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Indice

Of rose hips and rose bushes: Middle English *schūpe* and the first occurrence of the by-forms of English *hip*

ABSTRACT: Il glossario del ms. Cambridge, St John's College, E.17 (120) presenta due occorrenze di *schūpe*, una forma secondaria di medio inglese *hēpe* 'cinorrodo, frutto della rosa canina'. *Schūpe* ricomparirà, molto più avanti, in uno dei primi dizionari inglesi, il *Catholicon anglicum.* La forma che ricorre per la prima volta nel glossario presenta la stessa evoluzione fonetica della consonante iniziale di una serie di toponimi e di voci dialettali come *shoop*. Il glossario del St John's College, E.17, con la sua doppia occorrenza di *schūpe*, aggiunge un tassello importante alla distribuzione cronologica e diatopica dello sviluppo di [ʃ-] in medio inglese.

ABSTRACT: The glossary in Cambridge, St John's College, E.17 (120) features two occurrences of *schūpe*, a by-form of Middle English *hēpe* 'rose hip'. *Schūpe* will occur again, much later, in one of the first English dictionaries, the *Catholicon anglicum*. The by-form which occurs for the first time in this glossary features the same sound-change of the initial consonant as a few place names and modern dialect forms such as *shoop*. The glossary in St John's College, E.17, with its double occurrence of *schūpe*, adds one more piece to the puzzle of the chronological and diatopic distribution of the Middle English development of [ʃ-] forms.

English *hep*, *hip* 'rose hip, the fruit of the wild rose' goes back to Old English *hēope* via Middle English *hēpe*. *Schūpe* (*schupes* [pl.] and *schuptre*), with the same meaning, occurring in a glossary in ms. Cambridge, St John's College, E.17 (henceforth StJnC), represents one of the first known occurrences of a sound-change in progress in the twelfth century and which first appears completed in the thirteenth-century spellings of a few localised and specific place names in East and North Riding and in the dialect by-forms *shoop* and *choop*, respectively.

The StJnC glossary features two entries: "Eglenter . *Schuptre* ." (no. 6) and "Butuns de Haye . id *est Schupes* ." (no. 7). *Eglenter* means 'wild rose bush' and the *butuns de haye* are the 'rose hips'. Both *schūptrē* 'wild rose bush, eglantine' and *schūpe* 'rose hip' apparently only occur in this glossary; and surface again, at the end of the fifteenth century, in the *Catholicon anglicum*, where they are matched with different lemmata.

1. The glossary of StJnC

The short glossary where the two entries of interest occur was copied in the upper part of f. 126r of Cambridge, St John's College, E.17[1] and is likely an excerpt from a longer compilation: indeed, it is one of the few French-English glossaries from medieval Britain. Moreover, the glossary is the only piece in French and English in an otherwise all-Latin manuscript. The part of the manuscript containing the glossary has been dated to the fourteenth century.[2]

The glossary features thirty-eight entries, with the two main categories being names of tree (both bushes and fruit) and bird.[3] There are also a few entries from a different source, such as "Cheneuls . *Welpes*." 'whelps' (no. 17) and "Un cerku . *Aythruthe* (read *A thrughe*)" 'a coffin' (no. 37). The glossary appears to have been copied from an earlier compilation. The scribe of the StJnC manuscript might have selected a number of items

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[1] For the manuscript, see James (1913: 153-155) and the St John's College website, <http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/manuscripts/medieval_manuscripts/medman/E_17.htm>. The manuscript is made up of seven or eight *libelli* or fragments put together at an uncertain date; ff. 211-216 are dated to the fourteenth century (Thomson 2013: 166-168).

[2] In ff. 211r-216v, the writing varies considerably and more than one scribe might be responsible for these folios. Ff. 211r-213v contains theological extracts, followed, on ff. 213v-215v, by verses (some of them proverbial). Following the glossary (ff. 216r-216v) there is a series of Latin snippets, see Lendinara (2015: 91 and note 4), also for the content of an inserted slip.

[3] The glossary was first edited by Acker (1993); Lendinara (2015) offers a new edition and analysis of the content. The glossary has been dated to *c*. 1275 by *AND* and to (?) *a*. 1300 by *MED*. The scribe responsible for its copying was unfamiliar with the letter *wynn*, which was still in use in the thirteenth century: *hapes* (no. 12) – to be emended in *hawes* – arose from a miscopying of the letter ⟨w⟩ in the original. Moreover, he seems to confuse *yogh* with *thorn* (no. 37: see Lendinara 2015: 95-96). The bilingual word list as it now stands in St John's College 17 is a copy of a former (likely larger) glossary, which might predate it of a century.

of interest, adding new entries and reshaping their order according to his design. Six of the names of trees are compounds with *trē* as the second element: *aubēltrē* 'a poplar tree', *casberīetrē* 'gooseberry bush', *hellertrē* 'alder', *hillertrē* 'elder', *schūptrē* 'wild rose bush', and *walnotetrē* 'a walnut tree'. In two instances, either *casberīetrē* and *schūptrē*,[4] the determinatum is not suitable for the shrub of the gooseberry and the wild rose, but is justified by the semantic frame of a class-glossary such as this (including the possible existence of an original hyperonym *trē*).

Elsewhere in medieval class-glossaries – not to speak of the number of entries in large botanical glossaries – the section on trees is a bulky one: moreover, in topical glossaries, this section usually began with the hyperonym *arbor* 'tree'. The same applies to the number of bird names, which were usually listed beginning with the entry *aquila* 'eagle'. As far as the names of the trees are concerned, the choice of the StJnC glossary has gone to indigenous trees. The entries include some fruit trees and feature a trace of the system of the *differentiae pro arbore et fructu* (nos. 6-7). A number of entries – both plant and animal names – are in the plural (nos. 7, 12, 14, 17, 32, 33, and 38). Some plants such as the elder also had culinary uses, and others such as the fern enjoyed widespread usage in medieval life, and this might be the reason behind their choice.

Entry no. 6 of the glossary refers to a dog rose bush, whereas no. 7 refers to 'rose hips', especially of the dog rose (*Rosa canina*) and the sweetbrier rose (*Rosa rubiginosa* or *eglanteria*).

