

# Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and the Normalization of Norman

Master's Research Paper at York University by Isaiah Terveen

## 1. Introduction

In 1066, William the Conqueror and the Normans overthrew the Kingdom of England, and William was crowned as the new King (Bates 2016). With the new rule of the Normans, a new language was brought to the Island of Britain called “Norman”, a Romance language spoken by the conquering people group. This created an initial linguistic situation where Norman-speaking rulers had contact with an English-speaking populace. The invasion of England by the Normans at this time is so significant in the history of the stages of English, that 1066 is often marked as the beginning of the Middle English Period (Turville-Petre and Burrow 2020), where English is no longer in the stage called Old English, but rather Middle English. By the middle of the Middle English period, a wide variety of vocabulary had entered English as a result of the domination of the Norman aristocracy in England, and by that point Middle English literature had become very distinct from Old English literature. This vocabulary is often related to law and government, because this vocabulary entered through the institutions of the law where Norman French was more widely spoken than in other domains. 500 years after the Norman Invasion, English was no longer in the stage that could be called Middle English. Instead, historical linguists call the language “Early Modern English” (Barber 1997), and one of the most famous writers of literature and poetry in the Early Modern stage of English is William Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's plays have been widely praised by critics, and endure in the popular consciousness to this day. Although all of his works were written at least 500 years after the

Norman invasion, his language, as well as our Modern English, includes vocabulary that was introduced to English through the Norman conquest. In our modern speech, words that have Norman origin such as “famous”, “error”, and “deliver” are fully integrated into the language along with words of native Germanic origin, and using them does not convey an aristocratic background. However, these words must have been novel in the language at some point. The first writers of Middle English literature must have encountered at least mild confusion from readers who encountered newly-borrowed Norman vocabulary for the first time, or perhaps it carried an air of sophistication. In fact, it was often the practice that a Norman legal term would be glossed with an Anglo-Saxon equivalent to help reading comprehension (Mellinkoff 1963:120).

Although this novelty in usage has faded with the passage of time, it is still possible that the novelty of Norman vocabulary was present in the dialogue of an Early Modern English work, such as William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. This leads us to our research question for the paper; in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, how can we see the diffusion of vocabulary inherited from the Norman conquest of England in the text of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*? Is there a difference in the usage of Norman and Non-Norman vocabulary by characters? And how do characters of different social backgrounds use English words of Norman origin differently, if there are identifiable differences in their speech at all?

The specific impact of the 1066 Norman Invasion of England has been an underrated influence on *Hamlet*’s linguistic identity. In this paper, I will argue that the overthrow of the Old Anglo-Saxon order of England by Norman French speakers led by William the Conqueror had far-reaching linguistic consequences on English that had fully taken root among the common English of Williams Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, to the point that overall rates of the relative usage of Norman-origin vocabulary no were no longer treated as a marker of social meaning. By that I

mean, a person or literary character using a Norman word rather than a Germanic one no longer had a clear correlation with their social standing, which can be demonstrated in the text of *Hamlet* by providing examples of simultaneous use of Germanic and Norman words with the same or similar meaning, such as “carry” and “bear”. In this paper, I will first provide historical context to the languages of Old English and Norman French in anticipation of their contact and conflict. Then I will draw on existing scholarship on language contact and borrowing between the two languages, and summarize the current state of research of Shakespeare’s language and vocabulary. In the following two sections, I will present the data I have collected on the vocabulary of *Hamlet*, the methods I intend to use to analyze it, and the results of that same analysis. The paper will conclude with remarks on the findings of the data analysis, and will present my conclusions on the ultimate impact of Norman French on *Hamlet*.

## **2. Historical Background**

### **A. Old English and Anglo-Saxon Society**

The era immediately preceding the period of Norman domination in England was one defined by Germanic peoples. England was a Germanic-speaking society from the 5th century onwards (Stanton 1971:315). After the arrival of Roman missionaries, England had become a thoroughly Christianized society as well. Before the 5th century, Celtic-speaking peoples lived agrarian lifestyles throughout much of Britain, and Wales and Scotland still maintained their Celtic-speaking identities long into the era of the invading Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The stage of English that was spoken in this territory for nearly 500 years is called “Old English” or “Anglo-Saxon”, and is marked by highly inflected fusional morphology, including a 5-case system of declensions, three grammatical genders, consistent ablaut and umlaut in verbal and

nominal morphology, and a lexicon consisting almost entirely of Germanic lexical items (Hogg 2012:16). It should be noted that there were small quantities of words of other linguistic heritages, including Latin borrowed from ecclesiastical sources and Old Norse from the small areas of Britain under Danish control called the Danelaw. Small amounts of influence from Brittonic, the now-extinct native Celtic language spoken in England by the native Celts, have also been noted by linguists (Sauer 2008). In pockets of England, Old Norse was the predominant spoken language, as a result of northeastern England being controlled by the Danish Crown until the last remnants of Danish England were fully conquered in 954 (Keynes 2013). In 929, the collection of smaller English kingdoms including Wessex and Mercia were united under the rule of Æthelstan, the first king of a United English Kingdom. The governing structure was, typical of medieval Europe, a hereditary monarchy in which the monarch had almost unchecked absolute power. Including a brief period in the 10th century in which the Danish crown was also in control of England, the majority of English-speaking Britain was under continuous rule.

The majority language in most of England in the 100 years prior to the Norman invasion was Old English. Old English ultimately descended from the Proto-Germanic continental language, which was itself a descendant of the Indo-European family of languages. There were a small number of words in Old English borrowed from Old Norse, which had a contemporary presence in Britain, but Old English's vocabulary was not nearly as full of loanwords as Modern English. The relative lack of borrowed vocabulary in Old English, apart from the aforementioned words of Old Norse origin, combined with the system of three grammatical genders and five grammatical cases results in Old English being incomprehensible to modern English speakers without a background in the subject. To present a portion of text from *Beowulf*, the

morphological, orthographic, and syntactic differences with Modern English, or even Shakespeare's English, are readily apparent: (*Bilingual Beowulf* 2003).

1.

*Hwilum mæru cwen, friðusibb folca,*

sometimes strong.nom.fem.sing queen.nom peace-peace people.gen.plur

“The high-born queen, the people's peace-bringer,

*flet eall geondhwearf, bædde byre geonge;*

hall.acc whole through-wander.1sing.past incite.1st.sing.past child.instr. young.masc.instr.sing

wandered through the hall, inciting the young men,

*oft hio beahwriðan secge sealde, ær hie*

often she ring-wreath.acc.plur soldier.dat.plur give.1sing.past before they

often giving ring-wreaths to the soldiers

*to setle geong.*

to seat.dat.sing go.3plur.past

before they went to their seats.”

The above example provides ample evidence for the linguistic differences between Modern or Shakespearean English and Old English. Nouns and adjectives are declined for case, and agree in number and gender. Of particular note is a unique poetic construction that frequently

appears in Old English literature known as a *kenning*. A *kenning* is a poetic circumlocution device that combines two lexical items together, often two nouns or an adjective plus a noun. Highlighted in the previous excerpt from *Beowulf* are two notable examples of *kennings*, with gloss and translation provided. The primary poetic device in the passage is alliteration rather than rhyme, as shown by segments such as *friðusibb folca, flett* and *bædde byre*. When examining the etymology of words in the previous section, there is a noticeable lack of loanwords. Every word in the text has a Germanic origin, and somewhat unusually none of the elements are borrowings from Old Norse either. In word choice, style, and orthography, the differences present in Old English compared to modern English are readily apparent.

### **B. Norman French and the Normans**

Across the English Channel, another society had developed in parallel with Anglo-Saxon England, although with extremely limited contact. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the late 5th century, descendants of the Romans continued to live in the former territories previously under Rome's control, including the northwest of France. In the 10th century, Scandinavian Vikings began to raid the coastal regions of France (along with many other European territories), and eventually settled down in the same northwestern territory. These intermixed people, the descendants of the Germanic Vikings and the Romance-speaking general populace came to be known as the Normans, with their name ultimately deriving from the Old Norse *Norðmaðr* or "North-men" (Hoad 1993:315). The region came to be called "Normandy" after the same people group, and the ruling class of the region began to intermarry with other royal dynasties in medieval Western and Northern Europe. The Normans adopted the local Romance language in addition to settling in the region and intermingling with the local populace.

This language came to be called “Norman”, although some scholars prefer “Old Norman” to distinguish it from the modern, endangered descendant dialects spoken in the extreme northwest of France and the UK’s Channel Islands. I will use the term “Norman” to refer to the language spoken before the 1066 invasion of England by the Normans, and “Anglo-Norman” to refer to the language spoken by the elite of English society after the invasion. There is also a small amount of Norman vocabulary that is derived from the Norse Germanic language spoken by the Normans before their arrival in Normandy (Rowley 2009), but I will not focus on the Norse influence on the Norman language itself in this paper.

