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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Vztahy mezi staroseverskými adjektivními výpůjčkami v angličtině a jejich staroanglickými protějšky

Relationships between the borrowed Old Norse adjectives in English and their Old English counterparts

Praha, srpen 2020

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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 5. 8. 2020

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Prague, 5th August 2020

Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.

I have no objections to the MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

Abstrakt

Cílem této diplomové práce je prozkoumat vzájemný vztah šesti slovních párů v historii angličtiny. Každý z nich zahrnuje staroseverskou adjektivní výpůjčku doloženou ve střední angličtině, staroanglický protějšek této výpůjčky a zároveň – pro hlubší porovnání – středoanglický reflex daného staroanglického slova. Zkoumání tohoto vzájemného vztahu zahrnuje analýzu daných slov s odkazem na jejich: (i) formální vlastnosti, (ii) syntaktické funkce, (iii) lexikální pole a (iv) vnější faktory, které by mohly mít vliv na jejich přežití či zastaralost, jako je žánrové vymezení, náležitost k určitému typu textů nebo zeměpisná lokalizace. Popis lexikálních polí daných slov vychází z jejich sémantické klasifikace v *Historical Thesaurus of English*. K lokalizování výpůjček poslouží lingvistické profily v *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* a *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*.

Tato analýza se zakládá na výskytech jednotlivých slov excerpovaných ze slovníků *Middle English Dictionary* a *Dictionary of Old English*, a zároveň též ze souvisejících korpusů *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* a *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English: version 2*. Faktory přispívající k přežití daných slov, nebo naopak k jejich zastarání, jsou pro každé dané slovo vysoce individuální, ačkoliv se u slov domácí slovní zásoby a přicházejících staroseverských výpůjček liší. Za nezbytné pro přežití, co se výpůjček týče, se považují ty faktory, které usnadňují jejich rozšíření v komunitě mluvčích, a tak i jejich následné uhnízdění v aktivní slovní zásobě. Pro domácí slova jsou naproti tomu důležité ty vlastnosti, které zajišťují jejich nezávislost na těch schématech a vzorcích, od kterých se postupně upouští, jakými jsou například ablautově odvozené tvary.

Klíčová slova:

staroseverština, staroangličtina, střední angličtina, lexikální pole, konkurence, konkurenční vztah, překryv v užití, lexikální výpůjčky, staroseverské impozice (Old Norse impositions),[1] zastarávání slovní zásoby, lokalizace, textová přináležitost, žánrové vymezení, adjektiva, *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*), *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), *Historical Thesaurus of English* (*HTE*), *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*), *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English: version 2* (*PPCME2*), *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*), *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*LALME*)

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[1] Termín „impozice" je v této práci užíván obdobně jako je tomu v článku V. Bočka (2013: 21), rozlišujícím mezi *přejímáním* (borrowing) a *přenášením* (impozice): Boček, V. (2013) 'Praslovanština, jazykový kontakt a kontaktní lingvistika'. *Slavia, ročník 82, sešit 1-2*, pp. 15-34.

Abstract

The aim of this MA thesis is to examine the relationship between six word pairs, each comprising an Old Norse adjectival borrowing in Middle English and its Old English counterpart along with its Middle English reflex for further reference. The inquiry into their relationship involves an analysis of: their (i) formal aspects, (ii) syntactic properties, (iii) semantic fields and (iv) external factors possibly contributing to their obsolescence or survival, such as the restriction to certain text types or geographic localization, as suggested by the individual linguistic profiles in the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* and *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. The description of individual semantic fields of the given words is based on their semantic classification within the *Historical Thesaurus of English*.

This analysis is based on the occurrences of the individual words as taken from the dictionaries *Middle English Dictionary* and *Dictionary of Old English*, and related corpora *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English: version 2*. The factors contributing to the survival or obsolescence of the given words are highly individual to each of the words but differ for the native lexis and the incoming borrowings. Those factors facilitating the spread of the entering foreign lexis within the speech community are vital for their following entrenchment and thereby survival, while for the native lexis it is mainly the independence from the patterns that are increasingly weakened and finally abandoned in Middle English, as in the case of numerous ablaut derived forms.

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List of Abbreviations

a = approximately – given with dates (esp. with dates taken from *HTE*)
acc. = accusative
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
AF = Anglo-Norman French
cogn. = cognate with, a cognate of
cp. = compare with (with the forms given for comparison)
dat. = dative
der. = derived from
dial. = dialectal
DOE = *Dictionary of Old English (: A to I)*
DSL = *The Dictionary of the Scots Language*
EME = Early Middle English
F = French, Central French (as opposed to Anglo-Norman French)
fig. = figuratively
G = German
HTE = *Historical Thesaurus of Old English*
L = Latin (classical)
l. = line
LAEME = *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*
LALME = *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*
lit. = literally
LL = Late Latin
LME = Late Middle English
LOE = Late Old English
ME = Middle English
MED = *Middle English Dictionary*
medL = medieval Latin
MF = Middle French
MSS = manuscripts
n. = noun
NHtb. = Northumbrian
NWG = North-West Germanic
occs. = occurrences, with numbers of occurrences of words
OE = Old English (mostly denoting West Saxon dialect in particular, if not stated otherwise)
OED = *Oxford English Dictionary*
OEN = Old East Norse (after a1000, comprises Old Danish and Old Swedish[2])
OF = Old French
OI = Old Icelandic (stands for unattested ON forms, ON and OI very similar until the 13th ce[3])
ON = Old Norse
ONH = Old Northumbrian
OS = Old Saxon
OSwe = Old Swedish
OWN = Old West Norse (after a1000, comprises Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic[4])
part. = particular
PDE = Present Day English (English roughly from 1900 onwards), called also Modern English (which often encompasses both PDE and LModE (=Late Modern English), roughly extending from 1700 till 1900)[5]
PG = Proto-Germanic
pl. = plural

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[2] Gordon and Taylor, 1957: 320
[3] Gordon and Taylor, 1957: 319
[4] Gordon and Taylor, 1957: 265
[5] As used by Brinton and Arnovick (2011: 10)

pp. = past participle
pret. = preterite
PrOE = Prehistoric Old English
pron. = pronoun
prp. = present participle
refl. = reflexive
rel. = related to
s.v. = strong verb
sg. = singular
sth. = something
SWM = South-West Midland(s)
TOE = *Thesaurus of Old English*
v. = verb
var. = variant of
w.v. = weak verb
WF = word-formation
WG = West Germanic

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1. Introduction

Languages are shaped by the ways they are used (Matras, 2009: 3; Bybee, 2015: 238). In a contact situation, domains of language use, along with the attitudes of the speakers toward the languages associated with them, determine the extent and type of the influence (Matras, 2009: 47; Fishman, 1965: 86). In a multilingual setting, convenient linguistic material is shared between the involved languages, based on prestige – whenever speakers wish for their expressions to bear special connotations (cf. Matras, 2009; McMahon, 1994) – or need to cover new cultural concepts introduced (cf. Miller, 2012). Following the Old Norse language death in England, even more material was transferred (cf. Townend, 2002; Dance, 2012). This received Old Norse material was integrated into a changing system, triggering further changes, as it interacted with the native lexis and patterns. Due to the semantic and functional overlap between the imposed and the native lexis, a multitude of words competed for their survival, while being themselves subject to changes both in form and use (cf. Horobin and Smith, 2002; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). As a consequence, many words, both inherited and borrowed, lost their battle and faded out of use.

The outcomes of undergoing changes are dependent on the speakers of the language (Matras, 2009), and thus are the result of an intricate interplay of both language-internal and external factors, working either to weaken the given word's position with regard to its rivals, contributing to its retreat and subsequent obsolescence, or to strengthen its position and therefore ensure its survival. The language internal factors comprise structural aspects of the competitive relationship, such as the degree of entrenchment of the individual words within the language system, their degree of polysemy or their dependency on particular word formation processes (cf. Bybee, 2015). The external factors include the degree of diffusion within the speech community, tied with its geographic localization, or the word's confinement to specific text types or registers (cf. Timofeeva, 2018a; 2018b).

The purpose of this thesis is to explore these factors, both language-internal and sociolinguistic, which might have contributed to the obsolescence, or survival, of the selected competing word pairs. These individual words of which these pairs consist were selected on the basis of their current status within the language so as to represent six different relationships between the entering Old Norse borrowings and the native Old English counterparts (along with their Middle English reflexes) (more on the individual words and the relationships represented in 3.1, pp. 42-44).

This analysis is based mainly on the occurrences of the individual words as provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* (for the Old Norse borrowings and the Middle English reflexes of the Old English lexis) and the *Dictionary of Old English* (for the Old English words), with an additional number of occurrences retrieved from the corpora *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* and *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*. The description of the individual competitive relationships also rests on the analysis of the respective semantic fields in *Historical Thesaurus of English* and on the inquiry into the textual and geographic distribution of the individual words as suggested by the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* and *the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*.

2. Theoretical Background: Language Contact and Language Change

Language contact is the 'use of more than one language in the same place and at the same time' (Thomason, 2001: 1). On the 'micro-level', this contact begins within a multilingual individual, as multilingual speakers cannot fully 'switch' between languages but have the 'full, complex linguistic repertoire at their disposal at all times' (Matras, 2009: 5). From the functional perspective, language is a 'social activity' and communication is governed by the goals the individual participants wish to achieve (Matras, 2009: 3). Thus, the 'selection rules' determining the choice of components within the 'linguistic repertoire' of the individual, resulting in the separation of languages, gradually develop from the 'mapping of sets of linguistic structures onto sets of social activities' (Matras, 2009: 41). This mapping relies on such cues as 'differentiation of language by addressee, interaction settings and topics of conversation' (Matras, 2009: 42).[6]

Unequal exposure concerning the domains of language use may therefore result in an unequal access to particular lexis or disproportionate development of certain linguistic skills, and so to 'a partial dominance of one of the languages' (Matras, 2009: 43). The selection of a language in a multilingual setting is determined by such factors as 'addressee, setting, context, topic or language specialization for particular sets of activities'; any of these may override the constraints imposed by other factors. Consequently, the language choice is very much dependent on the individual and their priorities in respect to these factors (Matras, 2009: 43-44).

On the 'macro-level', the language contact rests on the 'interplay of individual domains of communication, such as 'setting, topic, goal, and mode of interaction'; in stable contact situations 'each domain is associated with a preferred language of interaction'[7] (Matras, 2009: 45). So a 'typical multilingual society' is the one in which 'multilingualism combines with diglossia, and where languages have specialized and often complementary roles'[8] (ibid.). On the societal level, the 'dominant language' is the one in which 'some degree of proficiency is essential for participation in certain types of social activities'. Although it is often the 'domestic' language of the 'numerical majority' within the society, the dominant, or sometimes 'prestige', language need not coincide with the majority language (Matras, 2009: 46). The contact is often 'asymmetrical', as the individual languages specialize in specific domains, or differ in directionality of influence, which results in a hierarchical distribution and use of the languages within the community, determining the 'impact' of the contact on the involved languages (Matras, 2009: 47).

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[6] Language choice thus depends on the language associations with particular interlocutors; whenever a variety of addresses is present, the language shared by all of them is selected due to 'the need to address the entire group'. 'Side-comments targeting a specific addressee may then also be conducted in the primarily associated language. Individual interlocutors may additionally be 'grouped according to the associated places, modes and purposes of interaction, forming groups, such as school, neighbourhood, or shops, with each of the settings being associated with a specific language' (Matras, 2009: 42).

[7] Matras here refers to Fishman, J. (1965) 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?' *La Linguistique 2*. 67-87.

[8] Matras here quotes from Fishman, J. (1967) 'Bilingualism with and without diglossia. Diglossia with and without bilingualism.' *Journal of Social Issues, 23*. 29-38.

In cases of 'unidirectional bilingualism' – when one group 'dominates certain activity domains to which another group requires access, without reciprocity'[9] (Matras, 2009: 58) – borrowing prevails, which can be attributed to the 'unidirectionality of bilingualism itself', since most of the speakers of the 'smaller language' are bilingual and 'words from the dominant language are generally understood and tolerated', resulting in looser control over the choice of expressions (Matras, 2009: 59). Both 'shift-induced interference' – an introduction of features from a substrate language – and 'linguistic equilibrium' – a case of reciprocal stable bilingualism with involved languages being equal in prestige and power relations – often result in 'overall structural similarities' (Matras, 2009: 57-58). The circumstances of multilingualism within the society and attitudes toward the involved languages 'act as external constraints that either allow innovative and creative use of language to spread within the community', resulting in their acceptance and subsequent language change, 'or else they block their propagation', and thus mark them as individual idiosyncrasies (Matras, 2009: 60).

Language change is therefore 'the product of innovation by individuals',[10] as the 'bilingual (or multilingual) speakers have a complex repertoire of linguistic structures at their disposal, which is not organized in the form of language systems', but rests rather on the associations 'with a range of social activities'. The outcomes of their communication in a language contact setting are thus defined by two major factors: (i) the individual's 'loyalty to a set of norms that regulate the context-bound selection of elements from the repertoire' and (ii) their 'wish to be able to exploit the repertoire in its entirety irrespective of situational constraints'. The need to communicate efficiently makes the speakers strive for the balance between these two competing tendencies, influencing the selection of linguistic means of expression (Matras, 2009: 4). The innovations thus introduced may result in a language change when 'such patterns of linguistic behaviour become widespread and accepted within a relevant sector of the speech community' (Matras, 2009: 5).

The individual speakers are in turn affected by the stability of contact, determined by the social factors, which shape their attitudes towards their respective languages (Thomason, 2001: 21-22) as well as by the intensity of contact. The intensity the given contact situation is delimited by the 'cultural pressure exerted by one group of speakers on another, duration of contact, socio-economic dominance, or the number of speakers themselves (Thomason, 2001: 66). Prolonged and intense language contact may result not only in heavy borrowing, or convergence – 'acquisition of structural similarities between the languages'[11] – but also in the development of a new language, or in language death (Thomason, 2001: 223), when 'a language ceases to be used within a speech community for any purposes of regular communication' (Thomason, 2001: 224).

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[9] This type of 'unidirectional' bilingualism is characteristic of 'linguistic minorities or speakers of smaller languages around the world, in border areas, remote regions or in colonial settings' (Matras, 2009: 58).

[10] Matras here refers to the conclusions of Croft, W. (2000) *Explaining language change: An evolutionary approach.* Harlow, Essex: Longman., and of Labov, W. (1994) *Principles of linguistic change. Volume I: Internal factors.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

[11] Matras here cites from Silva-Corvalán, C. (1994: 4-5) *Language contact and change. Spanish in Los Angeles.* Oxford: Claredon Press.

Thomason (2001: 225-230) identifies four possible causes of language death: *attrition*, *grammatical replacement* and, as languages are tied to their users, *abrupt death of the language's users* or *their abrupt shift towards another language*. The uneven 'distribution of languages in a multilingual setting' exerts pressure on the 'minority population' which may lead to their eventual abandonment of the language. Most commonly it happens through attrition, as the language is subjected to the gradual loss of its speakers, domains and eventually even structure (Thomason, 2001: 225). Matras attributes the 'retreat of languages' to two causes: (i) 'the extension of an individual's repertoire to include new interaction settings and contexts previously negotiated exclusively in another language', and (ii) 'the infiltration of that language into the established activities that had previously been reserved for the retreating language' (Matras, 2009: 51-52). The stability of a language (in contact situations) thus depends on the stability of its domains of use (Matras, 2009: 53; Thomason, 2001: 228). The instability of certain domains of use may be directly linked to changes in cultural practices of a given speech community (Thomason, 2001: 228). Although attrition is 'most commonly accompanied by interference from the dominant language' (Thomason, 2001: 230), on its own it denotes the 'loss of linguistic material without its replacement by the new'[12] (Thomason, 2001: 227).

All levels of the dying language are affected, from changes in the structure – phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse, for instance 'mergers of morphosyntactic categories' or analogical overgeneralizations – to reductions 'in the range of stylistic resources' (Thomason, 2001: 228-229). Thomason also notes that, as 'most of the linguistic processes common in language death are also common in contact situations' in general, such as lexical loss or borrowing, the interdependencies between these inner changes and the external factors need to be considered to properly identify cases of language death (Thomason, 2001: 230). As attrition is often accompanied by borrowing or interference from another language, the main difference between the cases of attrition and those of grammatical replacement is that the languages whose grammar is being gradually replaced by that of another 'retain more domains of usage' (Thomason, 2001: 232).

Directionality of the bilingualism therefore determines the outcome of the contact, and introduces changes either to one or to both of the involved languages. Thomason identifies seven mechanisms which operate to produce 'contact-induced' language changes. One of the major mechanisms (1) is 'code-switching', which can be divided into 'intersentential' – 'switching from one language to another at a sentence boundary' – and 'intrasentential', also called 'code-mixing', in which the 'switch comes within a single sentence' (Thomason, 2001: 132). These respectively coincide with the 'alternational' and 'insertional' code-switching mentioned by Matras (2009: 101).[13] Both types can be triggered by the 'difficulties of retrievability' and, language-specific associations, or they may be

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[12] Based on Sasse, H.-J. (1992) 'Theory of language death'. In Brenzinger, M. (ed.) (1992) *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explanations with Special Reference to East Africa.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 7-30.
[13] Matras relies on the division presented in Muysken, P. (2000) *Bilingual speech. A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

employed creatively for special effects or discourse structuring (Thomason, 2001: 132; Matras, 2009: 105).

A case in point are the instances of code-switching in medieval religious texts in England examined by Ingham (2017), as these reveal different motivations for the switches: Intersentential switches to Latin in both Anglo-Norman and English texts, in the form of quotations from the Bible, are followed by their translations suggesting that the audience was not expected to know Latin, and these were thus intended to lend authority to the text[14] (Ingham, 2017: 321-323). Intrasentential switches from French to Latin in the Anglo-Norman Bible commentary, on the other hand, rely on bilingual proficiency and serve as an identity stamp[15] (Ingham, 2017: 323-325).

Although there are instances of interference in which code-switching was not a factor, Thomason stresses 'the strong empirical evidence for a transition between code-switching and permanent interference' (Thomason, 2001: 132-133). In addition, the most frequently 'code-switched' elements – nouns, discourse markers and adjectives – are also the most often borrowed ones (Matras, 2009: 134-136; Thomason, 2001: 133). (2) 'Passive familiarity' is the mechanism responsible for 'acquisition of a feature from a language understood but not actively spoken', which mainly operates 'in cases of contact between genetically related languages' (Thomason, 2001: 139).

Another mechanism listed by Thomason is (3) 'code alternation', termed 'situational switching' in Matras (2009: 114)[16], which is 'not limited to the same conversation' but is triggered by 'changes in the discourse setting' (Matras, 2009: 114; Thomason, 2001: 136). However, Thomason admits that it is 'difficult to decide whether the change brought about was due to code-switching or code-alternation', as the results are 'either similar or even identical'. Relevant changes can thus be attributed to code-alternation 'only in cases with evidence that the other is not present' (Thomason, 2001: 137). For Matras, code-alternation is perceived as 'responsive to events surrounding the communicative interaction' (Matras, 2009: 114) and is thus indeed goal-driven, as it may be employed by the speaker for instance to signal transitions between various levels or layers within a discourse, highlighting reported speech or separating side-comments from the rest of the information conveyed (Matras, 2009: 116-117).

(4) The mechanism termed 'negotiation' by Thomason introduces changes in one language to 'approximate the patterns of another language or dialect'. If speakers of both languages are involved in the process, the result could be 'either two changed languages or an entirely new language'. The

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[14] as in *Crist [...] seith: Ite et predicate ewangelium Goth and precheth the Gospel.* 'Christ says: Go and preach the Gospel (Go and preach the Gospel)' (Ingham, 2017: 323).

[15] Selection of French over English as 'the matrix language' identifies 'both the writer and audience as belonging to a transnational cultural elite,' while the French-Latin switches categorize them further as belonging to a 'clerical subgroup within that elite'. The requirement of proficiency in both languages for understanding is made apparent by the switch's integration into the structure of the matrix: *Mes alme fameiluse **sitiens justitiam** prendrat amer pur dulz* 'But a starving soul thirsting for justice will take bitter for sweet' (example and translation provided by Ingham) (Ingham, 2017: 324).

[16] Matras here refers again to Fishman (1965) and to Blom, J. P. and Gumperz, J. (1972) 'Social meaning in structure: Code-switching in Norway'. In Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. (eds.) (1972) *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 409-434.

prototypical example may include the development of pidgins, as 'the correctly guessed constructions or words are incorporated into the system of the emerging pidgin' (Thomason, 2001: 142).

Two of the mechanisms postulated by Thomason are closely linked with language acquisition itself and second-language learning: among the (5) 'second-language acquisition strategies' is the phenomenon of 'gap-filling' by the learners with material from their native language as a compensation strategy for the lack of knowledge of the target language. It could pertain both to the domain of individual lexical items as well as to structural features, such as organizational patterns (Thomason, 2001: 146-147). Some combinations of features previously not present, or not so salient, in the respective languages are introduced by the bilingual speakers who acquired their languages simultaneously. This mechanism (6) is termed 'bilingual first-language acquisition' by Thomason (2001: 148).

All of the mentioned mechanisms may 'on occasion' be products of (7) 'deliberate decisions'; although such decisions usually pertain only to the 'superficial parts of the lexicon and structure', there are, according to Thomason, notable exceptions, such as the introduction of Latin-inspired features into Standard English by the 18th century English grammarians: for instance, their proscription of split infinitives (Thomason, 2001: 149-152). 'Double marking' of 'particular grammatical categories in contact-induced change' operates both apart from the seven mechanism mentioned above and in conjunction with them. Such 'doubly marked' categories are observable both as 'a transitional phenomenon occurring when one construction is being replaced by another' or as a 'permanent feature in the receiving language' (Thomason, 2001: 152-153).

