw" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 84). This Danelaw (including cities such as Leicester, Derby, York, Cambridge and Nottingham) lasted to the late 11th century and was responsible for a considerable influx of Scandinavian vocabulary into the English language.

The Scandinavian presence in England lingered until 1066, when the English under Harold Godwinson at Stamford Bridge defeated the Norsemen. Harold Godwinson himself died several weeks later when William the Conqueror and his Normans defeated the English army at the Battle of Hastings (GRAHAM-CAMPBELL, 2001).

3 Anglo-Norman language contact

Language contact arises when speakers of different languages interact and influence one another. A common outcome of language contact is borrowing. Language contact may take place through an *adstratum*, which is a language that serves as a

source language of borrowing due to its prestige (THOMASON, 2001). Additionally, language contact may result through a *substratum* and a *superstratum*.

A *substratum* is a language that influences and at the same time is supplanted by an invading language (a *superstratum*). For instance, a foreign language infiltrates into a country, supplants the original language and imposes its linguistic elements. This occurs because speakers of the original language use the new language to attain success in the new political environment. Even so, the original language influences the invading language (JENKINS, 2010).

This last example of language contact is similar to the situation in England during the era of the Norman Conquest. William the Conqueror and his Norman followers spoke Old Norman and other varieties of Old French. In England, they were exposed to English and the Normans used some Old English words, although it were mostly the English that adopted the language of the new rulers

This linguistic melting pot developed into the Anglo-Norman French contact language, which was from the 12th until the 15th century predominantly used in the fields of literature, law, commerce, administration, church, government, science and education (SHORT, 2007). The term Anglo-Norman French is selected to describe the linguistic mixture of Old French, Old Norman and Middle English during the Norman period as this term covers most ground.

However, one question remains: was it Continental Old French or Anglo-Norman French that has produced the most substantial impact on English? In fact, the Parisian French has influenced the English language though, "[…] Norman-French was until the 13th dominant", as McArthur, 2005, p. 17) states. Crystal (1997, p. 46) claims that "the French of the Norman Conquerors was a northern dialect of the language and this dominated the English scene for 200 years. By the 12th century, Paris had to come to be established as the centre of influence in France and new loanwords began to arrive from the dialect of that area".

Therefore, it is argued that Norman-French as well as the Continental Old French language contributed to the borrowing and language contact process. Furthermore, the English language remained in common use, mostly among the lower classes. Thus,

> [...] what we have in the influence of the Norman Conquest is a merging of the resources of two languages, a merger in which thousands of words in common use in each language became partners in a reorganized concern. English retains a controlling interest, but French as a large minority stockholder supplements and rounds out the major organization in almost every department (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 161).

On the whole, it is observed that Anglo-Norman French was a contact language based on a shared culture that had been used long enough to influence the English language permanently, as can still be detected from Modern English.

4 The Norman Conquest of England

In January 1066, the English king Edward the Confessor died childless without a successor. England, in those days, was divided into districts, controlled by earls. The most powerful was Godwin, earl of West Saxon. Godwin's eldest son, Harold Godwinson, succeeded to his title and exercised a solid influence over King Edward, resulting in Harold's election as the new king.

However, William, the duke of Normandy and cousin to the deceased king, challenged this election. William did not have legal rights to inherit the throne, but apparently, Edward had given William hope. Even Harold had acknowledged William's claim, as he was once captured by William and was forced to swear not to obstruct William's election. Afterwards, Harold denied his pledge (MORRIS, 2012).

Therefore, William could seize the crown only through war. William's army, which met no resistance, landed at Pevensey in September 1066. On October 14, the English army lost the battle at Hastings. Initially, Harold's army held an advantageous well-defended position on the hills. The Norman's army was in dire straits and William ordered a simulated retreat to deceive the English. The English were tricked indeed and

they chased after the Normans. But the Normans made a surprise return to the battle field (MORRIS, 2012).

