

Middle English names of merchants: etymology and aspects of usage

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The relevance of the research is due to the need for a comprehensive study of the Middle English vocabulary, in particular of occupational names as its subsystem. The article is devoted to the general purpose of the study of the etymological composition and functional differentiation of the thematic group of Middle English names of merchants. The investigation of the functional differentiation of the Middle English occupational names is based on the principles of the communicative and historical approaches. Middle English occupational names are distributed into two classes – common nouns (in their nominating function) and proper names, especially family names (in the function of identification of the person as the component additional to the personal name in the personal nomination formulas). Within each etymological group of vocabulary we distribute the lexical material according to the functional principle and distinguish three groups of occupational names: those functioning exclusively as common nouns; those functioning exclusively as the proper names in the personal nomination formulas; those functioning as common nouns as well as the proper names. According to the functional principle of the distribution of the vocabulary and on the quantitative calculations we draw the conclusions about the degree of sustainability of the usage of borrowed occupational names: we consider English words, loan-blends as well as the assimilated borrowings that functioned as the common nouns and proper names to be the words with the established (settled) usage; we consider English words, loan-blends and the assimilated borrowings that existed only as the personal name in the nomination formula to be the words with the unsettled usage; we consider English words, loan-blends and the assimilated borrowings that existed exclusively as common nouns to be the words with the restricted usage. It was found out that functional differentiation of the vocabulary is different in English and borrowed occupational terms as well as within the lexical-thematic subgroups. Data obtained in the study under review are valuable as the constituent part of the comprehensive study of the etymology and usage of the Middle English vocabulary.

Keywords: *Middle English, occupational terms, names of merchants, etymology, functional differentiation*

1. Introduction

In the XI-XII centuries in England there was a rapid growth of commerce, which led to its separation from the production and during the XII-XV centuries - to the gradual formation of the class of merchants, who did not manufacture, but only exchanged the products (Lipson 1956: 266). The accelerated development of trade, crafts and cities in England was one of the consequences of the Norman Conquest. As in Celtic times, lead and tin were exported from England, but cattle and wool soon took a leading place among export items. Sheep-farming received a new impetus and English wool has won the first rank in the European market. Skilled artisans of Flanders have made it into excellent fine cloth, part of which then was imported to England. Merchants began to prosper and soon became a significant force in the state, representing the most powerful element of the elite urban population (Kertman 1968: 19-20). Large merchants of that time often financed the private craft, providing the direct

producers with the raw materials and tools (Thrupp 1948: 10-12). Thus, they gradually captured the leadership in the production and economically subjugated the producers.

At the time of the Norman invasion London and several smaller cities have already received the right of self-governing communities, the so-called municipal liberties. In the XI century in the cities there lived approximately 5% of the population of the country, in the XIII century this amount was already 15%. The urban population was cut at a time from agriculture, but the main occupation of the residents was the craft of weaving, the production of cloth, weaponry, jewellery, etc. (Kertman 1968: 20). At the end of the XII – at the beginning of the XIII centuries in the English cities there were formed the so called *gilda mercatoria*, having the trading monopoly and embracing not only merchants, but also artisans as well (Lipson 1956: 266). Gradually there developed a typical medieval town social hierarchy. The urban privileges purchased from feudal would give the merchants and the elite of artisans, organized in trade guilds, the ability to control the entire life of the city and to keep in check the urban poor – the hired workers, apprentices, under-masters and even some masters (Kertman 1968: 20). Initially, the craftsmen were engaged in the sale of their manufactured goods. But social and economic differentiations within the guilds resulted in the individual craftsmen leading position, gradually turning them into capitalist merchants, who supervised the work of other craftsmen and marketed the finished products. In the Medieval documents there were frequent cases where such tradespeople are recorded as engaged in the wholesale and overseas trade of their goods (Thrupp 1948: 5-6). At the end of the XIV century the merchant guilds strengthened their position as the guilds of tradespeople, not involving the artisans (Morton 1974: 91).

The urban growth contributed to the increased domestic trade and the development of the internal market. Artisans bought raw materials (wool) from the monasteries, secular feudal lords, the owners of freehold property; even villains could sell wool and livestock products, which later gave the opportunity to some of them to redeem at will. Many small and large trade transactions were conducted at the fairs, which have become common since the end of the XI century. The communication between different parts of the country had increased, and local dialects gradually began to converge: the English language began to take shape on the basis of the London dialect. The descendants of feudal lords who arrived together with William the Conqueror, in the interests of trade and communication with the local population had to learn to speak their language; at the same time the Anglo-Saxons took a lot of French words and expressions which gradually entered the evolving English language (Kertman 1968: 20).

Deep political reaction of the XV century hindered the development of the British economy, but was unable to stop the progress of productive forces, which had been prepared by the previous evolution of the economy and social relations. The elimination of serfdom had created favourable conditions for the development of agriculture. In the economy of the village there also occurred major shifts associated with the transference of the most important industry – the manufacture of cloth – into the rural districts. There appeared the type of employer-clothier, who exploited the masses of rural artisans. The clothiers usually bought land in the sheep areas to be closer to the sources of raw materials, married daughters of squires and became the part of the new nobility. At the same time, the rural manufacture of cloth had brought some additional income to the peasant family and expanded the ties with the outside world (Kertman 1968: 46). The growth of cloth manufacture led to the development of the elements of the territorial division of labour. In the XV century clothiers

would choose areas where there were fewer cities, and hence fewer Guild regulations (Kertman 1968: 47).

The external trade played the most important role in the business activities of British merchants of that period of time. In the XIII-XIV centuries, England had firmly occupied the leading position among other countries as an exporter of wool, and later, in the XV century, of woollen fabrics as well. Besides the large wholesale, the retail-sale was very important too.

Cloth manufacture reached excellence in England, in the XV century there was a continuously increased demand for the English cloth in the European markets and soon England occupied the first place in the export of cloth. It had led to an increase in foreign trade not only with France, Flanders, Italy, and the ports of the North and Baltic seas; English cloth would reach even remote Novgorod. The overseas trade was led by the companies of "enterprising merchants", who received a Charter from the government. The first company of this type was founded in 1406. The system of trading companies would satisfy the King, because it was easy for him to levy taxes; in addition, the companies had paid considerable sums for the Charter, i.e. for the monopoly, to the King. The large quantities of goods bought from the clothiers were sent by the "enterprising merchants" to their trading bases in Antwerp and other places where merchants would flock from other countries. The growth of trade promoted the development of the English merchant fleet and shipbuilding. In the middle of the XIV century there was published the first Navigation act – the law under which the English merchants were obliged to transport their goods only on British ships (Kertman 1968: 47).

The processes that took place in the British economy undermined the domination of the feudal nobility (both secular and spiritual); the new nobility became the leading force in the organization of production in the village, and wealthy merchant class in the cities. Wide development of the internal and external markets, the use of hired labour and the subordination of the broad strata of the artisans to the enterpriser (i.e. the occurrence of scattered manufactories) created the preconditions for the development of new capitalist relations (Kertman 1968: 47).

The significant development of the internal trade intensified contacts between the various parts of the country. When cloth manufacture began to leave the cities, this has led to the significant relocation of the population. Weavers would rush to the areas of the proliferation of the production of cloth, thus many small towns were depopulated. As a result, the dialectal differences in language began to wane, and the English national language had increasingly been forming (Kertman 1968: 48).

In the linguistic paper devoted to the study of the Middle English names of occupation in the aspect of the theory of nomination there are 176 words denoting merchants (44 of them denoting tradespeople in the most general sense and 132 words denoting the names of merchants specializing in the trade of certain goods; 13 loan-words of French origin among them) (Solonovich 1986: 144-145).

The focus of our paper lays on the lexical-thematic classification, functional differentiation, variability, chronological stratification of words belonging to the lexical-thematic group of occupational names, in particular of the names of merchants, taken from the MED and OED. We have studied 2417 Middle English occupational terms - 2013 of them are reflected in 7429 phonographic variants, used 10205 times as family names in the nominating formulas; 404 occupational terms are used only as common nouns. Middle

English names of merchants are 280 in number, which constitute 12% of the total number of occupational terms under study.

In our paper Middle English occupational names are distributed into two classes – common nouns (in their nominating function) and proper names, especially family names (in the function of identification of the person as the component additional to the personal name in the personal nomination formula). Middle English period is peculiar for its variability due to the dialectal diversities of the feudal epoch intensified by the foreign influences in the different geographical and social areas, therefore on the bases of the analysis of dictionary definitions of occupational names, both common nouns and proper names (esp. family names, or Medieval surnames) are distributed within the thematic groups and sub-groups with the representation of their lexical-semantic and phonographic variation in chronological order.

Middle English surname is a complex sociolinguistic and historical category of personal names of the period of active formation of the English system of surnames. The problem of nominative, identification and social functions of the medieval surname is very urgent in the aspect of study of Middle English vocabulary. Surnames must be regarded as the linguistic material of investigation of Middle English vocabulary.

The social category of the family names is indicated by the following salient traits: (1) they are functioning in the human society; they came into existence as the constant, hereditary names, which identify the human body and meet the requirements of the society and its members; (2) the development and functioning of the family names depends from the social, economic and cultural level of the society; family names first come into existence in the economically and culturally developed, as a rule, centralized societies; (3) in the societies with class differentiation in different social layers the family names appear very irregularly.

Family name may be treated as the historic category according to the following peculiar features: (1) all the categories of personal names are influenced by the history of nation. As the official hereditary name family name come into existence in the very definite historical period on the definite stage of its development; (2) the process of the family names formation lasted for centuries in several stages. Until the formation of family names haven't finished in the language there co-existed the nominations of different types: the most productive in the language of that period of time, obsolete ones, those which only come into appearance, and many transitional forms; (3) family names serve as the 'reservation for language rarities' – they shelter the words and word-building models, which disappeared or became non-productive in the process of the historical development.

We strengthen the point of view that the social-linguistic and linguistic value of the Medieval surnames as well as three aspects of the surnames – linguistic, social and historical – made it necessary to include the Medieval surnames, especially the names of occupation and office, into the essential list of material for further linguistic investigation the Middle English vocabulary, which will obligatorily give the valuable quantitative and qualitative increase in the results of such a study.

The study of etymology of the vocabulary under investigation is based on the analysis of the word stems. Lexical borrowings are studied according to the nearest etymology, *id est* according to the language which is a source of penetration of the word into the English language. Within each etymological group of vocabulary we distribute the lexical material according to the functional principle and distinguish three groups of occupational names:

- (1) those functioning as common nouns as well as the proper names;
- (2) those functioning exclusively as the proper names in the personal nomination formulas;

(3) those functioning exclusively as common nouns.

According to this functional principle of the distribution of the vocabulary we draw the conclusions about the sustainability of the usage of the occupational names:

(1) We consider English words, derivatives with English word-stems, loan-blends as well as the assimilated borrowings that functioned as the common nouns and proper names to be the words with the established usage.

(2) We consider English words, derivatives with English word-stems, loan-blends as well as the assimilated borrowings that existed only as the personal name in the nomination formula to be the words with the unsettled usage.

(3) We consider English words, derivatives with English word-stems, loan-blends as well as the assimilated borrowings that existed exclusively as common nouns to be the words with the restricted usage.

2. Occupational names with the settled usage

Here we present the nomination formula in the restricted form without the personal names (only surnames), aiming at the focusing our attention at the very object of the study – family names, reflecting occupational terms (the use of capital/small letters is given according to the written document of that time, when there were no strict orthographic rules). The existence of the occupational term as the common noun is proved by the lexical-semantic variant of the word, given in the dictionaries under study, with the obligatory precise dating, belonging to the Middle English period.