All of these mechanisms, operating on their own or in various combinations, may contribute to changes in the languages involved in a contact situation, namely borrowing. As Matras argues, and Thomason suggests, borrowing 'presupposes bilingualism' and so mostly relies on 'codeswitching', at least initially (Thomason, 2001: 132-133; Matras, 2009: 110). Central to code-switching is the notion of the 'base' or 'frame' language, into which the other language is perceived as 'embedded' (Matras, 2009: 101). As phonological and morphological integration is not only a feature of gradual adaptation of loanwords but may also accompany switched elements (Matras, 2009: 108-109), the difference between code-switching and borrowing is thus mainly seen as diachronic, resting on the increase in the usage frequency of a new word-form and its later potential adoption by monolinguals (Thomason, 2001: 133; Matras, 2009: 111).

Matras thus presents a 'dynamic continuum', in which 'some items enjoy greater variability of distribution in different interaction settings compared to others' (Matras, 2009: 110):

Fig. 1: Matras' (2009: 111) 'Dimensions of the codeswitching-borrowing continuum'

Bilinguality bilingual speaker ↔ monolingual speaker
Composition elaborate utterance/phrase ↔ single lexical item
Functionality special conversational effect, stylistic choice ↔ default expression
Unique referent (specificity) lexical ↔ para-lexical
Operationality core vocabulary ↔ grammatical operations
Regularity single occurrence ↔ regular occurrence
Structural integration not integrated ↔ integrated
codeswitching ↔ borrowing

The 'compositional continuum' covers the 'complexity and context-dependency of the structure derived from the other language', while the 'functional continuum' ranges from the 'insertions for special effects', code-switches, to the 'default expressions for the relevant concept', established borrowings. 'The specificity continuum' distinguishes between non-unique lexical labels on the one side and the 'unique referents' on the other, since due to their nature as 'individualised identity-badges', they are closer to borrowings[17] (Matras, 2009: 112-113). The 'Operationality continuum relies on 'the assumption that it is in most cases easier for the bilingual to retrieve core lexical expressions and to make appropriate choices between translation equivalents in the core vocabulary than it is to maintain consistent control over the selection mechanism around automated, non-referential operational elements such as discourse markers, indefinites, comparative/superlative markers, and more' (Matras, 2009: 113). 'Regularity of occurrence' is not frequency dependent. It captures the degree to which 'the item in question is independent of any contextual selection constraints and so deemed appropriate in whichever language context that is being activated'. And the last dimension presented by Matras, the 'criterion of integration', presupposes identifiable procedures of structural integration. Thus the distinction between borrowing and code-switching rests on the combination of criteria, each 'arranged on a continuum' themselves: The 'prototypical borrowing' involves regular occurrence of a structurally integrated item that is used as a default expression in a monolingual context, while the 'prototypical' codeswitch is an alternational one 'at the level of utterance, produced by a bilingual consciously as a single occurrence for special stylistic effects' (Matras, 2009: 113-114).

From the functional perspective, centred on the individual speaker, Matras argues that borrowing involves 'a licence to lift selection constraints on the use of a word-form or structure'; when borrowed, the given element extends from 'a limited set of contexts to a wider set of interaction contexts,

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[17] Matras relies on Backus's 'specificity hierarchy': Backus, A. (1996) *Two in one. Bilingual speech of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands*. Tilburg University Press.

perhaps with no limitation at all' (Matras, 2009: 147). Therefore, the crucial criterion for distinguishing codeswitching from borrowing is 'the replication of the item by monolingual speakers, in monolingual contexts' (Matras, 2009: 147; Thomason 2001: 67-68).

2.1 Borrowing, Borrowability and Involved Processes

Even in cases of borrowing that does not entail initial codeswitching, the process still relies on bilingualism (Thomason, 2001: 132-133; Matras, 2009: 110; McMahon, 1994: 200; Campbell, 1999: 57). Townend further distinguishes between 'individual' bilingualism – 'society at least partly made up of bilingual speakers' – and 'societal', which denotes 'a bilingual society made up of monolingual speakers' (Townend, 2006: 69-70). There is a general agreement in distinguishing between cases of 'importation of form' and transfers of the structure,[18] although the terminology might differ (Matras, 2009: 236; McMahon, 1994: 201; Townend, 2006: 71-73; Campbell: 1999: 57-76).

McMahon's (1994) basic distinction concerns 'lexical' and 'structural' borrowing. For Thomason the difference between these concepts lies in the 'imperfect learning', which entails 'either conscious or unconscious use of features not used by the native speakers of the target language' (Thomason, 2001: 74) and results in the 'shift-induced interference', marking primarily the transfer of structure – mainly phonology and syntax. The primarily lexical transfer Thomason terms simply 'borrowing' (Thomason, 2001: 129; Bybee, 2015: 250). Matras (2009), avoiding the 'implications of ownership', refers to the formal transfer as to the 'replication of matter', while 'pattern replication' covers the transfer of structure – pertaining not only to 'single-word schematics, but also to phrases and clause level' (Matras, 2009: 236).

As regards formal transfer, based on the direction and the result of the process, Townend distinguishes further between 'borrowing', marked by the agentivity of the speaker of the recipient language in the transfer of linguistic material, and 'imposition', or 'interference', in which the 'transfer is triggered by the speaker of the source language'. Both of these distinctions rest on the 'notion of the constitutional property of stability of certain domains of language', with some components being more stable and thus more resistant to change. These are the features which the speakers are 'likely to keep during the transfer' (Townend, 2006: 71-72). Therefore, if the speaker of the recipient language is the agent, they are most likely to approximate the pronunciation of the foreign element, drawing on the native phonemic inventory and phonotactic rules; whereas the agentivity of the donor-language speaker is likely to impose the phonological features of the source language on the recipient one[19] (Townend, 2006: 71-72). Regarding lexical borrowing, McMahon similarly differentiates further between

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[18] Concerning this distinction, Matras refers to Haugen, E. (1950) 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing'. *Language 26.* 210-231.
[19] Townend quotes the term along with the explanation from Coetsem, F. van (1988: 3) *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact.* Dordrecht: Foris. A similar distinction is mentioned by Bybee, with 'borrowing' marking the agentivity of the speaker of the recipient language, but what Townend calls 'imposition' or 'interference' Bybee terms 'substratum influence' (Bybee, 2015: 248).

'adaptation', or 'substitution', in the case of which the loan is 'nativised' – fitted into the patters of the recipient language – and 'adoption', or 'importation', covering items maintaining their source-language form in the recipient language. For McMahon the selection of the given strategy may depend on the speaker's familiarity with the involved languages as well as on the accepted borrowing patterns of the particular speech community (McMahon, 1994: 204-205; Bybee, 2015: 192).

Concerning the structural transfer, Townend identifies two types of borrowing. One of them is the 'loan-translation', or 'calque', in which 'elements of the item in the source are translated into the corresponding elements in the recipient language' (a type also recognized by Campbell, 1999: 76 and McMahon, 1994: 207), resulting in words such as OE *wellwillende* 'well-wishing, benevolent' from L *benevolens*, or *anhorn* 'lit. one-horn, unicorn' from L *unicornis* (Townend, 2006: 73). The other type is the 'semantic loan', in the case of which the 'form in the recipient language remains the same, but the meaning is replaced by that of an item in the source', as with OE *synn*, whose original meaning was that of 'crime, fault' before changing to 'religious transgression' under the influence of L *peccatum* (ibid.). For Matras, the underlying operation in 'semantic loans' is the replication of the 'semantic scope' of the source element, and the association between 'the model' and the target form may be 'triggered by both phonological similarities and polysemy' (Matras, 2009: 245-6) (The terminology on which this thesis relies is specified in the subchapter on methodology (3., p. 42)).

2.1.1 Motivation for Borrowing

According to McMahon, the 'unifying factor underlying all borrowing is the projected gain', as the 'borrower must stand to benefit in some way from the transfer of linguistic material'[20]. This gain could be 'social', entailing borrowings from a 'prestige' group, or 'linguistic', entailing replacement of either obsolete elements or those that are losing their expressive force. Elements could also be borrowed out of necessity – adopting terms for unfamiliar objects or concepts (McMahon, 1994: 201), which is the case of the so-called 'cultural borrowings'[21] (McMahon, 1994: 201; Matras, 2009: 110). Consequently, the borrowings are either perceived to fill 'gaps', or are simply governed by the notion of a greater prestige of the donor language (Campbell, 1999: 59). Matras argues also for 'cognitive pressure' as the driving force behind all types of borrowing (Matras, 2009: 152).

In his view, the 'gaps' are not to be seen as 'deficiencies in the recipient system, but rather as speakers' attempt to avail themselves of their full inventory of linguistic resources, at all times and in all contexts of interaction' (Matras, 2009: 150). As the need to borrow stems from the projected desired effect of the 'communicative interaction on the interlocutor', the 'prestige' rests on 'the associations of each of the languages involved, which in turn are determined by the roles and functions of those

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[20] McMahon here refers to Winter, W. (1973: 138) 'Areal linguistics: some general considerations'. In Sebeok, T. A. (ed.) (1973) *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Mouton: The Hague. 135-148.
[21] Matras refers to the division proposed in Myers-Scotton, who distinguishes between the mentioned 'cultural forms' and the so-called 'core forms', which have counterparts in the recipient language – Myers-Scotton, C. (1993: 163ff.) *Duelling languages. Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford University Press.

languages in the speech community' (Matras, 2009: 151). This view is supported by the higher concentration of borrowings in those 'fields where prestigious speakers wield greatest influence' (McMahon, 1994: 202), and the possible 'derogatory connotational meanings' of those elements which were transferred from the less prestigious language to the more prestigious one (McMahon, 1994: 203). Different 'waves' of borrowing may thus reflect 'the importance of particular semantic fields at different periods' (McMahon, 1994: 201). On the other hand, the structural borrowings – or pattern replications – are seen by Matras as 'a compromise strategy', which allows the speakers to 'retain loyalty through word-forms' and simultaneously 'reduce the load on the selection and inhibition mechanism by allowing the patterns to converge, maximising the efficiency of speech production in a bilingual situation'. It depends on the speakers' ability to match a new pattern to available word forms[22] (Matras, 2009: 235). Matras thus concludes that:

> 'The motivation to borrow is typically triggered by the language-processing mechanism itself, not by the convenience or inconvenience offered by the formal shape of the structure, nor by social or cultural attitudes. The latter contribute to the propagation of borrowed forms throughout the speech community, but they are not responsible for an individual speaker's motivation to introduce them into the discourse in the first place' (Matras, 2009: 163).

2.1.2 Borrowability: Possible Language-internal Factors Facilitating Borrowing

The extent of borrowing is linked with the intensity of language contact (Matras, 2009: 153; Thomason, 2001: 70-71), but it may be further promoted by the 'semantic accessibility' of the given structures and their 'morpho-syntactic independence'.[23] Certain elements, especially 'grammatical operations that are responsible for language processing in discourse' are more prone to borrowing, for they 'demand an intensified processing effort, which is more likely to compete with the effort required to control the selection and inhibition mechanism regulating choices within the linguistic repertoire' (Matras, 2009: 164). For the borrowing to be 'successful', both of these language-specific and internal factors need to coincide with the external factors, such as attitudes permitting the employment of foreign material. Within monolingual society, it further depends on 'the social position of the bilingual innovators acting as the principal agents of the potential language change' (Matras, 2009: 165).

Even though the extent and nature of borrowing depends on the context of the specific language contact, there are some general tendencies to be observed; with regard to the borrowability of the individual word-classes, nouns, and adjectives are among the most frequently transferred items (Townend, 2006: 74; Matras, 2009: 153-165), which is due to their level of semantic content and, concerning nouns, their 'referential function' as labels for concepts and objects, allowing the speakers to 'replicate the specific contextual associations triggered by the donor-language word-form' (Matras,

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[22] The underlying pattern of L *omnipotens* is matched with the corresponding elements in OE, giving such loan-translations as *eallmihtig* 'all-mighty', or *eallwealdend* 'all-ruling' (Brinton and Arnovick, 2011: 167)

[23] This morpho-syntactic independence depends on the 'morphological typology of an individual language'; thus nouns are most often free morphemes, but verbs in some languages 'may be bound and inseparable from synthetic derivational/ inflectional morphology'. For Matras, this link between 'word-form independence and language particular features explains the word class differences in borrowability (Matras, 2009: 164).

2009: 168). Some 'generic' frequent terms arguably existing within lexicons of all languages irrespective of their origin presumably resist borrowing, forming the so-called 'core vocabulary'.[24] Matras confirms the 'greater stability of concepts pertaining to the immediate surroundings, such as orientation in space, time and quantity, the private domain of mental and physical activity, and the nearest human environment (body and close kin)' (Matras, 2009: 169).

Regardless of word-classes, the most frequent borrowing pattern in the cross-linguistic comparison seems to be the predominant transfer of lexical items, even if all subsystems of the languages involved in a contact situation can be affected (Townend, 2006: 72; Campbell: 1999: 57; Matras, 2009: 148); in cases of extensive structural borrowing, languages may change typologically or even become 'non-genetic',[25] since they cannot be considered related to 'their previous language families', as in the case of 'mixed languages', pidgins or creoles (McMahon, 1994: 211-212; Haspelmath, 2001: 1645).[26]

2.1.3 Integration of Borrowings

Even individually borrowed lexical items may have an impact on the recipient language beyond the mere expansion of the language's lexicon, depending on the degree of their integration, which represents a continuum, as the items not initially adapted may be gradually incorporated into the systems of the recipient language, once they are established enough so as to be used by the monolinguals of the given speech community (McMahon, 1994: 205). McMahon suggests 'loan-translations' may be also directly linked to the adaptation process, for they are essentially expressions of the 'new meaning' by means of the native linguistic material (McMahon, 1994: 207).

Depending on the typology of the recipient language, borrowings may fully integrate into the system and thus follow not only phonological but also morphological and syntactic rules of the recipient language[27] (Winford, 2010: 173). Languages with 'more rigid phonotactic restrictions and syllable structure constraints' may heavily modify the loan in the process, as illustrated by the English loan into Japanese – [torakuta] from *tractor* – reshaped to fit into the strict CVCV syllable pattern (McMahon, 1994: 206; Bybee, 2015: 192; Winford, 2010: 173). If the loan is introduced initially in its written form, its phonological adaptation may be dependent on the orthographic conventions of the given languages (McMahon, 1994: 206). Some elements may be also misanalysed in the process of adaptation, as in the case of the English loan *pumpkin* in Norwegian, 'segmented as *pumpki + n*, with the final "*-n*" interpreted as a postposed definite article, yielding forms as *panki* "pumpkin", *pankin* "the pumpkin"

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[24] Matras here refers to 'the assumption' of M. Swadesh who listed 207 items which supposedly constitute the basic vocabulary of each language: Swadesh, M. (1952) 'Lexicostatistic dating of prehistoric ethnic contacts'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 96*. 452-463.
[25] McMahon here refers to Thomason, G. S. and Kaufman, T. (1988) *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. University of California Press.
[26] The emergent pidgins draw on the lexicon of one of the languages, 'the lexifier' or 'superstrate' language, while the native language of the speakers participating in pidginization is called 'the substrate'. When the pidgin expands in its range of functions and starts to be acquired as a native language, it is considered a creole (Bybee, 2015: 255).
[27] Borrowings are thus integrated into the system of the recipient language in accordance to its specific properties, eventually becoming 'indistinguishable from native items' (Winford, 2010: 173).

and *pankiar* '"pumpkins"' [28] (McMahon, 1994: 206-207; Bybee, 2015: 194). The plural form is also often misanalysed as a singular, with the loan consequently 'equipped with a new plural marker using native strategies' (Matras, 2009: 174, McMahon, 1994: 208).

According to Matras, noun integration generally follows one or a combination of the following patterns: (i) Nouns are either integrated into the native inflection patterns;[29] (ii) or they avoid such integration and are thus maintained in their 'simplified representation; (iii) languages can also adapt nouns along with their original inflections,[30] or (iv) they might assign them to a special category for borrowed nouns (Matras, 2009: 172). Languages marking gender or class and definiteness to native nouns also assign these to borrowed ones[31] (Matras, 2009: 174). Verbs might be also incorporated into the system of the recipient language along with their inflection, but more frequently they are borrowed either with some or with no modifications to their form.[32] Their 'verbal character' is also often signalled by a native 'light verb', meaning 'make' or 'do', which accompanies them when they are used (McMahon, 1994: 208; Matras, 2009: 176). Moreover, verbs in the process of borrowing may undergo 'phonological reorganization' within their stems to fit into specific conjugation patterns due to the analogy with other verbs associated with that pattern, as with SWM *geapen* 'gape' (< ON *gapa*), which 'acquired the second fronting of OE /ɑ/ usual in verbs of weak class two,' although these changes operated long before the borrowing's arrival (cp. *gāpen*, and SWM *gleadien* with WS *gladian*) (Dance, 2000: 373). Adjectives are most often 'integrated syntactically into the position of the attribute, and adopt the agreement morphology of the recipient language, as in G *ein cool-er Typ* 'a cool guy' (Matras, 2009: 188). In the process they might also undergo derivational modifications, or be assigned to a specific inflectional class[33] (Matras, 2009: 188).

With regard to borrowed bound forms, languages very rarely borrow inflectional morphology, as the inflections are 'applied at the sentence level' and do not 'accompany individual words', unlike the derivational morphemes (McMahon, 1994: 211; Matras, 2009: 212); however, if they are borrowed,

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[28] McMahon quotes the example from Lehiste, I. (1988: 15) *Lectures on Language Contact*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

[29] McMahon claims that integrated nouns often fall into the 'weak, unmarked class' in the borrowing language: 'borrowed nouns in English thus have the regular plural forms rather than *-en* or vowel mutation' (McMahon, 1994: 208).

[30] Matras gives the example from Early Romani which borrowed Greek nouns along with their nominative inflectional markers: *for-os* 'town' and *for-i* for plural. These Greek-derived inflectional endings remain productive, providing basis for later loanwords, as in *president-os* (Matras, 2009: 173-174).

[31] According to McMahon, there is frequently one unmarked option for loans concerning gender (McMahon, 1994: 208). Gender of the borrowed noun in the recipient language may differ from the gender assigned to the form in the source language even in the case of the contact of two related languages – the possible factors influencing the assignment of gender in the recipient language are listed in Matras (2009: 174).

[32] Matras calls the integration of a verb without any modifications to its form 'a direct insertion', whole verbs integrated with some 'modifications to their original form' are 'inserted indirectly' (Matras, 2009: 176). Direct insertion is illustrated by the borrowed Vietnamese verbs in Chinese, for both languages are isolating, as well as 'bare' (= stems without infinitive markers) borrowed forms from Spanish to Quechua, which adds its own verbal inflections to thus borrowed stems (Matras, 2009: 177). An indirect insertion can be seen in German borrowing *telefonieren* 'to telephone' (< F *téléphoner*) with 'an augmenting suffix *-ier-* added to the root of the French-derived verbs.

[33] Matras exemplifies this with the Hebrew treatment of loans: inflectional endings with native adjectives are stressed (*yardén* 'Jordan', *yardení* (formal) 'Jordanian'), while loans cause them to be unstressed. In addition, loans are assigned to a specific inflectional class: *yeléd inteligént-i* 'an intelligent boy', *yaldá inteligént-it* 'an intelligent girl' (Matras, 2009: 188).

they mostly become entrenched within the recipient system through analogy 'based on perceived structural similarities between the native markers and those of the contact language' (Matras, 2009: 214-215).

As has been mentioned, integration of 'non-nativised' loans may lead to a phonological change in the recipient language, introducing new phonemes and altering phonotactic or stress patterns. The borrowing even of an individual phoneme may impact the system as a whole, for it may trigger redistribution of the existing ones (McMahon, 1994: 210; Matras, 2009: 229; Bybee, 2015: 195). In Matras' view, the phonological change in the system occurs when the monolinguals of the given speech community 'imitate' the bilinguals who 'authenticate the donor-language pronunciation' of the item for the reasons of prestige associated with it (Matras, 2009: 223). Conversely, the process of adaptation involves '"phonological interference", or the procedure of "approximation" [34] relying on the redefinition of places and modes of articulation, as the speakers allow one sound from their native phonological system to represent the other from the source language' (Matras, 2009: 226; Campbell, 1999: 61; Bybee, 2015: 193).

The various strategies of the incorporation of the borrowed linguistic material is not arbitrary, as the speakers usually observe particular methods or routines that are considered a norm in their speech community.[35] These are in turn by default based on the borrowings previously borrowed from the same source language. Nevertheless, such routine strategies are prone to changing in the course of time, which may contribute to certain layering of the lexicon, with different forms pointing to different periods of borrowing in the history of the given language (McMahon, 1994: 207-208; Matras, 2009: 60; Bybee, 2015: 192).