The English were out of their advantageous position and King Harold Godwinson was killed in battle. Harold's death left the remains of the English army confused and caused their retreat from the battle. The English defeat occurred due to exhaustion by recent fights with the Norsemen in the north and the long journey back to the south. In addition, Harold's own brothers did not help him and a substantial number of Harold's men had left him, as they had returned home for the harvest season (MORRIS, 2012).

After the Normans had pillaged the southeast, the citizens of London surrendered. William the Conqueror claimed the English throne and was crowned on December 25, 1066. William's coronation involved more than a mere substitution of one king for another, as it had been the result of a conquest with all due consequences for the defeated party. A first consequence was that "William's […] noblemen took over the ranks of nobility in England, due to the fact that many English noblemen had died in the Battle of Hastings, causing that […] England forevermore appeared differently" (WILEY, p. 9, 2018). In addition, many Anglo-Saxon nobles were killed during William's campaigns in order to consolidate his power.

Besides the nobility, the Norman high-ranking clergymen took over the key positions in the church This meant that important positions were held by Normans for generations, so, "[...] the governing class in both church and state was almost exclusively made up from among them, their influence was out of all proportion to their number" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 102). Many Norman commoners, such as soldiers, merchants and craftsmen, remained after the conquest and their numbers increased as more of this class settled in England while, in general, they kept to their native language. In short, the Norman Conquest caused that:

> […] before the end of the eleventh century, the throne, the royal administration, education, almost all the agricultural land (and hence almost all the wealth and economic power), and all the great places in the church and many of the small ones were possessed by men of

French birth, French culture, and French language. French had become within three decades inevitably the daily language, both spoken, and written, of nine out of ten of the persons of weight and substance in England (CLARK, 1957, p. 22).

5 Doublets

Doublets or word pairs are the first outcome of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French language contact that will be defined. Crystal (1997, p. 46), regarding doublets, describes that, "[…] there were two outcomes. Either one word would supplant the other; or both would co-exist, but develop slightly different meanings […] where they duplicated words that had already existed in English from Anglo-Saxon times".

The first outcome was the most frequent; the-Norman-French word replaced an Old English one. In this manner, *beautiful* replaced *wlitig*, *place* substituted *stow* and *people* was favoured over *leod*. Consequently, hundreds of Old English words disappeared. As a matter of fact, "the enormous invasion of French words not only took the place of many English words that had been lost but accounts for a great many of the losses from the Old English vocabulary" as Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 167) indicate.

As a result of the second outcome, Old English (OE) and Norman-French (NF) words both survived with a different connotation, for example: *house* (OE) and *mansion* (NF); *hearty* (OE) and *cordial* (NF). Other examples include the word pairs *continue-go*, *encounter-meet*, *commerce-trade*, *purchase-buy* and *commence-start*. Similarly, the 'food pairs' serve as an example of this phenomenon: the English word refers to the living animal, whereas the Norman-French word describes the animal as being the food. Thus, this explains the presence of the pairs[12] *sheep-mutton*, *cow-beef*, *swine-pork*, *sheep-mutton* and *calf-veal* in English (CRYSTAL, 1997).

The first word in these pairs represents the elite's Anglo-Norman French, the second word represents the Anglo-Saxon Old English word. In general, the elite uttered the Anglo-Norman French alternative for prestige's sake, whereas the commoners stuck

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[12] See also culinary vocabulary in the section The Norman Conquest and the upper class.

to the Anglo-Saxon options, but used the Anglo-Norman French alternative of the doublet to communicate with the elite. As such, through the Anglo-Norman French speaking elite, doublets with different registers of language, entered the English language (TROTTER, 2006).

A further category of doublets deals with words that have entered English twice with different meanings through the Norman Conquest; from the Norman dialect and from the Parisian dialect. Norman *warranty* versus Parisian *guarantee*, Norman *catch* versus Parisian *chase* and Norman *warden* versus Parisian *guardian* embody this type of doublets (TROTTER, 2006).