Eglenter . *Schuptre* . 'wild rose bush'
Butuns de Haye . id *est Schupes* . 'rose hips'

The former lemma is Anglo-Norman *eglenter*, *eglentere*, *eglentier* (for other variant forms, see *AND s.v.*),[5] which means 'briar', 'briar branches', 'eglantine', 'wild rose'.[6] Hunt (1991) collects a number of interlinear glosses where *eglenter*[7] occurs in combination with several Latin lemmata such as *arbutum*, *arbutus*, *bedegar*, *cornus*, and *rubetum*

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[4] The former compound is a hapax, see, for a possible identification, *MED* G 1: 40 (*gāsberīe* n. Also *cas-*). The latter had some circulation in Middle English, see below.

[5] The word was eventually borrowed by Middle English: *eglentēr, -iēr*, also *eglanter*. In Middle English is also recorded *eglentīn*, *egletin* (borrowed from Old French *eglent*), see Chaucer, *CT. Prol.* (Manly-Rickert) A.121: "She was cleped Madame Eglentyne".

[6] *Eglenter* is also used to refer to the 'strawberry-tree' and the 'cornel' as to the *AND*. However, the word mainly occurs in interlinear glosses to Latin works where the botanical correspondence between lemma and interpretamentum needs not to be scientifically appropriate.

[7] Hunt 1991: "arbitus *eglenter*" (II, 23); "arbutus *eglenter*" (II, 122; II, 15, 25); "arbuta *eglenter*" (II, 32); "bedegar *eclenter*" (II, 148); "bodegar *eglenter*" (II, 149); "bodegar *le eglenter* (C), *eglenter* (D*)" (II, 143), "bedegar *anglentere* (D); bodelgar *englenter* (L)" (II, 143); "bodegar gallice *eglenter*" (II, 145); "bodelgar *englentir*" (II, 153); "budegar *eglentere*" (II, 155); "cornus: *eglenter* gallice, *hope*" (II, 31); "rubetum *englenter*" (II, 52). See also Hunt (1979: 15; 20 and 1986-1987: 124).

(Classical Latin *rubēta*).[8] The word, which refers to a briar, that is a plant (such as a rose), having a woody and thorny stem, has some circulation outside glossaries in medieval literature (*La Vie de Saint Gilles*, *La Vie de Saint Laurent*).

The second lemma of the glossary is A-N *butun de haye* 'hip (of wild rose)', 'rose hip' (*AND* [I: 80]: *boton de haie*: *butun*, *-oun, boto(u)n, -un, bouton* [bot.]; *AND* [III: 348b]: *haie*, *hay*, *heye*, *hoie* 'hedge'); by another name it was called *butun / boton d'eglenter*. But see also – for the level of approximation of botanical glossaries to the benefit of redundancy – "Arbutus: *botun de hay*, *eglentere*".[9] The rose hip, also called rose hep and rose haw, is the (red to orange) accessory fruit of the rose plant. The two entries of StJnC glossary do not repeat the same A-N word, *eglenter*, but use the same ME word in their interpretamenta, *schūpe* and its compound, *schūpetrē*.

2. Old English *hēope* and Middle English *hēpe*

Schūpe is a variant form of ME *hēpe*, which goes back to OE *hēope* (f.),[10] that was used of both the fruit and the branch of the dog rose.[11] In the *Leechbook* there occurs the compound *hēopbremel* (m.) 'dog rose bramble'.[12] The plant name is attested in both West and North Germanic: OS *hiopo*, OHG *hiofo*, *hiofa*, G dial. *Hiefe* (for place names and compounds see Kluge 2011, *s.v.*), Du *joop*, Norw dial. *hjupa*, Sw *hipen*, *hypen* (a. 1635),[13] and Dan *hyben*.

"Sicomoros *heopan*": Second Corpus Glossary, S 333 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 144 [s. ix[1]]), (Lindsay 1921: 163)
"Buturnus *heope*": Harley Glossary, B 448 (London, British Library, Harley 3376 [s. x-xi]) (Oliphant 1966: 38)
"Butunus . *heope* .": Antwerp-London class-glossary, no. 984 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum,

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[8] See André (1985, *s.v.v.*). Medieval Latin *bedegar* is a loanword from Persian-Arabic دروداب [*bāḏāwärd*] 'brought by the wind'. The original meaning of the word was 'outgrowth or swelling produced on rosebushes by a puncture of a gallfly'. The gall was once supposed to have medicinal properties. The word *bedegar* was borrowed by both French and English (through French) in the Middle Ages.

[9] Hunt (1979: 26).

[10] The gender of the OE term for 'hip' (as well as other Gmc cognates) should receive due attention, as, in a number of instances, these words occur in the plural, where the weak declension has the same endings for all genders: e.g. OE nom. pl. *heopan*, OS dat. pl. *hiopon*. As far as OE is concerned, the occurrences of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses (see note 11 below) are not that relevant because these texts feature loss of *-n* and fluctuation in the vowels of the endings.

[11] For the former meaning see "Genim brer ðe hiopan on weaxaþ" (take briar on which hips grow): *Leechbook* I, 38.10.1-2 (Cockayne 1864-1866: II, 96); for the latter, see "ætt ðæm heape" in the glosses to the Gospels of Lindisfarne and "æt-eowde heope" in Rushworth (*secum rubum*, Lk. 20:37) (Skeat 1874-1878: 197). The place name *Heope bricge* occurs twice in a Charter (*a.* 971) (Birch 1885-1893: III, no. 1270).

[12] "gemim […] heopbremles leaf" (take leaves of the dog rose): *Leechbook* II,51.2.7-8 (Cockayne 1864-1866: II, 266).

[13] See *SAOB, s.v.*

M. 16. 2 (47) with London, BL, Add. 32246 [s. xi^in and xi^1]) (Porter 2011: 73)

"Rubus . *heopbrymel* .": Antwerp-London class-glossary, no. 1195 (Porter 2011: 80)[14]

"rumicide *heopbrēbel*" (read *heopbrembel*): an interlinear gloss in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dc 186 (s. xii) (Meritt 1945: no. 73b, 12)

"Betun*us heope*": Durham Glossary (Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter 100: s. xii^in), no. 58 (von Lindheim 1941: 10)

"Buturnus *heope*": glossary in London, BL, Royal 7. D. ii (s. xii^med), no. 114 (Meritt 1945: no. 69, 7)

Hēope glosses a number of Latin words, *butunus* (and the variant or mistaken forms *betunus* and *buturnus*),[15] *rubus*, *rumicide*,[16] and *sicomoros*. Latin *rubus* denotes several thorny plants, such as the 'bramble-bush' and the 'blackberry-bush' (cf. André 1985, *s.v.*). Latin *mōrus* is synonymous with *rubus*. Classical Latin *mōrus* 'a mulberry-tree' (f.), is a loanword from Greek μῶρα or μορέα, while *mōrum* (n.) 'a mulberry', 'a blackberry' is borrowed from Greek μῶρον and μόρον. *Mōrus* is used, among others, by Ovid (*Met.* 4, 89); *mōrum* by Ovid (*Met.* 1, 105) and Horace (*Sat.* 2, 4, 22), whence possibly the lemma entered medieval glossaries. *Sȳcomōrus* is a loanword from Greek συκάμινος 'a mulberry tree': the form *sicomoros* was often confused with *moros* and *morus*.