2.1 Occupational names with English derivational bases and derivational affixes

Barlyman 1332 (barlī~man ‘one who owes a feudal debt in barley or grows barley for the market’ 1325 MED); *Berestere* 1303 (bēr(e)ster ‘a bearer [orig. female bearer]; esp., one who carries goods about in order to sell them, a peddler’ 1377 MED); *Chapman* 1197, 1206, 1266, *Chepman* 1200, 1207, *Chipman* 1320, *Chupman* 1327, *Chappeman* 1327, *chipman* 1344 (chap-man [OE cēap-man] ‘a merchant, trader, dealer; also, peddler, hawker’ 1200 MED); *Clother* 1286, *Clothere* 1344, *clother* 1286 (clōther ‘a maker or seller of cloth’ 1390 MED, ‘one engaged in the cloth trade: d) a seller of cloth and men’s clothes’ 1362 NED); *Clatseller* 1301, *Clothseller* 1357 (clōth~seller ‘a cloth merchant’ 1439 MED); *Coc* 950, 1086, *Kuc* 1260, *Cok* 1269, *Coke* 1279, *Cook* 1296, *Cokes* 1296, *Couk* 1327, *Kokes* 1332 (cōk [OE cōc] ‘one who prepares and sells cooked articles of food’ 1387-95 MED, 1000 NED); *corneman* 1414 (cōrn~man ‘a municipal officer charged with supervision of dealings in grain, or one who deals in grain’ 1376 MED); *Coleman* 1066, *Coleman* 1166, 1176, 1300 (cōl~man ‘one who makes and/or sells charcoal’ 1415 MED, ‘a charcoal-burner’ Reaney); *collere* 1276, *colier* 1408-9, *Colier* 1419, *Colyer* 1419 (cōliēr ‘one who makes and sells charcoal, collier’ 1375 MED); *Colymakyere* 1313 (cōl~maker ‘one who makes and/or sells charcoal’ 1464 MED); *Cornmangere* 1177, 1200, *Cornmonger* 1279, *cornmongere* 1363-4 (cōrn~mongere ‘one who deals in grain’ 1400 MED); *Drouere* 1287-93, 1294, *Drovere* 1327, 1384, *Drouer* 1436, *drover* 1463 (drover(e) ‘one who drives livestock to market, a dealer in livestock’ 1393-

4 MED); *Felmongere* 1310, *Felmonger* 1332, *fellmonger* 1352, 1432 (fel-mongere ‘one who sells skins’ 1225 MED, ‘a dealer in skins or hides of animals, esp. shep-skins’ 1530 NED); *ffisshman* 1360, *Fissheman* 1474 (fish~man 1466-7 MED, ‘fisherman, or seller of fish’ Reaney); *Fisher* 1212, *Visser* 1239, *Fischer* 1263, *fychere* 1296-6 (fisher(e) [OE fiscere] ‘one who sells fish, fish monger’ 1400 MED, 893 NED); *Fleshewere* 1268, *Flessehewere* 1293, *Flesshewere* 1311, *Flesseure* 1374, *Flessheuer* 1374-5, *fleschewer* 1407, *flessheuer* 1447, *Flesshour* 1453, *Flesshuer* 1455 (flēsh-heuer(e) ‘one who butchers or sells meat, a butcher’ 1300 MED, ‘a butcher’ 1335 NED); *Flesmongere* 1279, *Fleysmonger* 1305, *Fleschmangere* 1327 (flēsh-mōnger(e) ‘one who butchers or sells the flesh of animals’ 1130-35 MED); *hardwareman* 1419, 1459, *Hardwareman* 1457, *Hardwareman* 1473 (hard-wāre~man ‘a dealer in hardware’ 1449 MED); *Hattere* 1212, 1240, 1262, 1268, 1296, 1316, 1332, 1354, *hattere* 1225, *Hettere* 1280, 1296, *Hatter* 1281, 1465-6 (hatter(e) ‘a maker or seller of hats; usually as surname’ MED, ‘a maker of or dealer in hats’ 1389 NED); *Hors-mongere* 1264, *Horsmanger* 1273 (hors~mongere ‘a horse dealer’ 1425 MED); *Husier* 1180, *Hosero* 1185, *hosier* 1195, 1434, *Hoser* 1204, 1236, 1279, *Hosyer* 1329, 1384, 1469, *Osyere* 1329, *Hosyere* 1332, 1381, *Hoysier* 1332, *Hosier* 1402, *hosior* 1440, *hosyer* 1464 (hosier ‘a maker or seller of hose, hosier’ 1415 MED); *Huckere* 1297, *Hukker* 1307, 1327, *Hockar* 1327, *Hucker* 1333 (hukker [OE] ‘a petty merchant, peddler, male huckster; ?also, an auctioneer’ 1450 MED, ‘a petty dealer; one who bargains or haggles’ 14.. NED); *Hokester* 1281, *Hokestere* 1285, *Hokkestre* 1299, *Hocstare* 1305, *Hukkestere* 1311, *Holkestere* 1313, *Hogester* 1327, *huckster* 1374-5, *Huxtere* 1380, *huxster* 1423-4 (hukster ‘a petty merchant, a peddler; often used contemptuously’ 1200 MED); *Letherseller* 1372, *lethersiller* 1457 (lether~sellere ‘a dealer in leather; esp. a member of the Leathersellers’ company in London’ 1372 MED); *lymeman* 1365, *lyman* 1413 (līm~man ‘a man who calcines, carries, or sells lime’ 1452-4 MED); *Maultman* 1294, *Maltman* 1310, 1408, *Maltmon* 1332, *maltman* 1351, 1417, 1429, 1437, *Malteman* 1380, 1471 (malt~man ‘a maker or seller of malt’ MED, ‘a maltster’ 1408 NED); *Melkere* 1250, 1296, *Milker* 1254, 1327, *Milkar* 1255, 1279, *Melkare* 1327, *Melker* 1332 (milker(e) ‘milk vendor’ 1500 MED); *Manger* 1255, 1275, *Mongere* 1274, *Mongur* 1277, *Mangar* 1279, *Mangier* 1332, *Monger* 1316, 1346 (mōngere [OE mangere] ‘a merchant, tradesman, dealer’ 1225 MED, ‘dealer, trader, trafficker’ 975 NED); *pykemonger* 1472, *pikemonger* 1483 (pīk(e~mongere ‘a fishmonger who sells pike’ 1464 MED); *potter* 1172, 1443, 1471, *Poter* 1196, 1253, *Potier* 1197, *pottere* 1198, 1296-7, *Pottur* 1214, *Potyrr* 1285, *Potyare* 1306, *Pottar* 1307, *Potyere* 1327, *Pottare* 1333, *pottour* 1355, *Potter* 1396, 1462-3 (potter(e) ‘a vendor or hawker of earthenware’ 1500 NED); *Raper* 1219, 1268, 1425-6, 1430, 1448-9, *Ropere* 1220, 1249, 1313, *raper* 1297, *ropere* 1376, *Roper* 1390, 1462-3, *rapar* 1422, *Rooper* 1450 (rōpere ‘a maker of ropes, cables, cord, or string; also, a rope seller’ 1321 MED, ‘one who makes ropes; a rope-maker’ 1226 NED); *Saddler* 1287, *Sadelere* 1288, 1308, *Sadelare* 1296, *Sadeler* 1300, 1316, 1325, 1346-7, 1350-1, 1422-3, *Sadiller* 1332, *Sadlere* 1332, *Sadelar* 1332, *sadler* 1401, 1425, *sadiler* 1452, *Sadyler* 1458, *Sadler* 1473 (sādelēr(e) ‘a maker or seller of saddles or saddlery’ 1300 MED, 1389 NED); *Salter* 1220, 1262, 1297, 1340, 1402, *Saltere* 1243, 1264, 1300, 1359, *salters* 1296-7, 1363-4, *Seltere* 1250, *Selter* 1296, 1327, *Saltare* 1332, *salter* 1392, 1396, *saltere* 1408 (saltēr(e) ‘one who makes or sells salt’ MED, ‘a manufacturer of or dealer in salt’ 1000 NED); *Sellere* 1086, *leseller* 1115, *Suller* 1313, *Sullare* 1327 (seller ‘one who sells’ 1200 NED, seller(e) ‘one who sells something, a merchant, vendor, peddler’ 1200 MED; ‘also, ?a seller in the slave trade’ 1384 MED); *Teperesune* 1095, *Tapper* 1279, 1332, *Tappere* 1373 (tapper(e) [OE tæppere] ‘a retailer’ 1478-9 NED); *Tappistere* 1317, *Tapestere* 1332, *Tappester* 1357, *Tappestere* 1378,

1380, *Tapester* 1379, *Tapster* 1380, *Tapstere* 1384, 1390 (tappester(e) [OE *tæppestre*] ‘one who sells by retail or in small quantities’ 1402 NED); *Tyberman* 1327 (timberman ‘a man who supplies or deals in timber’ 1429 NED); *Thimbermangere* 1280 (timber~mongere ‘a seller of timber’ 1423 MED); *Huphelder* 1258-9, *Upholdere* 1289, 1306, *Hupholdere* 1295, *Upholder* 1309-10, *Ophelder* 1317, *Huphelder* 1325, *uphelder* 1332, *Opholder* 1333, *upheldere* 1356, *Vpholder* 1380, *Hupholder* 1394, *uphalder* 1413 (uphōlder(e) ‘a vendor of secondhand goods; a maker or vendor of small goods’ 1376 MED); *Hopheldestere* 1326, *Opheldestere* 1317, *Upholdestere* 1366, *upholdester* 1411, *uphaldester* 1411, *hupholdster* 1445, *upholdyster* 1458 (uphōldester ‘a vendor of small goods’ 1425 MED); *Wader* 1197, *Weider* 1197, 1227-37, *Waider* 1202, *Wodier* 1206, *Wauder* 1248, *Wader* 1290, *Weyder* 1293, *Wadere* 1296, *Wadder* 1332, 1338, *Wodier* 1206, *Wodere* 1275, *Wodere* 1275, 1280, 1303-4, *Woder* 1276, *Waddare* 1327 (wōdere ‘a purveyor of woad’ 1415 MED); *Waterman* 1196, 1215, 1249, 1279, 1313, 1333, 1392, 1411, 1431, *Watermon* 1362 (wāter-man ‘purveyor of water, member of the guild of water merchants’ 1449 MED); *Vdeman*, *Odeman* 1066, *Wudemann* 1066-75, *Wudeman* 1166, 1226, *Wodeman* 1213, 1294, 1296, 1301, 1377, 1392, *Wdman* 1269, 1296, *Wodemon* 1275, 1294, 1296, *Woodman* 1275, *wodman* 1438 (wōde-man ‘a purveyor of firewood’ 1430 MED); *Wulchapman* 1379 (wōl~chapman ‘a dealer in wool or woollen goods’ 1453 MED); *Wolman* 1316, 1415-16, *Wolleman* 1351, 1390, *wolleman* 1390, *woleman* 1424 (cp. *Woolman* 1674) (wōl~man ‘a dealer in wool or woollen goods’ 1450 MED, ‘a dealer in wool, a wool-merchant’ 1390 NED); *Wolmonger* 1250, *Wollemonger* 1278-9, *Wollemongere* 1300-1, *Wlmoggere* 1319, *Wollemonger* 1340, *Wolmonger* 1428 (wōl~monger ‘a dealer in wool, wol merchant’ 1300 MED).