6 The Norman Conquest and the English upper class

It has been discussed in the section on the Norman Conquest, that William's Norman followers became the ruling class regarding government and religion. As such, they imposed their language on the English upper class, nobility and church, supplanting the Anglo-Saxon language. The Anglo-Norman French contact language became in this way the language of the upper class as it was the language of government and likewise, from the conquest (1066) until the late 14th century, the language of the king[13] and his court (SHORT, 2007). As a result, "due to the Normans presiding as the nobility throughout England after the Battle, every facet of culture was subsequently affected, as […] the nobles spoke in Norman French. [...]", adds Wiley (p. 29, 2018).

The Norman rulers were predominant enough to use their own language. This is logical, as most of them did not speak English, although they hardly made an effort to learn English either. It must be emphasised though, that the Normans were not hostile towards the English language. Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 107) add that "[...] the attitude of the king and the upper classes toward the English language may be characterized as one of simple indifference".

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[13] From William the Conqueror (1066–1087) until Henry IV (1399–1413).

However, some Normans considered English as uncultivated and the language of the inferior classes. Additionally, the kings of England were also dukes of Normandy, which explains their use of Norman-French. The nobility followed this example and used Anglo-Norman French, as they also had possessions in Normandy or in other parts of France (SHORT, 2007).

Marriages with French princesses and intermarriages with English nobility made the English elite understand the importance to learn Anglo-Norman-French, which strengthened the position of the Anglo-Norman language. Moreover, the intermarriages rendered that the distinction between speakers of English and Anglo-Norman French was not only ethnic anymore but also social. Consequently, this contributed that Anglo-Norman French became a second language among the elite and remained the language of the upper class and clerics in England for 200 years (SHORT, 2007).

As an outcome of the Norman religious domination, a significant number of clerical terminology entered English. For example, *prayer* from Old French *prier*, meaning petition or request and *vicar*, from Old French *vicaire*, meaning deputy, second in command. Other examples are: *abbess*, *abbey*, *cardinal*, *chant*, *chaplain*, *clergy*, *cloister*, *communion*, *confession*, *convent*, *divine*, *friar*, *hermit*(*age*), *mercy*, *novice*, *obedience*, *parson*, *pity*, *preach*(*er*), *sermon*, *virtue* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009). This list of Norman religious vocabulary "[…] proves how strong of presence the French language has had on the English language, […] entrenching itself into an entirely different subsection of the English language", as Wiley (p. 14-15, 2018) comments.

Vocabulary related to government, nobility and royalty is manifested through, for instance, *Baron* from *baron*; virtuous man, warrior, husband and *parliament*: from *parlement*: talk, speak, from *parler*. More examples include: *assembly*, *chancellor*, *constable*, *council*, *count*(*ess*), *court*, *crown*, *duke*, duches, *empire*, *governor*, *liberty*, *madam*, *majesty*, *marquis*, *mayor*, *minister*, *nobility*, *palace*, *prince*(*ess*), *rebel*, *reign*, *royal*, *scepter*, *sir*, *sovereign*, *state*, *squire*, *treason*, *treasurer*, *treaty* (wordlist based on:

BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

Likewise connected to authority are a multitude of military terms "[…] that are French, [...] it leaves the reader to wonder, where did the original Anglo-Saxon terms disappear to? Thus, further proving that the French have had the most influence on the English language than any other group […]" as by Wiley (p. 22, 2018) declares. For instance, *ambush*, *arms*, *army*, *battle*, *captain*, *combat*, *enemy*, *guard*, *lieutenant*, *navy*, *peace*, *sergeant*, *siege*, *soldier*, *spy* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

The law was also in the hands of the Anglo-Norman French speaking elite. Thus, "the fact that we speak of *justice* instead of *gerihte, judgment* rather than *dom* (doom), [...] shows how completely we have adopted the terminology of French law" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 158). The word *attorney* is derived from *atorné* (appointed). Other borrowings regarding the law include: *accuse*, *arrest*, *arson*, *bail*, *blame*, *convict*, *defendant*, *estate*, *evidence*, *felony*, *fraud*, *gaol*, *heir*, *innocent*, *judge*, *jury*, *legacy*, *libel*, *plaintiff*, *plead*, *prison*, *proof*, *property*, *punishment*, *ransom*, *sentence*, *slander*, *sue*, *suit*, *trespass*, *verdict*, *warrant* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