Analyzing a small passage of Norman poetry, we can see the immediate differences in vocabulary, style, and primary poetic device. The following is a passage from *Des grantz geanz*, a 14th-century passage of poetry in Anglo-Norman. The text is taken from a commentary by George Brereton (1937), and the poetic translations are my own.

2.

*Ci put hom saver comment*

here can.3sg.past one to know how

“Here can one learn how and when,

*E quant e de quele gent*

and when and of which.fem people

and of which people, us English kin,

*Les grantz geantz primes vindrent*

the.plur large.plur giant.plur first come.3plur.past  
 these great giants first of all came,

*Qi Engeltere primes tindrent*

who England first hold.3plur.past  
 and England before all did tame”.

The only word of even partial Germanic origin in the previous section is *Engeltere*, a combination of the name for the Germanic *Angles* and *terre*, meaning “land” and of a clear Romance origin. The repetitive *-ent* endings of the first four lines indicates that a primary poetic device in Norman writing was rhyme, and not alliteration as was the case in Old English. It is important to note that although Norman and Old English are not immediately related to each other, they are both ultimately Indo-European languages that share a common ancestor, and have several obvious cognates. These include words like *hom* and *guma*, meaning “man” and *peissoun* and *fisc* “fish”. Overall, it is clear that the literary and poetic styles of Old English and Norman are quite different, and that the Norman style of poetry with its rhyming device is more similar to modern English poetic and literary work than Old English, with its heavy focus on kennings and alliteration.

The process through which Old English and Norman came into contact involves political intrigue between various ruling dynasties of Northern Europe in the 11th century. When England was united under Æthelstan and the House of Wessex, Britain was relatively stable for the next hundred years, alternating between kings from Wessex and the House of Denmark (Keynes 2013). The final king of the House of Wessex in English history was Edward, also known as



Saint Edward the Confessor due to his later beatification by the Catholic Church. Edward did not have any children of his own, and the crown of England was going to be greatly contested upon his death. Meanwhile in Normandy, the illegitimate son of Duke Robert I had risen to become Duke of Normandy himself, and took the title William II. William the II is better known by his two epithets; William the Bastard, on account of his illegitimate birth, or William the Conqueror due to his later conquest of England.

Robert I was the first cousin of Edward the Confessor, making William the first cousin once removed to Edward. Upon Edward's death in 1066, William believed that without a son to take heir to the English throne, the kingdom was his for the taking. Rounding up the army of the Duchy, Normandy invaded England in the same year, and the Normans' decisive victory at the Battle of Hastings cemented the Normans and William as the victors in the invasion, with William crowned as the King of England on Christmas Day in 1066 (Bates 2016). Although he would deal with occasional rebellions until about the year 1072, Norman rule was cemented over all England, and a new order of Norman dominance over the clergy, monarchy, judiciary, and almost every other position of power in England would be gradually cemented. In the following section, I will discuss existing linguistic literature on language contact, both in general and pertaining to the contact between Norman and Old English. I will also begin to discuss the linguistic background of Shakespeare's writings and language along with how English had evolved since the Norman invasion.

### **3. Literature Review**

### A. Language Contact in Medieval England

Under the rule of the Normans and William, the Old English legal system was replaced with a system in which laws were required to be recorded not in the Old English of the conquered people, nor the Norman of the elite conquerors, but the Latin of the Church and scientific literature of the time (Thomas 2008:132). The language spoken by the elite in the new order of society did indeed become Anglo-Norman, with important state roles previously filled by native Englishmen becoming filled by high-ranking members of the new Norman elite. Through this intermixing, Norman officials brought their language and its words into English, and the processes thereof have resulted in a huge amount of Romance language vocabulary entering the English language; this large assortment of Romance words does not just include words directly coming from Anglo-Norman, but also Old French and Ecclesiastical Latin.

There is a great deal of literature on language contact and borrowing between languages, and I would like to focus on one particular work's research to establish a theoretical background for my analysis about Norman-English borrowing and the influence that it has on *Hamlet*. In "Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics", Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman establish several theories about language contact and borrowing that will be crucial to our understanding of how English vocabulary and morphosyntax has been influenced by the Norman Invasion in 1066. It is important to establish some background ideas that Thomason and Kaufman hold about change in languages and the social scenarios that give rise to them. In the introductory section to their book, the authors establish that all languages change in some way over time through "drift", either as the result of "'dialect interference'... both between stable, strongly differentiated dialects and between weakly differentiated dialects through the differential spread... of particular changes", or by what they call "foreign interference"

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9). In the next section, they establish that there are constraints to what elements of a language can be transmitted to another language through contact. Citing Meillet's early 20th century work, they establish the claim that grammatical loans, as opposed to lexical loans, are only possible across languages which have very similar systems (Meillet 1921:87). Although they dispute the universality of this rule by citing instances of bound morphemes and suffixed pronominal possessors being transmitted across unrelated languages (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:20), they do acknowledge that transmission of bound morphemes is a great deal rarer and less natural. They adopt the terminology of "borrowing" to refer to the "incorporation of foreign elements into (a) speaker's native language" (p.21), a definition that I will use when I refer to borrowing in the future. A relevant concept to this discussion is the idea of closed-classes and open-classes of words. *Trask's Historical Linguistics* notes that "certain semantic classes of words are much less likely to be borrowed than other words" (Miller & Trask 2015:21). The authors not only establish that nouns are more likely to be borrowed across languages than adjectives and verbs (these three classes are referred to "open-classes"), given that the verbal and inflectional system of two non-closely related languages are likely to differ widely, but they also note that high-frequency words in a language, such as pronouns, body parts, low numerals, and every-day occurrences like natural phenomena and commonly encountered animals, are less likely to be borrowed. A commonly used tool for lexicologists is the "Swadesh List", which initially listed 100 basic (putatively universal) concepts and has been gradually updated since. The vocabulary items in a Swadesh list are considered resistant to borrowing, and include the aforementioned categories of words such as body parts and immediate familial relations.

Miller and Trask do not go as far as to say that it is impossible to borrow words from “closed-class” semantic classes into another language. Closed-classes include both the aforementioned common vocabulary, as well as more complicated grammatical structures. Both Miller and Trask and Thomason and Kaufman agree that although the transmission of pronouns, bound morphemes, and other such classes are unlikely, they still may occur depending on the social environment. Miller and Trask point out that informal modern Thai has borrowed the English personal pronoun “you” in order to avoid the complex honorifics system in Thai, while Thomason and Kaufman cite various examples of supposedly closed-class items being borrowed into other languages, including the use of suffixed pronominal possessives in Hebrew, borrowed from Yiddish or another European language (Thomason and Kaufman:19).

Later in their chapter titled “Language Maintenance”, Thomason and Kaufman give an overview of the kinds of cross-linguistic borrowing that have been profiled in Historical Linguistics. They divide the types of borrowing that can occur between languages on a sliding scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the least intensive, and 5 being the most intensive (p.74). With the increasing levels on the scale, every type of borrowing found in a lower level will also be found on a higher level. As the categories increase in number, so too does the cultural imbalance between languages increase; a language undergoing Category 1 borrowing has little or no social or political pressure from the language it is borrowing from, while a language undergoing Category 5 borrowing is subject to overwhelming and often oppressive cultural pressure from the language it borrows from. The categories are summarized as such:

### Category 1- Casual Contact

Borrowing is restricted to exclusively lexical items, and only non-basic vocabulary will be borrowed. This rules out borrowing of things like grammatical structures, pronouns, and other closed-class items. An example of casual contact would be modern English borrowing the Russian word *perestroika* in the 1980's. The USSR did not exude any sort of cultural dominance over English-speaking western nations in the 1980's, and "the restructuring of a communist governmental and economic system to make them more closely resemble those of capitalist nations" is not a common concept encountered in everyday life for an English speaker. These facts result in the safe categorization of this borrowing as Category 1.

### Category 2- Slightly More Intense Contact

"Minor examples of phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features" are to be expected in Category 2 borrowing (p.74). The easiest example of Category 2 borrowing cited by Thomason and Kaufman is the borrowing of certain grammatical structures from a prestige literary language into a common language. The given examples are English prohibiting split infinitives under the influence of Latin as a literary language, borrowing of the phoneme [z] into Urdu as a result of literary Arabic, and use of Sanskrit intensifiers and conjunctions in the Dravidian languages of southern India (p.79).