2.1.4 Convergence

The term 'convergence', as denoting mutual structural approximation, is used by Matras often in connection with the pattern replication, which is 'characterized as a change in the "replica language" inspired by a structure in the "model language"' (Matras, 2009: 238), regardless of the complexity of the structure, ranging from loan-translations to whole syntactic patterns. McMahon reserves this term for the specific contact situation, in which, as a result of prolonged and stable bilingualism, this bidirectional structural approximation heavily affects syntax and morphology, but has relatively low impact on the lexicon of the two involved languages. In such a situation, it is also 'difficult to pinpoint the source of a particular feature or change, as the items are freely shared' between the two converging languages, and the 'genetic heterogeneity is gradually replaced by typological homogeneity',[36]

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[34] Matras here refers to Weinreich, U. (1953) *Languages in contact.* The Hague: Mouton.
[35] McMahon (1994: 207) here refers to Heath, J. G. (1984: 372) 'Language contact and language change'. *Annual Review of Anthropology 13*. 367-384.
[36] McMahon quotes from Lehiste, I. (1988: 59) *Lectures on Language Contact*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

seemingly with the aim of reaching 'ultimate intertranslatability with a single set of syntactic rules and two sets of lexical items' (McMahon, 1994: 213-214).

The process of convergence rests on the spontaneous isolation of 'pivotal', or key, features of given constructions and their subsequent combination with 'context-appropriate word-forms' (Matras, 2009: 241). It starts with the 'matching of lexemes to one another and adapting the range of meanings expressed by the lexemes of the replica language to those expressed by the corresponding lexemes in the model'. The whole 'matching procedure' depends on 'the polysemy of the items in the model language'[37] (Matras, 2009: 238). The process of the 'pivot-matching' leads to 'one-to-one match between constructions or construction types' (Matras, 2009: 243), allowing speakers to 'syncretise the mental planning operations applied while interacting in each of the converging languages' (Matras, 2009: 238).

2.2 <u>Anglo-Norse Contact</u>

Even though the Scandinavians were in touch with the inhabitants of the British Isles prior to the infamous sack of Lindisfarne in 793, according to Bibire even as early as the sixth and seventh centuries, their mutual encounters bore fruit with regard to linguistic influence only centuries later (Bibire, 2001: 90; Downham, 2017: 4; Schulte, 2002: 770), as there is no evidence pertaining to borrowing this early (Bibire, 2001: 96). The scale of their later mutual influence was determined by their closeness, allowing for a higher extent of 'hybridization' and convergence than with more distant languages (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 97; Dance 2003: 4, Durkin 2014: 221); Old English was according to Bibire arguably closer to Old Norse than to any other West Germanic language,[38] with many similarities between them due to parallel developments, which occurred independently of each other, called 'drifts' (Bibire, 2001: 91). One of such parallel changes affecting independently Old English and Old Norse is the formation of diphthongs from 'original short front vowels' through the process of breaking (Bibire, 2001: 91-92, Braunmüller, 2002: 1033; Schulte 2002: 770).[39] Similarly, both languages seem to have developed their different dialects within their respective lands, England

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[37] Matras likens the mechanisms of convergence to the mechanisms of grammaticalization, as the matching 'proceeds along a hierarchical scale from more concrete, lexical meanings to the more abstract, grammatical functions' (Matras, 2009: 239), referring to Nau, N. (1995: 175-176) *Möglichkeiten und Mechanismen kontaktbewegten Sprachwandels – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Finnischen*. Munich: Lincom, and Haase, M. (1991: 169) *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel im Baskenland. Die Einflüsse des Gaskognischen und Französischen auf das Baskische*. Hamburg: Buske.

[38] Bibire refers to Nielsen, H. F. (1989) *The Germanic Languages: Origins and Early Dialectal Interrelations. Tuscaloosa and London.,* who proposes the existence of the so-called 'North-Sea Germanic' group of languages, including ancestral dialects developing later into Old English, Old Frisian and Old Norse, but excluding other West Germanic and East Germanic languages (Bibire, 2001: 91).

[39] A prominent change attested in all WG (not only OE) languages in addition to ON, even though it was an independent development, is 'rhotacism', or the merger of PG *z* with *r* as *r*: PG *airuz* 'messenger' (cp. Goth. *airus*) > ON *árr*, OE *ār* (cp. OS pl. *ēri*) (Ringe and Taylor, 2014: 82; cf. Quak, 2002: 568-569).

and Scandinavia, possibly as a result of 'a koine' situation,[40] both forming a unitary language which developed its new dialects 'only after the settlement' (Bibire, 2001: 92-93).

Bibire stresses that even greater level of affinity is found in the Old Northumbrian dialect, as illustrated by the similarity between the preposition forms in ONH *mið* and ON *með*, as opposed to OE, and West Saxon in particular, *mid* 'together with'. The vowel difference signifies that this is not a loan. In addition, these forms are attested 'too early to be one' (Bibire, 2001: 94). Other affinities include the loss of distinction between the second and third person singular present indicative '-s', spreading to the plural third person; a parallel development in Old Norse with the 'cognate ending' is attested on the 7th-century Björketorp stone '-r' (< '-z' < '-s'), also spreading to the third person singular from the second (Bibire, 2001: 95). It is these features that distinguish Old Northumbrian from all other attested Old English dialects and mark its extraordinary closeness with Old Norse.

Despite this proposed closeness between the two languages, both the question of the mutual intelligibility and the possible evidence of it are very complex; Gneuss (1991), for instance, unlike Bibire or Nielsen, claims that from the perspective of the speakers of Old English, Old Saxon enjoyed a higher degree of mutual intelligibility than Old Norse (Gneuss, 1991: 44), while Townend (2002) argues for the existence of a possible '"switching-code", allowing the Old Norse speakers to automatically match certain sounds or elements between the dialects'. Townend's study of place-names reveals 'highly successful cognate substitutions', supporting the notion of the mutual intelligibility[41] (Townend, 2002: 44-50; Townend, 2006: 70; Dance, 2012: 1727). However, as Bibire's arguments suggest, this mutual intelligibility was either initially restricted or not immediate, but developed later, for the Norse names recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are initially rather a testimony to 'mutual misunderstanding', since they show 'little understanding' and 'no serious attempt of phonetic reproduction', as in the case of *Godrum* in place of ON *Guttormr*. At the same time these records are in 'a stark contrast with the productions of the Alfredian court', as the *Orosius* translation correctly reproduces *Óttarr* as *Ohthere* (Bibire, 2001: 97-98), a reproduction foreshadowing the later period of bilingualism or mutual intelligibility.[42]

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[40] A koine is 'a stabilized contact variety resulting from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of mutually intelligible varieties, such as regional or social dialects' (Siegel, 2001: 175). Referring to Kerswill (2002: 670), Fischer characterizes koine formation as based on 'mixing, levelling and simplification', and involving 'continuity of both dialects, no dominant language or notion of prestige', which distinguishes it from the development of pidgins or creoles (Fischer, 2013: 33-34).

[41] In cases where the first element was stressed, 128 out of 129 cognate substitutions made by the Scandinavian settlers were correct, with the only exception being OE *ald* 'old' mistakenly substituted by ON *jalda* 'mare' (Townend, 2002: 66). The complete list of the place-names analysed by Townend can be found on pages 69-87. Townend later even argues that the two languages were 'mutually intelligible to a sufficient extent to preclude the need for bilingualism on either a major or minor scale' (Townend, 2006: 70).

[42] Townend in fact argues against bilingualism, perceiving phonemic switches as a result of mutual intelligibility, since the observed switches do not involve 'lexical substitutions of semantically equivalent terms' (Townend, 2002: 66). The Anglo-Norse contact may thus be perceived as an extreme type of 'dialect contact', facilitating mutual borrowing (Dance, 2012: 1727; Dance, 2013: 42).

The evidence of bilingualism is according to Bibire attested in the phonological form of place-names,[43] such as *Skipton* from OE *scēap* 'sheep' recording ON pronunciation with [sk] instead of [ʃ] and thus 'implying speakers of English who employed Norse phonological rules, that is speakers of English whose native language was or had been Norse'. The 'Grimston-hybrids'[44] consist of a 'Norse qualifier on an English base element', as in *Botham* 'corresponding to ON dative plural *búðum* "at the booths", retaining its inflectional ending only by identification with the English elements "-hām", or "-hamm" (Bibire, 2001: 99-100). The so-called 'added complexity', denoting the '"addition of features non-existent in either of the contact languages"',[45] is also illustrative of 'high degrees of contact', for it relies on child bilingualism (Thomason, 2001: 148; Miller, 2012: 146), and can be illustrated by the 'innovative category' of the reflexive comprising a non-reflexive pronoun and *self* (Miller, 2012: 137). The depth of mutual understanding is for Bibire further evidenced in the later accurate adaptations, as in *(-)cnearr* from ON *knǫrr* '(ocean-going cargo-)ship', rendered with the original vowel diphthongized 'as would have been in early Old English before "rr"', ultimately relying on the 'translations from the sound system of Norse into that of Old English' (Bibire, 2001: 101).

St Albans runic inscription *wufr(ik)* may also imply possible influence of English runic futhorc on Scandinavian younger futhark use, as the 'w' is one of the eight runes 'lost from Scandinavian futhark' (Barnes, 2015: 195), and *wynn* may have thus been borrowed from the English futhorc to represent the English name otherwise rendered in the Scandinavian runes (Barnes, 2012: 187). The text of the Bridekirk inscription, dated to the 12th century, is cut in mixed runes (Scandinavian and English) with bookhand characters (*eth, yogh,* and 'nota for *and*'), while its language is late OE or early ME (Page, 1995: 185). Scandinavian rune inscription of the Carlisle Cathedral, also dated approximately to the 12th century, also attests grammar and lexis unusual for both Old Norse and Old English, and thus also serves as an evidence of later bilingualism and hybridization, as 'the grammatical uncertainty exhibited points to a breakdown of the inherited inflectional system of a kind one might expect in a situation of prolonged linguistic contact' (Barnes, 2015: 197).

The bidirectionality of the contact is illustrated by the Old English borrowings (underlined) in the Old Norse poetic tradition: 'the praise poem *Knútsdrápa* dedicated to Cnut claims him to be <u>kærr keisara</u>, <u>klúss</u> *Pétrúsi* "dear to the Emperor, close to Peter"' (Townend, 2006: 82). Deeper mutual influence is further attested in the forms displaying 'convergence' of English and Norse: The verb *rot* is a reflex of OE weak verb *rotian*, with the participle form *rotted* used adjectivally in ME, while the

[43] Some place-names involving Scandinavian elements in north-west also manifest Gaelic influence – the so-called 'inversion-compounds', for instance *Aspatria* (in Cumbria) from *askr* 'ash' and personal name *Patrick*' (Bailey, 1980: 35; Bibire, 2001: 106).

[44] Bibire refers to the study of Cameron, K. (1971) 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence Part III, the Grimston-hybrids'. In Clemoes, P., and Hughes, K. (Eds.) *England before the Conquest.* Cambridge*, 147-63.*

[45] Miller here refers to Trudgill, P. (2010) *Investigations in Sociohistorical Linguistics: Stories of Colonisation and Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., as well as to Trudgill, P. (2011) *Sociolinguistic Typology: Social Determinants of Linguistic Complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

adjective *rotten*, with the participle ending *-en* of strong verbs, reflects the related Scandinavian strong verb (cp. OI pp. *rotinn*) (Durkin, 2014: 206-207).

The Anglo-Norse contact also served as a catalyst in the disuse of inflections in English[46] (Miller, 2012: 145): the progress of the reductions was accelerated by it, as the areas settled by the Scandinavians displayed the most rapid 'decay' of the inflections (Townend, 2002: 197-198; 205; Poussa, 1982: 84; Townend, 2006: 83; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 277-303). Unsurprisingly, 'the area of contact most subjected to borrowing of Old Norse forms, surfacing in ME, corresponds mostly to those with the highest numbers of retained Scandinavian forms in Present Day English', which is the so-called 'focal area', 'great Scandinavian belt' in Dance (2012: 1733): 'Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and part of Lincolnshire' (Miller, 2012: 118).

The sociological aspect of the Anglo-Norse contact was also very complex, pertaining to 'all levels of the society', resulting in the mutual influence of the involved languages[47] (Miller, 2012: 147; De Caluwé-Dor: 1979: 680; Schulte, 2002: 770), as the contact situations differed by time and place and ranged from stable to unstable, with both languages enjoying periods of high prestige, 'equilibrium' and low prestige (Miller, 2012: 97-98; Dance, 2012: 1727). The high-status of Old Norse is suggested by its 'thriving literary culture in England', consisting of the compositions of Norse skalds (Townend, 2006: 67; Bibire, 2001: 101-102).

It was predominantly the Danes who settled in England, with the Norwegian settlements being located mainly in the North-West[48] (Flom, 1899: lxxvii; Dance, 2012: 1726); however, without any new settlements established after the 12th century (Bibire, 2001: 106), Old Norse as a 'minority' language under the pressure of English, growing in importance and spreading to most activity domains, became largely restricted to the domestic domain, losing 'support', which eventually resulted in its death (cf. Matras, 2009: 50). As the speakers of Old Norse started shifting to English, they transferred numerous lexical items, while retaining their form. Consequently, many 'doublets' exist in English differing only in phonology, such as ME *fisk* from ON *fiskr* beside the native form *fish* from OE *fisc* (Townend, 2006: 84).[49]

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[46] Danchev (1994: 100), having revisited the 'creole-hypothesis', concludes that Middle English is 'a normally transmitted language with an accelerated rate of development, but without break of continuity, and a more than average percentage of contact-induced changes'.

[47] Hadley (2000: 349), Kershaw and Røyrvik (2016: 1675) also note on the change in naming practices within the Danelaw, with certain forms appearing in England but rare in Scandinavia. Hadley refers to Fellows-Jensen (1994: 259), emphasising the difference in compound names, with Danelaw favouring elements, such as '-hildr' or '-steinn'.

[48] Based on the evidence of loans localized to the North-West of England and Scandinavianised place-names, Kolb (1969: 140) dates the West Norse assimilation to the first half of the tenth century, as most of the loans reflecting assimilation are isolated and scattered in their occurrences. The unassimilated loans, firmly localised, along with the assimilated bulk, thus suggest two separate 'batches' of words introduced at different periods: first in their form preserving the nasal (as in *bank* < ON *bakki*, cp. OE *bæc*, PDE *back*), and then in their assimilated form (ibid.)

[49] Although initially restricted in its influence to the North-East, Old Norse equivalents contributed to the restoration of the velars in the English palatalized forms, subsequently spreading these southwards; in cases of their lack, palatalized forms are preserved in PDE (cp. *seek - beseech*) (Krygier, 2000: 468).

2.2.1 Old Norse Influence on English

Due to the degree of the attested mutual influence between the involved languages, it is not surprising that the languages shared both structural features and lexical material. To illustrate just a few, the structural influence in the domain of morphology can be exemplified by the importation of the pronoun paradigm of *they*[50] (Miller, 2012: 128), in the domain of syntax[51] by the introduction of the phrasal genitive, which was according to Miller the result of 'the reduction either of case or concord across the noun phrase in the Danelaw area, 'motivated by the slightly different inflections in the contact languages' (Miller, 2012: 136), as illustrated by the line from the *Ormulum*: *þurrh þe Laferrd Cristess dæþ* 'through the Lord Christ's death' (l. 13,826 in Miller, 2012: 135).[52]

As regards the lexical transfer, Björkman (1900-1902) gives the most extensive account of the phonetic features of the Scandinavian borrowings in English, stemming both from prehistoric differences and later independent developments of Scandinavian languages and English (Björkman, 1900-1902: 32-36). The most 'reliable phonological discriminators', as summarized by Dance (2012: 1729) are given in this table:

Table 1: Key phonological features of ON as summarized by Dance (2012: 1729)[53]

PG form	ON form > ON borrowing in ME	OE form > ME form
*/ai/	/ɛi/ OI *nei* > ME *nai* 'no'	/ɑː/ *nā* (northern) > ME *nō* 'no'
*/au/	/ɑu ɔu/ *gaukr* > /oː/ *gōk 'cuckoo'*	/æːɑ/ *gēac*
*/eː/ (NWG */aː/)	/ɑː/ *lágr 'low'* > /ɔː/ ME *loue*	/æː/ *lēg* 'fallow' > /oː/ (before nasals)
/ð/	/ð/ (medially or finally) *greiðr > greith* 'ready'	/d/ *gerād* 'disposed, wise'
/g/, /k/	/g/, /k/ *gervi* > ME *gēre* > PDE *gear*	/j/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ (in palatalization environments) *gearwe [jearwe]*
/sk/	/sk/ *skaði* > ME *scāthe* 'injury'	/ʃ/ *sceaða* [ʃeaða]

Old Norse loans can be not only identified on phonological grounds, but also roughly chronologically stratified: The earlier period of borrowing comprises the 10th and 11th centuries, while the later period

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[50] Townend (2002: 205) sees the importation of ON pronouns not as necessarily 'need-based' (due to the development of extensive homonymy within the paradigm of personal pronouns), but as the possible result of the effort on the part of the contact communities to enhance communication. He refers to Milroy (1997: 320-321), who states that two adequately intelligible languages in 'persistent contact' may 'accommodate' if 'divergent or possibly unintelligible in an important paradigm' to increase their communicative efficiency.

[51] In her study of the possible impact of language contact on the syntax of English, Fischer (2013: 40) concludes that Old Norse, unlike Latin or French affected English syntax due to 'imperfect learning leading to a reduction of variant forms'. In her view, this is the result of the mixing of the languages resulting from the frequent intermarriage and essentially 'loss of ethnic continuity' (Fischer, 2013: 33).

[52] Ormulum otherwise preserves 'traces of inflection on modifiers', with the group genitive being 'the most frequent exception' in this marking (Miller, 2012: 135). Middle Swedish according to Miller innovated the phrasal genitive 'around the same time', marking cases 'on the satelite', but genitives only at the end of their own phrase, as in: *vtan min fadhers wiliu* 'without my father's consent' (Miller, 2012: 136). Miller thus argues that the development of the phrasal genitive is a 'shared innovation with East Scandinavian' (cf. the discussion in: Miller, 2012: 134-136).

[53] Although the formal evidence is, according to Pons-Sanz, more reliable, various criteria must be examined to safely discern a loan, 'including not only the phonological aspects, but also the morphological structure, etymological enquiry, date of the first attestation, association with the Scandinavian newcomers, frequency of use in OE and ON texts, and the existence of cognates in other (W)G languages' (Pons-Sanz, 2015b: 204-208). Similarly, Dance (2018: 34-68) distinguishes between the 'structural' and 'circumstantial' evidence. 'Structural evidence arises from a comparison of the OE and ON linguistic systems, i.e. features of form or sense', while the 'circumstantial evidence derives from patterns of occurrence, i.e. where the English word and its cognates are recorded' (Dance, 2018: 36).

associated with imposition subsumes predominantly the 11th and 12th centuries (Townend, 2006: 73-74; Dance, 2012: 1728, cf. Wright, 1923: 78-79). The semantic domains represented by the given transferred items also differ noticeably, classifying the individual borrowings as need-based or prestige-driven cultural loans, or as core elements, the transfer of which was the result of the substratum influence (Townend, 2006: 74).

Old Norse transferred lexical material comprises not only 'proper' loanwords, as with ME *kerling* 'old woman' (cp. ON, OI *kerling*), but also loan-translations, such as *liðsmann* 'fleet-man, sailor and follower' from ON *liðsmaðr*, and semantic loans, illustrated by the PDE *dream*, whose form is native (OE *dream* 'sounds of joy'), but whose meaning is derived from the ON *draumr*[54] (cp. OE *swefn* 'dream') (Townend, 2006: 73). Since Old Norse belonged predominantly to the spoken discourse (Townend, 2006: 66), its lexical influence involves more direct transfers than loan-translations, which are especially associated with the learned influence of written Latin on Old English (Fisher, 2003: 100).

With regard to the scribal practices, Old Norse loanwords do not seem to be restricted with regard to text types,[55] as Old Norse borrowings are attested in a variety of texts. However, their appearance may point to a local usage, as with ME *gēren* (der. ON, cp. OI *göra*, *ger(v)a*), a markedly Northern synonym of the native *do* (OE *dōn*) (Schipor, 2013: 68-69) in an agreement between the Governors of Beverly and John Gargrave (dated 1454) (cf. Schipor, 2013: 32-33).

2.2.1.1 Old English period

As mentioned earlier, Old Norse lexical transfer into Old English was with regard to form namely characterized by adaptations and assimilations, with the borrowed elements integrated into the recipient language, marking thus the agentivity of the Old English speakers in the process (Townend, 2002: 201). The integration of the borrowed elements into the native phonological system involved the creation of associations between the given Old Norse sounds and their nearest sounds in OE when these were available, but resulted in the levelling of Scandinavian distinctions if these did not correspond to a phonemic difference in Old English[56] (Dance, 2003: 142-143).

The Old Norse borrowings into Old English are mostly classified as 'need-based', denoting cultural concepts associated with the Scandinavians (Dance, 2012: 1732). These thus include mostly

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[54] According to Dance (2013: 43), these semantic loans might be the result either of borrowing or of imposition, but are most likely the product of the closeness of the two languages, and inevitably of the 'ready identifiability of cognates in the two lexical systems'.

[55] The core borrowings surviving in PDE are also not confined to specific text types and are fully integrated into the system: The ON borrowings belonging to the 'common core' are not only distributed in a variety of semantic fields, having acquired some new meanings (Moskowich and Seoane, 1995: 404-412), but also participate in word-formation, as with PDE *fundraiser* (< *fund* + *raise* + '-er', cp. OI *reisa* 'to cause to rise, build, to erect') (Friðriksdóttir, 2014: 25, cp. with the listed productive borrowings in Friðriksdóttir, 2014: 41).