2.2 Loan-blends

2.2.1 Occupational names with Latin assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

Caper 1200-50, 1327, *Capere* 1260, *Capper* 1265, 1314, 1356, 1359, 1381, 1457, *Capyare* 1275, *Kapiare* 1275, *Cappere* 1276, 1279, *Capier* 1285 (capper ‘a maker or seller of caps’ 1425 MED, cappe [OE *cæppa* & ML *cappa*]); *Dissher* 1263, 1273, *Disser* 1273, *Dissare* 1275, *Dysser* 1301, *Disshere* 1304-47, 1332, *Discer* 1388, *disschere* 1390, *dyscher* 1416-9 (disher(e) ‘a maker or seller of dishes’ 1304 NED, 1389 MED, dish [OE *disc* (< L) & L *discus*] ‘plate, bowl, platter’ 700 NED); *Keveman* 1327 (kīve~man ‘a maker or seller of tubs or vats’ 1225 MED, kīve [OE *cȳf* < L, also cp. OF *cuve*, *cueve*]); *soppier* 1138-60, *Sopere* 1195-6, 1263, *Sapere* 1243, 1301, *Soper* 1243, 1443-6, *Soppere* 1260, *sopere* 1296-7, *Sopare* 1315, *Sapiere* 1324, *Sopper* 1327, *Sapier* 1327, *Sapiar* 1332 (sōpere ‘a maker or seller of soap’ 1200 MED, ‘one who sells soap; a soap-boiler, soap-maker’ 1225 NED; soap (*sape*, *soppe*) [OE *sāpe*; L *sāpo*] 1000 NED).

2.2.2 Occupational names with Central French assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

aresman 1454 (arrās~man ‘one who makes or sells tapestry’ 1471 MED; arrās ‘a kind of figured tapestry [orig. made at Arras in Artois]’; cf. *arraser* ‘a maker of, or dealer in, tapestry’ MED); *Lynnedraper* 1305, *lynnen~draper* 1475 (līnen~drāpēr ‘one who makes or sells linen’ 1470 MED, līnen [OE *linen*], drāpēr [OF *drap(i)er*] 1350 MED); *Pavilluner* 1303, *Pavilloner* 1305, *pavilloner* 1322-3, 1364, *Pavylioner* 1342, *pavyloner* 1384 (pavilōuner [from *pavilōun*] ‘one who makes or sells pavilions or tents’ 1437 MED; *pavilōun* [OF *paveillon*, *paveillon*,

pavillo(u)n, pavilun, pavel(l)on, pauvillon, pavelion] ‘a tent, especially a large or elaborate one used for military encampments, tournaments, hunting parties, etc.; also, a large tent or booth for the display of merchandise’ 1225 MED); *taloughchaundler* 1307, *Talughchaundeler* 1376, *Talughchaundeler* 1382, *talowchaundeler* 1420, *Talvchaundeler* 1434 (talou(e~chaundeler ‘one who makes or sells tallow candles’ 1474 MED, taloue [OE *tealg(-*talg(-, MLG, MDu, older Dan & G & ML], chaundelē [OF chandelier (< L candelārium)] ‘one who makes candles or deals in materials for making candles; a chandler’ 1389 MED).

2.2.3 Occupational names with Scandinavian assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

Bagger 1246, *Baggere* 1297, *Bagere* 1308, *Baghiar* 1313, *Badger* 1324, 1346, *Baghar*’ 1329, *Badgare* 1332, *Baggare* 1333, *Baghere* 1348 (bagger, bağger ‘a retailer or hawker in grain, a badger’ 1467-8 MED, ‘one who buys corn and other commodities and carries them elsewhere to sell; an itinerant dealer who acts as a middleman between producer (farmer, fisherman, etc.) and consumer; a cadger, hawker, or hukster’ 1500 NED, *bagge* [ON, cp. OI baggi; cp. also OF bague (from Gmc.) & AL bag(g)a.] ‘a bag or sack, traveling bag, wallet, satchel, pouch’); *Hattere* 1212, 1240, 1262, 1268, 1296, 1316, 1332, 1354, *hattere* 1225, *Hettere* 1280, 1296, *Hatter* 1281, 1465-6 (hatter(e ‘a maker or seller of hats; usually as surname’ MED, ‘a maker of or dealer in hats’ 1389 NED; hat [OE hætt & ON; cp. OI höttr] ‘an outer head covering (often worn over a hood or a cap), a hat’); *Ismangere* 1164-5, 1165-72, 1249, *iremangere* 1200, *Hyrnmangere* 1213, *Ironmangere* 1221, *Iremangere* 1247, *Ismongere* 1248, 1310, *Yermonger* 1255, *Ir mongere* 1255, *Hyr monger* 1279, *Irin mongere* 1279, *Irnmongere* 1279, 1339, *zernmogare* 1293-4, *Ironmongere* 1294, *Hismongere* 1296, *hirnmonger* 1298, *Irremonger* 1305, *Irenmonger* 1305, *yremongere* 1327, *Yerenmanger* 1327, *Ernmongere* 1327, *Yernmanger* 1332, *Ismongar* 1332, *Ir monger* 1340, 1404-5, *ismongere* 1349, *irenmanger* 1379, *irenmonger* 1415, *yremongere* 1432, *iremonger* 1434-5, *Iremonger* 1442 (iren-mōngere ‘a dealer or merchant in ironware’ 1363-4 MED, ‘a dealer in ironware; a hardware merchant’ 1343 NED, iren (is) [OE iren & isern, isen], mōngere [OE mangere] ‘a merchant, tradesman, dealer’); *Ripier* 1279, *ripiere* 1384, *rypier* 1438, *Ripper* 1430, *repyer* 1450, *rypyer* 1450, *Riper* 1451 (ripiere ‘one who carries fish inland for sale’ 1384 MED, 1513 NED, *rip(pe)* [ON: cp. OI hrip] ‘a basket for fish’); *Silkwimman* 1334, *Silkwoman* 1368, *silkwoman* 1428 (silk(e~womman ‘a woman who spins or sews silk, a seamstress’ 1440 MED, ‘a woman engaged in the manufacture, use or sale of silk’ 1440 NED) (silk(e [OE seoluc, seolc, sioloc; also cp. ON: cp. OI silki] ‘silken cloth, silk; silken clothing; also, a silken garment; silk fiber or thread; silk embroidery’ MED).

2.2.4 Occupational names with Low German assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

stokkere 1222, *Stocker*’ 1232, *Stokkere* 1259-60, *Stoker* 1287, *Stocker* 1301, 1332, *Stokkere* 1310, 1370, *Stokker* 1392, 1434, 1460 (stokker [from stok n.] ‘one who prepares or sells stockfish’ 1419 MED; stok n.(shortened form of stok-fish n.) ‘a fish dried in the air without salt, stockfish’ 1328 MED, stok-fish [MDu. stocvisch, stock-, MLG stokvisch] ‘a fish dried in the air without salt, a stockfish’ 1282 MED); *stocfismongere* 1275-6, *Stockfysmongere* 1293, *stockfismoggere* 1305, *Stokfissmongere* 1310, *Stokfishmonger* 1332, *stokfissmonger* 1373, *stokfisshemonger* 1409, *stokfissmongere* 1423-4, *Stokkefyschmonger* 1447, *Stokffysshmogger* 1476 (stok-fish~mongere ‘a seller of dried fish’ 1299 MED; stok-fish [MDu. stocvisch, stock-, MLG stokvisch] ‘a fish dried in the air without salt, a stockfish’ 1282 MED).

2.3 Assimilated borrowings

2.3.1 Borrowings of Central French origin

Shaundeler 1332, *Chaundler* 1428, *Chaundeler* 1468 (chaundelē [OF chandelier (< L candelārium)] ‘one who makes candles or deals in materials for making candles; a chandler’ 1389 MED); *Feutrier* 1198, *Feutrer* 1203, *Feltrier* 1225, *feutrar* 1258-9, *Feutrer* 1275, *Feutreeer* 1297 (feutrēr, -iēr [OF feutrier] ‘a maker or seller of felt, a worker in felt’ [early quots. may be French. All quots. difficult to distinguish from feuterer] 1500 MED); *mercer* 1168, 1238-9, 1327-8, 1363-4, 1391, 1431, 1450, 1463, 1475, *Mercer* 1168, 1187, 1297, 1298, 1329, *mercier* 1196, *Merchier* 1204, *Mercher* 1298, *mersier* 1311-12, *Mercere* 1376, *merser* 1463-4 (mercer [OF mercier] ‘a merchant’ 1230 MED; ‘a dealer in textiles, member of the Mercers’ Guild’ 1400 MED; ‘a seller of sundry small items’ 1475 MED; mercer (mercere, meercere, merser, marsar) [F mercier (from 13th c.)] ‘one who deals in textile fabrics, esp. a dealer in silks, velvets, and other costly materials (in full silk-mercer)’ 1223 NED).

2.3.2. Borrowings of Norman origin

Achatour 1240, *Akatur* 1288, *Accatour* 1318 (achātōur [AF acatour, CF achateur] ‘a buyer of provisions, esp. for the household of the king or a lord; a purveyor’ 1387-95 MED); *Haperdasser* 1280, *haberdassher* 1321, 1383, 1385, *haberdasshere* 1378, *haberdascher* 1491 (haberdasher [AF; cp. AF hapertas ‘a kind of fabric’] ‘a seller of various small articles of trade; also, a member of a company of such tradesmen’ 1311 MED, cf. haberdasher(es) ware ‘caps, purses, points, beads, spurs, inkhorns, thread, stationery, etc.’ MED); *Mercand* 1198, *Marcand* 1202, *Marchand* 1202, 1240, *Marchaunt* 1219, *Merchant* 1219, *Marchant* 1220, 1332, 1247, *Markant* 1225, *Markaunt* 1255, *Marschaunt* 1268, *Markaund* 1274, 1297, *Marschand* 1275, *Markand* 1327, *Merchaunt* 1332 (marchaunt [OF marchēant, -ēand, markēant, merchēant & AF marchaunt, merchaunt] ‘a wholesale businessman; a factor, broker; a peddler, retailer; a shopkeeper’ MED; merchant (a. marchaund, marchand, merchaund, merchand; b. marchaunt(e, marchant, marchont, marchaunt, marzhaunt, merchaunt, merchant [OF marchand, earlier marchēant (mod. F. marchand)] ‘one whose occupation is the purchase and sale of marketable commodities for profit’ 1290 NED; ‘a shopkeeper’ 1362 NED); *Pessuner* 1208, *Pesoner* 1252, *Pessoner* 1265, 1281, 1303, 1332, *Pessouner* 1275, *peysoner* 1292, 1397, *Peysuner* 1292, *pesshoner* 1310, *Pesshoner* 1332 (peysoner [AF peysonner; cp. CF poissonier, peysonnier] ‘a fishmonger’ 1383 MED); *Skyuein* 1277, *Schyuein* 1277, *Skeuyn* 1301 (skeuayne, skeuyn [OFr eschevin] ‘steward of a guild’ 1389 NED); skevein [AF eskevin, eskive(i)n, vars. of OF eschevin.] ‘a guild officer next in rank below an alderman, a steward’ 1389 MED); *triacler* 1412, *treacler* 1419 (trīacler [OF trīaclier, triacleur ‘seller of remedies’ & OF trīaclier, AF triacler ‘salve-box’] ‘one who makes and sells remedies’ 1450 MED); *teller* 1193, *Telier* 1198, 1250, *Teler* 1224, 1254-5, 1281, 1296-7, 1296-7, 1297, 1311, 1332, *Teller* 1243, *Telere* 1258, *Tellare* 1327 (teler [OF telier, telleir, AF teler(e ‘weaver’)] ‘one who makes or sells cloth’ 1400 MED); *uineter* 1170, *Vineter* 1221, *vynter* 1327, *uintner* 1179, *Vyntener* 1327 (vinter, forms: a) viniter, vineter b) vintere, vynter, vinter [AF viniter, vineter, vyn-, vinter, OF and early mod. F vinet(t)ier ‘wine-seller, from L vīnum ‘wine’] ‘a vintner’ 1297 NED); vintner, a) vyntener (1430); 2) vintner (1460) [alteration of vinter] ‘one who deals in or sells wine; a wine-merchant; an innkeeper selling wine’ 1430 NED); (vintner, forms: a) vyntener 1430 NED; 2) vintner 1460 NED [alteration of vinter [AF viniter, vineter, vyn-, vinter] ‘one who deals in or

sells wine; a wine-merchant; an innkeeper selling wine' 1430 NED).