### Category 3- More Intense Contact

Derivational affixes are more likely to be borrowed into a language, with slightly higher instances of structural borrowing. Some basic vocabulary items like pronouns and low numerals are more likely to be borrowed at this level (p.74). Thomason and Kaufman cite the Pacific

Northwest sprachbund as a solid example of Category 3 Borrowing, where languages in a shared sprachbund have borrowed phonemes, and derivational suffixes, and prepositions from each other extensively (p.81). The authors also cite examples of indigenous Mesoamerican languages borrowing from Spanish as prime examples of Category 3 borrowing.

#### Category 4- Strong Cultural Pressure

This phase is characterized by major borrowing of structural features, involving the adoption or loss of contrasting phonemes into a native system and the full integration of inflectional affixes and categories onto native vocabulary. Possible examples of Category 4 borrowing cited by the authors include adoption of analytic possessive constructions (along with other grammatical constructions that replaced native forms) in Estonian as the result of prestige influence from the dominance of ethnic Germans in 19th century Baltic society (Weinreich 1953:41) .

#### Category 5- Very Strong Cultural Pressure

The final category of borrowing that Thomason and Kaufman touch on involves serious disruption to the typology of the borrowing language. This involves major changes to the phonology including replacement and restructuring of contrasts between phonemes, and changes to grammar such as shift from a fusional to agglutinative morphology (p.76). An example that they use is the development of Greek dialects spoken in Anatolia, which have undergone radical shifts including the restructuring of the copula to fit that of the superstrate Turkish, and the introduction of vowel harmony along with various other morphophonemic rules (p.94).

Thomason and Kaufman use this model of borrowing in their book to discuss the differences

between genetic and non-genetic development of languages, with the abrupt formation of pidgins and later creoles classified into the latter category (p.211). By using this categorization of borrowing, it is possible to use previously-proposed system of classification to determine the amount of societal pressure that was placed upon Old English by Norman as the latter language assumed a dominant role in society after the invasion and establishment of a new social order.

Because of the huge influence of Norman on Middle English, some scholars have gone as far as to claim that English is actually a creole. Bailey and Maroldt make the argument that because of the massive changes to Middle English that were brought by French (a large foreign vocabulary, loss of case and gender morphology, and certain grammatical constructs including a perfective aspect using “to have”), Middle English should be considered a creole language (Bailey and Maroldt 1977). Thomason and Kaufman strongly reject the hypothesis of English being considered a mixed or creole language. They claim that more recent scholarship has rejected the idea that “normal change” took place in the development from Old English to Middle English, and that scholars making the creolization claim make claims about “scenarios for linguistic developments in English for which there is essentially no documentation” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:264). Reflecting on the large influences from both Norman and Norse vocabulary, they note that although the influence of the latter language is “remarkable”, it is not “extreme”, and that a creolization hypothesis is not required to account for the changes that Middle English went through as a result of influence from either Norman or Old Norse (p.265). The authors have actually commented on the kind of linguistic contact and exchange that happened between Old English and Norman/Old French into one of their categories. In their section on the sociolinguistic history of English up to the year 1400, they comment that although the language of the courts and prestige was indeed Norman, speakers of that language “did not

settle in large numbers anywhere in England” (p.267), although the elite feudal lords of the settled area were indeed Norman speakers. Even more crucially, the comment that these same elites “...probably had no particular cultural motivation to learn English or to require Englishmen in any numbers to learn French” (p.268). This means that our ideas of cultural pressure that was exerted on the English language by Norman and Old French must be limited; we cannot classify the borrowing between the languages as Category 4 or 5 according to the authors’ own scale. The authors even give their category rating to the borrowing between English and French, concluding that “with respect to (Old) French, the linguistic consequences for English do not seem to have amounted to anything other than normal borrowing (a borderline type 2/type 3 case) (p.265). Even if Middle English is not a creole or mixed language, scholars do not deny the impact that Norman and Romance vocabulary had during the formation of Middle English; Category 2 and 3 borrowing still involve heavy lexical and some grammatical borrowing according to Thomason and Kaufman’s criteria.

Durkin (2018) also comments on the enormous impact that vocabulary originating in Norman, French, and Latin have had on the lexicon of English, noting that “close to 50 per cent (of modern English vocabulary) are of French or Latin origin, and the overwhelming majority of these were borrowed during the Middle English period” (p.266). Durkin also conducts a case study into the borrowing of the Norman-originating “carry” in Middle English in his work, contrasting it with the earlier Germanic-originating word “bear”. Durkin notes that although “carry” originally had a technical meaning that was slightly different than that of “bear”, it quickly became a synonym to “bear”, despite the meaning of “bear” being among a cited list’s meanings which are most resistant to borrowing. Durkin takes this as evidence that strong cultural pressure from Norman and French vocabulary in the time period resulted in “receptivity



of even the core vocabulary of English to newly borrowed French lexis in this period” (p.279). It is undeniable that English was subject to some cultural pressure from Norman during the early years of William’s reign, but the extent to which that Norman vocabulary had diffused among common speakers is yet to be determined. In the next section, we jump ahead to the 16th century, approximately 500 years after the Norman Invasion, and examine the sociolinguistic situation that William Shakespeare experienced in his life.

### **B. Shakespeare’s Language**

William Shakespeare is often referred as the most respected and studied author in the history of the English language, and the volumes written about his work, life, style, and influence would be impossible to enumerate (Greenblatt 2010). I will confine myself to discussing the details of Shakespeare’s own linguistic education and personal influences in order to provide a solid linguistic framework for *Hamlet*. Born to a relatively successful family of a wealthy landowner and alderman in 16th-century England, Shakespeare would have received a solid education consistent with the standards of the Elizabethan age, including intensive study of Classical Latin literature and poetry (Cressy, Dickens & Davies 1976). Shakespeare’s works are full of references to classical poetry and literature, including not just Latin but also ancient Greek and Biblical writings, which distinguishes him among his contemporaries, where only about a third of the population in England at the time was literate (Best 2024).

Being able to draw from a large swath of Latin, Greek, and Biblical literature, it is not a surprise that Shakespeare's vocabulary has been estimated to be upwards of 25,000 words (Craig 2011:54). While this number is indeed impressive upon first glance and further examination, Craig cautions us that his vocabulary, which seemingly dwarfs that of his contemporary Milton

(recorded at around 12,000), is the result of Milton's comparatively narrower range of subjects (Craig:57). Shakespeare's 38 plays and 154 surviving sonnets cover a wider range of topics than that of Milton. Craig also cites Osvaldo Rosso when he claims that Shakespeare's vocabulary is actually well-representative of the literary styles, word choice, and vocabulary levels of his contemporaries like Milton and Francis Bacon, even if Shakespeare is more widely praised (Rosso 2009). Quoting Rosso, he says that "...results would suggest that we should think of William Shakespeare in word-use terms as a playwright who was extremely well attuned to the general practice of his day, producing an exceptionally large set of plays which all remain within a broadly defined common linguistic standard (Craig:68).

Although Craig labels Shakespeare as having a typical if larger vocabulary compared to his contemporary authors, there are conflicting opinions on the amount of (standard) French that Shakespeare would have spoken or been able to write. In Shakespeare's History *Henry V*, there are brief scenes including characters having snippets of a conversation in French, intermixed with English. Waugaman contends that Shakespeare's use of French would have been shocking to a common audience for whom his plays were performed, and entirely unique among his contemporaries (Waugaman 2019:159). This contradicts Craig's assertions that Shakespeare's language was completely representative of the writing style of his time. Nicholson posits that Shakespeare's working knowledge of French actually results in *Hamlet* being composed not in English, but in what she calls a "French-English dialect" as a result of vocabulary, style, and narrative structure (Nicholson 2019:5). In another work, Waugaman contends that the author of Shakespeare's plays has such a detailed knowledge of French culture, history, and language, that the author of Shakespeare's plays was not actually the Bard himself, but another person unknown to history (Waugaman 2023:193). I don't believe this theory, but there is enough evidence to

contend that Shakespeare's knowledge of 16th to 17th century French may have been greater than that of the average English-speaking writer in Shakespeare's time.

English at this point had taken on identifiably modern characteristics, including the erosion of most of the case system except the genitive *-s* and the complete dissolution of grammatical gender except for third-person singular pronouns. There are definitely some archaic features in Shakespeare's writings that are noticeable today, including the four way *yes-yea-no-nay* distinction in question words and some archaic agreement morphology like second-person singular *-st* and third-person singular *-eth* (Culpepper 2018). English continued to be a spoken language among the peasantry of England all throughout the Norman rule of England and beyond, with Norman never becoming the language of common people; Laske, who I discuss below, notes that "the long held view that (the Normans) tried to oust the English language when they landed on the southern shores, is a misinterpretation of the historical evidence" (Laske 2016:172). The House of Normandy had been overthrown as long ago as 1154, and Shakespeare's time saw the English-speaking Houses of Tudor and Stuart rule England in his lifetimes. The cultural domination of the Normans had resulted in the diffusion of massive amounts of Old French and Norman vocabulary into the English language, although by Shakespeare's time there was only one major institution left in the country that was dominated by people who spoke Norman: the courts and legal system.