Ordinarily OE *hēope* becomes ME *hēpe* (*MED* H 3: 647: also *hep*, *heppe*, *hipe*, *heope, hoepe, hoope, houpe*; pl. *hepes*, etc. & *hepen*).[17] The word means 'hip of a wild rose' (esp. the fruit of the dog rose or the sweetbrier rose); it is also used to refer to a class of something deemed worthless. The compounds *hēpebrembel*, *hēpebrēr*, and *hēpetrē* are attested in plant name lists and glossaries. In the interlinear glosses and the entries of glossaries, *hēpe* is the English counterpart of Latin (*arbutum*, *betunus*, *butinius*, *butunus*, *butramnus*, *vaginella*, *xilocaracta*) and French lemmata (*botun/butun de haye*, *butener*, *butenes*, *butuns*, *eglenter*, *eruce*). To begin with, the thirteenth century *hēpe* and *hēpetrē* occur as a gloss to Latin *cornum* (n.) 'the cornelcherry' (occurring, *i.a.*, in Vergil, *A.* 3, 649, *G.* 2, 34; Horace, *Ep.* 1, 16, 9; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 105; 8, 665; 13, 816) and *cornus* (f.) 'a cornel cherry-tree' (Vergil, *G.* 2, 448) respectively. The delayed entry of such lemmata in medieval glossaries is probably tied to the late circulation of the just-quoted Classical works of the Middle Ages.

The cornel is a dogwood shrub with edible berries of a red colour. However, before forcing a possible identification of the two plants, the words of John Harvey in his review of the volume by Tony Hunt should be recalled: "Readers of this book must beware of

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[14] Note that the two entries occur under the heading 'Nomina herbarum' and 'Nomina arborum' respectively.

[15] Medieval Latin *botonus* shows the interference of A-N *boton* (Old French *bouton*); see the *Dictionary of Old English Place Names*, <http://oldenglish-plantnames.uni-graz.at>, *s.v.* for identification.

[16] Medieval Latin *rumicedo* is attested as the lemma of German plant name glosses. See Classical Latin *rumex, -icis* 'sorrel'.

[17] The [e:] of the first syllable is consistent with the regular development of OE [e:o].

uses of a single name for several unrelated plants (e.g. Centaurea, Consolida, Urtica, Viola) supposed to have similar virtues; and of cases where the plant used in Britain was wholly distinct from that intended on the continent" (1990: 370). This often happens with glosses and is even more frequent with plant name glosses.

> *hēpe* 'dog rose'
> *hepe*: a gloss to *Commoda grammatice* attributed to Henry of Avranches in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 50 (s. xiii[in]) (Hunt 1991: I, 122); *heupe*: a gloss to Horace, *Ep.* I,xvi,9 in Oxford, BodL, Rawlinson G. 96, part ii (s. xiii[2]) (Hunt 1991: I, 63); *hoepe*: glossary of plant names in London, BL, Harley 978 (s. xiii[3/4]) (WW: I, 556, 7); *heuppe*; *heope*: glossary of plant names in London, BL, Sloane 146 (s. xiii[ex]) (Hunt 1989b: nos. 29 and 200); *heepen*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 1067 (s. xv) (Hunt 1989a: 239); *hoppys*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 3545 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 258);[18] *heppes*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Harley 3388 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 258); *hupis*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 405 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 107); *hep*: plant name *synonyma* in London, Society of Antiquaries 101 (s. xv[ex]) (Hunt 1989a: 59)
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> "cornus eglenter gallice *hope*": a gloss to Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* in Oxford, Corpus Christi College E. 62 (s. xiii) (Hunt 1979: 26)
> "corna *hebes*": a gloss to John of Garland, *Dictionarius* in Dublin, Trinity College 270 (s. xiii/xiv) (Hunt 1991: II, 143)[19]
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> *hēpesberie* 'fruit of the dog rose'[20]
> "Bedegar anglice *hepesberie*": a fifteenth century addition to the plant name glossary in London, BL, Sloane 420 (s. xiv) (Hunt 1989a: 49)
>
> *hēpebrembel* 'dog rose bush'
> *heopebrumbel*; *heopebler* (?): plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 1067 (s. xv) (Hunt 1989a: 222 and 49); *hepe-brimble*: glossary of plant names in London, BL, Sloane 420 (s. xiv) (Hunt 1989a: 98); *hebrembel*: alphabetical glossary of plant names in London, BL, Sloane 2527 (s. xv) (Hunt 1989a: 49); *hepebrembel*: *Alphita* (Oxford, BodL, Arch. Selden B.35: *c*. 1465), no. 157 (*MED s.v. hēpe*); *hep-bremble*: plant name *synonyma* in London, Society of Antiquaries 101 (s. xv[ex]) (Hunt 1989a: 98); *hepe-brembul*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 347 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 98); *hu[p]ebremyll*": plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 3545 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 222)
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> *hēpebrēr* 'dog rose bramble'
> *hepe brer*: a gloss to John of Garland, *Dictionarius* in Worcester, Cathedral Library Q.50 (s. xiii) (Hunt 1991: II, 154); *hupbrere*: plant name *synonyma* in Cambridge, UL, Dd. 11.45 (s. xv[med]) (Hunt 1989a: 49); *hupbrere*: plant name *synonyma* in London, University College, lat. 11 (*a*. 1425) (Hunt 1989a: 104); *hepebrede* [read *hepebrere*].": *Alphita* (Oxford, BodL, Arch. Selden B.35 [*c*. 1465]), no. 22 (*MED s.v. hēpe*); *huppbrer*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Harley 3388 (s. xv[2]) (Hunt 1989a: 222); *hoppebrere*: alphabetical glossary in London, BL, Add. 27582 (*a*. 1523) (Hunt 1989a: 49)