[56] As illustrated by the apparent merger of ON /ɑː/ with the reflexes of OE /ɑː/ (developing into /ɔː/ in many South-West Midlands dialects) captured in the South-West Midland texts by the <o> (or <oa>) in Norse derived terms (cf. Dance, 2003: 123-124), while the probably distinct reflexes of ON /ɛi/ were signified by /ei/ (<ei>) internally and /ɑi/ (<ai, æi>) finally in those texts, as OE itself distinguished between sounds /ej/ (OE *weg*) and /æj/ (OE *mæg*) to which the ON reflexes could be 'separately assimilated' (cf. Dance, 2003: 126-128).

technical vocabulary, especially pertaining to the nautical, for instance *barða* '(beaked) ship' from OI *barði*, and legal domains (Townend, 2002: 204), characterized by Gneuss as 'terms of the administrative system and social conditions in the Danelaw' (Gneuss, 1991: 43-44), as exemplified by such lexical units as *lagu* 'law' (OI *lǫg < *lagu*), *hūsting* 'assembly' (OI *húsþing*), *māl* 'lawsuit' (OI *mál*) (Dance, 2012: 1732).

Nonetheless, some borrowings at this period point to 'superstratal influence' (cf. Lutz, 2017: 329), such as *scynn* (< ON *skinn*, cp. PDE *skin*), which in its earliest attestation in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to skin (of an animal) as luxury goods, and *tacan* (< ON *taka*, cp. PDE *take*), with its meaning initially restricted to 'seize, take (prisoner), capture' (Lutz, 2017: 324-329). It is also thus already at this period that the occurrences of Norse-derived terms with counterparts in Old English are attested, including such core elements as *hytan* 'meet' (OI *hitta*), or *band* 'bond' (OI *band*) (Dance, 2012: 1732). Therefore, the Scandinavian linguistic material was to some extent already diffused and in spoken usage long before the end of the 11th century, when the Old Norse borrowings start to appear in the written records[57] (Dance, 2012: 1733).

2.2.1.2 Middle English Period

As opposed to the elements borrowed into Old English, the Scandinavian lexical material associated with Middle English period concerns mainly adoptions, as it maintains its markedly Scandinavian form, 'reflecting bilingualism and code-switching', and therefore the agentivity of Old Norse speakers. The heavy influx of Old Norse lexical items in this period is attributed to the substratum influence. In this particular case, Townend uses the term 'imposition through language shift' (Townend, 2002: 201), referring to the language death of Old Norse in England by the late 12th century (Townend, 2006: 84). Belonging to the spoken domain of language use (Townend, 2006: 66), the Old Norse loans integrated into the written sphere of use only gradually, as their relatively late attestation in texts shows: even though even the early Middle English texts (from c1200) 'clearly' show ON influence (Skaffari, 2002: 518), the highest number of loans is recorded by the late 14th century[58] (Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño, 1995: 142).

The suddenly emerging borrowings are predominantly attested in East Midlands and North dialects, both with regard to quantity and type of the transferred ON material; even most of the 'function words' are initially confined to those dialects. The most evident manifestation of 'Norsification' is centred in the 'core area', or the 'great Scandinavian belt' (Dance, 2018: 56), with features so markedly

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[57] Wright (1923: 79) ascribes the late attestation of ON borrowings to the fact that 'literature in 'late OE was mainly written in the West Saxon dialect', which is among the 'least of all' influenced dialects by the Scandinavian. The relatively 'sparse' ON influence on a Danelaw area text such as *Peterborough Chronicle* thus points to the continuation of the 'Anglo-Saxon written tradition' (Kniesza, 1994: 240).

[58] In Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño's corpus-based study relying on the data provided by the *MED*, the highest number of occurrences of ON loans is recorded between the years 1381-1400 (1444 loan occurrences) and then again between 1421-1440 (684 occs.) and 1441-1460 (658 occs.) (Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño, 1995: 141-142).

Norse as 'at'-introduced infinitives[59] (Dance, 2012: 1733). The diffusion of the Old Norse features and elements outside of this area is thus most probably the result of their 'spread from the areas of early primary Scandinavian settlement' (Dance, 2012: 1734).[60] Their survival through the period of Middle English was aided by the cultural (and mainly sociolinguistic) changes introduced after the Conquest; as French replaced Old English in its established high functions as a literary and legal language, it removed the West-Saxon 'standard'. The written domain of Middle English was thus dominated by regional dialects through which the ON borrowings later diffused[61] (Lutz, 2017: 337-338).

2.3 Processes and Factors of Language Change

The outcome of the contact-induced changes depends on the specific parameters of the involved languages (Bybee, 2015: 254), but both lexical and structural borrowings may be subject to further language-internal processes of change once integrated into the recipient language. These are generally triggered by the 'cognitive mechanisms operating during communication', as 'the operations of internal language change all rest on language use' (Bybee, 2015: 238).

The 'automation of production' is 'the major source of sound change', for the 'articulatory production', as 'a neuromotor process', is subject to 'reduction and retiming'. Due to the 'tendency to directly associate meaning with form', the modifications introduced through sound change are assigned particular functions, based on the 'pragmatic context' of their occurrence. Frequency is one of the major factors governing the outcome of language change; 'minor patterns' are replaced by the 'major' ones, regardless of the domain. Less familiar phonotactic patterns tend to be replaced by more entrenched sequences just as morphological or syntactic patterns are, with whole morphological paradigms being subject to syncretism based on analogy with more generalized patterns, or older syntactic constructions being ousted from use by more productive newer ones. Highly frequent constructions or elements are also more resistant to change due to their 'strong mental representation'.

Moreover, often repeating 'strings of elements' form 'chunks in cognitive representation' and are thus 'accessed together', acquiring meaning as a whole based on the context of use. 'Chunking' and 'semantic generalization', or loss of specific aspects of meaning, underlie the process of 'grammaticalization' whereby elements or constructions move from denoting lexical meaning to marking grammatical functions. The directionality of change is also broadly determined by 'inference',

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[59] Dance refers to Samuels, M. L. (1985) 'The Great Scandinavian Belt'. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 41*. 269-281.

[60] In Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño's study (1995) the largest bulk of ON borrowings is recorded in the so-called 'Common core' ('including forms showing no especial dialectal feature'), and then in the Southeast Midland (1,027 occs.) and North (809 occs.) dialects. The dialects of the South have the lowest number of recorded borrowings. However, these are based on R. E. Lewis's dialect categorization of the ME texts without any further temporal comparison, providing thus no information about the gradual dissemination of the loans through time and space (cf. Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño, 1995: 143-145).

[61] Referring to Dance (2003: 327-330) and Skaffari (2009: 151-152), Lutz states that 'this ON influence in the former Danelaw and the South-West Midlands occurred no longer by way of Norse-English language contact but by way of dialect borrowing' (Lutz, 2017: 338).

as repeated inferences may 'become part of the meaning of words, phrases and constructions' and thus result in a semantic change (Bybee, 2015: 238-239). Language change triggered and governed by these processes is 'implemented gradually' and is 'characterized by stages of variation between innovative and conservative forms' (Bybee, 2015: 239).

These series of processes are complex and interrelated, often working jointly or against each other. Sound change, as a 'change in the pronunciation of a segment within a word conditioned by the phonetic environment' may for instance be motivated either by the 'need for perceptual clarity', resulting in dissimilation of sounds, or by 'ease of articulation', mostly contributing to reductions and assimilations (Bybee, 2015: 15; Brinton and Arnovick, 2011: 58-59). These changes may introduce irregularities into the system. Subsequently, when associations between the formal aspects and the meaning signalled are created, these changes become 'morphologized' (Bybee, 2015: 76). Analogical change, based on the generalizations of the most frequent patterns, may then spread the changes thus introduced or level them (Bybee, 2015: 115). Grammaticalization which is responsible for creation of new 'grammatical morphemes' from lexical ones relies on changes in inference as well as chunking similarly to the syntactic change, consisting of alterations in, or creations of, syntactic constructions (Bybee, 2015: 161).

Changes in the lexicon, be it acquisition of new items, or 'lexicalization', shifts in their meaning or their loss, are also intertwined with the processes outlined above, for their results also rest on the 'combination' of both internal and external causes (Campbell, 1999: 269-270). Not unlike the aforementioned mechanisms, lexical changes are especially affected by frequency, for less recurring words are also replaced by the more frequently used ones, and 'nonce forms' produced become 'institutionalized' only if they spread through the speech community (Brinton and Traugott, 2005: 32).

2.3.1 Lexical Change

The studies of meaning changes are based on two interlinked approaches: 'semasiology' and 'onomasiology'. For semasiology, the formal representation of the given meaning is the point of departure with enquiries made into the changes of meaning represented by this form. Onomasiology, on the other hand, starts with the given meaning, investigating changes in the forms expressing it (Bybee, 2015: 196). Both of these take two aspects of meaning into consideration: (i) 'intention', the definition of a word, or 'a statement of the defining features of the category the word designates', and (ii) 'extension', also called 'reference', which covers the 'range of entities or concepts which are members of the category designated by the word' (Bybee, 2015: 196).

The individual categories represented by the words have 'a prototype structure', which is in turn defined by four 'characteristics': (i) prototype categories 'exhibit degrees of typicality'; (ii) features defining the category are not shared by all members of the category; (iii) categories are 'blurry at the edges'; and (iv) attributes defining the prototypicality of the members are 'reinforced', as they occur with many members (Bybee, 2015: 196-197). The 'network' view of the semantic categories, entailing

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a core meaning with extended peripheral senses, treats semantic changes as shifts in the position of the particular senses, with the 'less central senses becoming more central', or 'the more central senses becoming peripheral even to the point of their loss': that is, semantic shifts are gradual as well, and consist of a stage of polysemy[62] (Campbell, 1999: 268; Tuggy, 1993: 282-285).

Lexical semantic changes involve shifts both in denotational and connotational, 'associative' meaning. One of the mechanisms of change in the definitional aspect of meaning is the 'hyperbole' which entails the use of a word with 'more exaggerated meaning than expected in the context'. Such use eventually 'bleaches the stronger meaning of the word', as with PDE *grab* developing from 'grasp or seize suddenly and eagerly' to simply 'get'. The opposite of hyperbole is 'litotes', or understatement, as in the case of use of *inhale* 'breathe in' to denote 'eat something fast' (Campbell, 1999: 265-266). Both 'metaphor' and 'metonymy' often create polysemy; metaphor involves the transfer of a 'relational structure from one domain to another', for instance *face* as in *the face of a clock*, originally from the domain of human body parts (Bybee, 2015: 198-199; Campbell, 1999: 258); while metonymy uses 'one concept for an associated one', as in L *penna* 'feather' coming to 'indicate a writing instrument due to the use of quills for writing' (Bybee, 2015: 199; Campbell, 1999: 259). In addition to these Bybee also mentions 'conventionalization of inferences' as a mechanism of denotational meaning change, stressing the process in which inferences 'become part of the meaning of a word or construction', exemplified by the shift of PDE *since* from denoting temporal relations to causal (Bybee, 2015: 199-200).

Changes in connotational meaning comprise 'pejoration', also called 'degeneration', denoting the acquisition of more negative connotations or 'increasingly negative value judgement', as illustrated by the shift from F *amateur* 'one who loves' or 'one who pursues a topic out of love for it' to, in contrast to a professional, 'someone not competent with respect to the topic' (Campbell, 1999: 261-263). Conversely, in the process of 'amelioration', or 'elevation', words acquire 'increasingly positive value judgement', as illustrated by the shift of L *caballus* 'nag, workhorse' to Spanish 'horse' (Bybee, 2015: 201-202; Campbell, 1999: 263). These often operate jointly with other processes, namely 'generalization',[63] which refers to the process in which 'the number of the members of the category denoted increases', and 'narrowing' denoting the loss of such members, as the definition 'narrows'[64] *Narrowing*, 'specialization, restriction' (Bybee, 2015: 202-203; Campbell, 1999: 256-257). Both of these mechanism can be illustrated by the broadening of ME *dogge*, in the 14th century referring to 'a sheepdog or hunting dog' to encompass all breeds, and specialization of PDE *hound*, originally meaning simply 'domesticated canine', to denote only 'hunting dogs tracking prey by scent' (Bybee, 2015: 203).

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[62] Based on the diachronic changes in meaning, polysemy is seen by Tuggy as an 'in-between' category with regard to sense ambiguity and vagueness, resulting inevitably in a continuum ambiguity-polysemy-vagueness (Tuggy, 1993: 282-285).

[63] The process denoted by generalization is also often called 'extension', 'broadening', or 'widening' (Bybee, 2015: 202-203; Campbell, 1999: 256-257).

[64] Narrowing is also called 'specialization' or 'restriction' (Bybee, 2015: 202-203; Campbell, 1999: 256-257).

The changes in connotation may be motivated by the need to avoid obscenity, taboos or the so-called 'embarrassing homonymy' (Campbell, 1999: 263-264).

Another type of semantic change concerns derived words 'losing their compositional meaning and moving from the base word from which they were formed': PDE *disease*, originally from 'dis-' and *ease*, is no longer 'compositional', as its meaning cannot be predicted from the morphemes of which it consists, neither is it analysable (Bybee, 2015: 205). The major factor in this type of change is also their frequency, for it causes the elements to be processed as a 'chunk', with the meaning thus being increasingly assigned to the whole unit, which is evident in the phonetic reduction of such high-frequency items as opposed to the full pronunciation of the less prominent ones, as in the case of PDE *preface* and PDE *predestine*. The impact of frequency on the individual derived forms is relative to the frequency of the bases from which they were derived, as those words which are more repeated than their bases are less compositional than those which are less frequent than their base.[65] Moreover, the higher number of occurrences of the words entails their use in a variety of different contexts, which further reinforces their meaning as whole, and thereby gradually renders them non-compositional (Bybee, 2015: 205-206).

Some general tendencies in inferencing have been observed, such as metaphorical changes mostly including shifts from concrete to abstract. Traugott (1989) has identified three such general tendencies, also marked by 'increasing subjectification' as they all stem from the speaker's perspectives and attitudes. The first tendency covers changes 'from the external described situation to the internal (evaluative, perceptual, cognitive)', as with OE *fēlan* 'to touch' developing into PDE *feel* 'experience mentally or emotionally'. The second tendency denotes changes 'from external or internal described situation to textual and metalinguistic situation', which is represented, for instance, in the Germanic languages by the use of verb 'have' to signal perfect, as it is based on the metaphor of 'completion is possession' (Rosenfelder, 2013: 95). According to the third tendency, 'meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective attitude toward the proposition',[66] as exemplified by the change of PDE *while* from temporal meaning to indicate the concessive (Bybee, 2015: 203-204).

Both meaning shifts in the lexicon as well as creation of new words, relying both on 'internal resources', most frequently on 'compounding', 'derivation' and 'conversion', (Bybee, 2015: 188; Brinton and Traugott, 2005: 33; Campbell, 1999: 275-276) or on rare 'root creations' (Campbell, 1999: 273), may contribute to the gradual obsolescence of related lexical items, as speakers seek to express their meanings and intentions by alternate and more precise means (Bybee, 2015: 207).

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[65] Bybee here refers to Hay, J. (2001) 'Lexical frequency in morphology: Is everything relative?'. *Linguistics, 39*. 1041-1070.

[66] Bybee lists these tendencies from Traugott, E. C. (1989: 35) 'On the Rise of Epistemic Meanings in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change'. *Language, Vol. 65, No. 1*. 31-55.

2.3.2 Lexical Obsolescence: Possible Factors

The primary external cause of disuse and therefore obsolescence of words is the historical and cultural change; due to the loss of the concepts themselves there is no need to maintain words denoting them (Campbell, 1999: 279). From the language-internal perspective, words or entire constructions become obsolete when they are replaced by another word or construction with the same meaning. These could be integrated into the lexicon both as a result of language contact or through the inner language change processes. Words, phrases or even whole constructions subjected to such a decrease in frequency due to the existence of a close counterpart ousting them from use do not necessarily disappear. Retreating words may semantically 'differentiate', resulting in a 'peaceful co-existence' of doublets (Fisher, 2003: 104),[67] or they may become confined to specific restricted contexts of use, and be thus preserved either in a fixed or perhaps no longer transparent meaning (Bybee, 2015: 207). The influence of a borrowed cognate may also 'revive' an infrequent word, as in the case of OE *deagan* (> ME *dīen*), which managed to outlast its rival OE *deadian* (> ME *dēden*) due to the influence of ON *deyja* (Ogura, 1996: 117). Therefore, the core notion underlying this process is the concept of 'competition'.

Individual words are considered to be in competition, if there is an overlap between their semantic domains sufficient enough that they might appear in the same context; one word is thus 'encroaching on the semantic territory of another' (Bybee, 2015: 202). The word formerly used in such contexts, if the competing word becomes more frequent, may be eventually pushed out of use, thereby becoming obsolete (Bybee, 2015: 207). The stability of particular lexical items or constructions therefore rests on their frequency, for the more recurring words and constructions are more strongly represented in the speaker's memory, and so more easily accessible (Bybee, 2015: 95). Less specific or more polysemous items may from this perspective thus have a higher change of survival, for they are more frequent and more widely distributed in usage (Bybee, 2015: 239). Indicative of the given word's degree of polysemy are its collocational patterns, as they reflect its actual usage, focusing on the elements closely associated with it, accompanying it in various contexts, thereby shaping its meaning (Firth, 1962: 12). If the collocate of a word with highly restricted collocational pattern becomes obsolete, so may its accompanying element, due to its close association. Similarly, words whose derivational paradigms have become eroded, for instance due to reductive sound changes, or due to the loss of productivity of the related derivational processes, may fall out of use due to their resulting lower frequency of use (Bybee, 2015: 98).

Some items come to be replaced and subsequently lost due to inconvenient homonymy, resulting in ambiguity or discomfort, as in the case of the so-called 'embarrassing homonymy' (Bauer, Lieber, Plag, 2015: 576; Campbell, 1999: 263-265). The avoidance of 'embarrassing homonymy' could be illustrated by the replacement of *ass* by *donkey* due to its inconvenient, inappropriate associations, or by

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[67] The semantically 'differentiated doublets' in English include such pairs, as English-Scandinavian *hide* and *skin*, English-French *calf* and *veal*, or English-Latin *learned* and *erudite* (Fisher, 2003: 104).

the obsolescence of the word *quean* 'low woman' in East Midlands and Southeast English dialects due to the sound change in Middle English causing its merger with *queen*. In the 'south-western area', where the vowels remained distinct, both words were retained (Campbell, 1999: 293). Therefore, greater transparency may also be the cause of an increased frequency (Bauer, Lieber, Plag, 2015: 580), as proposed by the theory of naturalness.

According to this theory, 'natural' features are the 'unmarked' ones, essentially the most frequent ones and most widely distributed in the individual languages, often serving as the basis of change (Bybee, 2015: 101-102; Bauer, 2003: 255). A natural feature is thus 'widespread, relatively resistant to language change and itself frequently arises through language change, especially analogical'. It is also 'acquired early and relatively unaffected by language disorders or errors'. Moreover, a natural feature is also 'maintained in pidginization and introduced early in creolization' (Bauer, 2003: 255). Crucial for the theory of naturalness is the principle of 'constructional iconicity', or 'diagrammaticity', with regard to which the 'icon' resemblance between the structure and the object represented relies on 'amount'. It is considered natural to represent 'extra amount of meaning' by 'an extra amount of form' (Bauer, 2003: 255), resulting in a 'scale with the most iconic meaning being most natural and the least iconic being unnatural'. The notion of diagrammaticity is closely connected with 'transparency', which denotes the 'extent to which there is a clear relationship between meaning and form'. If this relationship is 'obscured', the given construction or word is considered 'opaque'. The interference between form and meaning ranges from merely 'allophonic', resulting in still transparent forms, to 'suppletion', which creates opacity (Bauer, 2003: 256). Suppletion seems doubly unnatural, as it is not only opaque, but in its origin also requires for 'a form to leave its home paradigm and join another one, replacing a form that was already there', furthermore inevitably involving some meaning change (Bybee, 2015: 111).

Phenomena of naturalness can be divided into 'system-dependent' and 'system-independent',[68] as the parameters of naturalness differ by language and sometimes appear to be in conflict (Bauer, 2003: 258). In such cases, the language specific naturalness criteria 'take precedence' over the general ones (Bauer, 2003: 257-260). For instance, agglutinating languages prefer transparency, with one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, but this may result in exceedingly long, and thus unnatural, forms, while fusional languages lack such straightforward meaning-form correspondence, but maintain to a higher degree the 'optimal size' of their bases and affixes[69] (Bauer, 2003: 257). Moreover, the individual processes of naturalness occasionally clash as well; phenomena natural in 'phonological terms' may result in opacity, which is not considered natural.

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[68] The word 'system' here refers to the 'system' of one particular language; the 'system-dependent' parameters of naturalness are thus derived from the specific patterns 'peculiar to that language'. 'System-independent' naturalness refers to factors 'expected to apply equally in all languages' (Bauer, 2003: 258). These parameters could thus be described as 'language-specific' and 'universal' respectively (cf. 'universal tendencies' in Bybee (2015) as tendencies 'present in many if not all languages' and 'language-specific' properties as properties of the given language).
[69] The optimal size of an affix according to the theory of naturalness is that of one syllable, while the most natural, in terms of size, base consists of one to two syllables (Bauer, 2003: 257).