In Caroline Laske's "Losing touch with the common tongues – the story of law French", the author details how the archaic language of "Law French" resulted from a mixture of linguistic influences from the Norman-imposed justice system (Laske 2016). Law French was the dialect of Norman, strongly influenced by literary Latin, that was required to be used in court proceedings and pleas from its institution under William the Conqueror until it was abolished in

the 18th century. This implies that if William Shakespeare had any experience with the legal system in his life, he would have had some exposure to Law French. It is from this same Law French source that many modern English legal terms are derived; Citing a 19th-century work by Pollock and Maitland, she claims that all of the following words in modern legal use can be derived from the Norman-descended Law French (Pollock & Maitland 1898:81)

*Action, agreement, appeal, arrests, arson, assault, attorney, battery, bill, claim, condition, constables, contract, counsel, count, court, covenant, crime, damage, debt, declaration, defendant, demand, descent, devise, easement, evidence, execution, felony, gaol (older spelling of “jail”), grant, guarantee, guardian, heir, indictment, infant, judge, judgment, jurors, justice, justices, larceny, lien, marriage, misdemeanor, money, note, obligation, pardon, parties, partner, payment, plaintiff, pleadings, pledge, police, possession, prison, property, purchase, reprieve, robbery, sentence, servant, slander, Suit, tort, treason, trespass, verdict*

Because of scholarship about the typicality of Shakespeare’s vocabulary of writing abilities compared to his contemporaries, it is possible to extend the conclusions that I draw from analysis of *Hamlet’s* text about Norman influence to all of Early Modern English. When analyzing the text of *Hamlet* in the following sections, it will be important for us to consider the social meaning of the words we find to be descended from Anglo-Norman borrowings into French; we must note if the words have to do with legal proceedings, war, royalty, conquest, et cetera. If we cannot find a concrete pattern in the social meanings of these frequent words, then we will have to hypothesize about the seemingly random assortment of words that were absorbed

in the process of English borrowing a large amount of Anglo-Norman vocabulary. In the following section, I will discuss how I gathered the data on the vocabulary from *Hamlet*, how I analyzed it, and what conclusions we can draw about the Norman influence on the work.

#### 4. Methodology and Data

If we wish to do an analysis of the vocabulary of the vocabulary of *Hamlet* from both a qualitative and quantitative viewpoint, it is important to establish a methodology and framework for how we are going to collect the data of the play. *Hamlet* is a work from over 400 years ago, whose main text was compiled from various sources, and thus there exist multiple versions of the play with some textual variances (Jowett 2019). Even in the “To Be or Not to Be” speech by Prince Hamlet, the most famous of Shakespearean soliloquies, there are five textual variants between editions known as the “First Folio” and “Second Quarto”. In order to keep consistent, I am exclusively using the text of George Mason University's online searchable database of Shakespeare's works called “Open Source Shakespeare”; this source gives me a searchable and sortable concordance software along with a digitized version of the 1864 Globe Edition of all of Shakespeare's works, which were compiled by Shakespeare scholars at Cambridge University.

Some statistical analysis of the linguistic content in *Hamlet* has already been done; Open Source Shakespeare has already determined that there are 30,557 words in Hamlet, including stage directions. A similar statistical analysis was performed by Peter Ellis on his blog “Free Range Statistics”; he found the word count of the play to be “about 30,000 excluding stage directions (Ellis 2020). Our first task was counting and analyzing each individual word in the play. This will be in order to track the usage of words of both Germanic and Norman origin. In order to get the word count for each individual word, I pasted the text from each individual scene

into a blank document, carefully removing all punctuation not relevant to the individual words (this includes periods, commas, non-hyphenating dashes, etc.), stage directions, and character names. I would then insert the text of that scene, free from punctuation, character, or stage direction, into a free online software called Browserling, which sorts words in a pasted text by frequency. I repeated this process for all 20 scenes of the play, pasting the results from Browserling into a spreadsheet that tracked the frequency of each word in the play, combining the frequency of each word with the entry from the previous acts as I went along, because I could not fit the entire text into the browser application.

After the initial process of counting, I came to have a total of 30,557 total words in Hamlet, with 3,967 different words. Over half of the words that I charted in the initial scouring of the text were *hapax legomena*, or words that only appear once in an entire; this is consistent with the predictions of Zipf's Law, an empirical law describing the relative frequency of individual points of data in a set (Adamic and Huberman 2002). The initial data set revealed the most common word in the play is "the", with 1033 unique instances across the text. *Word Frequency*, a source that works with corpus-based English research and the massive COCA corpus, confirms that "the" is the most commonly used word in English in general as well (Word Frequency Data 2019). Other commonly used words for every scene include common pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions, such as "I", "and", "my" and "you". For each of the scenes, I have provided 10 of the most commonly used words, along with a count of each word, as a basic reference for the relative homogeneity of word frequency in regards to basic lexical items in the play. This should provide an example of the relative dominance of Germanic, closed-class words in the text. Afterwards, I provide the most common open-class words in the text to provide better context for the vocabulary of the play that is not simply common grammatical words.

**Table 1: Most Frequent Words of Act I per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>	<b>Scene 5</b>
the: 63	to: 71	the: 41	the: 31	my: 49
and: 52	and: 61	and: 37	it: 26	and: 47
of: 42	the: 58	of: 33	of: 22	to: 37
to: 33	my: 47	you: 28	and: 20	of: 32
it: 32	I: 42	in: 23	to: 15	the: 31
this: 23	of: 40	to: 22	in: 11	I: 27
our: 19	you: 39	not: 21	not: 10	in: 25
in: 19	in: 37	his: 18	as: 10	you: 22
I: 17	it: 36	a: 17	that: 10	that: 21
that: 16	a: 32	my: 16	a: 9	it: 21

**Table 2: Most Frequent Words of Act II per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>
and: 38	the: 167
my: 26	and: 137
you: 24	to: 107
of: 24	I: 98
his: 24	my: 98
to: 22	a: 96
I: 21	of: 94
the: 20	you: 93
as: 18	in: 62
he: 17	that: 58

**Table 3: Most Frequent Words of Act III per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>
of: 50	the: 123	and: 31	and: 61
the: 48	and: 79	the: 24	the: 60
to: 46	you: 75	to: 22	you: 45
and: 43	my: 74	of: 19	to: 41
you: 30	of: 66	my: 16	a: 37
I: 28	I: 61	it: 14	of: 33
that: 25	to: 59	I: 13	I: 26
a: 22	a: 56	his: 13	in: 26
him: 19	is: 37	as: 11	that: 24
his: 18	in: 35	is: 11	not: 24

**Table 4: Most Frequent Words of Act IV per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>	<b>Scene 5</b>	<b>Scene 6</b>	<b>Scene 7</b>
the: 14	the: 14	and: 17	and: 22	and: 54	I: 11	and: 54
and: 12	you: 7	the: 16	to: 17	the: 40	they: 9	that: 41
to: 9	a: 7	him: 14	the: 16	to: 37	the: 9	the: 40
his: 7	lord: 6	is: 14	of: 13	you: 37	have: 8	a: 35
we: 6	it: 6	to: 10	a: 13	is: 25	for: 8	of: 31
is: 6	king: 6	my: 10	that: 9	of: 24	of: 7	you: 30
this: 6	what: 5	for: 10	I: 9	his: 23	to: 7	I: 30
of: 6	my: 5	but: 9	my: 7	in: 22	you: 6	to: 29
in: 5	with: 5	that: 8	sir: 7	my: 21	them: 5	your: 27
what: 5	and: 5	at: 8	it: 7	I: 19	that: 4	my: 25

**Table 5: Most Frequent Words of Act V per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>
the: 83	the: 135
a: 54	I: 81
and: 52	to: 80
to: 47	and: 75
of: 46	of: 65



that: 40	my: 55
is: 32	it: 53
his: 32	in: 49
I: 31	is: 48
it: 29	you: 46

This reveals a predictable distribution of closed-class words; only one noun and one honorific appear in the list. Both of these scenes are among the shortest of the entire play, explaining the unusual distribution of words. Otherwise the top ten is entirely occupied by pronouns, articles, prepositions, and other words that are extremely unlikely to be borrowed into English. If we were to sort the most common words in the play which belong to the most commonly borrowed open-classes, as per Miller and Trask’s definitions, our frequency tables would look slightly different. If we exclude conjugations of the copula and the extremely common verbs “have” and “do”, we see a frequency table below of the 10 most common nouns, verbs, and adjectives in each act. The data is divided by act in order to present the distribution of Norman and Old French vocabulary across the entire work. In the extremely short Act IV Scene 2, there are only 8 open-category words that occur more than once in the entire scene, and thus I have marked slots 9 and 10 for that scene as “N/A”. This will allow us to establish the relative frequency at which we encounter words of Norman origin