2.3.3 Borrowings of double (Latin and French origin)

Apotecarius, *Ypotecarius* 1283-5, *Ipotecar* 1297 (apotecārie [ML apot(h)ēcārius; cp. also OF apotekaire, apotic-.] 'a pharmacist or druggist who stores, compounds, and sells medicaments of all sorts' 1387-95 MED; cp. spicer); storekeeper' 1386 NED. Originally one who kept a store for spices, drugs and preserves, later one who prepared and sold drugs for medical purposes); pothecary (potticary) (aphetic for of apothecary, formerly in common use) 1386 NED); *Brokur* 1260, *Brokere* 1296, *Brocour* 1297, *Brokour* 1303, *Broker'* 1319, *brogour* 1334 (brōkōur [AF brocour & broggour; cp. AL brocātor] 'a commercial agent, factor, broker, purveyor; also, one who serves as an agent in sordid business' 1355 MED; 'one who buys and sells public offices' 1386 MED); *Regrater* 1219, 1288, *regrator* 1439 (regrāter [AF regrater, regratour (vars. of OF regratēor, regratier) & ML regrator, -ōris] 'a retail merchant, retailer' 1390 MED; 'one who buys up goods before they come to market, a monopolist' 1400 MED); *Tapicer* 1275, 1282, 1306, *tapicer* 1305, 1361, *tapcer* 1428 (tapicer [OF tapicier, tapissier & ML tapicerius, tapecerius; also cp. OF (14th cent.) tapissēor,-eur] 'a maker or seller of upholstery-cloth furnishings and tapestries; a weaver of tapestry or figured cloth' 1387-95 MED; tapisser (tapicer) [AF tapicer = OF tapicier (13th c.), mod. F tapissier] 'a maker or weaver of figured cloth or tapestry' 1386 NED); *Trauetarius* 1148, *Treter* 1221, *Traveter* 1306, *Traunter* 1332 (tranter 'a man who does his jobs with his horse and cart; a carrier; a hawker or cadger with horse and cart; a huckster; one who buys up things to sell them elsewhere; in 14-15th c. a tapster' NED; traventōur [AL, AF] MED; (trauetarius 1233 NED, traunter 1500 NED, tranter 1681 NED; traventōur [AL traventārius, travetārius, traventor; some or all exx. In -er could also be construed as AF] 'a peddler, seller; also, a person who rents out his cart' 1350 MED; tranter (traventer, trauntor, trawnter, traunter) [tranter, traunter, trawnter known from 1500, esp. syncopated from traventer, in med. (Anglo-L. trāventārius, of uncertain origin. A word having various local uses: chiefly denoting a man who does jobs with his horse and cart; a carrier; a hawker or cadger with horse and cart; a huckster; also, one who buys up things to sell them elsewhere; in 14-15th c. a tapster')] trauetarius 1233 NED, traunter 1500 NED, tranter 1681 NED).

2.4 Motivated borrowings

Here we present assimilated borrowings, which may be motivated in the English language by the borrowed nouns and verbs, and therefore may be treated as borrowings and loan-blends as well.

2.4.1 Central French motivated borrowings

Buriller 1252, *Burler* 1256, *bureler* 1305, 1310, *burler* 1332, 1337, 1371, *Burlere* 1369 (*bureler* 'a maker or seller of burel; one who dresses cloth by removing burlles, i.e. knots and flaws' 1475 MED, 'one who dresses cloth by removing knots and extraneous particles' 1483 NED, burel n. [OF burel] 'a kind of coarse wolen cloth; also, a piece or a garment of burel' 1267-8 MED, burle [OF bourle 'tuft of wool', OD burl] 'a knot or flaw (in cloth)' 1440 MED, 'a small knot or lump in wool or cloth' 1440 NED, burl v. 'to dress (cloth), esp. by removing knots and lumps; to dress cloth as fuller do' 1483 NED); *Flecher* 1203, 1207, *flecher* 1222, *flechier* 1227, *Fleccher* 1251, *Flecchiere* 1362 (flecchēr, -iēr, -ōur [OF flecher, -ier] 'a maker or seller of arrows' 1330 MED); *fletcher* [OF flecher, flechier 'arrow-maker',

f. flèche ‘arrow’] ‘one who makes or deals in arrows, occasionally, one who makes bows and arrows’ 1400 NED; ‘an archer, a Bowman’ 1529 NED)/

2.4.2 Norman motivated borrowings

Cussere 1294, *Kosser* 1299, *cossur* 1300, *cosour* 1393, *Coser* 1422 (cössēr, cōssēr [AF; cp. OF çoçon] ‘a dealer; esp., a horse-dealer’ 1483 MED; *cosser* ‘a dealer; a broker; a “horse-corser” 14.. NED, *coss* v. ‘to barter, exchange’ 1470 NED); *Draper* 1148, 1223, 1259, 1296, 1467, *Drapier* 1148, 1181-2, *Drapour* 1314, *Drapur* 1327, *drapier* 1148, *draper* 1148, 1407, 1437-8, *drapoure* 1437-8 (drāpēr [OF drap(i)er] ‘one who weaves and/or sells cloth; clothier’ 1350-51 MED; *draper* [a. AF draper = F. drapier (13th c.), from drap ‘cloth’] ‘origin., one who made (woollen) cloth. Subsequently, a dealer in cloth, and now by extension, in other articles of textile manufacture: often qualified as woollen, linen draper’ 1362 NED; *draper* (drapere, -ure, -ar) [AF draper = F. drapier (13th c. in the Hatz.-Darm.), from drap ‘cloth’] ‘origin., one who made (woollen) cloth; subsequently, a dealer in cloth, and now by extension, in other articles of textile manufacture: often qualified as woollen, linen draper’ 1362 NED); *Fruter* 1203, 1237, *Fryter* 1296, *frutour* 1402, *fruter* 1353 (fruitēr, -ōur [AF; CF fruitier] ‘a fruit seller, a dealer in fruit’ 1465 MED); *furrere* 1296 (furrēr(e) [AF; pop. MnE furrier] ‘one who makes or sells furs or furred garments, a furrier’ 1475 MED); *mustarder* 1200, 1296-7, *Mustarder* 1253, 1272, 1276, 1301-2, 1311, 1327, 1341, 1391, 1392, *Mostardere* 1327 (mustarder [OF mostardiere] ‘a maker or seller of mustard’ 1399 MED; ‘a dealer in mustard’ Reaney; *mustarder* [AF mustarder (common in 14th c.) = F moutardier: see mustard + -er] ‘a maker of or a dealer in mustard’ 1805, 1866 NED; cf. comb.: mustard-breaker 1410 NED, -maker 1483 NED); *mustard* [OF moustarde, mostarde] 1289 NED).

2.4.3 Motivated borrowings of double origin (Latin and French)

Candeler 1274, *Chandeler* 1285 (candelēr [OF chandelier (from L candelārium] ‘a maker or seller of candles’ 1400 MED, ‘one whose trade it is to make or sell candles’ 1389 NED; ‘in extended sense: a retail dealer in provisions, groceries, etc.: often somewhat contemptuous’ 1583 NED, ‘one who makes candles or deals in materials for making candles; a chandler’ (1425 MED); *Espicier* 1184, *Spicer* 1195, 1201, 1350-51, *Specier* 1200, *Speciar* 1207, *Especer* 1214, *Specer* 1261, *spicer* 1300, 1311, *Spysser* 1306, *Spisier* 1311-12, *Spisour* 1332, *Spiser* 1366, *Spicer* 1392-3, *Spycer* 1428 (spīcer [from OF especier, espic(i)er, espissier, AF especer, spicer; cp. ML speciarius, AL spesarius, spicerius] ‘a dealer in spices, an apothecary’ 1398 MED; *spicer* (spiser, spyser; spycier, spycer) [OF especier (mod. F épicier), from espice sb.] ‘a dealer in spices; an apothecary or druggist’ 1297 NED); *Grocere* 1255, *Grocer* 1350, *grocer* 1423-4, *Groser* 1437-8, *grosor* 1458 (grōcer [AF grosser; cp. CF grossēor, grossour] ‘a wholesale dealer in merchandise, such as wine, spices, pharmaceutical items, foods, etc.; ?also, a retailer’ 1363 MED; *grocer* [OF grossier – ML grossārius, from grossus] ‘one who buys and sells in the gross, i.e. in large quantities, a wholesale dealer or merchant’ 1321 NED; ‘a trader who deals in spices, dried fruits, sugar, and, in general, all articles of domestic consumption except those that are considered the distinctive wares of some other class of tradesmen’ 1465 NED); *Peiure* 1198, *Paiuer* 1219, *Peyforer* 1293, *peverer* 1294, 1389, *Peyfrer* 1301, *Peyfore* 1324, *Peuerer* (Reaney), *Peuerier* (Reaney) (peverēr [AF; cp. CF pevrier & ML peverārius] ‘a seller of pepper’ MED, *pepperer* ‘a dealer in pepper and spices; a grocer’ 1180 NED; *pepper* [OE pipor –L. piper gave Pr. pebre, OF. and AF. peivre, F. poivre] NED); *plumarius* 1176, *Plumer* 1185, (*plumator* 1230), *Plumer* 1246, *Plomer*

1280, *plumer* 1282 (John de Cestrehunte, *fethermongere* 1280 LLB A, is called *plumer* in 1281 ib) Reaney; plūmer [from plūm(e) ‘a dealer in plumes or feathers’ MED; plūm(e) [OF plume & L plūma] ‘a feather; decorative plume’ MED; plumer [ME, prob. AF, corresp. to an AF or OF * plumier, L. plūmarius, f. plūma PLUME] ‘a dealer in plumes or feathers’ 1282 NED; plume (plome) [OF plume: – L plūma] ‘a feather’ 1399 NED); *Staciner* 1293-4, *stacioner* 1311, *Stacionere* 1327, *stationer* 1337, *Stacyneres* 1382, *Stacioner* 1432-3, 1466-7, *Stacyoner* 1433, *stacyoner* 1448-9 (stāciōner(e) [from stāciōun n. or OF estaciōon, staciōon and ML statiōnārius] ‘a bookdealer, esp. one licensed by a university; an appraiser of books and other valuables’ 1393-4 MED; ‘?also, a publisher, promulgator’ 1450 MED); *Tapiter* 1274, *tapetter* 1366-7, *tapiter* 1379, *tapeter* 1393, *tapyter* 1440 (tapēter(e) [ML tapētārius, tapitarius] ‘one who makes or sells tapestry hangings, carpets, and coverlets; also, a member of the tapestry-makers’ guild’ 1450 MED, tapēt(e) [OF tapit (var. of tapiz) & L tapēte, tapētum, ML tapitum; pop. OE tæpped, -et, a також MDu. tapete, tapeet & tapijt] ‘a piece of decorative fabric bearing a painted, embroidered, or woven pattern or figures and used variously as a carpet, coverlet, bed or wall hanging, or the like, a tapestry’ 1380 MED, ‘a hanging screen of tapestry, an arras’ 1425 MED); *veteler* 1380, *vytheler* 1390, *viteller* 1443, *vitaller* 1450 (vitailer [OF vitaillier, vitallier, AF vitailier, vitailour, vitel(l)er; also cp. ME vitailen v. & AL vitallārius, vitellārius, vitulārius] ‘a seller of food or food and drink; a trader in foodstuffs; one who supplies or tries to supply an armed force or expedition with food and drink or other necessary provisions; one who outfits a naval vessel with supplies of food and drink or other provisions’ 1384 MED); *Wafrer* 1212, 1255, 1301, *Waverer* 1227, *Wafrrur* 1250, *Wafrror* 1255, *Waffrour* 1316, *Wafrou* 1336, *Waferrer* 1340, *Wafenour* 1426 (wāferer [AF waferer, waf(f)rer, ONF wauf(f)rier; also cp. AL wafrarius, waferarius & ME wāfer] ‘a maker or purveyor of wafers; also, a household official responsible for the making or obtaining of wafers’ 1390 MED).