The outcome of the aforementioned processes partaking in possible lexical obsolescence is determined by the complex interplay of these with the external influences, as the higher frequency of elements is often correlate to their diffusion within the lexicon. The established native OE *ǣ* (cp. ME *ē*) was eventually replaced by its ON competitor *lagu* (cp. OI *lǫg* < *lagu*) despite its initial restricted reference to the legal system of the incoming Scandinavians[70] (Dance, 2011: 152). During the period of their competition, the choice between the two words was governed by the 'details of textual transmission and the process of copying itself' as well as by possible stylistic preferences, such as the adherence to traditional collocational patterns or need for variation in a sequence (Dance, 2011: 173).

Similarly, Wulfstan's favouring of Norse derived terms could have been the result of his origin, of his conscious decision based on his intended audience,[71] or it could have been a product of his creativity (words introduced for apparently stylistic reasons, cf. Pons-Sanz, 2007: 5) or of the influence of his sources[72] (cf. Pons-Sanz, 2007). Not unlike Wulfstan, Orm's preference for ON borrowings in certain contexts may also have been influenced 'by the wording of his sources', or by the established collocations (Pons-Sanz, 2015a: 586). His 'lexical choices' were also affected by metre, alliteration, rhyme and the need to employ a word with specific connotations or shades of meaning (ibid.), as in the case of ME *eie* (< OE *ege*, cp. EME *age, aȝhe* < OI *agi*), which seems to be used for its link between the semantic fields of 'anger' and 'fear', while the Old Norse derived *brathe* 'ire, wrath, violence' (cp. ON *bráðr* 'hasty, sudden') is almost exclusively used in reference to the 'sin of wrath' (Pons-Sanz, 2015a: 576).

Therefore, a word may lose in its battle for survival against its competitor despite its high frequency due to its strict localisation, or restriction to particular registers, styles or text types, as it is with OE *dryhten* and its rival *hlāford*, examined by Timofeeva (2018a) in her study of Old English religious terminology. The eventually obsolete *dryhten* was confined solely to poetical usage or religious texts, leaving the secular sphere of meaning already in Old English, while *hlāford* denoted both 'feudal lord' and 'the Lord' without 'any genre or register restriction' (Timofeeva, 2018a: 231).

The obsolescence of Old English 'vice- and virtue-terminology' examined by Timofeeva (2018b), was also governed purely by the sociolinguistic setting, such as changing patterns of education, increased exposure to French and spread of religious instruction. As Timofeeva summarizes, 'everyone was expected to confess their sins' – explaining the survival of the Old English vice-related lexis – but the 'virtues […] did not require "productive competence" and remained confined to the higher registers'

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[70] Indeed, as suggested by Miglio (2010: 181), the ON legal terms could have been borrowed into OE not due to the prestige of the invaders' language, but as a consequence of a pragmatic need to distinguish between the legal system of the Scandinavians and their own.

[71] Pons-Sanz (2007: 1) refers to the comparison of the use of *eorl* in the poem *Battle of Maldon* to Wulfstan's, serving as a base for establishing his East Anglian origin (cf. Clark, 1983; but cf. Pons-Sanz, 2004: 176-179), and to Bethurum (1957: 54), who interprets Wulfstan's selection of Norse derived vocabulary as determined by the target 'Anglo-Scandinavian audience'.

[72] Pons-Sanz divides Wulfstan's Norse-derived terms into two main groups: 1) 'terms selected because of "constrained usage"' (= terms appearing in Wulfstan's sources), and 2) freely incorporated Norse-derived terms (cf. Pons-Sanz, 2007: 5-8).

– resulting in the diffusion of the incoming and 'institutionally supported' Romance virtue terms, ultimately forming a chain of 'top-down' influence from high clergy to low who in turn imposed the terminology onto the laity[73] (Timofeeva, 2018b: 78-79).

Therefore, in spite of the central role in survival of lexis played by frequency alone, it is its combination with the social implications influencing the distribution of the given words or constructions that determines the result of the competition between them (Timofeeva, 2018a: 243-244; Milroys, 1985: 380).

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[73] The 'new preachers' were 'multilingual innovators' who also played a pivotal role in the diffusion of the new lexis due to their mobility and 'weak ties between the various levels of the medieval society' (Timofeeva, 2018a: 244).
Social networks as central to the spread of change are described by the Milroys (cf. Milroy and Milroy, 1985), with individuals having weak ties with the groups within a speech community spreading the change; in instable social situations, or in cases of increased mobility, where the weak links within a community are proportionally high, the changes tend to be 'rapid' (Milroy and Milroy, 1985: 380).

3. Material and Method: Dictionaries, Corpora, Thesauri and Linguistic Atlases

The aim of this thesis is twofold: (i) to examine the competitive relationship between six word-pairs, each consisting of an ON borrowing and its Old English counterpart (which are in turn compared to their Middle English reflexes), and (ii) to pinpoint possible reasons for their obsolescence or survival. The individual words are described in terms of: (a) their formal aspects, and their entrenchment within the system of the language; (b) their syntactic properties; (c) their meaning and the semantic fields to which they pertain; and (d) their sociolinguistic properties.

As this thesis focuses rather on the relationship between the native lexis and the lexical material transferred from Old Norse to Middle English as a result of ON language death (these are therefore, in Townend's terms, 'impositions', for they keep their distinctly Scandinavian formal features), the terms 'borrowings' or 'loanwords' are used by default in reference to the ON words discussed for the sake of simplicity. This thesis therefore does not further classify the analysed ON material based on the type of agentivity involved in its transfer or on the formal distinctions of the individual elements. Whenever the need to specify arises, on the most basic level, this thesis differentiates between lexical (transfer of lexis) and structural borrowing (comprising transfer of patterns, be it phonological, syntactic or semantic), using terms preferred by Townend for any further distinctions ('borrowings' as opposed to 'impositions', 'semantic loans' and 'loan-translations').

The competitive relationship between the borrowing and its native counterpart is described with regard to the aforementioned properties contributing individually, or jointly, to the obsolescence or survival of the individual words. These properties of the analysed words are therefore perceived either as inhibiting the word's spread within the speech community, lowering its frequency, and thus weakening its position with regard to its rival word, or as possibly contributing to its diffusion, increasing its frequency of use, and thereby potentially ensuring its survival. Words with weaker positions, irrespective of their origin, such as those restricted to specific genres, or those which are functionally limited, or do not participate actively in word-formation processes (which would have increased their frequency of use), are expected to yield to their stronger opponents and become obsolete. Whereas the more polysemous words may semantically differentiate in the wake of their competition, and thus become obsolete only in those senses in which they used to overlap with another lexical item, the words marked by specialized usage lack this option and have to either develop new senses (based on their associations, contextual or social, or based on the analogy with another conceptually similar word), or they may gradually fall out of use, as another synonymous expression replaces them.

3.1 Material

As mentioned, this thesis is in essence a case-study of six word-pairs. These are based on the data provided by my BA thesis, which focused on the semantic classification of Old Norse borrowings within *The Old English Thesaurus* (*TOE*). These Old Norse borrowings were excerpted from the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) using 'oi' (Old Icelandic) and 'on' (Old Norse) etymons, and then sorted

into categories based on their etymological notes; only those borrowings with corresponding forms solely in Scandinavian languages, including Norn and Faroese, were selected for the subsequent classification (Müllerová, 2018: 36). These were then semantically categorized within the *TOE* based on their definitions.[74] The synonymous OE words occupying those categories were also excerpted and paired with the individual ON borrowings, establishing potentially competing pairs of words which could be examined in this thesis.

To avoid including native lexical units which might have become obsolete solely due to their low frequency, only those OE words with frequency of occurrence higher than 10 in the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) were selected for this research. Similarly, forms restricted to glosses were disregarded, as these very much depend on the Latin forms which they were formed to gloss.

Lexemes paired in this way were further searched within the *Historical Thesaurus of English*[75] (*HTE*) and *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), which provide information pertaining to the 'length of attestation', date of obsolescence and possible dialectal restrictions of the individual words. Based on these data, six word-pairs examined in this thesis were established, representing six different relationships between the native and the borrowed lexis: (1) the ON borrowing survived (ME *odde*, cp. OI *odda-* '(of number) odd' < *oddi* 'triangle, point of land, odd number', PDE *odd*), while the native word became obsolete (OE *ānlȳpig* 'single, each, isolated, unique', cp. ME *ōnlēpī* 'single, different, unmarried'); (2) the ON borrowing became obsolete (ME *sīsel* 'occupied, busy', cp. OI *sȳsl* 'active, busy, assiduous', n. *sȳsla* 'work, business'), but the native word is still in use (OE *bysig*, cp. ME *bisī*, PDE *busy*); (3) both the borrowing (ME *mēk* 'gentle, humble, gracious', cp. OI *mjūkr* 'soft, pliant, gentle', PDE *meek*) and the native counterpart (OE *blīþe* 'joyful, happy, mild, gracious', cp. ME *blithe* 'joyful, gracious, fair', PDE *blithe*) survived; (4) both the ON borrowing (ME *nait* 'useful, resolute', cp. OI *neytr* 'good, fit for use') and the native counterpart (OE *behēfe* 'necessary, needful, useful', cp. ME *bihēve* 'fitting, needed, beneficial') have become obsolete; (5) the ON borrowing survived (ME *rad(e* 'afraid, frightened, fearful', cp. OI *hræddr* 'frightened, afraid', PDE *rad*) but is dialectally restricted, even though the native counterpart became obsolete (OE *forht* 'afraid, timid, terrifying', cp. ME *forhtigen* < OE *forhtian*); (6) the ON borrowing is dialectally restricted (ME *baisk* 'harsh, bitter, sour', cp. OI *beiskr* 'bitter, acrid', PDE *bask*), and the OE word is in current use (OE *biter* 'bitter, sharp, severe', cp. ME *bitter* 'bitter, harsh, cruel, terrible', PDE *bitter*).

The differences in the relationships between the native words and the imposed/ borrowed lexical items are important for the identification of the key factors contributing to the survival or obsolescence of words, since the differing outcomes of their competition may prove various properties and factors crucial and operating at different times or under different circumstances. As the OE words had been

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[74] More on the process of sorting of the ON borrowings and their subsequent categorization within the *TOE* can be found in: Müllerová, S. (2018) *Semantic classification of Old Norse lexical borrowings in English*. Bachelor Thesis. Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Department of the English Language and ELT Methodology.

[75] Those ON borrowings which were not listed within the *HTE* were also excluded; this thesis thus focuses mainly on those word-pairs which shared at least one semantic category in the *HTE*.

developing throughout the period, the occurrences of their Middle English reflexes were added, as these could reveal changes in usage as well as possible developed restrictions to certain text types or registers, thus further helping to pinpoint the possible decisive aspects of the competitive relationship.

In the case of OE *forht* 'afraid, timid', no direct ME reflexes could be found in the *MED*, and therefore only related and derived forms were included, such as the ME verb *forhtigen* 'to be afraid' (< OE v. *forhtian*), and the negated adjective *unforht* (cp. OE *unforht* 'unafraid').

3.2 Sources

The individual occurrences of the analysed words are taken from the *DOE* and the *MED*, and are additionally obtained from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*), for the OE words, and from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English: version 2* (*PPCME2*), for the ON borrowings and the ME reflexes of the OE words.

Concerning the analysis of the semantic fields to which the individual words belong, the *HTE* is used, as its semantic categories contain synonyms of the given words, along with their dates of attestation, and thus reveal other potential rivals of the incoming borrowings. These other competitors are examined as regards their origin and potential dialectal or text type restrictions using the *OED*.

Information pertaining to the possible geographic localization of the analysed lexis is provided by both the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*), for the lexis attested in the early ME texts written in the period from a1150 to 1325 (Laing and Lass, 2008: 1.2), and the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*LALME*), for those borrowings attested only later in the period from 1350 to 1450 (McIntosh et al., 2013: 1.1.1).

3.3 Method: Analysis of Possible Factors

As mentioned, the analysis of the relationship between the ON and native competitors in question involves the analysis of: (i) form; (ii) syntactic properties; (iii) semantic features of the individual words and of their related semantic fields; (iv) sociolinguistic properties; as all of these might have determined the fate of each of the analysed words.

Regarding the *formal aspects*, each of the words is examined with regard to its participation in word-formation processes, and thus its degree of entrenchment within the system. This information is provided by the *OED*, as it lists words derived from the examined source. If the word in question itself is a product of affixation, compounding or some other word-formation process, the individual elements contributing to its form are also analysed as regards the productivity of the responsible processes and their meaning.

The inquiry into the *syntactic properties* of the individual words relies on their attested occurrences, as taken from the dictionaries and the corpora. It rests on the functional comparison of the rivals: whether the analysed adjectives are attributive, 'premodifying the head of a noun phrase', or predicative, functioning either as a subject complement or object complement (Quirk et al., 1985: 417).

As the examined adjectives are analysed from their functional perspective as modifiers, this analysis thus excludes pairs of adjectives, as it focuses on the relationship between the adjectives and their modified nouns. In addition, identification of the reasons for the pairing of adjectives is problematic, for these may be exemplifying, with a native element accompanying a borrowed one possibly considered unfamiliar, or dependent on the Latin original, whenever these occur in a translation or a glossing text. Centred on modified noun phrases, this inquiry therefore also includes an analysis of the contexts of occurrence of the individual words. Although this analysis of co-occurring words is only superficial and non-bidirectional,[76] differences in the distributional patterns of the examined adjectives may still be noted, especially when the individual meanings of the words are taken into account. Each of the specific meanings of the adjectives in their individual contexts of occurrence may be linked to its particular semantic field, text type or genre, and thereby reveal the collocational preferences of the adjectives with regard to their use under different circumstances.

The analysis of the frequently co-occurring words of the analysed borrowings and their native counterparts is strongly linked with the inquiry into the *semantic properties* of their relationship, as the collocates depend on the specific meanings in which the words are used. For this reason, this inquiry also includes a basic overview of the animacy of the frequently accompanying nouns. Comparison of the individual subtleties of meaning with regard to the individual occurrences is not unproblematic, since this analysis comprises a variety of texts, and the words' meanings may be affected by the given text types or some genre-specific factors (cf. Dance, 2011). However, albeit limited, comparisons of contexts of occurrence may still help to pinpoint the degree of overlap between the borrowed and native lexis.

The degree of polysemy of the individual words and their semantic overlap in connection to the semantic fields to which they pertain is determined by the number of the associated separate categories within the *HTE*, and compared to the number of separate senses listed within the *DOE* and the *MED*. Most of the analysed word-pairs share one of their semantic fields within the *Historical Thesaurus*, but since the ON borrowings were paired with the OE counterparts on the basis of their dictionary definitions narrowed to one or several senses perceived as central (Müllerová, 2018: 38-39), some pairs did not directly share a semantic domain in the *HTE*, as in the case of ME *rad(e* and OE *forht*. These words share the domain *Fearful*, but the OE *forht* is classified in the subdomains *Frightening*, *Timid* and *Expressing fear*. The domain *Fearful* shares some of its elements with these subdomains, such as the OE derived adjectives *forhtlic*, *forhtiendlic*, and OE *forhtiende* (prp. of the v. *forhtian*), but whether this domain is indeed a point of semantic overlap between the two words is determined only through the analysis of their separate semantic fields, individual occurrences and co-occurring elements.

Synonyms of the individual competing words within the given *HTE* categories are examined from the point of view of their origin, participation in word-formation and possible register or genre restrictions, as stated in the *OED*. Since the purpose of this thesis is to describe the competition between

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[76] The co-occurring words themselves are not searched in corpora for their own preferred collocations, which would verify their collocability with the ON borrowings.

the native lexis and the selected ON borrowings, only those elements are taken into account which have an attested period of occurrence contemporaneous with the analysed words, and might therefore be considered as possibly influential in their development. Such a joint analysis of both the individual occurrences of the analysed words and of their semantic domains has proven to be very revealing (cf. Pons-Sanz, 2011; 2015a), especially of possible subtleties of meaning, and is thus very useful in determining the degree of semantic and functional overlap of the two competitors.

Since genre or text-type restrictions seem to be potentially just as fatal as strict semantic restrictions (cf. Timofeeva 2018a; 2018b), this thesis also examines some of the *external factors* affecting the distribution of the given words. In her study of religious terms, Timofeeva probes further into the sociolinguistic aspects of the speech communities, and, working with the established social networks, finds that the innovative preachers serving as 'weak ties' (as defined by the Milroys, 1985) introduced these terms to the laity, and thus were 'instrumental' in their spread and subsequently in their survival beyond Old and Middle English (Timofeeva, 2018a: 244). To establish such social network is beyond the scope of this thesis, as it examines also the structural aspects of the given words, and it therefore focuses solely on the elementary analysis of possible textual or geographical restrictions.

Based on the bibliographic notes accompanying the individual occurrences of the Old Norse borrowings and their native counterparts, as provided by the dictionaries and the corpora, the texts in which the competing words are attested have been divided into four most basic categories: (a) *prose*, (b) *poetry*, (c) *plays* and (d) *glossaries/ dictionaries*, as each of these text types has its own characteristics.[77] The genre division similarly stems from the individual texts as suggested by the bibliographic notes to the individual occurrences excerpted from the dictionaries and corpora, and thus differs for the Old English and Middle English periods; the individual genres distinguished in this thesis are also tied closely with the given four text types. This text type and genre division therefore does not aim to categorize the Old English and Middle English literature, as it focuses only on the analysed occurrences and serves only as a basis for their comparison.

The genre categorization of the individual texts is based on the information regarding those particular pieces of writing as provided by the anthologies of both Old English and Middle English literature (cf. Fulk, 2014; Fulk, 2012), the individual editions of the cited texts as referenced in the *MED*, and other relevant literature dealing with these texts (e.g. cf. Clayton, 2019; Magennis, 2010; Turville-Petre, 1977). The Old English prose subsumes: *religious* writing (such as homilies), *hagiography* (mostly Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, cf. Clayton, 2019), *historiography* and the rather residual category *other*, which comprises so disparate genres as treatises or letter writing. Old English poetry includes not only *religious* writing (such as psalms) and *hagiographic* works, but also *wisdom poetry*, *riddles* and *heroic poetry*, which overlaps to some extent with hagiography, as some poems relating the lives of

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[77] Those individual occurrences which were taken from texts of a 'mixed' writing style, such as Rolle's Psalters with Commentaries, the individual citations are tracked within the given text and their prosaic/ poetic status is determined with regard to their particular context.

saints very much employ heroic devices, such as *Andreas* or *St Judith* (Magennis, 2010: 91).[78] Middle English prose covers a similar extent of genres (*religious* writing, *hagiography*, *historiography*, *treatises* and *letters*) with the additional genre of ME *romances*. Similarly, Middle English poetry subsumes also *religious* works, *legends* of saints' lives, *romances*, *historical* works and other pieces of poetry, such as *dream vision poems*.

Information pertaining to the geographic origin of the individual texts and thus the possible geographic localization of the words attested in them is provided by the two atlases, the *LAEME* and the *LALME*. The proper form of tags for words attested in EME texts were searched in the *LAEME* in the 'Form Dictionary'. While the 'County Lists' search enumerates the counties in which the given form is attested, the 'Corpus Files' search allows to track the given items across both time and space, at it provides the dates of the word's attestation as well as the geographic origin of the text in which it occurs. In addition, 'Corpus Files' search uses regular expressions and therefore makes it possible to exclude unrelated forms. The maps illustrating the geographic diffusion of given words are generated in the *LAEME* by means of the tool 'Creation of Feature Maps' using the proper form of the given 'lexel', as provided by the 'Form Dictionary', and the 'grammel' *aj**, which subsumes all adjectival forms with the exception of substantivized adjectives. The analysed words attested in LME texts, on the other hand, are localized using the *LALME*, using individual 'LP' numbers as provided by the *MED* in its notes to the individual bibliographic entries.

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[78] Overlaps are to some extent unavoidable. The division of the individual occurrences into these genre categories therefore focuses strictly on the topical differences: even though St Judith may utilize the motifs associated with the OE heroic poetry, it is centred on the depiction of the saint's life, and it is thus categorised as pertaining to the genre of hagiography.

4. Analysis: The Competitive Relationship between the Borrowed and Native Lexis

The word-pairs analysed in this thesis, as mentioned, represent six different relationships between the incoming borrowed (or imposed) lexis and their native counterparts. Each pair was selected in such a way that it represents different circumstances and results of the competition: (1) the borrowed lexical item survives in PDE, while its native opponent is obsolete (ME *odde* – OE *ānlȳpig*, cp. ME *ōnlēpī*); (2) the borrowed word failed to diffuse, opposed by a strongly established native term (ME *sīsel* – OE *bysig*, cp. ME *bisī*); (3) both the ON imposition and its native counterpart are retained in PDE, each with their own differentiated senses (ME *mēk* – OE *blīþe*, cp. ME *blīthe*); (4) neither the borrowed lexical unit nor its native competitor survive in PDE (ME *nait* – OE *behēfe*, cp. ME *bihēve*); (5) the ON imposition survives in dialectal usage, even though its rival of the OE origin faded out of use very early (ME *rad(e* – OE *forht*); (6) the ON borrowing is dialectally restricted, but its native competitor is still current in the PDE standard (ME *baisk* – OE *biter*, cp. ME *bitter*).

All of the properties (semantic, syntactic and formal) are taken as applying to the whole period of the word's attestation. Words with derived forms are therefore taken as participating in word-formation processes regardless of the period of creation of those derived forms (although their first dates of attestation are noted). The only exception is the geographic localization, which is based on the localization of the ME texts, as these indicate, in the case of the currently obsolete words, their level of geographic diffusion as cotemporaneous with their last dates of occurrence. The Old English localization is not discussed in this thesis.