**Table 6: Most Frequent Open-Class Words of Act I per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>	<b>Scene 5</b>
speak: 12	lord: 18	lord: 9	go: 6	lord: 18
night: 8	father: 12	give: 6	follow: 6	come: 8
Horatio: 8	good: 9	fear: 5	lord: 5	heaven: 8
watch: 7	like: 9	farewell: 4	nature: 3	swear: 8

like: 7	Hamlet: 6	Hamlet: 4	heaven: 3	poor: 6
king: 6	know: 6	believe: 4	waves: 3	sword: 6
good: 6	duty: 6	Ophelia: 4	say: 3	let: 5
Marcellus: 5	think: 6	time: 4	think: 2	speak: 4
Bernardo: 4	heaven: 6	fashion: 3	spirit: 2	ghost: 4
seen: 4	nature: 5	youth: 3	air: 2	hear: 4

**Table 7: Most Frequent Open-Class Words of Act II per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>
lord: 16	lord: 40
good: 5	good: 22
know: 5	say: 13
go: 5	dear: 12
marry: 4	man: 12
sir: 4	welcome: 11
come: 4	come: 11
Reynaldo: 3	let: 10
son: 3	daughter: 10
said: 3	make: 10

**Table 8: Most Frequent Open-Class Words of Act III per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>
lord: 12	lord: 33	heaven: 5	mother: 11
give: 5	love: 19	goes: 3	look: 10
nunnery: 5	play: 15	offence: 3	good: 10
sweet: 4	sir: 11	soul: 3	come: 7
Ophelia: 4	come: 9	stands: 2	let: 7
fair: 4	good: 9	like: 3	sense: 7
love: 4	mother: 9	safe: 2	Hamlet: 6
honesty: 4	give: 8	majesty: 2	go: 6
beauty: 4	show: 8	fear: 2	like: 6
hear: 4	king: 8	keep: 2	eyes: 6

**Table 9: Most Frequent Open-Class Words of Act IV per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>	<b>Scene 3</b>	<b>Scene 4</b>	<b>Scene 5</b>	<b>Scene 6</b>	<b>Scene 7</b>
Gertrude: 3	lord: 6	Hamlet: 5	sir: 7	good: 13	letters: 4	lord: 8
deed: 3	king: 6	England: 5	go: 6	come: 12	let: 4	come: 6
come: 3	body: 4	man: 4	know: 3	let: 9	sir: 3	father: 5
understand: 2	Hamlet: 3	fat: 4	Norway: 3	Laertes: 9	speak: 2	love: 5
Hamlet: 2	sponge: 3	mother: 4	cause: 3	pray: 8	come: 2	like: 5
mad: 2	tell: 2	seek: 3	Fortinbras: 2	give: 8	know: 2	Hamlet: 5
man: 2	take: 2	find: 3	lord: 2	go: 7	Hamlet: 2	drown'd: 5
full: 2	believe: 2	worm: 3	good: 2	death: 7	bless: 2	back: 4
like: 2	N/A	king: 3	Poland: 2	God: 6	Horatio: 2	think: 4
let: 2	N/A	come: 3	little: 2	father: 6	give: 2	let: 4

**Table 10: Most Frequent Open-Class Words of Act V per Scene**

<b>Scene 1</b>	<b>Scene 2</b>
lord: 11	sir: 21
tell: 10	come: 20
good: 7	let: 18
mad: 7	Hamlet: 18
skull: 6	lord: 15
lie: 6	king: 12
sir: 6	know: 11
dead: 6	good: 11
earth: 6	Laertes: 10
buried: 5	give: 10

A recurring pattern that has been unveiled is the prevalence of the word “lord” in many of the acts. The common use of the term results from the presence of Hamlet's trusted friends and advisor, who often use the epithet before his name. Tables 6-10 include 98 different words. Using Merriam Webster’s online dictionary and etymology functions, we can find the etymologies of

this initial batch of the ten most common words per Scene, resulting in the following conclusions: 72 of the aforementioned words are of Germanic origin, including origins in Old English or Proto-Germanic. (3 are borrowings directly from Literary Latin, 2 are originally from Ancient Greek, the name of the country Poland is ultimate of Slavic origin and borrowed through phono-semantic matching of the German *Polen*, the names “Fortinbras” and “Ophelia” are an original French-English mixture and borrowed from Italian literature respectively, and finally 18 of the 98 are attestably from Old French or Anglo Norman). The words that have been identified as being from Old French or Anglo-Norman among them are as follows:

*Air, Beauty, Cause, Duty, Fashion, Gertrude\*, Honesty, Letter, Majesty, Marry, Nature, Offense, Poor, Pray, Reynaldo\*, Sense, Sir, Spirit*

The names Gertrude and Reynaldo, both came into the language through Anglo-Norman, but are ultimately of Germanic origin; Gertrude is from Old High German, and the name Reynaldo was brought to England as the Anglo-Norman name *Reinald*, which is also of ultimately Germanic origin (Hanks 2003).

We are beginning to see a noticeable amount of Anglo-Norman vocabulary in *Hamlet*, but it is not enough to simply find the most common instances of words and extrapolate from that. For the next task, we are going to look at the sorted lists of all words in each Act and Scene of the play, which as previously mentioned contains 3,967 unique words. Using a combination of Etymonline, the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, and other sources, I charted the etymology of all 3,967 words in *Hamlet*. Because Old French vocabulary only came into contact with English by way of the Norman Invasion establishing a continental connection with France, I treat

words that have an Old French etymology the same as those that have a Norman etymology. In the appendix, I present the full list of every word with at least one instance in the text of *Hamlet* that came into the language through the influence of Old French or Anglo-Norman, with notes given for a variety of special situations that may have been encountered in the search for the etymologies of each word. These situations include a word ultimately having Germanic/Norse influence, a word having dual or uncertain etymologies, or a word being used in multiple distinct categories; i.e. a word such as “view” that could be both a noun and verb depending on context. A cursory glance at the data reveals 339 words of full or partial origin from Anglo-Norman, with dual etymologies noted in the “Additional Notes” section of the table. In the next section, we will analyze the data that we have found in order to make clearer the patterns of words of Norman and Old French origin in *Hamlet*.

## 5. Analysis

### A. Word Counts and Overall Usage Rate

Some basic facts about the use of Old French and Anglo-Norman words in *Hamlet* are as follows; of 3,967 unique words in *Hamlet*, 338 of them are determined to be of partial or complete Norman or Old French origin. This results in 8.5% of the unique words in the text coming into *Hamlet's* Early Modern English directly through Norman and Old French. This is relatively small compared to the modern amount of English vocabulary that comes from French sources (Norman, Middle and Modern), which scholar of English Rolf Berndt cites as being around 45% (Berndt 1983), but much larger than the small amount of loanwords that existed in Old English. Counting the instances of each word of these same origins, we come to a total of 910 uses of Anglo-Norman words. Compared with 30,557 total words in the text, we arrive at a

proportion of 3% of all words in the text coming from Norman and Old French. To put it another way, when reading the text of the play, one will encounter a word that entered English as a direct result of the Norman Invasion in 1066 approximately every 33 words. We can put these numbers into an even better perspective through the use of the COCA corpus and *Word Frequency*.

According to Zipf's Law, the most commonly occurring data point in a set will occur twice as often as the next most common data point, and then three times as often as the third most common (Adamic and Huberman 2002). Because we previously determined that "the" was the most commonly occurring word in *Hamlet* (and in English), we can apply Zipf's Law to determine what percentage of the text is taken up by the most common words. "The" was used 1033 times out of 30,557 total words, resulting in a percentage of 3.4%. According to our data, the 10 most common words in *Hamlet* are as follows, with the percentage of the text according to Zipf's Law (checked against the actual count in our data sets) given next to the word.

**Table 11: Most Common Words in *Hamlet***

<b>Word</b>	<b>Percentage of Text</b>
1. The	3.4%
2. Be	1.7%
3. And	1.13%
4. If	.85%
5. A	.68%
6. In	.56%
7. To	.49%
8. Have	.42%

9. It	.37%
10. I	.34%
Total	9.94%

We can see that words of Anglo-Norman or Old French origin, when combining their total instances together, take up approximately 30% of space in the text that the 10 most common words in the entire text do. We can also look at the proportions of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and other or multiple categories of Norman and Old French origin that are used in text. In the following table, “Types” refers to distinct lexical items, and “Tokens” refers to the number of unique occurrences of a lexical item of that category.