2.4.4 Scandinavian motivated borrowings

Scynnere 1255, *Sckinir* 1257, *Skynnere* 1263, *Skenner* 1264, *Skinnere* 1269, *Scinner* 1279, *Skinere* 1285, *Schinnere* 1296, *Schinner* 1305, *Skynnersonne* 1332, *Skynnar* 1332, *skinner* 1351-2, *Skynere* 1382, *Schynnere* 1406, *Skynner* 1429 (skinnere [from skin n.; cp. OI skinnari, OSwed. Skinnare, & MLG schinner (var. of schinder)] ‘one who prepares or sells animal skins, a furrier, skinner’ 1325 MED, skin n. [ON (cp. OI skinn) & OE scinn (from ON)] the prepared skin of an animal, leather; also, a piece of leather; also, a garment made of leather’ 1200 MED; skinner (scynner(e), schynnere, skynnar(e), skynar, skynner, skinner) [f. skin sb. or v. + -er]. cf. ON skinnari, MSw. skinnare, Norw. skinnar] ‘one whose work or business is concerned with the preparation of skins for commercial purposes’ 1398 NED; ‘one who removes the skin; a flayer’ 1699 NED; skin, sb. [ON skinn] 1200 NED).

3. Occupational names with the unsettled usage

In this part of the paper we present the nominating formula (in the restricted variant – without personal names) with the family names, denoting occupation. The given terms of occupation were not used as common nouns, their meaning is only reconstructed by the lexicographers on the basis of their usage as the family names, they are given in the dictionaries in the form of phonographic invariants.

3.1 Occupational names with English derivational bases and derivational affixes

Bermer 1269 (bermer ‘?one who sells yeast’ MED); *Blacchere* 1305, *Blaccher* 1305 (blaccher ‘?a maker or seller of ink’ MED); *Blacchester* 1305, *Blachester* 1443 (blacchestere ‘?a maker or seller of ink’ MED); *Bredleder* 1327 (brēd-leder ‘one who carts bread for sale’ MED); *Bredmongestere* 1310-11 (brēd-mongestere ‘bred-seller’ MED); *Bredseller* 1385 (brēd-seller MED); *Bredsellestre* 1280 (brēd-sellestere ‘bread-seller’ MED); *Bromere* 1285, 1327, *Bromer* 1466 (brōmer ‘?a maker or seller of brooms’ MED); *Bucmanger* 1221, *Bucmonger* 1275, *Bukemonger* 1314, *Bugmongger* 1332, *Bukmonger* 1346 (bukke~monger ‘venison dealer’ MED); *Boterer* 1280, *Buterar* 1327, *Buterar* 1332 (buterer ‘a maker or seller of butter’ MED, ‘a maker or seller of butter’ Reaney); *Butercharl* 1192 (OE ceorl ‘a freeman of the lowest rank’, ME ‘a tenant in pure villeinage, serf, bondman’, ‘countryman, peasant’); *buttermon* 1296-7, *Butterman* 1301, 1302, 1327, *Botreman* 1327 (buter(e~man ‘a maker or seller of butter’ MED); *Buttermonggere* 1306, *Buttermangger* 1329 (buter(e~monger ‘a seller of butter’ MED; cf. *William Dixon... *Buttermonger* 1720 *Lond. Gaz. No5879/4* NED); *Kallere* 1242, 1352, *Callere* 1281, *Kellerer* 1285, *Kellere* 1290, *Keller* 1315, 1327, *Caller* 1327, 1337 (caller(e ‘a maker or seller of headdresses’ MED); *chapwoman* 1419, 1425 (chapwoman ‘a female trader or peddler’ MED); *Chaper* 1200, *Chappere* 1327 (‘barterer, trader’ Reaney); *Clothman* 1416 (clōth~man ‘a maker or seller of cloth’ MED, ‘a maker or seller of woolen cloth; a clothier’ NED); *Clothmongere* 1272-3, *Clotmonger* 1277-8, *Clothmongere* 1296, *Clodmongere* 1311, *Clothmongere* 1327 (clōth~moger ‘a cloth merchant’ MED, ‘a maker or seller of cloth’ Reaney, clōth [OE clāþ] MED); *Coleman* 1066, 1166, 1176, 1300 (col-man: as surnames – MED, ‘a maker or seller of charcoal’ Reaney); *Cornebeyer* 1461 (cōrn~beier ‘a garain merchant’ MED); *cornechapman* 1474 (cōrn~chapman ‘grain merchant’ MED); *Cornseller* 1433 (cōrn~seller MED); *Fetherbycger* 1304 (fether~bigger ‘a dealer in feathers or down’ MED); *fetherman* 1275, *Fetherman* 1305 (fether~man ‘a dealer in feathers or down’ MED; 1621 NED); *fethermongere* 1280, *Fethermongere* 1282 (fether~monger ‘a dealer in feathers or down’ MED); *Fisshwyf* 1381, *Fyssshewyfe* 1413 (fish~wife ‘a woman who sells fish’ MED); *fysshmongere* 1307, 1313, *Fisshemongere* 1382 (fish~monger ‘fish seller’ MED); *Flexere* 1316, 1317, 1326, *Flaxer* 1329 (flexer ‘one who dresses or sells flax’ MED; ‘dresser or seller of flax’ Reaney); *flexmongere* 1294, *Flaxmongere* 1297, *Flaxmonger* 1305, *Flexmangre* 1307 (flex~monger ‘a seller of flax’ MED); *Flaxman* 1266, 1294, *Flexman* 1279, 1381, *flexman* 1311 (flex-man ‘a dresser or seller of flax’ MED); *Flexweuman* 1324 (flex-womman ‘a woman who dresses or sells flax’ MED); *Flexwyf* 1378 (flex~wif ‘a woman who dresses or sells flax’ MED); *Flosmonger* 1314 (flos-mōnger ‘?a seller of down’ MED); *Fresshfisshmongere* 1349 (in surname – MED, cf. fish~monger ‘fish seller’ MED); *Garleker* 1387-8, *Garlyker* 1400 (garleker ‘a dealer in garlic’ MED, ‘used of a seller of garlick’ Reaney); *garlicman* 1355, *Garlekman* 1411 (gār-lēk~man ‘one who raises or sells garlic’ MED); *garlecmongere* 1275-6, *Garlekmongare* 1280, *Garlecmongger* 1292, *Garlikmonger* 1319, *Garlekmongere* 1347, *garlek-mongere* 1387 (gār-lēk~mongere ‘a seller of garlic’ MED); *Glasmon* 1319, 1327, *Glasemon* 1332, 1342, *Glasman* 1419 (glas~man ‘a dealer in glassware’ MED, 1597-8 NED); *Gozer* 1327, *Gosiar* 1327, *Gosere* 1333 (gōser ‘a dealer in geese’ MED); *Gosmanger* 1344 (gōs~monger ‘a dealer in geese’ MED); *Gruttere* 1362 (gruttere ‘?a maker or seller of bran’ MED); *Hermonger* 1281 (hēr(e~mongere ‘a seller of haircloth’ MED); *Hardewarewoman* 1468 (hard-wāre ~womman MED); *Hatermongere* 1250-1, *Hattermonger* 1280 (hatere~monger ‘a seller of clothing’, in surnames – MED; ‘a dealer in clothing’ Reaney); *Haterchurl* 1249 (in surnames – MED, chērl [OE ceorl] ‘a man, fellow, chap’ 1325

MED); *Haringer* 1229-31, *herenger* 1296-7, *Harenger* 1412, *Herynger* 1438-9 (hëring(er) ‘one who catches or sells herring’ MED); *Heringman* 1327 (in surnames – MED); *Heringmongere* 1212, *Haringmo[n]ger* 1279, *Haringmongere* 1294, *Heryngmongere* 1316 (hëring-mongere ‘a seller of herring’ (in surnames) MED); *Hidebyer* 1325 (hide-biere ‘?a dealer in hides’ MED); *Huniman* 1199, 1235, *Honiman* 1279, *Honyman* 1296 (in surnames – MED, honeyman ‘a man who sells honey or has charge of bees’ 1552 NED); *Honymanger* 1382 (‘seller of honey’ Reaney); *Uckermon* 1323 (in surnames – MED); *Jager* 1379, *Jagher* 1379, *Jeggar* 1480 (jagger ‘a pedlar, a hawker’ 1514 NED); *Kiver* 1224, *Keuere* 1292, 1296, *Keuer* 1324 (kīver ‘a maker or seller of tubs or vats’ MED); *Lekman* 1292, 1319, 1390, *lecman* 1311, *Lecman* 1355 (lēk~man ‘a dealer in potherbs’ MED, ‘a seller of leeks’ Reaney); *lekere* 1279, *Leker* 1293 (‘a seller of leeks’ Reaney); *Letherman* 1338 (lether~man ‘lether-kervere (one who cuts, carves or shapes leather) or lether-sellere (a dealer in leather)’ MED); *Lynman* 1296 (līn~man ‘a man who dresses or sells flax’ MED); *Maltmongere* 1199, *maltmongere* 1408 (malt~mongere ‘a buyer or seller of malt’ MED); *Melemongere* 1296, *Melmanger* 1428 (in surnames – MED); *Melkberere* 1285 (in surnames – MED); *melkmakiere* 1285 (‘a seller of milk’ Reaney, comb.: milk-making 1656 *Glossogr.* ‘Lactifical, milk-breeding, milk-making, milk-yeelding’ NED); *Milkster* 1246 (‘a seller of milk’ Reaney); *Mangester* 1284, *Mongastre* 1332 (mōngestere ‘a seller, dealer [prob. orig.: female dealer’, only in surnames – MED); *Noteman* 1275, *Nuteman* 1275 (‘dealer in nuts’ Reaney, pop. comb.: nut~seller 1648 NED); *Otmongere* 1300, *Otemangere* 1327, *Otemonger* 1356 (ōte~mongere ‘a dealer in oats’ MED); *Piryman* 1296, *Pyrman* 1296, *Perman* 1376 (in surnames – MED; ‘a grower or seller of pears’ Reaney); *Pullchare* 1214, *Pilchere* 1271, 1275, 1301, 1317, *Pilkere* 1279, *Pylechere* 1296, *Pilcher* 1303, *Pilker* 1305, *Pulchere* 1310, *Pilicher* 1327, *Pulcher* 1332, *Pylchere* 1392 (pilcher(e) ‘a maker or seller of pilches; only in surnames’ MED); *Rusmangor* 1210 (‘a seller of rushes’ Reaney); *sadeler man* 1464 (sädeler(e~man MED); *Saltman* 1306; *Saltman* 1311, 1327, 1329 (in surnames – MED, ‘maker or seller of salt’ Reaney); *Sideman* 974, 1334, *Sydeman* 931, *Sedeman* 1219, 1248, 1301, *Sedemon* 1260, *Sedman* 1332 (seedman ‘a dealer in seed’ 1652 NED); *sellestere* 1430 (sellestere ‘a female seller or vendor’ MED); *Scepgrom* 1327, *Schipgrom* 1341 (in surnames – MED, ‘a shepherd or a dealer in sheep’ Reaney); *Shepmongere* 1227 (‘a dealer in sheep’ Reaney, shepemongers 1560 NED); *Shobeggere* 1279, *Shoubiggere* 1333 (in surnames – MED); *Sloper* 1279, 1286 (slop ‘an outer garment, as a loose jacket, tunic, cassock, mantle, gown, or smock-frock’ 1386 NED; ‘some kind of foot-wear’ 1480 NED, slop(pe) ‘a kind of shoe’ MED, ‘a maker or seller of these’ Reaney); *Sclopmongere* 1317 (in surname – MED); *Smeremongere* 1286 (in surnames – MED); *Smereman* 1255 (in surnames – MED); *Straumongere* 1280, *Strumonger* 1285, *straumongere* 1294, *Straumonger* 1346-7 (in surnames – MED, ‘dealer in straw’ Reaney); *Talghmongere* 1294, *Talmonghere* 1329 (in surnames – MED, taloue ‘rendered animal fat, suet, tallow; tallow used in waterproofing, soapmaking, etc., or sold as a commodity’ MED; pop. talou(e~chaundeler ‘one who makes or sells tallow candles’ 1474 MED); *thred womman* 1349-50 (thrēd(e~womman ‘a dealer in thread or yarn’ MED); *Waremanni* 1208, *Wareman* 1214, 1263, *Warman* 1338 (‘a chapman’ Reaney); *Welmongher* 1332 (in surnames – MED); *Vdeman* 1066, *Odeman* 1066, *Wudemann* 1066, 1075, *Wudeman* 1166, *Wodeman* 1213, 1296, 1294, *Wademan* 1296, *Wadmon* 1327, *waddeman* 1375, *Wadman* 1417, *wadman* 1424-5 (wōde~man ‘?a purveyor of woad; ?a dyer’ MED, ‘a dyer with woad’ Reaney); *Wudesman* 1209 (in surname – MED; cf. wōde-man [OE wudu-mann] ‘one who provides or purveys wood’ 1426 NED); *wodemogger* 1305, *Wodemongere* 1372, *woodmonger* 1425-6 (wōde~mongere ‘sellere ‘a purveyor of firewood’ MED); *wodseller* 1340-41 (wōde~sellere