4.1 The Relationship between *odde* and *ānlȳpig*

The ON borrowing *odde* has 62 listed occurrences in the *MED* with 4 separate meanings, each with their own subcategories, including the substantivized use of the adjective.[79] It survives in PDE with a broader scope of meaning, having acquired new senses in the following periods, as the adjective *odd* in 7 of its 9 adjectival meanings listed in the *OED*.[80] Its occurrence in *The Southern Passion* (c1330) is among its earliest attestations, all of which point to its basic reference to numbers, denoting either 'odd number' ('not even', mathematical property of numbers) or 'remaining after division into pairs'. Its developed extended senses, such as 'remarkable, or of note', are attested later, after the year 1400 (*OED*). Its OE competitor *ānlȳpig* has c150 occurrences in the *DOE*, which distinguishes 8 different senses of the word,[81] while its ME reflex *ōnlēpī* has only 52 listed occurrences in the *MED* in 5 related

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[79] *Middle English Dictionary*. (Ed.) R. E. Lewis, et al. A. Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001. Online edition in *Middle English Compendium*. (Ed.) F. McSparran, et al. A. Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2000-2018. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/> last accessed 6 July 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[80] "odd, adj., n.1, and adv." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/130399> last accessed 23 June 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[81] *The Dictionary of Old English: A to I.* (2018) University of Toronto. Available online at <https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> last accessed 6 July 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

senses, subsumed under one. Among its last attestations are the ones in Rolle's works (c1500) and in the Wycliffite tract *An Apology for Lollard doctrines* (c1475) (*OED*, *MED*).

4.1.1 Formal Implications

The borrowed ME adjective *odde* (cp. OSwe *odda*, *udda* 'odd') in its earliest senses ('one remaining over after division into pairs; one in addition to a pair') reflects the 'OI combining form *odda-*, appearing in such compounds as *odda-tala* "odd number" or *odda-maðr* "odd man = third man, who gives a casting vote". The combining form itself is derived from the OI *oddi* 'triangle, point or tongue of land', based on the metaphor extended from triangle to 'the third and unpaired member of a group of three to any single member of a group' (*OED*).

The borrowed adjective is deeply entrenched, having participated in numerous word-formation processes. Its converted noun *odd* 'odd number or odd-numbered thing' is homonymous with another noun *odd* 'a small point of land', which is confined to northern and Scottish dialects and itself probably reflects a Scandinavian source.[82] Its converted verb *(to) odd* 'to make odd or irregular' is restricted to Lancashire.[83] Its other related verb *odds* 'to alter, esp. for better' (< conversion of *odds* n. < *odd* adj.), itself also regionally restricted to midland, southern and Scottish dialects,[84] seems to partly preserve the now obsolete positive meaning of the adjective 'singular in worth' (*OED*). Its converted adverbial *odd* became obsolete, having been replaced by a transparently derived adverbial form *oddly* (*OED*).

Apart from the forms created by means of conversion, the adjective *odd* also heavily participated in affixation, with such derived forms as *oddness, oddity, oddment*, and compounding, appearing in parasynthetic compounds, such as *odd-numbered* or *odd-looking*, in the formation of which it is prefixed to a noun forming a phrase used attributively, as in *odd-number series* (*OED*). Many of the mentioned derived forms are attested early – within the same century as the borrowing itself or soon afterwards: the borrowed adjective *odd* is attested as early as a1325, while its homonymous noun and adverb *odd* are recorded by the end of the 14th century, as does the derived form *oddness*.

Its native competitor, the OE adjective *ānlȳpig*, itself parasynthetic, consists of three elements: (i) adj./ n./ pron. *one* (OE *ān*), (ii) n. *leap*[85] (OE *hlȳp*), and (iii) the derivational suffix -*y* (OE -*ig*)[86] (cp. OI *einhleypr* 'single, unmarried').[87] The OE adjective and pronoun *ān* is mainly employed in one of the five following meanings: (1) it is used in contrast to a higher number; (2) it indicates 'sameness' or

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[82] "odd, n.2." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/257815> last accessed 23 June 2020.

[83] "odd, v." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/130400> last accessed 23 June 2020.

[84] "odds, v." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/130414> last accessed 23 June 2020.

[85] "leap, n.1." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/106698> last accessed 22 June 2020.

[86] "-y, suffix1." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/231078> last accessed 22 June 2020.

[87] "onlepy, adj., n., and adv." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/131449> last accessed 22 June 2020. All future references will be included in the text.

'union'; (3) it is used as an 'individualizing numeral' signifying one out of a group, this sense serves as a basis for the development of the indefinite article (*DOE*); (4) it signifies isolation or exclusiveness, with the meaning 'alone' and 'only'; or (5) it is employed as an 'intensifying numeral', especially with pronouns denoting 'every, any'[88] (*DOE*).

The OE noun *hlȳp* with 17 occurrences in the *DOE*, is listed with 2 separate senses: (i) denoting the act of leaping, jump, occurring mainly in poetry or used in glosses to L *saltus* 'leap, jump'; and (ii) in reference to 'specific computistical' contexts, as with *monan hlȳp* 'lit. leap of the moon (*saltus lunae* = referring to the omission of a day in the reckoning of the lunar month), as attested in Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*, or Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* (*DOE*). The noun itself is derived from the OE verb *hlēapan* through root vowel change. Despite its lower number of attestations in the *DOE*, the noun seems to be deeply entrenched, occurring frequently in compounds, as in *hlȳp-geat* 'leap-gate' (appearing mainly in charters, later becoming obsolete with the last occurrence in a1640 in the *OED*), and is still in current use as PDE *leap*.[89] Similar in form is the OE *ælclīpig* (with only 1 occurrence in the *DOE*) 'every single one', as in *ælclipig manna* 'every single person', which also consists of the noun *leap*, and the derivational affix *-y*. Its differing component is the OE *ælc* 'each, every' reflected in the PDE *each*, itself a product of a merger of 3 different words *ælc*, *gehwilc* 'each, every, all', and *æghwilc* 'each, every' (*OED*). The PDE *ilk* in east midland, northern and Scottish dialects is a reflex of the OE variant *ylc* (*OED*).

The OE derivational suffix *-ig* (> ME *–ī* > PDE *-y*) forms both denominal adjectives with the meaning 'having or possessing, full of, characterized by, or having to do with the noun', or deadjectival adjectives with the meaning 'close to the unsuffixed base' (*DOE*). Some OE adjectives had parallel forms derived by means of the suffix *-iht* with a similar sense of 'having or possessing, full of' as in *īsig* and *īsiht* 'icy', whose loss of productivity contributed to the higher frequency and applicability of the *-ig* derivation (*OED*). The *-ig* suffix was especially productive in the second half of the 14th century,[90] while in 15th century it was attached to certain monosyllabic adjectives 'to give them a more adjectival appearance', as with the adj. *hugy* (< *huge*) (*OED*). The suffix was also responsible for the i-umlaut variation in the form of its derivatives (cp. OE *þurstig* x *þyrstig* 'thirsty'), as it itself was a product of a merger of two distinct suffixes: The PrOE suffix *-īg* (< PG *-īga-*), and the PrOE *-æg* (< PG *-aga-*) (*DOE*, *OED*).

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[88] As in an example given by Kleist (his translation): *ðurh þeondum ingehide. & godum willan: anum gehwylcum is hæl gehendre* 'through increasing knowledge and good will, salvation is nearer to everyone' (Kleist, 2008: 198).

[89] The *MED* lists the reflex *lēp* with 37 occurrences and with a similar meaning scope, denoting not only 'the act, or place, of jumping', but also 'escape, departure' and an 'assault in battle' (*MED*).

[90] To verify the increased productivity of the given word-formation process is beyond the scope of this paper, but despite the large disproportion in the size of the *DOEC* (4 million words) and *PPCME2* (1,2 million words) corpora, the very rough search conducted (including subcorpora dividing the ME corpus material into pre-14th century and later) could confirm the relative rise in the productivity of the process (with the *DOEC* seemingly having c9000 occurrences of *-ig* derived words and *PPCME2* in total about 1,150 occs).

The OE adjective *ānlȳpig* has a doublet formed with an -*e* suffix in Old English, the adjective *ānlāpe*[91] (> ME *ānlēpe*, *ānlīpe*), whose reflexes survive in northern English dialects also until the 14th century (*OED*). Even though the frequency of the adjective seems, based solely on the number of the attested occurrences, to be steadily decreasing throughout the period of its development from Old English, some derived forms can be found, such as the OE *ānlīpnes*, the ME adv. *onlepily*, or the ME n. *onlepihead* 'singleness, uniqueness' (with -*head* being a variant of -*hood*) (*OED*). Throughout the period of its attestation, the adjective is also recorded, especially in Middle English, in its reduced forms, cp. OE *ǣnlīpig* (> *ælpi* or *ælpig*) (*DOE*) and ME *onelepi* (> *olepi*, *olpy*) (*OED*).

4.1.2 Syntactic Implications

As can be seen in the *Table 2: Syntactic Properties of odde, ānlȳpig and ōnlēpī* below,[92] the borrowed adjective *odd* is used both predicatively and attributively, although its usage as an attribute seems to prevail, while the OE *ānlȳpig* is predominantly used attributively, either preceding the modified noun or following it. Its ME reflex *ōnlēpī* functions only as an attribute. Some occurrences of *ōnlēpī* analysed as attributive are of special nature, which is discussed below.

Table 2: Syntactic Properties of *odde*, *ānlȳpig* and *ōnlēpī*

	odde	*ānlȳpig*	*ōnlēpī*
Attributive	42	40	51*
Predicative	17	2	0
Overall number of occurrences	59	42	51

The rare predicative use of the OE adjective is represented by the current copula with the verb 'be' (1), or by the current copula with the verb *wunian* '(to) dwell' (2):

(1) *syndorlice ł ǣnlipig eam ic*[93]
  'lit. apart or alone I am'
(2) *ða wuniað twam and þrim ætgædere and hwilon ǣnlipige*
'lit. they live two and three together and sometimes [one lives] alone'

Six of the attributive uses of the ME *ōnlēpī* are markedly different, as these represent single word or single phrase insertions in mixed Latin texts containing other English and French loanwords, as can be illustrated by the example in (3) (the other loanwords in bold):

 (3) *Summa precariarum in **autumpno** duodecies viginti et octo cum prepositis preter **coterellos**, **vndersetles** et anilepimans que innumerabiles sunt quia quandoque accrescunt quandoque decrescunt.*

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[91] 'ān-lēp(e, adj.' (2001-2018) *Middle English Dictionary online*. In: McSparran, F., et al. (eds) *Middle English Compendium.* Available online at: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED1678.5/track?counter=1&search_id=3990866> last accessed 6 July 2020.

[92] The overall number in the tables pertaining either to the syntactic analysis of the adjectives or to the animacy of their referents may be lower than the actual number of the analysed occurrences, due to the exclusion of glosses.

[93] Unless otherwise stated, the translations to examples provided in this thesis are based mostly on dictionaries (namely the *DOE*, the *MED*, the *Bosworth-Toller Dictionary* and Clark-Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*). The aim is to keep the translation as close to the original quotation as possible, so as not to obscure the relationship between the individual elements. Whenever the more literal translation seems to be less transparent or readable, a more idiomatic translation follows.

'sum of pleas in the autumn twelve times twenty and eight with the superiors before the cotters, subtenants and unmarried men, who are innumerable, because whenever [their number] increases, it decreases'

The premodified noun, here *man* (in other cases also *wyman*), is in these cases always fused with its modifier, perceived as a single unit, seemingly forming a compound, and used as a term. It is also integrated into the sentence structure because, it is inflected for case as a whole. In English texts, the two elements are written separately, as in (4):

(4) *Ane is fornication, a fleshly syn Betwix ane aynlepi man, and ane aynlepi woman*.
'lit. one is fornication, a fleshly sin between one unmarried man and one unmarried woman'

The adjective is also written apart from its noun in the citation from the English-Latin wordbook *Catholicon Anglicum*, even though the phrase is used to translate Latin single-word expressions (5):

(5) *A Anlepy man: Solutus, Agamus. A Anlepy woman: inuestis, soluta.*

4.1.3 Semantic Implications

4.1.3.1 The Semantic Field of *odde*

The Old Norse borrowing *odde* is listed in 30 separate categories in the *HTE*, appearing as an adjective, and as its converted verb, noun and an adverb: 14 of these categories are adjectival, with only 8 falling also into the use span of the competing native adjective (given in rough chronological order of the first attestation): The category of overlap with the native *ānlīpig* is attested first,

(1) *Pertaining to number > Alone*;[94] followed by

(2) *Pertaining to number > Pertaining to mathematical number/quantity > describing particular qualities > odd*;[95]

(3) *Pertaining to/concerned with quantity > Excessive/beyond normal amount/degree > excessive/superfluous > surplus of lower denomination*;[96] and

(4) *Of/belonging to/characterized by relationship > Unequal*.[97] The borrowing *odde* is then attested in two semantic categories by the beginning of the 15th century:

(5) *Having/showing esteem > Noteworthy/remarkable*;[98] and

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[94] 01.16.04.01.01.01 (adj.) Alone (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=107167> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[95] 01.16.04.04|08.06 (adj.) Pertaining to mathematical number/quantity :: describing particular qualities :: odd (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=108002> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[96] 01.16.06.04.02|06.05 (adj.) Excessive/beyond normal amount/degree :: excessive/superfluous :: surplus of lower denomination (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=111198> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[97] 01.16.01.11.01 (adj.) Unequal (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=105287> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[98] 02.02.09.05.02 (adj.) Noteworthy/remarkable (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=126424> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

(6) *Pertaining to number > Pertaining to mathematical number/quantity > even > describing particular qualities > that is one unit in excess of;*[99] and in other two by the year a1450:

(7) *Pertaining to shape > Mis-shapen > irregular in shape;*[100]

(8) *Of/belonging to a kind/sort > Excluding/exclusive > not belonging to a category, etc.*[101]

The borrowed adjective also appears to be the sole member in three of the given categories (categories (3), (6) and (8)).[102]

The borrowed adjective is attested for the first time (c1330) in the semantic category occupied by the native *ānlȳpig* (1). The only competitors of the native term in the OE period seem to be the OE *ǣnlīc/ānlīc* (OE) and *ān > one* (OE-1551). The dominant term, attested before the ON borrowing, seems to be the native formation *alone* (< *all + one*). Attested with this meaning in c1300-, it is still current in PDE along with some later borrowings from Latin, transferred through French, such as *sole* (c1400-) (< OF *soul, sol* < L *sōlum* acc. sg of *sōlus* 'alone'), or *single* (a1400-) (< OF *single, sengle* < L *singulum* 'individual, one, separate'). Other lexical items appearing by the end of the 14th century, but lasting only for a limited period in this field, are also French derived: *uncompanied* (a1547-1814) (= var. *unaccompanied, un-* + v. *accompany* < AF *acumpainer* 'to go with, to join'), *uncompanioned* (1809–1863) (*un-* + n. *companion* < AF *compaingnun* 'a person who often spends time with another, peer, equal' + *-ed*).

The second attested category pertains to *the mathematical quality of numbers* (2), with *odd* in this meaning occurring around 1375; it contains 4 members (excluding the ON borrowing), which all appear later than *odde*. Only one of them is still in current use, and that is the native term *uneven* (< OE *unefan*), attested in this sense only in the second half of the 16th century (1577-).

Within the semantic field of '*unequalness'* (4), the borrowed adjective *odde* (1390-1596 in this meaning) overlapped with 3 native terms: *uneven* (OE-1669), *unmeet* (a1300-c1760), and *unlike* (c1375-1645). The category is then filled with Latin borrowings, such as *inequal* (c1386-1831) (< L *inaequālis*) or *inequivalent* (1568-) (< *in-* + LL *aequivalent-em*, prp. of *aequivalēre*). The only current expressions are the earlier Latin-based *unequal* (1565-) (< *un-* + *equal* < L *aequālis*) and the later learned *disparate* (1764–) (< L *disparātus* 'separated, divided', but in senses 'different, unlike' associated with the L *dispar* 'unequal, unlike') (*OED*).

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[99] 01.16.04.04|08.07.01 (adj.) Pertaining to mathematical number/quantity :: describing particular qualities :: even :: that is one unit in excess of (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=108004> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[100] 01.12.03.02|07 (adj.) Mis-shapen :: irregular in shape. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=91894> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[101] 01.16.02.02.05|04 (adj.) Excluding/exclusive :: not belonging to a category, etc. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=106055> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[102] All of the following discussions of other potential competitors with regard to the related semantic fields of the analysed words rely mainly on two sources: the individual words, along with the dates of their attestation, are always taken from the cited categories of the *HTE*, while the information pertaining to their origin and source forms is always taken from the *OED*.

One of the earliest extended meanings of *odde* is captured by the semantic category of *irregularity in shape* (7), which contains only two surviving words in PDE: one of them is *ragged* (a1400-), attested slightly earlier than *odde* (1450/1470) in this sense, representing another potential borrowing from Old Norse,[103] and the other is a later borrowing from medieval Latin, mediated through French: *irregular* (1584-) (< OF *irreguler* < medL *irrēgulāris*).

4.1.3.2 The Semantic Field of *ānlȳpig and ōnlēpī*

The OE *ānlȳpig* (along with its ME reflex *ōnlēpī*) is listed only in 4 semantic fields in the *HTE*, all of which are adjectival. The three categories beside the one of the word's overlap with the ON borrowing are:

(1) *Of/belonging to a kind/sort > Special/limited in application*;[104]

(2) *Of/belonging to a kind/sort > Concerned with the individual > individual/single*;[105] and

(3) *Of/pertaining to office > public > holding office > not*.[106]

None of these categories is extensive with regard to the number of its members. The category pertaining to the *limited application* (1) consists of only 4 other members apart from *ānlīpig*, two of which are both serious competitors attested before the OE adjective falls out of use, possibly ousting it out of use, since both of these are still current in PDE. One of them has been acquired from French and the other is of mixed origin: *particular* (c1386) (< AF *particuler* 'limited to a part, not universal') and *special* (c1300-) (< AF *speciall*, *speciel*, var. of AF *especial* 'particular; also in legal use as 'person specified'; and < L *speciālis*).

Most of the members of the semantic category *individual/ single* (2) appear at the beginning of the 14th century: the ON borrowing *sere* (a1300-1565) (< ON *sér*, dat. of the refl. pron. 'for oneself'), its later derived form *serelepy* (a1400/50) (*sere + lepy* < n. *leap + -y*) and 3 other words, borrowed from Latin through French, such as *single* (1432/50-), *several* (1448-) (< AF *several* < medL *sēparālis* < L *sēpar* 'separate, distinct'), and *singular* (c1340-1719) (< OF *singuler* < L *singulāris*).

The *private* semantic field (3) comprises only *ānlīpig* and the Latin loan *private* (1432/50-) (< L *prīvātus* 'restricted for the use of a part. person, not holding public office'), which appears in this sense around the time of the last recorded occurrences of the native adjective *ānlīpig*.

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[103] This word is either derived from Scandinavian (cp. OI *raggaðr* 'shaggy, tufted') or from an unattested OE element *ragg* (*OED*).

[104] 01.16.02.02.02 (adj.) Special/limited in application (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=105833> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[105] 01.16.02.02|06 (adj.) Concerned with the individual :: individual/single (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=105678> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

[106] 03.04.07|03.02.01 (adj.) Of/pertaining to office :: holding office :: public :: not (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=161806> Last accessed 7 July 2020.

4.1.3.3 Referents of *odde, ānlȳpig* and *ōnlēpī*

As can be seen in the *Table 3: Animacy of Referents: odde, ānlīpig, ōnlēpī* below, all of the adjectives modify both animate and inanimate nouns:

Table 3: Animacy of Referents: *odde*, *ānlīpig*, *ōnlēpī*

	odde	*ānlīpig*[107]	*ōnlēpī*
Animate reference	11	14	28
Inanimate reference	48	28	23
Overall number of occurrences	59	41	50

The OE *ānlīpig* and its ME reflex modify both animate and inanimate nouns with similar frequency, but the antecedents of the ON borrowing *odde* are primarily inanimate, for it is in these context strongly associated with *numbers* and *money* (*nombre, money, schillyng*).[108] Although the OE *ānlīpig* appears also in the monetary context, its use is singulative, emphasising the meaning 'each, every single one', while *odde* denotes 'extra, left over after division, or not even', cp. the example in (6) and (7):

> (6) *ða underfengon hi ænlipige penegas* 'then they receive each of the pennies'
> (7) *Me is owand iiii pounde And odde twa schilling* 'I am owed five pounds and extra two shillings'

The ME reflex *ōnlēpī* also seems to be part of an established expression *onlepi sune* with the sense 'only, unique and different from others' in religious contexts, especially in reference to Christ (9 of the 13 examples with this meaning represent this phrase) (examples (10) and (11)). In this meaning it also appears with saints in hagiographic works attesting this word (*St Katherine of Alexandria* and *St Margaret of Antioch*) (cp. examples (8) and (9)):

> (8) *Min ahne flesliche feader dude & draf me awei, his an-lepi dohter*
> 'lit. Mine own flesh-and-blood father did and drove me away, his only daughter.'
> 'My own father, my flesh and blood, drove me away, his only daughter.'
> (9) *In þis ilke burh wes wuniende a meiden..anes kinges Cost hehte anlepi dohter.*
> 'lit. in this same town was living a maiden, the only daughter of a king named Cost.'
> (10) *Ich bileue on þe helende crist, his onlepi sune*
> 'lit. I believe in you holy Christ, his only son.'
> (11) *Ich bileue on god, feder al-mihti, schuppare of heouene and of eorðe, and on iesu crist, his onlepi sune, ure loured*
> 'lit. I believe in God, Father almighty, creator of heaven and of earth, and in Jesus Christ, his only son, our Lord.'