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[18] The lemma of this and the following gloss is *vaginella*, see *DMLBS s.v.*
[19] Hunt, for these and similar entries refers to *eben tree* and *eben(us)* 'the ebony tree'. The frequency with which ME *hēpe* glosses Latin *cornus* rather suggests to reckon these glosses within the occurrences of *hēpe* 'rose hip'.
[20] The word is not registered by the *MED*.

hēpetrē

hepetre: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 5 (*c*. 1340) (Hunt 1989a: 49 and 107); second glossary in London, BL, Harley 2558, part ii (s. xiv¹) (Hunt 1989a: 49); *hepetre*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Harley 2558, part ii, f. 2v; *huptre*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Royal 12 G IV (s. xivˢ) (Hunt 1989a: 104); *hupetre*: plant name *synonyma* in Oxford, BodL, Digby 29 (*c*. 1430) (Hunt 1989a: 107); *hepetre*; *heoptre*: plant name *synonyma* in London, BL, Sloane 347 (s. xv²) (Hunt 1989a: 49 and 104)

"corno *hebe-tre*': a gloss to John of Garland, *Dictionarius* in Dublin, TC 270 (s. xiii-xiv) (Hunt 1991: II, 143)
"Cornus, *an hepetre*": glossary in Cambridge, Trinity College, O.5.4 (s. xv) (WW: I, 575, 36)
"cornus, *a hepe tre*": a gloss to a grammatical treatise in London, BL, Royal XII.B.i, f. 40r (s. xvᵐᵉᵈ) (Herrtage 1881: 183, note 1)
"cornuus [...] arbor, *an hepe tre*": *Nominale* in London, BL, Add. 37075, f. 155b (s. xv²) (Ross–Brooks)
"cornus *hepetre*": 'Equus, caballus...' in London, BL, Harley 1002 (these folios: s. xv²) (WW: I, 629, 11-12)

The majority of these glosses are not registered by the *MED*, however they provide an unmodified picture of a continued use of *hēpe* and compounds well into the late fifteenth century. The variant spellings of the vowel of the first syllable of *hēpe* is remarkable and a few occurrences of the word feature the same vowel as *schūpe* of the StJnC glossary. However, the initial consonant does not show any spelling variation.[21]

3. The StJnC glossary and the *Tretiz*

A comparison of the StJnC glossary with the other lexical works written on the trail of the *Tretiz pur aprise de langwage* paints a similar picture, which proves that the compiler of the glossary did not borrow the form *schūpe* from a previous compilation, but likely introduced it when copying the StJnC manuscript. The glossary under examination owes a lot to the *Tretiz*,[22] a work composed by Walter Bibbesworth in a versified form (octosyllables) sometime between the 1230s and the 1270s; this according to the larger time span for its composition recently suggested by Hinton (2017). In the prologue Bibbesworth stated that the Middle English glosses which accompany the text in the majority of its codices are an integral part of the work. The Middle English glosses are not, strictly speaking, interlinear; but rather line-final and in some codices are copied in a specially

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[21] Hunt, who collects a large harvest of unprinted lexical material (1989a) does not quote any form of this plant name with *s(c)h-*.

[22] Owen 1929 is based on Cambridge, UL, Gg.1.1. Many of Owen's readings were corrected by Rothwell (1982). Rothwell (1990) uses Owen's base-manuscript. His new edition (2009) offers independent transcriptions of Cambridge, UL, Gg.1.1 and Cambridge, TC, O.2.21. For the former manuscript, see <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-GG-00001-00001>.

ruled column to the right.

Of the thirty-eight French entries of StJnC glossary, twenty-four find a counterpart in the *Tretiz* of Bibbesworth. The two related lemmata under examination occur in the same verse of the *Tretiz*, "Eglenter ki les peperonges *com*porte" (line 681, ed. Rothwell 2009: 30) (The dog rose which bears rose hips). The numerous surviving manuscripts of the *Tretiz*, produced between the end of the thirteenth century and the first part of the fifteenth, attest to the long-lasting popularity of the work. These codices were copied in different areas of England;[23] however, none of the glosses to the *Tretiz* known at the moment feature the form *schūpe*.[24]

> *eglenter*
> *Tretiz*, line 681:[25] mss. Cambridge, University Library, Gg.1.1 [*englenter*]: *brere* (Rothwell 2009: 30); Cambridge, TC, O.2.21, line 513: *hepetre* (Rothwell 2009); London, BL, Arundel 220: *brere* (Wright 1854: 163); London, BL, Add. 46919 [*olim* Cheltenham, Phillipps 8336]: *brimbel*; London, BL, Harley 490: *espes*; Oxford, All Souls College 182: *hupe tre*.
>
> *peperonges*
> *Tretiz*, line 681: mss. Gg.1.1 [*peperounges*]: *hepes* (Rothwell 2009: 30); TC O.2.21, line 513: *hepes* [*piperonges*] (Rothwell 2009: 77); Arundel 220 (Wright 1854: 163), Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 699: *hepes*; London, BL, Add. 46919: *hepen*; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 450, p. 247 [= f. 125rb]: *howpes*; London, BL, Harley 490: *chatte* [*piperounges*];[26] Oxford, All Souls College 182: *hupe*.

Derived in large measure from the *Tretiz* is the *Nominale* in Cambridge, University Library, Ee. 4. 20, ff. 162r-164v (*c*. 1380-1400), where each French line is followed by a complete translation in Middle English. The *Nominale* features nos. 6 and 7 in two different lines:

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[23] Koch (1934: 43-47). For CCCC 450 see <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/bc961dv0378>.

[24] The amount of glosses varies from one manuscript to another, being completely absent, for example, from Sloane 513, sparse in the Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 699 version and very abundant in the later All Souls 182.

[25] Line 681 [675 in Owen's edition] was corrected by Rothwell (1982: 285 and 289).

[26] Koch (1934: 56, 66) is unable to explain this gloss, but see me *chattes* (pl.) 'the catkins of the hazel'. I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Hinton of the University of Exeter for his kind help on the glosses to this line of the *Tretiz*.