‘a purveyor of firewood’ MED); *Wollebyer* 1318 (in surnames - MED); *Woller* 1319, *Woller* 1327, *Wollore* 1430, *Wulloure* 1187 (‘a dresser, weaver or seller of wool’ Reaney); *Wollestere* 1297 (‘a dresser, weaver or seller of wool’, the feminine form, Reaney; *woolster* (Sc) ‘a wool-stapler’ 1577 NED; cf. wool-stapler ‘a merchant who buys wool from the producer, grades it, and sells it to the manufacturer’ 1709 NED); *wortesellere* 1365 (wört~sellere ‘one who sells vegetables or herbs’ MED); *Wurtman* 1297 (in surnames – MED, ‘seller of vegetables’ Reaney);

3.2 Loan-blends

3.2.1 Occupational names with Latin assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

Candelman 1263, 1332, *Candleman* 1268 (candel~man ‘a maker of candles, a chandler’ MED); *chesemangere* 1186, *chesemongere* 1288, *chesmonger* 1319, *chesmonger* 1437 (chēse~monger(e) ‘one who makes and/or sells cheese’ MED, chēse [A cēse, WS cīese, cŷse (ult. L cāseus)] 1000 NED, 1131 MED); *Cupperes* 1311, *Cuperes* 1327 (cōuperesse ‘a woman engaged in the occupation of a cooper’ MED; pop. cōuper(e) [ML cūpārius] ‘one engaged in the trade of barreling wine; a wine-cooper’ 1419 MED, ‘one engaged in the trade of sampling, bottling, or retailing wine; a wine-cooper’ 1465 NED, *cupper* [OE cuppe & OF cope, L. cuppa] ‘a cup-maker’ 1450 MED, cf. cuppe~maker ‘a cup-maker’ 1475 MED); *Mulemangere* 1305 (in surnames – MED, mūle~mongere ‘one who trades in mules’ MED, mule [OE mūl (from L), OF mul(e), ML moulus]); *muskylman* 1459 (muscle~man ‘?one who gathers or sells mussels’ MED, muscle[OE muscle, muscelle (from L); also cp. L musculus & OF mosle] ‘an edible bivalve mollusc, mussel’ 1298-9 MED); *Pethermon* 1317 (in surnames – MED, pedder(e) [ML pedārius] ‘one who goes on foot’ & pedāre ‘to walk’] ‘a peddler’ 1200 MED); *pesemongere* 1198 (pēse [OE < L] ‘the edible seed of the pea plant’ 1150 MED); *Pyman* 1301, 1524 (pī(e)~man ‘a baker or seller of pies’ MED, pī(e) [ML pica, pia] ‘a baked dish of pastry filled with meat, spices, etc’ 1303 MED; ‘maker or seller of pies’ Reaney; pie-man ‘a man who makes pies for sale; a vendor of pies’ 1820 NED; cf. pie-woman ‘a woman who sells pies’ 1817 NED); *Shopper* 1353 (‘shopkeeper’ Reaney, shop(pe) [OE scoppa, sceoppa; cp. OF esclope, essope, choppe, AF shope & ML shopa, sopa, scupa, choppa] MED, cf. shopkeeper ‘one who carries on business in a shop’ 1530 NED; shopholder 14.. NED); *Shopman* 1434, 1456 (in surnames – MED).

3.2.2 Occupational names with Central French assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

araser 1414 (arraser ‘a maker of, or dealer in, tapestry’ MED, arrās ‘a kind of figured tapestry [orig. made at Arras in Artois]’, pop. arrās~ man ‘one who makes or sells tapestry’ 1471 MED); *Burelman* 1311, *Burrelman* 1318 (burel~man ‘a maker or seller of burel’ MED, burel [OF burel] ‘a kind of coarse wolen cloth; also, a piece or a garment of burel’ 1267-8; pop. bureler [OF burelier; cp. ME burel ‘cloth’ & burle ‘tuft’] ‘a maker or seller of burel’; ‘one who dresses cloth by removing burles, i.e. knots and flaws’ 1475 MED); *Cheverelmongere* 1310 (cheverel(le)~monger ‘a kidskin dealer’ MED, cheverel(le) [OF chevrelle ‘a kid’] ‘kid leather; made of kid leather’ 1388 MED; cf. Chevereller 1291-2); *Flouremman* 1308, *Flourman* 1338, 1376 (flōur~man ‘miller or flour merchant’ MED); *Flurmongester* 1281 (flour~mongester ‘a woman who sells flowers’ MED, flōur [OF flour, flor, flur] ‘the blossom of a plant, flower; also, a flowering plant’ 1200 MED; flour (floure) 1250 NED); *Furmonger* 1490 (1508) (fur, v. [OF forrer] ‘to line; trim, or cover (a garment)

with fur' 13.. NED; 'to clothe or adorn (a person) with fur' 1370 NED; 'to coat or cover with fur or morbid matter' 1593 NED; fur, sb. [from v.] 'a trimming or lining for a garment, made of the dressed coat of certain animals' 1366 NED; 'the short, fine, soft hair of certain animals. Formerly also, the wool of sheep' 1430 NED; 'skins of animals with the fur on them' 1555 NED; comb.: fur trade 1837 NED), -trader 1848 NED); *Goriurer* 1219, *Gorgerer* [vr. *Gorgurer*] 1219, 1220, *Gorgeur* 1221, *Goriurer* 1230, *gorgerer* 1293 (gorđerer [from gorđer] 'an armorer who makes or sells gorgets' MED, gorđer [OF gorgiere] '(a) piece of armor covering the front of the neck, a gorget' 1312 MED); *Gravayler* 1393 (graveler [from gravel] '?a dealer in gravel or sand, ?a workman who spreads gravel' MED, gravel [OF gravel(e)] 'sand' 1225 MED); *Graysman* 1297, *Gresman* 1319 ('a seller of grease' Reaney; grease (gres, greis, greys) [OF graise, greisse, gresse mod.F. graise] '1.the fat part of the body of an animal; also, corpulence, fatness' 1340 NED; '2. the melted or rendered fat of animals, esp. when it is a soft state' 1290 NED); *gresmangor* 1379; *Greyneman* 1301 (in surnames – MED; grain n. [OF grain, grein] 'a crop of cereal plants' 1390 MED; 'a species of cereal plant or crop; ?also, peas' 1399 MED; 'seed of plants or flowers' 1325 MED, 'the fruit of a non-cereal plant; a berry, legume, nut, date, etc.:' 1395 MED; 'spice' 1313 MED); *Hurer* 1267, 1278, 1332, *Hurrer* 1281, 1289, *hurer* 1375, 1411, 1421, 1430, 1447, 1484 (hđerer [from hđre n.] 'one who makes or sells caps' MED, hđre [OF] 'a covering for the head, a cap' 1300 MED); *lingedraeper* 1460 (linge~draper 'a maker or seller of linen [only as surname]' MED, linge [OF] 'linen' MED); *Lusmanger* 1293 (lđce~mongere 'seller of pike' MED, lđce [OF luce, lus] 'the pike (*Esox lucius*)' 1323 MED); *Mirurer* 1218-22, *Mirorer* 1275, *mirourer* 1309, *Mirorer* 1320, *Mirourer* 1337, *Mirourer* 1354 (mirđurer [from mirđur n.] 'one who makes or deals in mirrors' MED, mirđur [OF mirđor, mirđour, miror, merur] 'a mirror made of metal, glass, etc.' 1250 MED); *Mustardman* 1275, 1327, 1329 (in surnames – MED, 'a dealer in mustard' Reaney, mustard [OF mostarde, mustarde] 'mustard seed; also, prepared mustard, the finely ground seed of the mustard plant mixed with vinegar, water, or honey to form a paste' 1289 MED); *Oylere* 1248, 1286, 1332 *oyler* 1278, *Oyller* 1281, *Oyellere* 1281 (oilere [from oil(e) n.] 'a maker or seller of oil' MED, oiler [from oil, sb. or v. + -er; cf. F huilier 'oil-manufacturer, oil-merchant'] 'a manufacturer of , or dealer in, oil; an oil-man' 1552 NED; 'one who oils or lubricates with oil' 1846 NED; oil, sb. [ME oli, olie, oyle, oile] a. ONF olie, OF 12th c. oile, oille, 13th c. oele, uille, 15th c. oyle, huille, 16th c. huile] 1175 NED; oil v. 'to apply oil to; to anoist' 1440 NED; pop. oil(e~man 'one who makes or sells oil' 1440 MED).

3.2.3 Occupational names with Norman assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

Wastelmonger 1317 (wastel [AF wastel, var. of OF gastel] 'a variety of white wheaten bread or cake of superior quality, generally considered second only to simenel in fineness' 1283 MED; 'an individual loaf or cake of this variety' 1300 MED; 'a ceremonial loaf or cake offered as a sacrifice' 1425 MED; 'maker or seller of wastels' Reaney; wastel [OF wastel, north-eastern var. of guastel, gastel (mod. F gđteau)] 'bread made of the finest flour; a cake or loaf of this bread' 1194 NED).