Even though the two adjectives share a semantic domain in the *HTE* (*Pertaining to number > Alone*), their occurrences mostly do not seem to attest this overlap; if so, it is only peripheral, with *odde* mostly denoting 'not even, remaining after division in pairs', especially with numbers, money, years, months, and days (13-14), or 'outstanding, brave, majestic, strong' in the context of romances, mostly in reference to men or a manner of speech (15-16):

> (13) *If it so be þat þer bihoueþ mo sticchis þan two, þanne euermore þer schal be odde sticchis*

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[107] Referents in the predicative use of the adjective are both animate and of personal reference (*I* and *they*, cf. examples (1), (2) in 4.1.2).

[108] The use of *odde* in monetary environment is mainly attested in letters (Pastons, Shillingford), while its use with numbers is very often cited from works on arithmetic or from John Trevisa's encyclopaedic translation *On the Properties of Things*.

'lit. if it so be that there behoves more stitches than two, then evermore there shall be (an) odd (number of) stitches'
'If it is befitting to have more stitches than two, then there always shall be an odd number of stitches.'
(14) *Sex hundreth yeris & od haue I..liffyd.*
'lit. six hundred years and odd have I lived'
(15) *So od men in armys & egur to fight*
'lit. so odd men in arms and eager to fight'
(16) *Bad me Michel wiþ word od Worschipen þe*
'lit. bade me Michael with word odd to worship you'

The native adjective *ānlȳpig* predominantly signifies 'alone, single, or isolated' (examples 1-2 for OE, and in ME specialized in use, 3-5), a meaning with which *odde* appears to be attested only sporadically in the *OED*, with implied dialectal usage (17), quoted from the legend of St. Blaise appearing in W. M. Metcalfe's edition of the legends on the saints 'in the Scottish dialect of the fourteenth century':

(17) *Say nocht of godis, bot of god, fore þat word afferis ay be ode.*
'lit. say nothing of gods, but of god, for that word is always properly alone'

4.1.4 External Factors

4.1.4.1 Text Types

The Old English adjective *ānlȳpig* is with regard to the analysed occurrences predominantly attested in the prosaic style of writing: out of the overall number of 46 analysed occurrences, prose is represented by 45 of them, with only one occurrence attesting its use in a poetic (as well as religious) discourse. This verse usage attestation pertains to Biblical verse (*The Stowe Canticles*) and is related to the meaning 'each', glossing *singulos dies* (18):

(18) *þurh ænlipie dagas we bletsiað þe* (*per singulos dies benedicimus te*)
'through each single day/ from day to day we bless thee'

The Middle English adjective *ōnlēpī*, although still prevalently attested in prosaic writing, also appears in ME poetical writing. As can be seen in the chart *Fig 2: Text Type Division: ME ōnlēpī*, the reflex of the native adjective also occurs in a play and in a Latin-English wordbook. Out of the 51 occurrences, 34 pertain to prose, 15 to poetry, 1 to plays and another 1 to wordbooks.

Fig. 2: Text Type Division: ME *ōnlēpī*
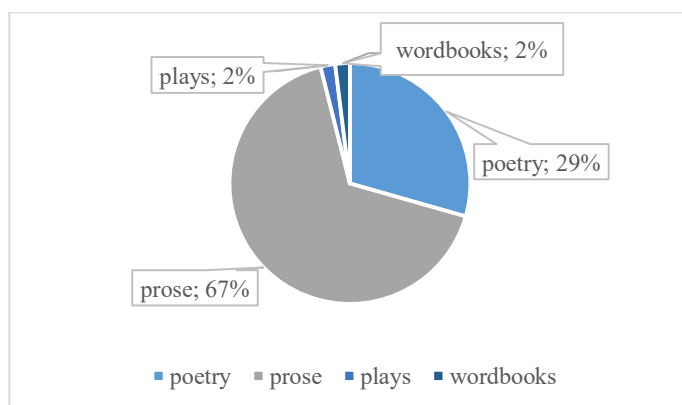
The ON borrowing *odde* represent almost equally both prose and poetry: out of 62 overall occurrences, 27 are cited from prose, and 30 from poetry. As the chart *Fig. 3: Text Type Division: ME odde* shows, it is also peripherally attested in a play (1 occurrence), and in wordbooks and dictionaries (3 occurrences), as represented by the *Catholicon Anglicum*, an English-Latin wordbook, and *Promptorium Parvulorum*, a bilingual dictionary.

Fig. 3: Text Type Division: ME *odde*
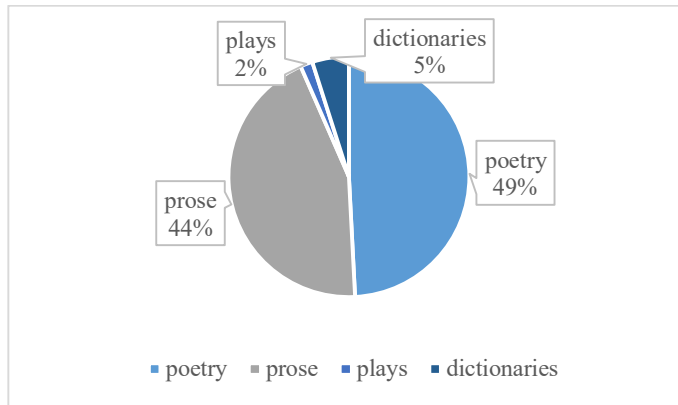
4.1.4.2 Genres

With regard to prose, the OE *ānlīpig* represents predominantly religious prosaic writing (with 31 occurrences out of 45), as its attestations predominantly consist of citations from Ælfric's homilies, Benedictine instruction, and gospels (Luke). OE religious prose moreover includes *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis and Epistola ad Ehfridum*. As the chart *Fig. 4: OE prose genres: OE ānlȳpig* illustrates, the other occurrences pertain to hagiography (2 occs), with such legends as that of Mary of Egypt, and historiography (3 occs), covering the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The OE *ānlīpig* also occurs in legal texts (3 occs in Anglo-Saxon charters), while the category *other* comprises 6 quotations from such disparate works as Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, Bald's *Leechbook*, and *Grammar* of Ælfric.

Fig. 4: **OE Prose Genres:** *ānlȳpig*
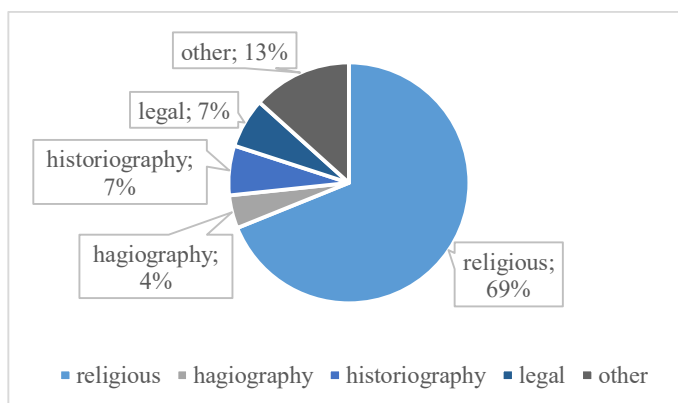
With regard to prosaic writing, the ME reflex of the native adjective also primarily represents religious writing (25 occs out of 34), comprising homilies, moralising writing, such as *Dialogues on Vices and Virtues* or the moralising *Ayenbite of Inwit* (cf. Stevenson, 1855: vii), and texts of religious

instruction, such as *Ancrene Riwle* (cf. Fulk, 2012: 172). As the chart *Fig. 5: ME Prose Genres: ōnlēpī* below shows, the other genres represented are hagiography (2 occs) and legal writing (7 occs), covering deeds, rent records and official pleas.

Fig. 5: ME Prose Genres: *ōnlēpī*
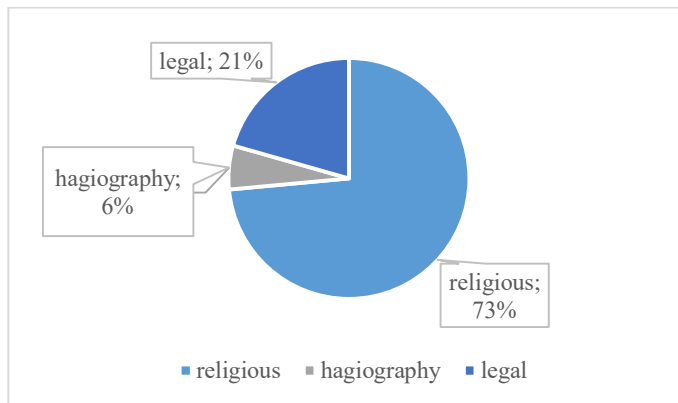
As the chart *Fig. 6: ME Poetry Genres: ōnlēpī* illustrates, with regard to the ME adjective *ōnlēpī*, poetical writing includes religious texts (6 occs out of 15), comprising quotations from the *Ormulum* and various religious lyrics,[109] hagiography (1 occ), historiography (5 occs) (Laȝamon's *Brut*), and romances (2 occs), quoting *Havelok* and *Guy of Warwick*. The category *other* (1 occs) comprises the humorous beast fable *Fox and the Wolf* (cf. Fulk, 2012: 216).

Fig. 6: ME Poetry Genres: *ōnlēpī*
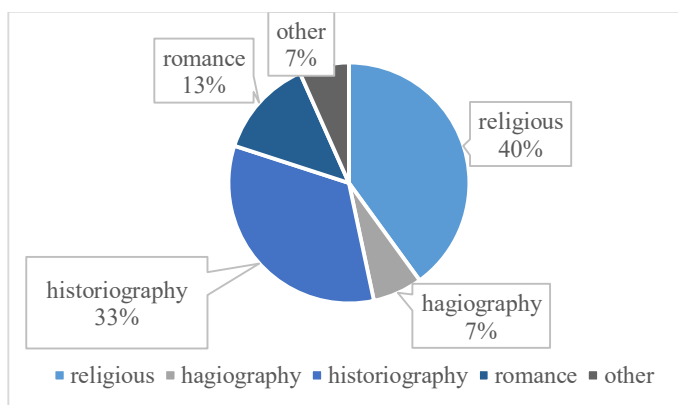
Unlike the two native adjectives discussed above, the borrowed adjective *odde* is attested mainly outside of the religious discourse; only 2 of its prose text occurrences pertain to religious writing. Apart from those, *odde* appears (1 occ) in a historiographic work (Higden's *Polychronicon*), and in letters (5 occs) (Paston or Shillingford letters, and 2 letter books). The main bulk comprises 19 various works subsumed under the category *other*: these include Trevisa's translation *On the Properties of Things*, *Secretum Secretorum*, medical treatises, works on the art of arithmetic, and others, such as the prose translation of Vegetius' treatise *De Re Militari* and the hunting treatise *Master of Game*.

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[109] As edited by Brown in Brown, C. (1965) *Religious Lyrics of the XIV Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Fig. 7: ME Poetry Genres: *odde*
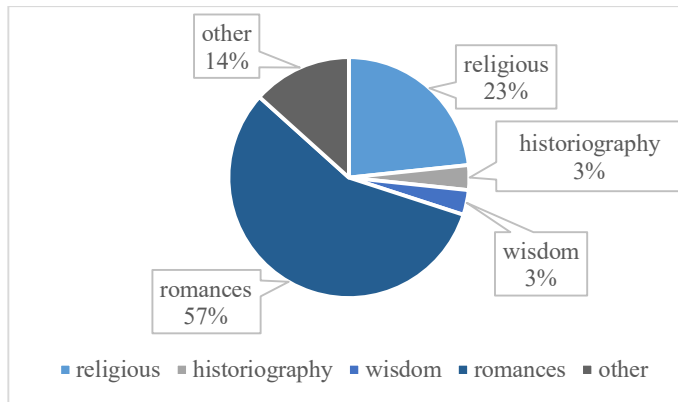
As can be seen in the chart *Fig. 7: ME Poetry Genres: odde* above, the writing in verse attesting the ON borrowing also predominantly represents works outside the religious sphere, comprising mainly alliterative romances (17 occs out of 30), such as *Wars of Alexander*, *Destruction of Troy* and *Sir Gowther* (cf. Bradbury, 2010: 293). Religious discourse nonetheless continues being covered (7 occs) with such works as the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, the homiletic poem *Cleanness*, or the autobiographic *Book of Margery Kempe* (cf. Windeatt, 2004). Other genres are historiography (1 occ), wisdom poetry (1 occ), including *The Court of Sapience*, while the residual category *other* (4 occs) comprises Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, allegorical *Castle of Love*, the satirical *Mum and the Sothsegger* (cf. Dean, 2000) and Claudian's *De Consulate Stilichonis*.

4.1.4.3 Localization

As the map in *Fig. 8: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of ōnlēpī and odde* shows, the EME reflex of the OE adjective *ānlȳpig* is widely attested (in red), with the linguistic profiles (LPs) of its LME texts (in yellow, if different from EME) referring to a number of different locations, such as Kent, Herefordshire, Ely, Soke of Peterborough, West Riding of Yorkshire, Shropshire and others. The LPs of the occurrences of *odde* (in blue) partially overlap with these (for instance Norfolk, Gloucestershire, Shropshire and the West Riding of York), but the ON borrowing is spread even further into the North, localized mostly in different geographical locations than the ME reflex of the native adjective.

Fig. 8: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of *ōnlēpī* and *odde*[110]
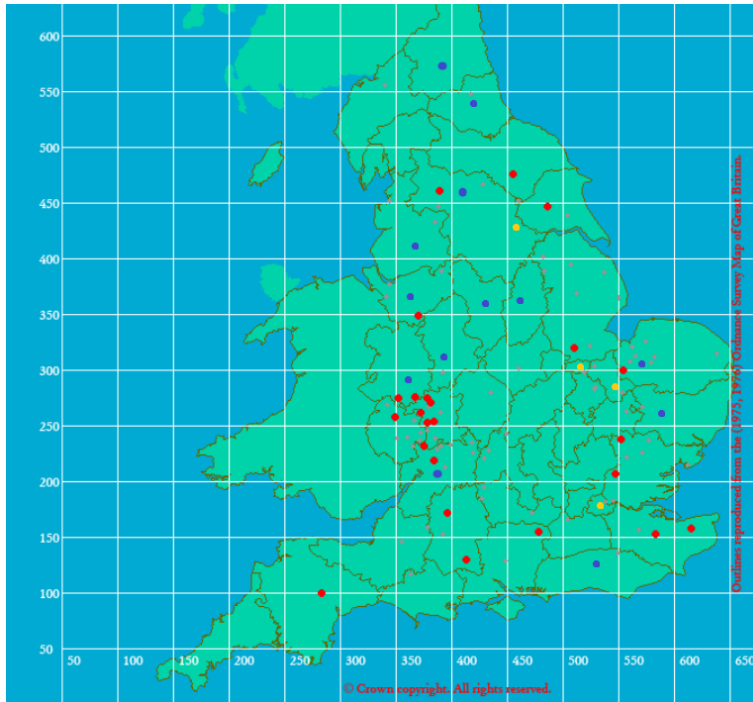
red for EME LPs of *ōnlēpī*, yellow for LME LPs of *ōnlēpī* and blue for LPs of *odde*

4.2 The Relationship between *sīsel* and *bysig*

The ON borrowing *sīsel* is obsolete with only 2 recorded occurrences in the *MED*, as well as in the *OED*, in the sense 'occupied, busy'. Both of these are tied with the *Northern Homily Cycle*, attested in two of its texts (*St John and the Boy* and the *Widow's Candle*) by the beginning of the 15th century (the texts were composed around the year 1300).[111] Its native counterpart OE *bysig* has 21 occurrences in the *DOE* with 2 senses ('occupied, busy' and 'anxious, concerned'), the number of which radically increases with its ME reflex *bisī*, listed in the *MED* with 115 occurrences and 5 distinct senses. In PDE, the adjective busy survives in 7 of its 9 recorded senses in the *OED*.[112]

4.2.1 Formal Implications

The borrowed adjective *sīsel* is related to the OI adj. *sýsl* 'active, busy', the OI n. *sýsl*, *sýsla* 'work, business', and OI v. *sýsla* 'to be busy', all derived from the PG base reflected in the OE cognate *sūsl* 'misery, torment, torture' (*OED*). Its frequency seems to have been very low, as no derived forms can be found in English.

The native OE adjective, on the other hand, is prolific in OE with numerous derived nouns, many of which are reflected in the period of Middle English, such as the OE *bysignes* 'concern, anxiety' (1 occ in the *DOE*) (> ME *bisinesse*), and other forms dependent on its related verb, the OE *bysgian* 'to engage, involve, occupy', with 12 occs in the *DOE* (> ME *bisien* > PDE v. *busy*). These include the derived OE n. *bysgu* (with 45 occs in the *DOE*) 'activity, occupation, toil, labour, anxiety' (> n. *busy*, with the last occurrence in the *OED* in c1450), and n. *bysgung* (with 13 occs in the *DOE*), whose meanings reflect the analysed adjective, as they denote senses of 'activity, occupation, concern, anxiety' (*DOE*). The participation of the native adjective in word formation increases (compounding and affixation), involving even its later senses. Words created in this way are often lexicalized with specific meanings, such as the adj. *busyful* 'elaborate' (from the sense 'involving much work'),[113] or the n. *busybody* 'an interfering, meddling person', itself having other derived forms, such as the n. *busybodyness* and *busybodyism*, or the adj. *busybodyish* (*OED*).

4.2.2 Syntactic Implications

The ON borrowed adjective *sīsel* is attested only in predicative use, as the example and the *Table 4: Syntactic Properties of sīsel, bysig and bisī* below show. In both cases, the adjective itself is also postmodified by a prepositional phrase including the preposition *in* and a specification of the action in which the antecedent engages (19-20):

> (19) *Sain Ion was sisel and bisi In ordaining of prestes*
> 'lit. Saint Iow was sisel and busy in ordaining of priests'
> (20) *Bot menskes hir..And er sysel in hir seruyse*
> 'but honours her and is busy in her service'

Similar postmodification is frequent with the OE adjective in its predicative use, with a variety of prepositions employed to introduce the phrase, especially *mid* 'with', *on* 'in', and *ymbe* 'about, round'. The OE *bysig* is attested also in the function of an attribute, despite the strong prevalence in its predicative use, with 14 out of its overall 19 occurrences representing the predicative function, predominantly with the verb 'be' copulas (examples 21-22). In the example (22), taken from the *Battle of Maldon*, alliteration may also have been at play with regard to the lexical choice:

> (21) *[Martha] nis na læng bisig to fostrigen hire sune swa swa cilde*
> 'lit. Martha isn't (emph.) longer concerned about fostering her son as a child'
> (22) *bogan wæron bysige, bord ord onfeng.*
> 'lit. bows were busy, shield received point (of sword)'

The mentioned type of postmodification is also frequent with the ME reflex *bisī* (24), but as the *Table 4* below shows, the ME adjective *bisī* is attested almost equally in both attributive and predicative use, functioning predicatively not only as a subject complement, but also as an object complement, as in (23):

> (23) *Whan he Alisaunder besy seeþ..He took a launce*

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[113] "busyful, adj." (2018) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/25304> last accessed 23 June 2020.

'lit. when he saw Alexander busy, he took a lance'
(24) *And beo* <u>*bisy in hire seruys*</u> 'lit. and be busy in her service'

Table 4: Syntactic Properties of *sīsel*, *bysig* and *bisī*[114]

	sīsel	*bysig*	*bisī*
Attributive	0	5	50
Predicative	2	14	62
Overall number of the occurrences	2	19	112

4.2.3 Semantic Implications

4.2.3.1 Semantic Fields of *sīsel* and *bysig*

The borrowed adjective *sīsel* is listed only in 1 semantic category in the *HTE*, which reflects its semantic overlap with the native adjective *bysig*: *Doing > Occupied/busy*.[115] The native adjective *bysig* seems to be the only member of this category after its only OE companion, the specialized pp. *onfangen* (< v. *onfōn* 'to take or to receive, to undergo a rite or a duty') becomes obsolete, with the first other rival being the ON borrowing itself in c1325. The other earliest contender is a borrowing of mixed origin, the word *importune* (c1450-1526) (< AF, MF *importun* 'troublesome, pressing' and L *importūnus* 'unfavourable, unsuitable'). Two native terms are attested only towards the end of the 16th century, and both are still current in PDE: *doing* (1576-), and the derived form *busied* from the v. *busy* (also 1576-). The latest additions to this category are transferred from French or Latin: *operative* (1824-) (< MF *opératif* 'effective, practical' or L *operāt*, pp. of *operārī*), *occupied* (pp. of v. occupy < AF, OF, MF *occuper* 'to take possession of, to employ'), and the non-assimilated word *affairé* (< F *affairé* 'busy, occupied, having much to do').

The native *bysig* itself is listed in the *HTE* in 22 separate categories, including verbs. Along with the category of its semantic overlap with *sīsel*, 12 of these categories are adjectival (given in rough chronological order of attestation):[116]

(1) *Suffering mental pain > Anxious*;[117]

(2) *Doing > Occupied/busy > fully/constantly*;[118]

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[114] The overall number of occurrences excludes quotations containing one-word glosses.