Culinary vocabulary has already been discussed in the section on doublets, as was noted that the elite found the use of Anglo-Norman French more upscale than the common Anglo-Saxon expressions. Therefore, it was not only to distinguish the food from the animal or agricultural product, but also a matter of status and it is "[…] a fascinating list to ruminate over, as it seems to be fairly all encompassing of the gastronomy that can be found throughout England" (WILEY, p. 16, 2018). For instance, *beef* stems from *buef*: ox, ox hide. Other culinary borrowings are: *bacon*, *biscuit*, *boil*, *cherry*, *cinnamon*, *cream*, *fruit*, *grape*, *gravy*, *herb*, *lemon*, *lettuce*, *mustard*, *orange*, *oyster*, *peach*, *pigeon*, *poultry*, *raisin*, *roast*, *salad*, *salmon*, *saucer*, *sausage*, *spice*, *stew*, *sugar*, *supper*, *thyme*, *vinegar* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

The intellectual interests of the ruling elite were reflected through artistic, educational, architectural and scientific borrowings. To name some: *canvas* is derived from *canevach* (made of hemp) and *pen* (from *penne*), meaning feather. Further examples contain *anatomy*, *art*, *beauty*, *ceiling*, *cellar*, *chapter*, *chimney*, *contagion*, *copy*, *figure*, *grammar*, *literature*, *medicine*, *noun*, *pain*, *painting*, *paper*, *plague*, *poet*, *physician*, *poison*, *prologue*, *prose*, *pulse*, *rime*, *remedy*, *romance*, *sculpture*, *stomach*, *story*, *square*, *surgeon*, *volume* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).. Additionally, several expressions and turns of phrase come from Anglo-Norman French. For example, *beforehand*, from *avaunt-main*; *according to*; *by heart*; *have mercy on*; *in vain*, and *take leave* (SHORT, 2007).

In the same vein, the elite were also responsible for vocabulary related to luxury and leisure as they had the time and money. The word *luxury* itself is a borrowing, as well as *fur*, *jewel*, and *satin*. In addition, names of precious stones are Norman-influenced: *amethyst*, *crystal*, *diamond*, *emerald*, *pearl*, *ruby*, *sapphire*, *topaz*, *turquoise*. Regarding leisure, the word itself and *sport* comes from *desporter*: to amuse, to play. Other examples include: *carol*, *dance*, *fool*, *joust*, *lute*, *minstrel*, *music*, *tournament* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

6.1 Norman Conquest, the middle class and the lower classes

The middle class merchants used Anglo-Norman French as some knowledge of it was needed for trading in market towns or with continental Europe. In addition, the English-speaking middle-class learned Anglo-Norman French, encouraged by its use in the school system and its prestigious status among the upper class. English held its position as the vernacular of the commoners during the Norman period. However, for example, in the courts, the members of the jury from the lower classes had to have

knowledge of Anglo-Norman-French in order to understand proceedings and when working for the elite (SHORT, 2007).

In this manner, numerous common daily life-related, domestic and business-related Norman-French vocabulary that represented the middle class and lower class entered English. *Affair* originates from *afaire* (to make, to do). *Butler* stems from *boteillier*, meaning "cup-bearer". The lower class word *carpenter* is derived from Norman *carpentier* and replaced the Old English *treowwyrhta* (*tree-wright*) (CLARK, 1957)