3.2.4 Occupational names with the borrowings of double (Latin and French origin) as the derivational bases

Lardeman 1316, *Lardman* 1346 (lđrd~ man '?a purveyor of salt pork, bacon, etc.' MED, lđrd [OF lardé & L lđridum, lđrdum] 'fat pork cured in brine or by smoking; salt pork, bacon' 1399 MED; 'the rendered fat of swine, lard' 1475 MED); *Maulmanger* 1205

(mal(le~mongere ‘a seller of hammers or mauls’ MED, mal(le [OF mail, mal. Also cp. L malleus] (a) A hammer; usually, a heavy iron hammer used for driving posts, breaking rocks, etc.; a sledge hammer, a maul’ 1200 MED); *Ostremān* 1305, *Oystremān* 1309 (in surnames – MED, pop. oistre~ mongere, oistre~sellere ‘a seller of oysters’ 1425 MED; oistre [OF uistre, oistre & L ostrea] ‘an oyster (*Ostrea edulis*); also, the so-called pearl oyster (*Meleagrina margaritifera*); also, a similar kind of shellfish, a mussel’ 1290 MED); *Oystermonger* 1321 (oistre~mongere ‘a seller of oysters’ MED, cf. oistre~sellere ‘a seller of oysters’ 1425 MED, oistre [OF uistre, oistre & L ostrea] ‘an oyster (*Ostrea edulis*); also, the so-called pearl oyster (*Meleagrina margaritifera*); also, a similar kind of shellfish, a mussel’ 1290 MED); *Paynerman* 1301, *panyerman* 1419, *Pannyerman* 1469, *panyarman* 1473 (paniēr(e~man ‘a basket-carrier’ MED, pannierman ‘a man in charge of a pannier or panniers; esp. a hawker of fish, etc., who conveys his goods to market in panniers’ 1583 NED; paniēr(e [OF panier, paniere, panniere] ‘a basket, usually large; a hamper’ 1290 MED; pannier [ME panier, a. F. panier (in 15th c. rarely pannier): – L. pānāri-um ‘bread-basket’] ‘a basket; esp. one of considerable size for carrying provisions, fish, or other commodities; in later use mostly restricted to those carried by a beast of burden (usually in pairs, one on each side, slung across the back), or on the shoulders of a man or woman’ 1300 NED); *Pasteman* 1290-1 (pāste~man ‘one who makes or sells pastry’ MED, pāste [OF paste & L pasta] ‘dough for the making of bread or pastry; also, dough for making horse feed’ 1381 MED); *Rollere* 1274, *Rolour* 1296, *Roller* 1297, *Rollere* 1309, *Roulour* 1327, *Rouller* 1337 (roller(e ‘from rolle n.] ‘?a maker or seller of parchment rolls’ MED; rolle n. [OF rolle, role, roule; also cp. ML rollus, rolla, AL roella, ruella; some forms perh. influenced by ME rōuel n.] ‘a scroll; a scroll with its contained text; a roll of prayers [quot.: 1454]) 1325 MED); ‘a maker or seller of rolls of parchment’ Reaney; roll, sb (rolle, rol, rowle, rowl, roule (roull), roul, role, roole (roale), row, roll) [OF roolle, roulle, rolle, role] ‘a piece of parchment, paper, or the like, which is written upon or intended to contain writing, etc., and is rolled up for convenience of handling or carrying; a scroll’ 1225 NED); ‘probably a maker or seller of rolls of parchment’ Reaney; roll sb. (rolle, rol, rowle, rowl, roule (roull), roul, role, roole (roale), row, roll) [OF roolle, roulle, rolle, role] ‘a piece of parchment, paper, etc., inscribed with some formal or official record; a document or instrument in this form’ 1377 NED; ‘a register, list, or catalogue (of names, deeds, etc.)’ 1386 NED; roll, v. (rolle) [f. roll sb.] ‘to enrol; to write (a name, etc.) upon a roll, list, or register; to record (a statement or fact)’ 1377 NED); *Sklatemanger* 1332 (in surnames – MED; sclāte n. [from OF escalate ‘a wand, chip of wood’; cp. AL sclata, sklata] ‘a slate for roofing; roofing slate or tile in bulk; the stone, slate; incense containing ground slate as an ingredient; a writing slate’ 1340 MED).

3.2.5 Occupational names with Scandinavian assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

Bothman 1279, *Bouthman* 1287, *Botheman* 1403 (bōth~man ‘keeper of a stall, shopkeeper’ MED, bōth [ON; cp. ODan. bōth (Dan. bod) & OI būð] ‘a stall at a market or fair, a merchant's shop’); *Hayman* 1312, *Heyman* 1332 (*hayman ‘a man who sells hay, a hay-salesman’ NED, hei [OE; & cp. OI hey] ‘grass cut or mowed and cured (usually as feed for livestock), hay; also, growing grass; a crop or cutting of hay; a tithe of hay’); *Heimongere* 1230, *heimongere* 1295, *heimonger* 1475 (*hei-monger ‘seller of hay’ MED; ‘seller of hay’ Reaney); *madermanger* 1230 (in surnames – MED, mader(e [OE mæd(e)re, & ON (cp. OI maðra)] ‘the dye-stuff made from the roots of the plant *Rubia tinctorum*; a name given to

dyes or dyestuffs other than *Rubia tinctorum*’); *Ketmongere* 1275 (ket~mongere ‘a seller of meat’ MED, cf. Chetmangeregate 1175 MED, Ketmangeregate 1194 MED, ket [ON; cp. OI kjöt, from *ketwa] ‘flesh’, mōnger(e [OE mangere] ‘a merchant, tradesman, dealer’); *Silkman* 1371, 1374-5, 1397 (*silk(e~man ‘one who works with silk’ MED, silk(e [OE seoluc, seolc, sioloc; also cp. ON: cp. OI silki] ‘silken cloth, silk; silken clothing; also, a silken garment; silk fiber or thread; silk embroidery’); *Selkwyf* 1348 (*silk(e~wif ‘a woman who spins or sews silk, a seamstress’ MED, wif [OE] ‘a human biological female, a woman’, поp. silk(e~womman ‘a woman who spins or sews silk, a seamstress’ 1440 MED, ‘a woman engaged in the manufacture, use or sale of silk’ 1440 NED); *Waxmongere* 1310 (in surnames – MED, wax [OE weax, wæx, wex; cp. OI vax] ‘beeswax as a valuable commodity or medium of exchange, generally implying eventual use in candles’).

3.3 Assimilated borrowings

3.3.1 Central French borrowings

Aguiller 1296, 1301, *Agoyler* 1258, *Agullier* 1287-8 (aguler (agullier, aguiller, agoyler) [OF aguillier] ‘one who makes or sells needles; - only in names MED); *Chapeler* 1214, 1230, 1249, 1303, *capel(l)er* 1216-20, 1291, 1311, *Chapeller* 1290 (chapeler [OF] ‘a maker or seller of hats’ MED; OFr chapelier ‘maker or seller of hats’ (1601 NED). The name is also found in the AFr form capelier); *Fener* 1271, 1282, 1327, *Feyner* 1299, 1303, *Fenyr* 1325 (feinēr [OF fenier] ‘a seller of hay’ MED); *Keu* 1208, 1270, *Kew* 1246, *Kou* 1275, *Ceu* 1285, *Ku* 1303, *Prioureskeu* 1320, *Co* 1327, *Keue* 1327, *Koo* 1332, *keu* 1340, *cue* 1335-6 (keu [OF queu, keu, cu, cou] ‘a cook; one who prepares and sells cooked food’ MED); *Leyner* 1275, 1292, *Layner* 1279, 1285, *leyner* 1292, *lainer* 1305, *Laner* 1312 (lainer [OF lanier] ‘a wool worker, wool merchant’ MED; OFr lainier, lanier ‘woolmonger’ Reaney).

3.3.2 Norman borrowings

Curlevache 1224, *Curlevache* 1224, *curlevage* 1299-1300, *curlevacher* 1312-13, *curlevache* 1346 (curlevachēr [AF cur-levage, -levache & -levacher; ?cp. OF levage ‘droit de sortie perçu sur les marchandises’ (Godefroy) & cur- as in cour-lieu ‘messenger’] ‘a licensed trader who is not a citizen or a member of a merchant guild’ MED) та корчмарів: *Treur* 1255, *Trehur* 1259, *Traeur* 1263, *Treere* 1281, *Treyur* 1283, *Treyour* 1298-9, *Treyhere* 1300, *Traiere* 1303, *Treour* 1327, *Treyre* 1415, *trayer* 1473, *Treyer* 1485, *Trayhour* 1485 (traier [OF traieor, traieur, traier, traiheur, AF treour] ‘one who performs the duties of a tapster’ MED).

3.3.3 Scandinavian borrowings

Copeman 1256, *Copman* 1205, *Coupman* 1230 (ON kaupmaðr ‘chapman, merchant’ Reaney; (copesman) [orig. copesman, f. cope sb. + man (in possess. cope’s), cf. craftsman, tradesman, etc. The later *copeman* may have been influenced by Du. *koopman* in same sense] ‘a chapman, merchant, dealer’ 1566 NED; cope, sb. [from cope v.] ‘a bargain’ 1562 NED; cope, v. ‘to buy’ 1430 NED; ‘to exchange, barter’ 1570 NED; ‘to make an exchange, make a bargain’ 1575 NED).

3.4 Motivated borrowings

3.4.1 Central French motivated borrowings

fusteinnier 1200 (fusteinnier [OF] ‘maker or seller of fustian’ MED, fustian n. [OF fustai(g)ne] ‘a kind of cloth [apparently made from cotton, flax, or wool; not necessarily coarse or of poor quality]; (b) a piece of fustian to be spread over a bed or mattress; a coverlet of fustian’ 1200 MED); *Galocher* 1306 (galocher [OF galochier] ‘a maker or seller of galoches’ MED, galocher [OF] ‘a kind of footwear, consisting of a wooden sole fastened onto the foot with leather thongs’ 1363-4 MED); *Hanaper* 1279, 1332, *Hanaper* 1319, *Hanyper* 1327, *Henepere* 1327, *Henyper* 1327, *Heniper* 1327, *Hamper* 1348-9 (hanaper [OF hanepier & hanap, henap] ‘a maker or seller of hanaps or goblets’ MED); *Lacir* 1278, *Lacer* 1298, *lacer* 1311, *Lasur* 1327, *Lasser* 1346 (lāser [OF lacëor]) ‘a maker or seller of strings or laces’ MED; lās [OF laz, las, lace, lais] ‘cord made of braided or interwoven strands of silk, threads of gold, etc.; a cord used to suspend a hanging object; a cord upon which beads are strung; a fishline; a cord or band bound around something; a headband or fillet; a cord used as a bond or fetter; a buckle, clasp, or brooch; a girdle, a belt; a crossbeam in a ceiling used to tie rafters together or to provide ornamental paneling; a net, noose, or snare’ 1230 MED); *Oylere* 1248, 1286, 1332 *oyle* 1278, *Oyller* 1281, *Oyellere* 1281 (oilere [from oil(e) n.] ‘a maker or seller of oil’ MED, oiler [from oil, sb. or v. + -er; cf. F. huilier ‘oil-manufacturer, oil-merchant’] ‘a manufacturer of, or dealer in, oil; an oil-man’ 1552 NED; ‘2. one who oils or lubricates with oil’ 1846 NED; oil, sb. [ME oli, olie, oyle, oile] a. ONF olie, OF 12th c. oile, oille, 13th c. oeile, uille, 15th c. oyle, huille, 16th c. huile] 1175 NED; oil v. ‘to apply oil to; to anoist’ 1440 NED).