**Table 12: Unique Norman Words and Instances by Category in *Hamlet***

Category	Types	Tokens
Nouns	191 (56.3%)	495 (54%)
Verbs	66 (19.5%)	159 (17.4%)
Adjectives	59 (17.4%)	132 (14.4%)
Other	23 (6.8%)	130 (14.2%)
Total	339	916

Adverbs have been counted in the Adjectives category. In the “other” category, we find words that belong to multiple categories, a single preposition “across”, and prefix “demi-”. Returning to the comments of Miller and Trask, who claim that it is much more likely that nouns will be borrowed into a language than verbs or adjectives, we can indeed confirm that nouns are the absolute largest number of types and tokens among all of the categories of words that we are measuring. If we want to measure the 10 overall most frequent words of Norman origin in the play, the distribution also helps to reinforce the idea that nouns are borrowed at a higher frequency than other words. Although some

**Table 13: Most Frequent Norman Words in *Hamlet***

Word	Tokens	Category in <i>Hamlet</i>
Nature	30	Noun
Matter	29	Noun
Pray	28	Verb
Poor	20	Adjective
Question	16	Verb and Noun
Virtue	15	Noun
Reason	14	Verb and Noun
Turn	14	Verb and Noun
Return	12	Noun and Verb
Voice	12	Noun



Now that we have looked at the data of the text overall, let us examine the data from a thematic perspective, where we will look at the social meanings of words, and the thematic patterns of frequently-used Norman vocabulary in the text.

### **B. Thematic Content of Words**

Looking at some of the most used words in the text of the play, it is clear that there is deep thematic importance to the words of Norman and Old French origin that Shakespeare chooses to use, specifically in regards to the feelings of intense emotion. The fifth most used word of Norman origin in the play happens to be “question”, a word that has deep significance to the story. In Act III Scene 1, the titular character gives one of the most famous Shakespearean soliloquies of all time when he asks himself “To be or not to be, that is the question” (Shakespeare 3.3.1749). Hamlet’s deep contemplation of suicide and the purpose of life fits with a broader overall theme of the play about doubt and uncertainty of one’s place in a world full of evil and cruelty. The theme uncertainty is even established immediately in Act I Scene 1, with Marcellus instruction Horatio to “question” the appearance of the ghost of Hamlet’s father (1.1.58), and Bernardo commenting on the “question” of the war going on between the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, or what the “nature” or “matter” of the whole scenario is. “Nature” and “matter” being the second most commonly used Norman word in the text of the play is fitting along with “question”; if we add the top 10 words “reason” and “pray”, we can see a prevalent pattern in Shakespeare’s text; the aforementioned existential dread of life and its purpose. Characters in the play who employ these Norman terms express guilt, remorse, and bewilderment at the state of the world and the Kingdom, with the Norwegian army on the

footsteps of conquering Denmark, political intrigue involving the secret killing and usurpation of a king, and the seeming madness of the heir to the throne.

It is not only negative emotions that are strongly thematically expressed through Norman vocabulary in the play; among the most used in our list of most commonly used words are adjectives and nouns of goodness and virtue. These include “virtue”, “angel”, “beauty”, and “affection” all as words that originate with the Norman language. Ophelia recounts Hamlet having spoken many times “of his affection for (Ophelia)” (1.3.586). When ranting about how the world seems to have taken a turn for the worse in his eyes since the death of his father, Hamlet says that “the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me- no, nor woman neither” (2.2.1402). Hamlet uses Norman vocabulary once again, using the Old French “animals” and the Middle French “quintessence” rather than Germanic words like the Middle English *reother*, which means “animal”. One of the other key themes of *Hamlet*, that of guilt and repentance, is expressed often through the vocabulary of Norman and Old French. One of the key plot points of the play is Hamlet attempting to get Claudius to confess to the murder of his own brother, the former King Hamlet. Hamlet attempts to do this by staging a play that mimics the murder method that Claudius used on King Hamlet, inspiring a sickened reaction from Claudius. When Claudius retreats to his own quarters, he informs us “pray, (he) cannot” because his “stronger guilt defeats (his) strong intent” (3.3.2322). We find examples of words related to religion, philosophy, and judgment in these examples, reinforcing the legal and ecclesiastical background of many Norman words. It is also important to remember that the Norman language was imposed on England from a ruling elite; the use of Anglo-Norman words among characters in the play that are non-royal background would indicate that Norman language has diffused to the lower social

classes also. In the following section, I compare the usage rates of Norman and Old French words in the text by individual characters, and take into account their social standing in the play in order to investigate the diffusion of Norman words amongst them.

### C. Individual Usage Rates

Moving on to usage by character, we can create the following table outlining some key data. We will look at the total number of words spoken by each character in the play, the number of times that they use a Norman word in their dialogue, and the percentage of their overall dialogue that is composed of Norman and Old French words. The table is sorted from characters with the most words of dialogue to the fewest, with lines spoken by all present characters labeled “All”.

**Table 14: Character Usage of Norman Vocabulary in *Hamlet***

<b>Character Name</b>	<b>Total Words Used</b>	<b>Total Norman Words Used</b>	<b>Percentage of Words that are Norman</b>
Hamlet	11907	381	3.2
Claudius	4116	147	3.6
Polonius	3017	84	2.8
Horatio	2034	55	2.7
Laertes	1463	53	3.6
Ophelia	1163	33	2.8
Gertrude	1084	23	2.1
First Gravedigger	741	17	2.3
Rosencrantz	695	22	3.2
Ghost	682	20	2.9
Marcellus	429	6	1.4

Osric	258	10	3.9
Player King	337	18	5.3
Guildenstern	323	7	2.2
Player Queen	238	9	3.8
Fortinbras	222	4	1.8
Bernardo	205	2	1
Gentleman	192	3	1.6
Voltemand	149	8	5.4
Second Gravedigger	98	3	3.1
Priest	91	4	4.4
Captain	84	1	1.2
Lord	67	0	0
Reynaldo	65	0	0
Francisco	55	0	0
English Ambassador	40	1	2.5
Lucianus	40	0	0
Messenger	36	2	5.6
Sailor	35	1	2.9
Player Prologue	16	0	0
Danes	13	0	0
All	9	2	22
Marcellus and Bernardo	9	0	0
Servant	9	0	0

Among the 20 characters with the most lines of dialogue in the play, Danish Ambassador Voltemand comes out to have the highest average usage of Norman vocabulary, with 5.4 percent of his words being of Norman or Old French origin. We are ignoring characters with fewer than

98 words of dialogue in order to discard skewed results like those of the English Ambassador, and the lines spoken by all characters. The 20 most prevalent characters in the play use an average of 45 Norman or Old French words total, and the percentage of words that use which are of Norman origin is 2.935%, which is nearly identical to the 3% average across the entire text. If we separate these 20 most common characters along class lines, we can extrapolate patterns of Norman usage rates in relation to social standing in the text. The characters will be placed into three separate categories based on their social standings. Nobles include current and former royalty, Middle Class includes courtiers, advisors, and the well-educated. Low Class includes laborers and hired workers like guards and actors.

**Table 15: Usage of Norman Vocabulary Across Social Status**

<b>Character Name</b>	<b>Social Standing</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Total Words Used</b>	<b>Total Norman Words Used</b>	<b>Percentage of Norman Words</b>
Hamlet	Noble	Prince of Denmark	11907	381	3.2
Claudius	Noble	King of Denmark	4116	147	3.6
Gertrude	Noble	Queen of Denmark	1084	23	2.1
Ghost	Noble	Former King of Denmark	682	20	2.9
Fortinbras	Noble	King of Norway	222	4	1.8
Polonius	Middle Class	Advisor to King	3017	84	2.8
Horatio	Middle Class	Educated University friend of	2034	55	2.7

		Hamlet			
Laertes	Middle Class	Son of Polonius	1463	53	3.6
Ophelia	Middle Class	Daughter of Polonius	1163	33	2.8
Osrice	Middle Class	Courtier	258	10	3.9
Gentleman	Middle Class	Courtier	192	3	1.6
Voltmand	Middle Class	Courtier	149	8	5.4
First Gravedigger	Low Class	Manual Laborer	741	17	2.3
Rosencrantz	Low Class	Commoner hired to distract Hamlet	695	22	3.2
Marcellus	Low Class	Castle Guard	429	6	1.4
Player King	Low Class	Hired Actor	337	18	5.3
Guildenstern	Low Class	Commoner hired to distract Hamlet	323	7	2.2
Player Queen	Low Class	Hired Actor	238	9	3.8
Bernardo	Low Class	Castle Guard	205	2	1
Second Gravedigger	Low Class	Manual Laborer	98	3	3.1

If we calculate the average percentage of Norman words that characters use in their dialogue when separated by social standing, we get the following data.