Further examples are: *bargain*, *blanket*, *boots*, *button*, *closet*, *commerce*, *curtain*, *coat*, *couch*, *chair*, *cushion debt*, *gown*, *marriage*, *pantry*, *pay*, *proud*, *purchase*, *rent*(*al*) *towel*, *wardrobe* and the colours *beige*, *blue*, *brown*, *scarlet* and *violet*. Connected to daily life is the Norman influence on personal names. The Old English names *Athelstan*, *Godwin*, *Harold* and *Wulfstan* went out of style and made way for Norman names as *Henry*, *Hugh*, *Richard*, *Robert* and *Roger*. A final and famous example of a common borrowing is *very*, from *veray* (true) (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

7 The Norman influence on English pronunciation and spelling

The influence of the Norman Conquest on the English pronunciation is regarded as a minor feature by such researchers as Crystal (1997) and Baugh and Cable (2002). Nonetheless, a few examples are known, for instance, non-initial stress. This non-initial-stress, in contrast to primary stressed word, occurs in a word that is stressed on any syllable other than the first one (e.g., as in compe*ti*tion). Furthermore, French introduced new diphthongs such /ɔɪ/ and /ʊɪ/, which were unusual sounds for English. Also, /ɔɪ/ (as in *boy*, *coin*) entered English during the Norman period (CRYSTAL, 1997).

In relation to this phonological influence, are the spelling changes in English under the Norman rule. These changes occurred as Norman clerks spelled English

according to the French spelling rules and conventions. Crystal (1997, p. 42) outlines that "by the beginning of the 15th century, English spelling was a mixture of two systems, Old English and French. The consequences plague English learners still". In this manner, the *ch* (instead of *c*) in such words as *church* and *ou* for *u* (as in *house*), entered English. In addition, *k* and *z* were more applied than the Anglo-Saxon *j*. The combination *dg* (*bridge*) instead of *gg* or *cg* also came into use (ROTHWELL, 1991).

A further example that the Norman clerks were responsible for, concerns the use of *gh* instead of *h* (e.g, *enough, night*). The *cw* spelling replaced *qu* (*queen* for *cween*). The *o* expelled the *u* (*love*, *son*) and the *sc* spelling was dropped from some words with *sch* or *sh* (*ship*). The *c* before *e* replaced *s* in words as *cell* and *cercle* (circle). Other examples regarding spelling changes are: consonant doubling that occurred after short vowels as in *sitting* and vowel doubling to represent long vowel sounds as in *see*. Also, the Old English spelling of such common words as *hwæt*, *hwǣr* and *hwenne* was changed to *what*, *where* and *when* (MORRIS, 2012).

Besides this, the Norman presence was responsible to a certain extent for standardised English at end of the fifteenth century. The Normans decided to move the capital from Winchester to London, which ended the dominant position of West Saxon. London's expanding influence caused that the Mercian dialect of Old English became the standard language (TROTTER, 2006).

8 English grammar and the Norman Conquest

The Norman Conquest was also responsible for some grammatical influence on English that had mostly to do with morphological and syntactical changes. A first example consists of the use of *you* as in the French use of *vous* in formal settings in favour of the English pronouns *thou* and *thee*. The *-s* ending to mark plurals is a further Norman influence. It is likely that the *-s* ending eclipsed other endings (e.g. *-en*) in consequence of the similar construction of the French plural. Moreover, the placing of

the adjective after the noun (i.e. *attorney general*) has an Anglo-Norman French origin (McCOLL-MILLAR, 2016).

By the same token, possessive constructions as *the house of John* instead of the Germanic construction *John's house*, stem from the times of the Norman Conquest as well as the use of the impersonal *one*, (e.g. take care of *one's* health). Furthermore, the elevated use of gerunds is attributed to the French *gérondif*.

Besides the last examples regarding grammar, "a large number were abstract terms, using such new French affixes as *con-*, *trans-*, *pre-*, *-ance-*, *-tion-* and *-ment*" (CRYSTAL, 1997, p. 46). Other prefixes and suffixes, including *-ous*, *-ity*, *-ture*, *-ive*, and *-able*, were adopted by English grammar. Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 166) mention that "hybrid forms (French root with English prefix or suffix) like *un*gracious, *over*praising occur quite early (mostly before 1250)". This proves again that Norman-French assimilated smoothly to a fusion with English.