3.4.2 Norman motivated borrowings

Kanevacer 1275, *Canauacer* 1325, *Caneuaser* 1333, *Caneuacer* 1340 (canevaser [AF; cp. CF chanevacier] ‘a maker or seller of canvas’ MED; canevas [AF canevas, cp. CF chanevas] & ML canvāsium, canebācium] ‘a fabric made from flax or hemp, canvas’ 1362 MED; ‘a piece of canvas; a canvas covering, a strainer of canvas’ 1310 MED; ‘a bed covering’ 1354 MED; ‘some kind of garment’ 1438 MED); *Herber* 1227, *Harbur* 1313, *herbare* 1475 (hērbier [OF h)erbier ‘an herbalist. Early quotes. may be AF] ‘a collector and/or seller of herbs, an herbalist’ MED); *Vendier* 1206, *Vendur* (vender [a. late AF vendor, earlier vendour (F. vendur), agent-noun form vendre. Cf. vender] ‘one who disposes of a thing by sale; a seller’ 1594 NED; vender [f. vend v. + -er] cf. VENDOR ‘one who sells; a seller; s/t in restricted sense, a street-seller’ 1596 NED; vend, v. [ad. F. vendre (=It. vendere, Sp. and Pg. vender) or L. vendēre ‘to sell’] ‘to be disposed of by sale; to find a market or purchaser’ 1622 NED; ‘to sell; to dispose of by sale; to trade in as a seller’ 1651 NED); *Wader* 1197, *Weider* 1227-37, *wayder* 1276, *weyder* 1276, 1293, *Waider* 1202, *Wayder* 1230, 1250, 1273, 1297, 1327, *Weyder* 1250 (waider (weider) [ONF waideur, waidier, wedderes, vars. of OF guaidëor & guaidier; many quotes. prob. AF] ‘a dyer with or purveyor of woad’ MED; waid(e) [AF weide, voide, AF/ONF waide (vars. of OF guaide) & AL waida, weida; most quotes. prob. AF or AL.] ‘the dyestuff made from the plant *Isatis tinctoria*, woad; also in designations for woad of specific geographical origin’ 1359 MED); *Waisdier* 1185, *Wesdier*, *Waisder*, *Weisdier*, *Waisdier* 1191-8 (OF wesdier, quesdier, waisdier ‘dyer or seller of woad’ Reaney; ‘a derivative of OE wād ‘woad’, ‘woad-merchant’ (1415 NED). This English form is more common today, but rarer in ME than the French *Waider* – Reaney; woader (wider): a) a dyer with woad; 2) a cultivator of woad (1415); woad [OE wād = Ofris. wêd < AF. waisde, OF. quesde, F. guède] ‘1.a blue dye-stuff prepared from the leaves of *Isatis tinctoria*’ 1000 NED; ‘2.

the plant *Isatis tinctoria*’ 1000 NED; cf. woder (woder) [woad v. or sb1] ‘a) a dyer with woad; b) a cultivator of woad’ 1415 NED).

3.4.3 Motivated borrowings of double (Latin and French) origin

Cressetter 1316, *Cresseter* 1341 (cressetēr [from cresset; cp. ML cressetarius.] ‘a maker or seller of cressets’ MED, cresset [OF craisset, crasset] ‘a metal vessel containing oil or fat used as a lamp or torch’ 1370 MED); *Poteler* 1265 (potel(l)er (potil(l)er, potler, potteler) [from potel(le; also cp. ML potellāre] ‘a maker or seller of pottles’ MED, potel(le (pottel) [OF potel & ML potellus] ‘a vessel; vessel of half the capacity of the associated gallon measure; a pottle; also, a vessel for dry measure observing similar proportions’ MED.

4. Occupational names with the restricted usage

Here we present the occupational terms that existed exclusively as common nouns, which is proved by the precise meaning, etymology and Medieval dating in the dictionaries under study.

4.1 Occupational names with English derivational bases and derivational affixes

bīere [From *bīen*, *biġġen* [OE *bycgan*] ‘buy; redeem’] ‘a buyer or purchaser’ (1200 MED); ‘a purchasing agent (as of the King, a guild)’ (1422 MED); *birlester* [?cp. *birlen* [OE *byrlīan*]] ‘peddler, hawker (of fish)’ (1361 MED); *bōk~sellere* ‘book seller’ [OE *bōc*] (1475 MED); *clōth~bier* ‘an officer of a guild in charge of buying cloth’ [OE *clāþ*] (1450 MED); *fish~sellere* (fish [OE *fisc*]) (1440 MED); *fōr(e~staller, -ar, -ōur* [from *fōr(e~stallen* v.)] ‘one who intercepts provisions on their way to market and buys them in order to re-sell at a higher price; also, one who buys in a public market before the legal hour of opening’ (1267 MED); *drover~fōr(e~staller* ‘a cattle buyer who goes out on the highway to buy up animals coming to market’ (1439 MED); *gār~lēk~sellere* ‘a seller of garlic’ [WS *gār-lēac*, A *gār-lēc.*] (1483 MED); *händler* [< *hōndlen* [OE *handlian*]] ‘a handler’ (1398 MED); *milk~wif* ‘a female milk vendor; moneter’ (1444 MED); *sellestere* [from *sellen* v.] ‘a female seller or vendor’ (1430 MED) ([OE *sellan*]); *wōde~biere* ‘a dealer in firewood’ ([OE *wudu*, *widu*]) (1473 MED); *wōl~gaderere* ‘?one who collects wool from the keepers of sheep; wolle-webster’ (*wōl* [OE *wul(l)*, *wulle* & *wyll*]) (1482 MED); *wōl~marchaunt* ‘a dealer in wool or woollen goods’ *wōl* [OE *wul(l)*, *wulle* & *wyll*]) (1500 MED); *yarn~chopper* ‘a retailer of thread or yarn’ (*yarn* [OE *gearn*, -*gern*]) (1325 MED).

4.2 Loan-blends

4.2.1 Occupational names with Old French assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

bargainer [from *bargainen* v.] ‘a vender, an unscrupulous bargainer’ 1460 MED, *bargainen* [OF *bargai(g)ner*] ‘to engage in a business transaction; discuss or arrange the terms of such a transaction, make a deal; buy or sell on terms agreed upon’, ‘to vend or sell’); *fruitestēre* [cp. *fruit-ēre.*] ‘a female fruit vender, a fruit girl’ 1390 MED, cp. *fruitēr*, -*ōur* [AF; CF *fruitier*] ‘a fruit seller, a dealer in fruit’; ‘a household official in charge of fruit’); *woman~chaundelēr* (*chaundelēr* [OF *chandelier* (from L *candelārium*)]) ‘one who makes candles or deals in materials for making candles; a chandler’ 1425 MED); *wax~chaundeler* ‘one who makes wax

candles, a wax chandler; also, a member of the guild of candle makers' (wax [OE weax, wæx, wex; cp.OI vax.] 1363 MED, chaundelē̄r [OF chandelier (from L candelārium)]) 'one who makes candles or deals in materials for making candles; a chandler' 1425 MED).

4.2.2 Occupational names with the borrowings of double (Latin and French origin) as the derivational bases

cōl~seller 'greengrocer' (cōl OE cāl (beside cāwel, from L caulis)] 'cabbage, kale, colewort, rape, mustard, or some other plant of the genus Brassica; also, any cultivated leafy vegetable, garden greens, pot-herbs' 1475 MED; *oinyon~sellere* 'one who sells onions.oistre-seller' 1475 MED, [OF oignon, oingnon, ongnon, ognon & L ūnio]; *oistre~sellere* 'a seller of oysters' 1425 MED, oistre [OF uistre, oistre L ostrea] 'an oyster' 1290 MED; *sālster* 'a female salt dealer' 1500 MED, sāl [L sāl & OF sal, salle, sau(l, vars. of sel] 'salt, sodium chloride; also, a mineral salt'; *shop(pe~holdere* 'one who manages a shop' 1449 MED, shop(pe [OE scoppa, sceoppa; cp. OF escoppe, essoppe, choppe, AF shope & ML shopa, sopa, scupa, choppa] 'a room or building used as a place of business by a victualer, craftsman, etc.'; *sōpe~seller* 1475 MED, поp. sōpere 'a maker or seller of soap' 1200 MED, 'one who sells soap; a soap-boiler, soap-maker' 1225 NED; soap (sape, soppe) [OE sāpe; L sāpo] 1000 NED; *spīcer~wif* 'a female apothecary' (spīcer 'a dealer in spices, an apothecary' [from OF especier, espic(i)er, espissier, AF especer, spicer; cp. ML speciarius, AL spesarius, spicerius] 1500 MED; *tapistere* [from tapicer with substitution of -estre suf., or perh. with influence from tapestrī(e n.)] 'a maker or seller of tapestries, tapestry weaver' 1440 MED.

4.2.3 Occupational names with Scandinavian assimilated borrowings as the derivational bases

snarler [?from snarlen v.] 'a hawker of goods, esp. of stolen goods' 1398 MED (snāre n [OE snearu & ON: cp.OI snara.] 'a snare for catching birds; also, a trap for other animals'; snarl(e n. [?from snāre n. & -el suf.(1); also cp. snarlen v.] 'a snare or trap'; snarlen v. [from snarl(e n. or snāren v. & -el- suf.] 'to trap (sb. or sth.), entangle').

4.3 Motivated borrowings

4.3.1 Latin motivated borrowings

purpuresse 1384 [< L. purpurāria] (purpuresse 'a woman who deals in purple cloth' 1425 MED).

4.3.2 Old French motivated borrowings

chafferer 'a trader, merchant' 1382 MED.

4.3.3 Low German motivated borrowings

hauker [MDu hac & hoeker, MLG hake & hoker 'retail dealer, huckster, etc.')] 'a peddler, huckster' (1409 MED).

5. Conclusion and perspectives

The study of the Middle English names of farmers in the etymological and functional aspects revealed the following quantitative data - 280 names of merchants, which constitute 12% of the total number of Middle English occupational terms. The ratio of English names of merchants as to the loan-words is 5:1. The ratio of the words of English origin as to the loan-blends is 10:3. The loan-words of French origin constitute 13% of the total number of Middle English occupational terms.

The quantitative characteristics of the functional distribution and etymological composition of the Middle English occupational names are given in the following Table 1.

Table 1: Functional distribution and etymological composition of Middle English names of merchants

Usage/ Etymology	E	Loan-blends						Loan-words				Motivated loan-words						Total	%
		L	L/ F	C F	NF	Sc	LG	L / F	CF	NF	Sc	L	L / F	CF	NF	Sc	LG		
Settled	46	4		4		5	2	5	3	8			9	2	5	1		94	33
Unsettled	92	10	8	16	1	8			5	2	1		2	5	5			155	56
Restricted	15		8	4	1	1						1		1			1	31	11
Total	153	14	16	24	1	14	2	5	8	10	1	1	11	8	10	1	1	280	100
%	55	26						9				11						100	

Legend: CF – Central French, E – English, F – French, L – Latin, LG – Low German, NF – North French, Sc – Scandinavian

In our paper it was found out that the functional differentiation of the vocabulary is different in the English and borrowed occupational terms. The prevailing majority are the words with the unsettled usage -56%, they are registered in the Middle English period only as family names, only having the identifying function as the proper names. Then come the words with the settled usage – 33%, they are registered in the Middle English period as common nouns and personal names (family names), having both nominating and identifying functions. Words with the restricted usage constitute 11% of the vocabulary under study, and are registered in the Middle English period only as common nouns, having the nominating function.

Data obtained in this paper, aiming at the reconstruction of the Middle English occupational terms etymology and functional variability, are valuable as the constituent part of the comprehensive study of the etymology and usage of the Middle English vocabulary.

The data obtained serve as a confirmation of the scarcity of lexical borrowings, especially in the lexical-thematic group of Middle English occupational terms.

We studied the common nouns and personal names, especially Middle English family names, within one of their historical layers, which gives us the possibility to disclose lingual means and ways of identification of people, interrelation of funds of proper names of neighboring territories in the process of formation of national language. The linguistic analysis of common and proper nouns is still an inexhaustible source of the study of historical and cultural heritage of people, its social and political structure, especially its production, everyday life, religion, customs, traditions and so on. It helps in its turn to trace the salient

traits of individuality of the peoples against the background of its neighbors in space and time.

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Abbreviations

AF- Anglo-French, AL – Anglo-Latin, AN – Anglo-Norman, CF – Central French, E –English, F – French, L – Latin, LG – Low German, MDu – Middle Dutch, ME – Middle English, MED - Middle English Compendium., MLG – Middle Low German, NED - Oxford English Dictionary, NF – North French, OE – Old English, OF – Old French, OI – Old Icelandic, ON - Old Norse, ONF – Old North French, Sc – Scandinavian

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