"Aube-espyne et eglenter / *Hawethorne hepetre*": Ee. 4.20 *Nom*., lines 660-661 (Skeat 1903-1906: 20*)

"Fige reysyn et poperouge / *Fige reysyng*e *and hope*": Ee. 4.20 *Nom*., lines 690-691 (Skeat 1903-1906: 21*)

About eighty per cent of the *Tretiz* found its way into *Femina*, an early fifteenth century treatise in Cambridge, TC, B.14.40 (s. xv¹ᐟ⁴), where each couplet in French (which repeats the words of Bibbesworth) is provided with a full translation into Middle English, "Et glentre porte lez piperongez /And bremyl þ*at* beruþ þ*e* hepe" (Rothwell 2005: 52). The *Nominale* in Cambridge, UL, Add. 8870 (s. xv), which goes back to the *Tretiz* too, features the original sentence of Bibbesworth as the lemma, but does not provide it with any English gloss: "Une engle[n]tier que porte lez pipe rouges" (Baker 1989: no. 391).

4. *Schowpe* and the *Catholicon anglicum*

Middle English *schowpe* (and *schowpe trē*) are registered by *MED* S 6: 762 (*shǒupe* n. Also *shup(e*.), where the lemma is compared with both Norw dial. *hjupa* and English dial. *choop* and *shoop*. The only other occurrence of StJnC glossary's *schūpe* surfaces in one of the earliest English dictionaries, the *Catholicon anglicum*, an English-to-Latin compilation, dated to the late fifteenth century[27] and probably written in the northern part of the East Riding of Yorkshire. The *Catholicon* presents twenty-five of the Middle English items of the glossary, including nos. 6 and 7, thus featuring what has been considered for a long time (see Britton 1991: 11) the only instance of a variant form of ME *hēpe*, *schowpe*.

Another of the early English dictionaries, the *Promptorium* (or *Promptuarium*) *parvulorum*, which was completed about 1440 in Norfolk (East Anglia), has no entry for either 'rose hip' or 'wild rose bush'. The lemma for *cornus* is "*Hawe thorne*" and that for *cornum* is "*Hawe, frute*" (Way 1843-1865: 230). *L'ésclarcissement de la langue françoise* by John Palsgrave (printed in 1530) has only *heppe*: "Heppe bery of englantyne – *grattecul x*, m.; *cornille s*, f." (Palsgrave: 230). Finally, in *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* by Randle Cotgrave (1611), the same entry combines rose hips and hawthorn berries: "Senelles: f. Heps, or Hawthorne berries" (1969 facs.: n.p.).[28]

It is remarkable that the two known manuscripts of the *Catholicon* provide more than one lemma for both 'rose hip' and 'wild rose bush'. This dictionary takes a number of Scandinavian(ized) forms as basic; in this case, the *Catholicon* included both the lem-

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[27] The single complete copy, ms. London, BL, Add. 89074, is dated to 1483 in a scribal colophon.

[28] The StJnC glossary has a separate entry "Syneles: *Hapes* [read *Hawes*]." (no. 12) 'hawthorn berries'.

ma *heppe* and the lemma *schowpe* probably because the words were recorded under a separate letter and at large distance from one another.

> "an *Heppe*; cornu*m*.": Herrtage (1881: 183) (from London, BL, Add. 89074)[29]
> "a *Schowpe*; cornu*m*.": Herrtage (1881: 338) (Add. 89074)
> "A *schowpe* cornum": ms. London, BL, Add. 15562, f. 113b
>
> "an *Heppe tre*; corn*us, -i, vel -u*s *in* ge*nitiuo*.": Herrtage (1881: 183) (from Add. 89074)
> "A *hepe tre* cornus, cornum fructus eius.": ms. Add. 15562, f. 63a
>
> "a *Schowpe tre*; corn*us*": Herrtage (1881: 338) (from Add. 89074)
> "A *schwpe tre* cornus": ms. Add. 15562, f. 113b[30]

Apparently Dieth, who was the first to attribute the development of [ʃ-] forms to Scandinavian influence (1955, see below), was unaware of the existence of either *schowpe*[31] or *schūpe* of the StJnC glossary. These are a crucial element in the evolution of [ʃ-] forms in English, as they represent a word that formerly (in Old English) had [h] followed by a diphthong. Even more valuable is the occurrence of *schūpe* in the StJnC glossary, which predates the *Catholicon* by at least a century and was likely composed in the same area.

5. The place names

Palatal fronting such as that of *schūpe* is witnessed by a few place names in northwest England, such as Shap, Shaps and Shipton, the last of which was brought back to OE *hēope*.[32] These place names were first taken into examination by Smith (1925). Dieth, who studied the change of the initial consonant from /h/ to /ʃ/, highlighted that the development into "*shoo-*, *sha-*" is "something unique not […] evidenced outside our Scandinavianized area" (1955: 214).

Both Shipton in North Riding and Shipton in East Riding of Yorkshire are thought to derive from an unrecorded OE **hēoptūn* 'farm where briars or hips grew'. This place name features an evolution of the first consonant alike to that of ME *schūpe* and *showpe* and the English dialect forms of 'hips' (see below). Britton in his essay, which traces the history of research on the development of [ʃ-] forms, distinguishes between two stages

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[29] The codex is known as the Monson manuscript.
[30] The definition of *cornum* and *cornus* in both *Medulla* and the *Ortus vocabulorum* are different.
[31] *Schowpe* was known and quoted by the editors of the *OED*, see below.
[32] Britton highlights (1991: 30-35) the paucity of contexts for [hj-]/[ç-] in English. However, see the data presented by Laing–Lass (2014: 222-224).

of the phonetic change. Contact between Old Norse[33] and English had a role at the initial stage of the change, while in the last stage the development is a native one (1991: 16) as is proven by modern Scottish.[34]

The rationale behind such interference is presented in different terms, however. According to Juengling a borrowing from ON *hjupa* 'hip' (Norw dial. *hjupa*)[35] is likely, "as the *u*-forms appear well before the fronting of [o:] > [y:]" (2001: 132). Britton (1991: 15) speaks of a derivation from an ON [u:] resulting from the resyllabification of the diphthong in Old Norse.[36]