With respect to adjectives, "[...] the additions were of special importance since Old English was not very well provided with adjective distinctions" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 160). To exemplify, *foreign* is based on Old French *forain* (outer, strange) and the adjective *poor* stems from Old French *povre* (weak, thin, wretched). Some more examples of adjectives contain: *able*, *active*, *brief*, *certain*, *clear*, *common*, *courageous*, *cruel*, *double*, *easy*, *fierce*, *frail*, *gentle*, *gracious*, *honest*, *horrible*, *jolly*, *large*, *mean*, *nice*, *original*, *probable*, *proper*, *pure*, *rude*, *safe*, *savage*, *secret*, *single*, *sober*, *stable*, *strange*, *sudden*, *sure*, *tender*, *usual* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

9 English verbs and the Norman Conquest

A list of the verbs similarly depicts the variation of borrowings from Norman-French. Wiley (p. 27, 2018) suggests that "one can hardly describe anything without needing to attach a "verb" to it that hales from the French language, or Norman French. Ultimately, this section is the culmination of the prowess the French language has had

over the English language in any capacity". To exemplify: the verb *to approach* comes from *aprochier*, meaning, "come closer".

The verb to murmur stems from *murmure* (trouble, argument). Other verbs that entered the English language due to the Norman Conquest include: *advance*, *allow*, *apply*, *arrive*, *carry*, *change*, *close*, *commence*, *complain*, *conceal*, *consider*, *continue*, *cover*, *cry*, *deceive*, *declare*, *desire*, *destroy*, *embrace*, *excuse*, *flatter*, *join*, *marry*, *move*, *observe*, *prefer*, *propose*, *push*, *quit*, *receive*, *remember*, *satisfy*, *surprise*, *travel*, *wait* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

10 The rebirth of English

It is clarified throughout this article that the Norman Conquest has made a vast linguistic impression on the English language. This leads to the question how the English language has survived this influx of borrowings? Crystal (1997, p. 31) responds this question by declaring that "evidently, the English language in the 11th century was too well established to be supplanted by another language [...], it had a considerable written literature and a strong oral tradition".

Moreover, the number of Normans in England was probably as low as 2 percent of the total population. Hence, there were too few Normans to spread their language throughout the country and all layers of society. Nevertheless, the years of the Norman Conquest are quite obscure in the history of the English language. Hardly any written evidence of English exists, as the documents at that time were in Norman-French (McCOLL-MILLAR, 2016).

Another factor is that Normandy came under French rule in 1204. Consequently, the aristocracy felt more connected to the English identity and "so far as it affected the English language, [...] the loss of Normandy was wholly advantageous. King and nobles were now forced to look upon England as their first concern" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002,

p. 117). The anti-French sentiments increased even more when Henry III invited and favoured his wife Eleanor's relatives in England.

A further motive for the decline of Anglo-Norman French was that in France, Anglo-Norman French was labeled as a provincial variety; the "[…] English-influenced varieties of French were considered uneducated and perhaps a bit of a joke" (CRYSTAL, 1997, p. 46). This humiliation stimulated the use of English as first language among the nobility and the upper-class (McCOLL-MILLAR, 2016).

The anti-French sentiments escalated in 1328, when Charles IV of France died heirless. This provoked a dispute between Philip VI of France and Edward III of England for the French throne and the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) broke out. Thus "[…] French was the language of an enemy country, and the Hundred Years' War is probably to be reckoned as one of the causes contributing to the disuse of French" (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 129). As a matter of fact, French, being now the language of the enemy, was responsible for a further decline of Anglo-Norman French.