**Table 16: Averages of Norman Usage Across Class Lines**

<b>Social Standing</b>	<b>Number of Characters</b>	<b>Average Usage Rate</b>
Noble	5	2.7
Middle Class	7	3.3
Low Class	8	2.8

As we can see from the data, characters belonging to the middle class actually use Norman and Old French vocabulary at a higher rate than characters of Noble background. This tracks with Labov's sociolinguistic research on stratification of prestige features in language. If we are to believe that using Norman vocabulary was considered a marker of prestige in *Hamlet's* Early Modern English, then the usage of a prestige feature at higher rates by the middle class characters than the noble characters fits in well with Labov's observation of similar phenomena in his study on New York City's stratification of language (Labov 1986). However, the characters belonging to the lower class also demonstrate higher usage rates of Norman vocabulary than the upper classes, which does not fit with sociolinguistic models of prestige. In addition, none of the classes stray too far from the established 3% usage rate for Norman vocabulary across the text. Statistical analysis would likely find that these differences in usage are not statistically significant, and likely due to chance. This indicates a normalization of Norman vocabulary for people of all social classes, as an educated writer like Shakespeare would be firmly aware of class distinctions and have characters speak accordingly (i.e. the Gravediggers of *Hamlet* improperly using Latin vocabulary). We can also look at the usage rates of individual Norman words with co-existing Germanic equivalents among characters to determine if Norman vocabulary had fully diffused into English by the time of *Hamlet's* publication.

#### **D. Individual Word Examples**

Another way that we can examine the social meaning (or lack thereof) of Norman French vocabulary in *Hamlet* is to focus on individual lexical items that coexist with an equivalent term of Germanic origin in the text. This approach was used by Durkin (2018), who compared the

usage of “carry” and “bear” in a similar context. We will chart the usage of a few pairs of similar-meaning words that are found in the text of *Hamlet*; one of which has a Germanic origin and the other of which is of Norman or Old French origin. We will use Durkin’s example of “bear” and “carry” as our first pair, “goodness” and “virtue” as our second pair, and “ask” and “question” as our third pair. We will chart the number of occurrences and contextual use by each speaker in order to determine if there is a across the usage of the synonyms.

**Table 17: Usage of Norman and Germanic Equivalents in *Hamlet***

Word	Origin	Category	Instances	Speakers
Bear	Germanic	Verb	18	Claudius: 5 Polonius: 2 Ghost: 1 Hamlet: 8 Rosencrantz: 1 Fortinbras: 1
Carry	Norman	Verb	4	Hamlet: 3 Gentleman: 1
Goodness	Germanic	Noun	2	Claudius: 2
Virtue	Norman	Noun	15	Laertes: 4 Hamlet: 8 Ghost: 1 Gertrude: 1 Claudius: 1
Ask	Germanic	Verb	5	Claudius: 2 Ophelia: 1 Laertes: 1 First Clown: 1
Question	Norman	Verb*	3	Hamlet: 3

\*Only instances of “question” where it is used as a verb are considered, as “ask” is only a verb



It is important to note that while these word pairs have similar meanings, they are not perfect synonyms; we can see different usage amounts and contexts for each member of the pair. We can also notice variation in word usage among individual characters; Hamlet uses both “carry” and “bear”, while Claudius uses “goodness” and “virtue”. “Carry” is used four times overall, twice with a literal meaning of picking something up and twice with the metaphorical sense of containing an inert quality like “the stamp of one’s defect” (Shakespeare 1.4.659). While “bear” carries the previous two meanings, it also conveys the meaning of “how one behaves oneself”, a meaning not yet found in the Norman borrowing. The Germanic “goodness” is a relative rarity in the text, only used in one speech by Claudius (4.7.3260), while the Norman borrowing “virtue” is widespread among the cast. “Virtue” has also taken on the additional meaning of “a good quality of something”, in addition to “goodness in and of itself”. Lastly, “ask” and “question” find their usage at a similar rate as a verb, with “question” having the additional caveat of being a noun. A native Germanic noun like the Old English *ascung* (meaning “question”) has been completely displaced by a new Norman noun, but the older Germanic verb “ask” remains in strong usage in *Hamlet* and in modern English. Durkin comments that this adoption of words like “question” that were “highly polysemous” plausibly reflects the idea that “that generalized use (of Norman vocabulary) developed gradually from the merging of multiple streams of use” (Durkin 2018:266). This means that Norman words entering English did not uniformly displace or replace their Germanic counterparts; “question” is a synonym to “ask” that displaced a native Germanic noun, “goodness” and “virtue” are no longer synonyms but words with similar meanings, and “bear” retains a metaphorical sense that the Norman “carry” does not. We have concluded that Norman and Old French influence on *Hamlet* is prevalent across the vocabulary of different characters, which is reflective of a strong influence

of Norman vocabulary on English, to the point where using Norman and Old French words in casual conversation is not considered indicative of any kind of high-class speech. This should impart a sense of the deep diffusion that Norman and Old French vocabulary had undergone by the time of Shakespeare.

## 6. Conclusion

I am inclined to agree with Thomason and Kaufman's assessment when looking at the amount and kind of linguistic borrowing that can be gleaned from analysis of Norman and Old French vocabulary in Hamlet. To reiterate, they classify borrowing between languages into 5 categories, and conclude that Norman influence on English fits into Category 2 or 3, with strong lexical and light grammatical borrowing, but under no circumstances creolization. We see intense contact between the languages resulting in the exchange of numerous lexical items into English, including the odd preposition and calque. We also see relatively common vocabulary for things like emotions ("afraid" and "envious") and family members ("aunt" and "uncle"). Durkin agrees that the borrowing of Norman words into Middle English is "enormous and well-known" (Durkin 2018:265). Stylistic changes to the language as a result of contact are apparent in the writing too, as Shakespeare's writing crucially lacks kennings and relies on rhyme for poetic device rather than alliteration. The case system from Old English has also completely eroded in Shakespeare's language. However, we do not see extensive borrowing of structures that one would expect from a Category 4 or 5 borrowing, like the radical restructuring of consonant and syllable structure, change in morphosyntactic rules and distinctions, and loss of phonemic contrasts. Good evidence for this is the preservation of the dental fricatives [θ] and [ð], which did not get lost in Middle English as in other Germanic languages; native speakers of Norman

French did not have these phonemes in their language, but the distinction was not lost in English despite heavy Norman French influence. It is clear that through the influence of Category 2 and Category 3 borrowing according to the system of Thomason and Kaufman, Norman and Old French had vocabulary dispersed into the lexicon of English in such a way that manifestations of emotive and pensive speech in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* bear markings of their linguistic influence 500 years after the invasion of William the Conqueror, regardless of the social backgrounds of various speakers in the text.

In this paper we have investigated the influence on the language of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* with regards to Old French and Norman. We have looked into the historical background of the contact between Old English and Norman, enumerated the literature on language contact and types of borrowing between languages, and discussed the language of Shakespeare's time and how it is representative of the broader language. After that, we gathered data from the text of *Hamlet*, sorted it various ways, charted the etymologies of the words of the text, and analyzed the data for patterns of words, both in meaning and speaker. I have come to the conclusion, based on the relevant data and literature, that the influence of the Norman invasion on Middle English is incredibly significant, with *Hamlet* exemplifying that influence. Characters in the play use Norman vocabulary to express grand emotion and wonder about the state of the world, and words of Norman and Old French origin appear 30% as often as the most common grammatical words of the English language. Not only that, but the diffusion and normalization of Norman vocabulary in the English language was so great by the time of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, that words of Norman origin had fully integrated themselves alongside native Germanic English words, and the text bears no significant differences in usage of Germanic and Norman words when accounting for the social class of the characters. Although the Norman invasion was 500 years

previous to Shakespeare's time, the consequences of the event still echo across the pages of *Hamlet*, and in the mouths of modern speakers.