> Hipton (1086) Doomsday Book; Hieptunam (1156-1157) Confirmation by Henry II to the monks of St Mary's York of a gift; Cartulary of St Mary's York (s. xiv^in); (1308) Charter Rolls; Hepeton' (1167) Pipe Rolls; Hyepton' (Yhieptona) (1176) Pipe Rolls; Yhupton (1231) *Magnum Registrum Album*; Hupton' (1231) Assize Rolls, 1244 Book of Fees; Supton' (1244) Assize Rolls; S(c)hupton' Galtres (1301) Yorkshire Lay Subsidy: Liberty of St Mary's York; Cartulary of St Mary's York (s. xv^in) to 1541 Dugdale, *Monasticon*; Scuppeton (1295) Yorkshire Inquisitions; Schippeton (1295) Yorkshire Inquisitions; Schipton (1328) De Banco Rolls, (1522) Feet of Fines, (1577) Saxton, Map of Yorkshire; Schiptun (1405) An account of the proceedings against Archbishop Scrope (*The Historians of the Church of York* III: 288).[37]

There is another town called Shipton, in East Riding, for which the following forms have been recorded (Smith 1937: xxxi, 95 and 228; Ekwall 1960: *s.v.*; Smith 1970: I, 243).

> Epton (1086) Doomsday Book; Hyepton (1176) Pipe Rolls (place name derived from a personal name; Yheptona Chancellor's copy); Sipton (probably S = [ʃ]) (1219) Feet of Fines; S(c)hupton (1234) Feet of Fines; (1244 *et passim*) Assize Rolls to 1562 Feet of Fines; Yupton' (1259) Assize Rolls; Scopton (1267) Yorkshire Inquisition; Skipton (1279-1281) *Placita de Quo Warranto*; Supton

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[33] Britton underscores that the sound substitution for ON [hj-]/[ç-] is not attributable to Old West Norse owing to the chronology of the place names change, which precedes the occurrence of Hyepton, Yhupton and Hupton. The earliest attestation of the West Norse change belongs to the late thirteenth century (in a letter of 1289 there occurs 'Thorvaldus de Shetland') (Britton 1991: 14, see also Flom (1907-1908): 125).

[34] Britton cites [ʃ] forms in Scots as the personal name Hugh(ie), *hook*, and *huge*. The change is datable to after 1550, as it entails the development of ME [iu] to [hj-], first recorded after *c.* 1550 (Britton 1991: 20-28). The evidence of varieties of Scottish English supports the hypothesis of a native phonetic change [ç-] >[ʃ-] at any period in the history of English language.

[35] See Torp (1919: 217). It is not clear on which basis Britton (1991: 11) surmises that ON *hjupa* is a loanword from *hēope* itself.

[36] According to Britton (1991: 16) resyllabification was the source of [hj-]/[ç-] in the immediate antecedent of *schowpe* and appears "adequately to explain the […] forms of the place names […]. Hence, contact between ON and English into which the [hj-]/[ç-] forms passed via the usage of bilingual speakers, was a vital stage in the subsequent development of [ʃ-], which itself occurred after these forms had been returned to English".

[37] See Smith (1925: 438); Smith (1928: 15-16); Ekwall (1930: 27); Ekwall (1960: *s.v.*); Kristensson (1967: 159, 173, 210); Smith (1970: I, 243); and Mills (1991: 295). The occurrences were checked against the sources; references have been extended, while the bibliographical data are omitted not to overburden the notes.

(1296) Yorkshire Inquisition; Scipton (1296) Yorkshire Inquisition; Schopton (1308) Chapter Act Book of Beverly Minster; Shipton (1532) Feet of Fines.[38]

These place names progress from the original *Hep-* to *Yhep-* and, lastly, to *S(c)hup-ton*, etc. in the thirteenth century.[39] The variant spellings registered for *Shipton* should be seen as attempts to render [ʃ]. Elsewhere the place names in question show the expected native form in *H-* as in Heapham (Lincolnshire).[40]

The same change is witnessed by Shap in pre-1974 Westmoreland and Shaps in Yorkshire. Shap is thought to go back to OE *hēap* 'heap, pile', perhaps owing to a pre-historic monument south of Shap (see Ekwall 1960: *s.v.*; Smith (1970: I, 239); Dodgson–Khaliq 1969–1970: 73; Mills 1991: 291). As to Rye (2016: 248-251) the development of the place name Shap represents an example of Scandinavianisation by the substitution of a rising diphthong for a native falling diphthong. The shift of the stress is a necessary stage for the development of the initial consonant to [ʃ]. Elsewhere (2016: 251), Rye speaks of "Scandinavian etyma with stress-shifted medial diphthongs in place-names in north-west England", likely referring to the interference on such English place names of the Old Norse cognate forms of OE *hēope* and *heap.*

6. Modern dialect forms

In English, the instances of Palatal Fronting occurring in *schūpe* and the following entries of the *Catholicon*, seem to be restricted to the few place names taken into examination above and to the dialect forms of *hip* with a back vowel. Dieth (1955) supported the place name evidence of the northern counties with the responses from the *SED* (*Survey of English Dialects*, work of Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton), question IV.11.7: "What do you call the berries that grow on the wild-rose bush?". The answers that are relevant as far as the word under examination here is concerned are the standard form *hips*, and the dialect forms *shoops*, *choops*, and *joops*.[41]

The *OED*, in its entry for *shoop*, only registers the lemma of the *Catholicon angli-*

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[38] See note 37 above.

[39] As to Britton (1991: 43) "the ultimate source of these variants seems to have been the coexistence in English speech of forms showing the regular English development and forms showing resyllabification in ON".

[40] See also Hebden (Yorkshire, West Riding), Hepple (Northumberland), Hetton (Durham) (Smith 1970: I, 243); Heptonstall (West Riding) (Moorman, *s.v.*).

[41] For a map for *hips*, with *shoops*, *choops* or similar forms see Orton–Halliday (1962-1963); Orton–Wright (1974); Orton–Sanderson–Widdowson (1978); Hupton–Parry–Widdowson (2013: 207), and, as far as Scotland is concerned, 'hips (rose-hips)' PQ II [second postal questionnaire], 32A, Mather–Speitel (1975-1985).

cum ("ME *schowpe*, 17–18 *shoup*, *showp*, 18– *shoop*").[42] As to the *OED*, *choop*, *choup* are firstly attested in the «Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine», vol. VIII (nov. 1820), 'Sketches of Village Character. II', "A hale regiment o' guid aik cudgels, every ane o' them as like my ane as ae choup is like to anither" (p. 201). As far as the etymology is concerned, the *OED* surmises the influence of ON **hjupa* ("The forms *shoop*, *choop* perhaps represent aberrant pronunciations of Old Norse **hjúpa*"). As well as the items taken into examination above, *shoop* is likely to be directly descended from ON **hjupa* and the very existence of Middle English spellings such *schūpe* and *showpe* (in texts from northern England) confirms the interference of Old Norse. On the other hand, just because *shoops* and *choops* survive in modern English dialects, these names are not necessarily indicative of the historic extent of the development of OE *hēo-*, if it were not for their root vowel.