After more than 200 years as a low-status language, English was reestablished as the language of government and education: in 1356, the mayor of London ordered that the court's language must be in English. All lawsuits would be in English six years later. The language of instruction also became English after 1349, which was settled as a general custom by 1385. In 1476, the English language was further reinforced when William Caxton introduced printing to England. During the 13th and 14th century, religious texts, songs, documents and literature with names such as Geoffrey Chaucer, appeared in English. Henry IV (1367-1413) was the first English king to use English as his first language and Henry V (1387-1422) was the first English king to use English in official documents (McCOLL-MILLAR, 2016).

Besides these factors, another feature that made English to retake its prestige is the improvement of the lower-classes' financial state. "The process by which these changes were being brought about was greatly accelerated by an event that occurred in the year 1349, […] a disease that in its contagiousness and fatality exceeded anything

previously, the plague, The Black Death" as Baugh and Cable (2002, p. 130) analyse. The plague caused more mortality among the lower-class due to their lesser access to food and worse living conditions. The result was a labour shortage and this led consequently to better wages. In this manner, the social and economic position, as well as the English spoken by the lower-class gained importance.

At the same time in the towns, the prominence of the craftsmen and the merchant class arose. They united and founded guilds for the protection and defence of their rights. Hence, an independent, prosperous and potent class stood up. This new middle-class favoured the English language, as most of this class only spoke English and as such, their clients were forced to speak English. The Anglo-Norman French language fell out of grace and became Law French, a lawyers' jargon, which was used in English law until the reign of Charles II (1660-1685) of England (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002).

Final remarks

The Normans have made an ever-lasting impact on English through an endless stream of nouns, as well as having marked the English grammar, spelling and pronunciation to some extent. However, the same changes in spelling and pronunciation have been responsible for the underestimated impact of French on English, as these changes have quite obscured the Norman-French influence. Nonetheless, "[…] the French people, via the Battle of Hastings and what followed thereafter, have had the paramount influence. This can be proven through the lens of orthography, military, art, religious words and/or phrases, propriety and etiquette, and cuisine" as Wiley (p. 2-3) defends the French influence.

Moreover, Rothwell (1991, p. 187) underlines that Anglo-Norman French is "the missing link (towards Modern English), although many etymological dictionaries seem to ignore the contribution of that language in English [...]". The use of Anglo-Norman French also indicates the powerful Norman linguistic influx, as it explains for the

absence of written records in English between 1066 and 1400. However, English has remained a Germanic language:

> while we are under the necessity of paying considerable attention to the large French element that the Norman Conquest brought directly and indirectly into the language, we must see it in proper perspective. The language that the Normans and their successors finally adopted was English, and although it was changed from the language of King Alfred, its predominant features were those inherited from the Germanics that settled in England in the fifth century (BAUGH; CABLE, 2002, p. 170).

But, it must be remarked that, through the Norman Conquest, English has entered to some degree into the realm of the Romance languages. This has made English more accessible and appealing to learn for speakers of both Germanic and Romance languages than if it had remained a "pure" Germanic language. Consequently, it also justifies the position of English as a *língua franca*, being so eminently formed by language contact.

The position of English as the world's *lingua franca* has provoked a nationalistic reaction in France, namely, the Toubon Law (1994)[14]. This law has made the use of French compulsory in, for instance, governmental publications, workplaces, advertisements and public schools. The law was a reaction to the increasing use of English in France, as the law's objective was to protect and fortify the French language (AGER, 1999).

Ironically, the French did apparently not perceive their substantial influence on the English language and therefore the law did not function very well, as many of the borrowings from English were re-borrowings from the times of the Norman Conquest, thus originally from Norman-French. The word *budget* from *bougette* (a pocket for coins), points this out, besides other examples as *challenge*, *design*, *management*, *suspense*, *tennis*, *ticket*, *tunnel* and *vintage* (wordlist based on: BAUGH; CABLE (2002), CRYSTAL (1997), WORLD LOANWORD DATABASE (2009).

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[14] named after Jacques Toubon, Minister of Culture, who proposed the law

Altogether, this article may contribute to the acknowledgement of the French influence on English. More important though, is regarded a contribution to the insight that the rivalry amongst languages is irrelevant as every language has its rightful place and significance in the world.

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