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### **Appendix: *Hamlet* Words Entering English through Norman and Old French**

Word	Occurrences in Text	Additional Notes	Category	Source
Abate	2		Verb	Etymonline
Accidental	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Account	2	One use as a noun in Act I, Scene 5 and one use as verb in Act III, Scene 2	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Acquittance	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Across	1		Preposition	Merriam-Webster
Actor	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster

Adjoin	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Advancement	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Advise	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Affection	6		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Afraid	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Allegiance	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Allow	3		Verb	Etymonline
Allowance	2		Noun	Etymonline
Ambassador	6	Through Anglo-Norman, ultimately of Germanic origin	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Angel	7		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Animal	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Apart	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Appurtenance	1		Noun	Etymonline
Argument	4		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Armor	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Arrant	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Assay	5		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Aunt	1	Only used in the compound phrase "aunt-mother" once, Act II, Scene 2	Noun	Etymonline



Author	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Avoid	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Avouch	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Barber	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Barrel	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Barren	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Basket	2	Through Anglo-Norman, but ultimate origin obscure	Noun	Etymonline
Bastard	1	Epithet of William the Conqueror comes from his own language	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Beauty	6		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Beguile	2	Germanic prefix “be-” and “guile”, of Norman origin	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Benefit	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Bevy	1		Adjective	Etymonline
Blank	3		Adjective	Etymonline
Blue	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Botch	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Bounty	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster

Bray	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Brevity	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Broker	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Bruit	1		Noun	Etymonline
Budge	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Capitol	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Car	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Carpenter	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Carrion	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Carry	4	Also used once in a stage direction, Act III, Scene 2	Verb	Etymonline
Carter	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Catch	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Cellarage	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Certainty	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Chalice	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Chase	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Chronicle	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Etymonline
Clear	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Clearly	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Commencement	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Common	7		Adjective	Merriam-Webster

Confess	6		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Confession	3		Noun	Etymonline
Confound	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Corner	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Coronation	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Count	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Countenance	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Counter	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Courtesy	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Courtier	6		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Cousin	4		Noun	Etymonline
Crescent	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Crown	7		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Crust	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Custom	9		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Customary	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Dally	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Danger	5		Noun	Etymonline
Dangerous	5		Adjective	Etymonline
Decayer	1		Noun	Etymonline
Delay	3	Used as both a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Etymonline
Deliver	6		Verb	Etymonline

Demi-	1	Used once in phrase "demi-natur'd" in Act IV, Scene 7	Prefix	Etymonline
Diction	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Disclaim	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Discomfort	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Discord	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Disease	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Dismal	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Dismay	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Doctor	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Dowry	1		Noun	Etymonline
Ease	4		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Easy	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Election	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Emperor	1		Noun	Etymonline
Employ	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Employment	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Encounter	3	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Enginer	1	Alternate spelling of "engineer"	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Entreat	4		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Entreatment	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster

Entreaty	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Envious	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Enviously	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Error	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Escape	2	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Estate	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Exception	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Exchange	2	Used once as a noun in Act V, Scene 2 and once as a verb in the same Scene	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Expense	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Extant	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Extent	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Extort	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Fail	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Famous	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Farm	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Fashion	8	Only used as a noun	Noun	Etymonline
Favour	6	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Favourite	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Feature	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster

Flower	3	Also used once in the word "crowflowers" in Act IV, Scene 7	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Forge	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Forgery	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Garbage	1		Noun	Etymonline
Garden	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
General	7	Used as a noun and adjective variously	Noun and Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Glean	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Good Faith	2	Calque of Latin "bone fei"	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Govern	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Gown	1	Used once in "sea-gown"	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Grand	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Grant	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Gum	1		Noun	Etymonline
Haviour	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Heir	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Herald	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Heraldry	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Hideous	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster

History	2	Ultimately Ancient Greek, arrived through Old French	Noun	
Immortal	1	Germanic prefix “-in” and Old French word “mortal”	Adjective	Etymonline
Incorrect	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Increase	1	Only used as a noun	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Indenture	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Infant	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Jangle	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
John	1	Only present in the expression "John-a-dreams", an Old French version of Biblical name	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Jot	2	Originally Biblical Greek	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Judge	4	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Etymonline
Leisure	4		Noun	Etymonline
Liege	3	One additional use of “Liegeman” in Act II, Scene 4	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Liquor	2		Noun	Etymonline

Livery	3		Noun	Etymonline
Maggot	2		Noun	Etymonline
Maim	1		Verb	Etymonline
Manner	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mantle	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Marble	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Market	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Marry	4	Other uses as an interjection derived from name of Virgin Mary	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Marshal	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Mason	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mass	3	Also used in oath "by the mass!"	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Matter	29	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Memory	10		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mercy	4	2 additional uses in "God-have-mercy"	Noun	Etymonline
Mere	3		Adjective	Etymonline
Merely	2	Norman word "mere" and Germanic suffix "-ly"	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Merit	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster



Mew	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Mischance	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mixture	1		Noun	Etymonline
Mockery	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Moist	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Money	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mortal	5		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Motion	4		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Motive	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Mould	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Mount	2		Noun	Etymonline
Mountain	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Music	8		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Musty	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Mute	3	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Mystery	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Nature	30		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Noyance	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Number	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Etymonline
Obedience	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Oblivion	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Offender	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster

Officer	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Opinion	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Orison	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Outrageous	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Pace	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Pain	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Particular	8		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Party	1		Noun	Etymonline
Peace	11		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Peasant	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Pendant	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
People	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Perform	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Performance	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Person	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Personal	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Peruse	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Petty	2		Adjective	Etymonline
Pickaxe	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Pile	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Pity	4	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Plain	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster

Pledge	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Plunge	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Ply	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Pocket	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Poor	20		Adjective	Etymonline
Portraiture	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Pray	28		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Presentment	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Prince	4		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Profession	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Profound	3		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Proper	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Propose	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Protest	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Protestation	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Providence	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Public	1	Only used as an adjective	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Pulse	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Punish	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Purgation	1		Noun	Etymonline
Purport	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Pursue	4		Verb	Merriam-Webster

Quarrel	3	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Quarry	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Quest	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Question	16	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Quit	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Quite	4		Adjective	Etymonline
Rage	3	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Rash	3	Only used as an adjective	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Rashly	1	Norman word “rash” and Germanic suffix “-ly”	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Rashness	1	Norman word “rash” and Germanic suffix “-ness”	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Rear	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Reason	14	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Rebuke	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Recount	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Recover	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster

Recovery	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Refrain	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Regard	3	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Region	2		Noun	Etymonline
Religion	1		Noun	Etymonline
Religious	1		Adjective	Etymonline
Remainder	1		Noun	Etymonline
Remove	3		Noun	Etymonline
Repast	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Replication	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Report	5	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Repose	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Resemble	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Resolution	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Retain	1		Verb	Etymonline
Return	12	Used as a noun and verb variously	Noun	Etymonline
Rheum	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Riotous	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
River	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Rock	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Rouse	3		Verb	Merriam-Webster

Rue	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Russet	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Saint	3	Mentioned in Saint Patrick, Saint Charity, and Saint Valentine's Day, partial Germanic influence	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Salary	1		Noun	Etymonline
Scourge	2		Noun	Etymonline
Screen	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Seal	10	Used as a noun and verb variously, both of Anglo-Norman Origin	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Search	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Several	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Soil	3	Used as a noun and verb	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Sole	1	Only the meaning of "bottom of foot" is from Old French	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Sound	9	Used as noun and verb, only meaning involving hearing is Anglo-Norman	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster

Sovereign	3	Only used as an adjective	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Sovereignty	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Space	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Stale	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Station	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Stew	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Story	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Sudden	5		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Suddenly	1	Germanic suffix “-ly” and Norman root	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Suffer	6		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Suit	7	Used as noun and verb in text	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Summit	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Supposal	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Surrender	1	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Tax	2	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Temperance	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Tenant	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Tenantless	1	Anglo-Norman root “tenant” with Germanic suffix “-less”	Adjective	Merriam-Webster

Tender	7	Used as a noun, verb, and adjective variously	Noun, Verb, and Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Tenure	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Toil	2	Used as a noun and verb	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Translate	2		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Treason	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Trial	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Try	6		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Turn	14	Comes through Anglo-Norman, with additional influence from Old English, used as a noun and verb variously	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Uncle	11	Also used once in compound “uncle-father”	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Unimproved	1	Germanic prefix “un-” and Norman “improve”	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
University	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster



Unkennel	1	Germanic prefix “un-” and Norman kennel	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Unmannerly	1	Germanic prefix “un-”, Norman “manner”, Germanic suffix “-ly”	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Unmixed	1	Germanic prefix “un-”, dual etymology with Norman and Old English influence on “mix”	Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Unseal	1	Germanic prefix “un” with Norman word “seal”	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Valiant	2		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Valour	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vengeance	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Verity	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vicious	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
View	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vile	5		Adjective	Merriam-Webster
Virtue	15		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Virtuous	1		Adjective	Merriam-Webster

Visage	5		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vision	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Visitation	3		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Voice	12	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vouch	1		Verb	Merriam-Webster
Voucher	2		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Vouchsafe	3	Anglo-Norman root “vouch” and Old French root “safe”	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Voyage	2	Only used as a noun	Noun	Merriam-Webster
Wait	3	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster
Warrant	4	Used as both a noun and verb	Noun and Verb	Merriam-Webster
Warranty	1		Noun	Merriam-Webster
Waste	1	Only used as a verb	Verb	Merriam-Webster