The modern dialect forms *choop*, *choup*, *chowp*, and *shoop* are registered in *The English Dialect Dictionary* of Joseph Wright (I: 594 and V: 400). *Choop* and *chowp* are recorded in Yorkshire and other northern dialects (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire)[43] and *shoop*, *showp*, with the identical meaning (see Thorson 1936: 15, 17 and 23; Ross 1938: 30-31),[44] in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. Also *shoop-choop* is restricted to the focal area.[45] In Cumberland the briar is still called *choup tree*. The dialect names for the wild rose hips are indeed numerous and many are much more extravagant in nature, such as *hedge-pedgies*, *nippernails*, *pixie pears* or *pig's noses*.

7. The pronoun *she*

The phonetic change of the place names showing a development similar to *schūpe* has frequently been taken into examination in discussions of the origin of Modern English *she*. Scandinavian influence has been repeatedly called into question, when ME *schō/schē* was traced back to Early ME *hēo*. The initial [ʃ] of the nominative singular third person feminine pronoun was treated in connection with place names such as Shipton and the dialect by-forms of English *hip* by Flom (1907-1908) and Smith (1925). According to Dieth (1955: 216-217) the change from [hj-] to [ʃ-] in a number of place names threw

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[42] The English dialect forms all occur in areas where the Vowel Shift diphthongisation of the Middle English long high back vowel failed and where ME [o:] was fronted, hence the vowel of *shoop* should descend from a ME [u:].

[43] Halliwell has these two entries "choups, hips, the fruit of briars. *North.*" (1847: I , 248) and "Schoups. The hips. *North.*" (1850: II, 737).

[44] *Choops* is also used in the south-west and south of Scotland.

[45] For *shoop-choop* see Thun (1963: 175).

some light on *she* too. The development of the ME pronoun *schō/schē* was studied in connection with the focal area in a number of studies. The problems when dealing with these accounts were laid out by Britton, who argued that development of the pronoun *hēo* to *she* did not require Scandinavian influence: *she* presents a native development "result of re-syllabification under conditions of reduced stress" (Britton 1991: 15). As to Briton this natural process was more widespread in England and has nothing to do with the focal area. Britton points out that [ʃ] is derivable by native processes also observable in other West Germanic languages (1991: 12-16). It also occurs in a few German dialects (Britton 1991: 12) resulting in loss of the palatal fricative and merger in [ʃ], for example, in Alsatian, Darmstadt Hessian and Rhenish Franconian (see Keller 1961).

Margaret Laing and Roger Lass (2014) have offered a reinterpretation of the first step in the development of OE [h] in *hēo* in *she* initial [ʃ] of Middle English,[46] building on Britton's study and refining some of his arguments.[47] Their conclusion is that Palatal Fronting [çe:] > [ʃe:] is "a common change of tongue shape and point of articulation" (Laing–Lass 2014: 218).

8. The Norse aegis and the focal area

The phonetic change [hj-] to [ʃ-] was reckoned to be among the main features of the focal area of 'the Great Scandinavian Belt', as defined by Samuels. This area of the country encompasses the six northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire and might have various configurations, wider or narrower, the former including South Lancashire in the west or Norfolk in the east (Samuels 1989: 106).[48] Scandinavian settlements had been, for a long time, concentrated in the Danelaw and the northern counties of England occupied by the Norwegians (Westmoreland and parts of Lancashire).[49]

As for Duncan (1972: 183ff.) and Samuels (1989: 109), the focal area is supposedly the only place in the country to feature the phonetic change of [hj-] to [ʃ-]. Kries (2007: 118) has pointed out that such a phonetic development also occurs on the other side of the border in Scotland (in the south western tip of Roxburgh and south Annandale, Eskdale

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[46] In Laing–Lass (2014: 211) interpretation, "these diphthongs were bimoric, that is, in this case [heo], [hio]".

[47] As to Juengling's essay (2001), who had remarked that other OE *hēo*-words did not also develop initial [ʃ], Laing–Lass underscores that "changes such as this need neither be complete nor spread across the lexicon" (2014: 210, note 6).

[48] For proofs of the existence of the focal area in the period 1290-1350 see Kolb (1965) and Kristensson (1979).

[49] On the Scandinavians in England, see, at least, the update in Keynes (1997).

and Nithdale – only in south west Scotland).

The sound-change which left its trace in the modern dialects of the focal area was first attributed to Scandinavian influence by Dieth, who underscored how the trend to turn [hj-] into [ʃ-] is typical of the West Norse dialects (1955: 211).[50] Recent studies have demonstrated that a distinction should be made between the different cases of the development of [ʃ-] forms (see above for the pronoun *she*). In the Cumberland–Yorkshire area there are more forms with initial [ʃ-] than elsewhere but it was not the composition of its Scandinavian settlers (or the dialect of Old Norse which was spoken there) that determined this development,[51] but rather the relatively late survival of Old Norse speech in those parts of England.

But in the case of pronoun *she*, the change developed under the Norse aegis.[52] This is true of a series of place names in the northern part of the country, as well as of *schūpe* in the StJnC glossary and *schowpe* in the *Catholicon anglicum*, and also of the English dialect forms.

9. The place of composition of StJnC glossary

The occurrence of *schūpe* and *schūpetrē* might be read in connection with the presence, in the StJnC glossary, of a number of terms with a limited geographical distribution in Middle English and which are probably Norse-derived. These features all point to the northern part of England as the place of composition of the glossary. Note that by 'composition' I rather refer to the putting-in-writing of this and other texts in the StJnC manuscript, likely copying or excerpting a former compilation. Among the voluntary or involuntary adaptations (if not mistakes) that took place at that moment there might have been spelling substitutions such as that of *schūpe* and word replacements such as *sūswart* in lieu of the former word for 'blackbird'. The very nature of a glossary and, in this case, the limited number of its Middle English items do not allow arrival at a precise definition of the place where it was written down. The glossary contains a number of Old Norse loanwords in circulation in the northern counties of the country in the thirteenth-fourteenth

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[50] The change [hj-] >… > [ʃ-] is attested in some dialects of Modern Norwegian (Dieth 1955: 210-211), in place names in Orkney (Hjálpandisey > Shapinsay: one of the Orkney islands, see Johnston 1903: 264) and Shetland (Hjaltland > Shetland: Johnston 1903: 265 and Jakobsen 1936: 127). Britton (1991: 13 and 43, note 24) speaks of a peculiarity of Old West Norse and quotes Orkney Norn *sheuboo* 'hawthorn berry' (from ON *hjupa*), which shows the same development (Grant–Murison 1934-1976, *s.v. sheuboo*).

[51] Moreover, areas such as the East Riding of Yorkshire were settled by Danes (East Norse), where [hj-] > [ʃ-] did not take place.

[52] According to Vachek, "the *Sh*-forms of these place-names may represent original Scandinavian variants of domestic forms; one would have to do with a phenomenon of substitution rather than with real sound changes" (1964: 87, note 39).

centuries.[53] The entries of the glossary likely borrowed from Old Norse are *alme* 'elm' (no. 3); *brāke(n)* 'fern' (no. 10); *gēsling* 'young bird', 'gosling' (no. 33); *scarf* 'cormorant' (no. 35);[54] *snipe* 'snipe' (no. 24); *spink* 'finch' (no. 27); *sūswart* 'blackbird' (no. 21); and *wype* 'lapwing' (no. 19).[55] Finally, the compound *turteldouve*, which is quite rare in Middle English,[56] has a counterpart in Scandinavian languages, among others, in Faroese *turtildúgva, -dúva* 'turtle-dove'. ME *douve* itself, which is a Common Germanic type, is not attested in Old English and it is likely that its eventual reintegration, if the word was already there in Old English, was assisted by cognate forms from the Danelaw (cf. ON *dúfa*). It should be remarked that, in at least one instance, the compiler of the glossary apparently shunned Norse-derived terms, ME *gōk* 'cuckoo' (cf. ON *gaukr*), which came to reinforce a word already existing in Old English (*gēac*).[57] In this case, the French lemma *cucuel* might have supported the maintenance of ME *cokkou*.[58] However, note that all the bird and plant names mentioned above have one or more native synonyms in ME, with the exception of *scarf*, which did not outlive the diffusion of the French loanword *cormeraunt* in most of the country. Hence, it is possible that the StJnC glossary redactor will have altered one or more original interpretamenta, introducing Norse-derived terms. A substitution at some point is indeed likely at least for *sūswart* 'blackbird'. By the same token, he would have substituted the common and largely attested *hēpe* with *schūpe*.

Richard Dance (e.g. 2003) has challenged the traditional view that associated the distribution of Old Norse loans in Middle English to the areas of Scandinavian settlement in the early Middle English period. The Norse lexis of the texts from the northern counties has traditionally been judged in the light of Scandinavian settlement. Norse-derived terms were indeed already widely present across England in the last two centuries of the medi-

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[53] The bibliography on linguistic contact between Old Norse and English is vast. This field has recently begun to receive a detailed coverage and a systematic cataloguing. Suffice here to quote, as far as lexical borrowings are concerned, the recent surveys by Pons-Sanz (2013) and Dance (2003). Linguistic influence was substantial in Orkney, Shetland, where Norn was spoken until the eighteenth century, and parts of Scotland.

[54] The cormorant (ME *scarf*) and the blackbird of no. 21: "Merel: *Suswart*" are migrant birds. ME *sūswart* is a hapax.

[55] The presence of these words in the glossary is the more remarkable, as all these plant and bird names have one or more synonyms in Middle English: *elme* 'elm' (OE *elm*); *fĕrn* 'fern' (OE *fearn*); *ōsel(e)* (OE *ōsle*), *throstel* (OE *þrostle*), *merule* (a loanword from Latin *merula*), and *blăkbrid* 'blackbird'; *gōsling* 'young bird, gosling'; *cormeraunt* (a loanword from French) 'cormorant'; *snīte* (OE *snīte*) 'snipe'; *finch*, *gōldfinch* (OE *finc, goldfinc*) 'finch'; and *lapwink(e)* (OE *hlēapewince*) 'lapwing'. For all these items see Lendinara (2015: 106-115).

[56] The ME compound *turteldouve* has its first occurrence in the Cambridge *Nominale*, line 806 (Skeat, 1903-1906). See *MED* T 10: 1183-1184, for further occurrences.

[57] *MED* G 2: 222; *OED*, s.v. *gowk*. The word has a certain number of occurrences in medieval northern texts and is recorded in the *Catholicon anglicum*.

[58] The glossary contains only two loanwords from French, *aubēltrē* '(white) poplar' (no. 11) and *cokkou* 'cuckoo' (no. 31).

eval period, because they had entered northern dialects at an early date and were hence spread either through written documents or iteration among speakers. However, while it is uncontroversial that the appearance of Norse-derived terms in a set text should rather be considered as part of the usage of the writer and not as an argument for specific dialects, this can hardly be applied to a *Gebrauchtext* such as the small glossary in StJnC manuscript.

A few clues point to Yorkshire as the place of composition. One of the rare words of the glossary, *alme* 'elm' (no. 3), is used in the *Liber de diversis medicinis* compiled by Robert Thornton. The other manuscript ascribed to this Yorkshire landowner – who seems to have copied these codices for himself and his family –, ms. London, BL, Add. 31042, contains, among others, the poems *Wynnere and Wastoure* and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*. The former poem features over twenty bird names, including two words of the StJnC glossary: the rare *heghwall* (line 38 and gloss no. 30) – a word of comparatively late appearance in ME – and the 'long billed' *snyppe* (line 349 and gloss no. 24). The similarly rare *coushōte* 'woodpigeon' (line 13 and gloss no. 28) is an Old English term re-surfacing in StJnC glossary and mostly confined to sources from the North. The bird is still called *cushat* or *cowshot* in the northern dialects and in Scotland. Notably, East Riding of Yorkshire is the county which saw the composition of the *Catholicon anglicum*, which features many Middle English lemmata of the StJnC glossary, including *schowpe*.

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