[115] '01.15.02.03 (adj.) Occupied/busy'. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English, version 4.21*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=78269> Last accessed 8 July 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[116] The *HTE* gives occasionally dates of the first attestation of a particular sense different than the *OED* or than that which is suggested by the *DOE*: in the case of *bysig*, the category (1) has the attestation date 1406-1483 in the *HTE*, with the only category thus attesting the OE use of *bysig* being the one of its overlap with *sīsel* (*Doing > Occupied/ busy*), but the examples taken from the *DOE* clearly attest also the meaning 'anxious' or 'concerned', as in: *Martha. þu eart carful and bysig ymbe fela ðing* 'Martha, you are concerned and anxious about many thing(s).' I therefore treat this sense as attested in the period of OE in my analysis.

[117] 02.04.11.06.01.01 (adj.) Anxious. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=129581> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[118] 01.15.02.03|03 (adj.) Occupied/busy :: fully/constantly. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=78272> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

(3) *Manner of action > Careful/taking care;*[119]

(4) *Of/pertaining to speech > Of the nature of a request/petition > pressing/urgent (of request);*[120]

(5) *Doing > Of/pertaining to intervention > officious;*[121]

(6) *Manner of action > Involving effort/exertion > laborious/toilsome > accomplished with much labour;*[122]

(7) *Manner of action > Careful/taking care > diligent/industrious;*[123]

(8) *Manner of action > Vigorous/energetic > of action: involving/requiring vigour > carried out/proceeding with vigour;*[124]

(9) *Doing > Occupied/busy > that indicates activity/business;*[125]

(10) *Manner of action > Vigorous/energetic > brisk/active > full of brisk activity (of times/places);*[126]

(11) *Doing > Occupied/busy > fully/constantly > of things.*[127]

The semantic field to which the other of the earliest senses of *bysig* pertains (1) mostly includes native terms with a layer of numerous obsolete OE words; these fell out of use possibly due to lower frequencies, such as *āhogod* 'concerned' (1 occ it two MSS in the *DOE*), and *geenged* 'vexed, troubled' (2 occs in the *DOE*, pp. of **(ge)engan*), or due to their restriction either to glosses, as with *fyrwitfull* 'solicitous', or to poetry, as with *ferhþcearig* 'troubled in spirit' or *hrēowcearig* 'sorrowful, troubled'. The oldest rival of the native adjective is its frequent companion *carful* (> PDE *careful*), later becoming obsolete or archaic in this sense, with its last occurrence of this particular meaning in 1814 in the *OED*. The lexis still currently used in this field is attested only later: by the end of the 16th century it is the Latin derived word *solicitous* (1570-) (< *sōl*, *sollicitus* 'solicit'), and in the first half of the 17th century it is the Latin borrowing *anxious* (1623-) (< L *anxius* 'worried, disturbed').

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[119] 01.15.20.07 (adj.) Careful/taking care. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=85134> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[120] 02.07.03.12|03 (adj.) Of the nature of a request/petition :: pressing/urgent (of request). (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=142791> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[121] 01.15.02.03.01|05 (adj.) Of/pertaining to intervention :: officious. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=78387> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[122] 01.15.20.02|10.02 (adj.) Involving effort/exertion :: laborious/toilsome :: accomplished with much labour. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84705> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[123] 01.15.20.07|06 (adj.) Careful/taking care :: diligent/industrious. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=85143> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[124] 01.15.20.01|04.01 (adj.) Vigorous/energetic :: of action: involving/requiring vigour :: carried out/proceeding with vigour. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84538> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[125] 01.15.02.03|01 (adj.) Occupied/busy :: that indicates activity/business (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=78270> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[126] 01.15.20.01|12.09 (adj.) Vigorous/energetic :: brisk/active :: full of brisk activity (of times/places). (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84562> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

[127] 01.15.20.01|12.09 (adj.) Vigorous/energetic :: brisk/active :: full of brisk activity (of times/places). (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84562> Last accessed 9 July 2020.

4.2.3.2 Referents of *sīsel*, *bysig* and *bisī*

While the ON borrowing *sīsel* is attested only as referring to persons, both the native adjective *bysig* and its ME reflex *bisī* are used with animate as well as inanimate nouns, as the *Table 5: Animacy of Referents: sīsel, bysig and bisī* below shows:

Table 5: Animacy of Referents: *sīsel*, *bysig* and *bisī*

	sīsel	*bysig*	*bisī*
Animate	2	12	69
Inanimate	0	7	43
Overall number of the occurrences	2	19	112

In its inanimate reference, the OE *bysig* is used mainly with tools (in the heroic environment with weapons, as in (22)), actions (such as *sealmsang* 'psalm singing'); and then in reference to the *soul* or *mind* (25):

> (25) *hu min hige dreoseð, bysig æfter bocum*
> 'lit. how my mind strives after, busy in pursuit of books'
> 'How my mind strives after books, and is busy in their pursuit'

In contexts featuring inanimate nouns, the ME *bisī* mainly focuses on actions (*beseeching*, *prayer*, *meditacioun*, *eloquens*, *computacion*) (27), but it continues to reflect the meaning 'anxious' with *heart* and *thought* (28):

> (27) *Throgh bysy besechynge of the erle.* 'lit. through busy beseeching of the earl'
> (28) *With herte soore, and ful of besy peyne.* 'lit. with heart sore, and full of busy pain'

In the context of animate reference and romances, it is often used in the sense 'occupied by fighting, busy fighting' with such nouns as *men*, *burnes* 'knights' (< OE *beorn*), and *kempe* 'warrior' (< OE *cempa*) (29):

> (29) *Moni bisi kempen, Þeo fihten wið þone duke al þene dæi longe.*
> 'lit. many busy warriors, they fought with that duke all day long'

4.2.4 External Factors

4.2.4.1 Text Types

The occurrences of the OE *bysig* are mostly taken from prosaic writing (16 occs out of 19 overall), with only 3 occurrences representing OE poetry. Unlike the ON borrowing *sīsel*, attested only in poetic writing (2 occs out of 2), namely the metrical homilies of the *Northern Cycle*, the ME reflex of the native adjective, as the chart *Fig. 9: ME Text Types: bisī* shows, is attested across a variety of text types: 41 of its overall 114 occurrences represent prose, while 1 quotation is from a York mystery play (*Simeon and Anna prophesy*, cf. Smith, 1885: 433-472), 4 are taken from Latin-English dictionaries and wordbooks (*Promptorium Parvulorum* and *Catholicon Anglicum*), and the majority (68 occs) attest the word's use in poetry.

Fig. 9: ME Text Types: *bisī*
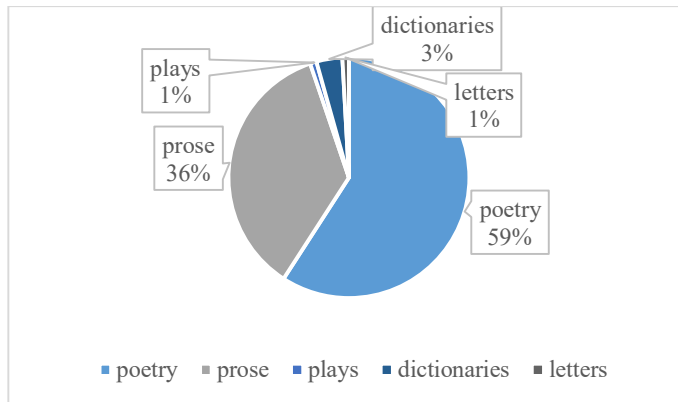
4.2.4.2 Genres

As the chart *Fig. 10: OE Prose Genres: bysig* below illustrates, the OE prosaic writing attesting *bysig* is mostly religious in nature (11 occs out of 16 overall), including citations from Ælfric's homilies and Lindisfarne glosses to the Gospel of Matthew. It also comprises hagiographic writing (2 occs, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*), 'wisdom' prose (1 occ, *Distichs of Cato*, cf. Hollis et al., 1992: 28), codes of monastic observance (cat. *other*, 1 occ, *Regularis Concordia*, cf. Harvey, 2014: 10) and an early romance of *Apollonius of Tyre* (cf. Salvador-Bello, 2012). The limited attestation of the OE *bysig* in poetry (2 occurrences) covers religious pieces, such as the dialogue of *Solomon and Saturn* (the part concerned with the power of the *Pater Noster*, Dumitrescu, 2017: 1-3), and heroic discourse (1 occ), as it comprises a quotation from *The Battle of Maldon*.

Fig. 10: OE Prose Genres: *bysig*
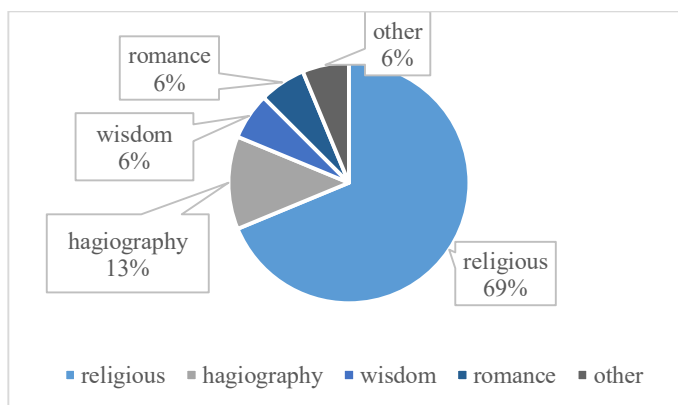
The prosaic writing in which the ME *bisī* is attested comes also predominantly from the religious sphere (21 occurrences out of 41), with texts such as *Ancrene Wisse*, various Wycliffite sermons and tracts, and Pecock's treatise *The Donet* (cf. Johnson, 2019: 77). As the chart *Fig. 11: ME Prose Genres: bisī* shows, it also comprises hagiography (1 occ, *St Gilbert* in prose), historiography (1 occ, Capgrave's *Chronicles*), and romance (1 occ, *Merlin*, cf. Conlee, 1998: §1). The category *other*, with 14 occurrences out of 41, includes encyclopaedic and medical works, letters, and Guy de Chauliac's treatise on surgery (O'Boyle, 1994: 156).

Fig. 11: ME Prose Genres: *bisī*

other
37%

religious
55%

romance
3%

historiography
3%

hagiography
2%

■ religious ■ hagiography ■ historiography ■ romance ■ other
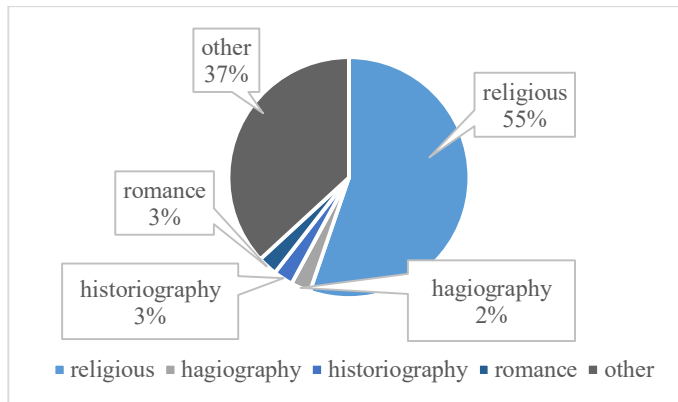
As the chart *Fig. 12: ME Poetry Genres: bisī* suggests, the poetical works represented by the occurrences of the ME *bisī* almost equally point to 4 different genres: (i) the religious sphere (with 14 occs out of 68), including works from the *Northern Homily Cycle* and *Cursor Mundi*, since it draws its material heavily from the Bible (cf. Fulk, 2012: 281); (ii) romances (16 occs), comprising mostly *William of Palerne*, but also *Octavian*, *King Alexander* and others; (iii) historiographic pieces (11 occs), with works such as Laȝamon's *Brut*; and (iv) the category *other*, which mostly covers the works of Chaucer, especially his *Canterbury Tales*. Dream vision poems are also frequently represented (8 occs; e.g. *Piers Plowman*, *The Book of the Duchess*, and *The Legend of Good Women* (cf. Windeatt, 1982)). The ME *bisī* also appears in legends of the saints (3 occs; for instance, in the 'stanzaic' *St Margaret of Antioch* (Reames, 2003: §5)).

Fig. 12: ME Poetry Genres: *bisī*

romances
24%

religious
21%

hagiography
4%

other
23%

historiograp
hy
16%

dream
12%

■ religious   ■ hagiography   ■ historiography
■ dream   ■ other   ■ romances
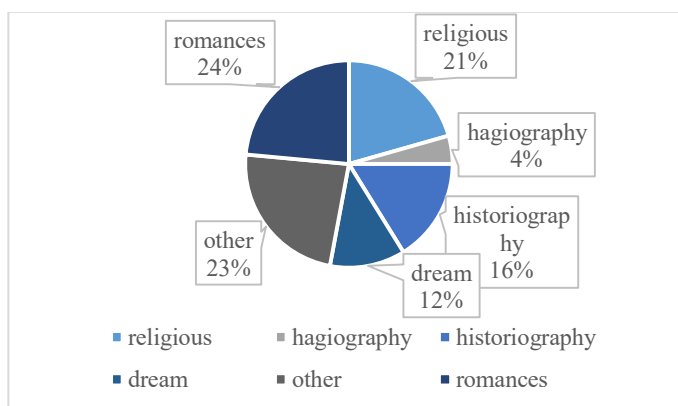
4.2.4.3 Localization

As can be seen in the map *Fig. 13: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of bisī and sīsel*, the ON borrowing *sīsel* was geographically very limited (in blue), as it is only attested in the North, the North Riding of Yorkshire, while its strong native competitor (EME in red) is not restricted to a particular area, and is even more widely attested in LME (in yellow if different from EME), as its LPs given by the *MED* suggest; its texts are localized across the whole of England and even beyond (with two texts localized to Ireland, Waterford): in Kent, Norfolk, London and the neighbouring counties, and even as far North as the North Riding of Yorkshire and Durham. The native adjective *busy* thus

noticeably spreads from the western Midlands area to the south(-east) and north of England (and beyond).

Fig. 13: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of *bisī* and *sīsel*
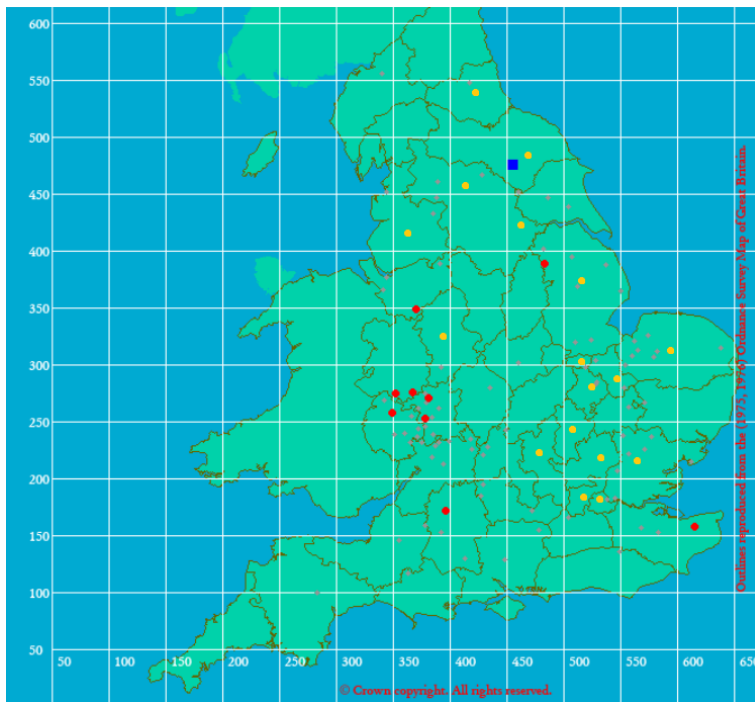
red for EME LPs of *bisī*, yellow for LME LPs of *bisī* and blue for LPs of *sīsel*

4.3 The Relationship between *mēk* and *blīþe*

The adjective *mēk* derived from ON is listed in the *MED* with 168 occurrences in 4 different meanings. It survives in PDE in 4 of its meanings given by the *OED*. The meaning in which it is no longer used, 'merciful, gentle', is the point of the word's semantic overlap with the native adjective *blithe*. The ON borrowing is last attested in this meaning in a1616 in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.[128] The OE *blīþe* is attested with approximately 325 occurrences in the *DOE* in 2 senses, while its ME reflex *blīthe* is given by the *MED* with 3 separate senses and 69 occurrences. The native adjective also survives in PDE. The *OED* lists it with 5 meaning, 2 of which have become obsolete, and one of these is also the one in which the word used to semantically overlap with the ON borrowing *mēk*: 'gentle, exhibiting kindly behaviour to others', with the last recorded occurrence in 1570 in a dictionary.[129]

4.3.1 Formal Implications

The ON adjectival borrowing *mēk* served as a basis for a multitude of derived forms: the adjective is also used substantively as a noun, 'the meek', and appears in compounds, as in *meek-hearted*

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[128] "meek, adj. and n." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/115830> Last accessed 23 June 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.
[129] "blithe, adj., n., and adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/20302> Last accessed 23 June 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

(*OED*). Its derived forms themselves often participated in word-formation, as with the converted verb *meek* (now poetic in use), on which the two (now obsolete) adjectives *meeked* and *meekless* 'unable to be appeased' as well as the noun *meeking* were based.[130] The adjective meek also participated in the derivation of the verb *meeken*, itself with many derivatives, such as the adjectives *meekened*, *meekening* and the noun *meekening* 'a process of making meek'.

Its converted adverb *meek* is now also poetic in use, mostly overtaken by a more transparently derived adverb *meekly* (< ME *mēke*) current in PDE.[131] Its briefly attested derived noun *meeklaik* (cp. OI *mjúkleikr*) echoes strongly its ON origin, as it was formed by means of the *-laik* suffix (< ON *-leik*).[132] The suffix functionally corresponded to the native *-ness*, for it was also used for deriving nouns of quality from adjectives, but none of these survived into PDE.[133]

The native adjective *blithe* used to denote the 'the outward expression of kindly feeling, sympathy' (as it did in ON, cp *blíðr* 'kind, mild, gentle', and Gothic), but in OE the adjective *blīþe* predominantly focused on the 'external manifestation of one's own pleased frame of mind', which is the state to which the converted noun *blithe* refers.[134] Its converted verb is a later formation replacing the OE verb *blíðsian*, *blissian*, which developed into the verb *bliss* 'to be blithe, to give joy', now surviving only as reflexive.[135] The adjective also formed the transitive verb *blithen*,[136] and an abundance of other forms also actively participating in word-formation, such as *blithesome* 'cheery', giving rise to *blithesomely* 'cheerily'.

4.3.2 Syntactic Implications

Although the borrowed *mēk*, OE *blīþe* and its ME reflex *blīthe* may occur both predicatively and attributively, both ME adjectives are marked by a slight prevalence of predicative usage, as the *Table 6: Syntactic Properties of mēk, blīþe and blīthe* below shows. The occurrences of the OE adjective could be almost equally divided into those representing the modifying attributive usages and those including copulas. It occurs both in current copulas with various forms of the verb 'be' denoting a state (of happiness, as in (31)), and resulting copulas with the verb 'become' signifying a change in state (30):

> (30) *þa <u>wearð</u> he swa <u>bliðe</u> þæt he cleopode þone Godes man & gecyste hine mid mycelre lufe.*
> 'lit. then he became so happy that he called that God's man and kissed him with great love.'
> (31) *se cyning bebead þam gebeorum eallum, þæt hi <u>bliþe</u> wæron æt his gebeorscipe*

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[130] "meek, v." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/115831> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[131] "meek, adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/252897> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[132] "meeklaik, n." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/250522> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[133] "-laik, suffix." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/105128> Accessed 23 June 2020.

[134] "blithe, adj., n., and adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/20302> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[135] "blithe, v." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/20303> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[136] "blithen, v." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/20309> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

‘the king bade them all to be his guests, and so they were merry at his feast.’

The frequency of predicative usage increases, as the ME *blīthe* predominantly occurs in copular constructions, either with the verb ‘become’ (34), also signifying a change in mood, or with ‘be’ denoting the state of happiness or merriness. In the sense ‘merciful’, it is mostly attributive (although predicative usage does occur as well, as in (35)), appearing in religious writing referring to God, or to Christ. In the context of Christian faith, the adjective is also used with the meaning ‘humble’ in causative constructions with ‘make’ (33):

(33) *And make ous meoke and chaste.* ‘lit. and make us meek and chaste’
(34) *Sonæ swa he ðes wateres swetnysse ifelde, þa wearð he swiðe bliðe on his mode.*
‘lit. as soon as he felt the sweetness of that water, he became very happy in his mood’
(35) *God is..a spryt clene, Boþe blessed and blyþe þat blendeþ all sorwe*
‘lit. God is a spirit clean, both blessed and blithe (= merciful) that mitigates all sorrow’

Not unlike its native rival in ME, the borrowed adjective *mēk* predominantly functions predicatively; but it mostly appears with current copulas with the verb ‘be’ (37), or it is used as an object complement (38):

(36) *he scholde beo meoke and milde of heorte* ‘lit. he should be meek and mild of heart’
(31) *O man is meeke; anothir doth manace* ‘lit. one man is meek, another does menace’
(38) *Meker than ye fynde I the bestes wilde!* ‘lit. meeker than you find I the beasts wild!’

Table 6: Syntactic Properties of *mēk*, *blīþe* and *blīthe*

	mēk	*blīþe*	*blīthe*
Attributive	54	24	21
Predicative	88	22	47
Overall number of the occurrences	142	46	68

4.3.3 Semantic Implications

The ON borrowing *mēk* is listed in 15 separate semantic categories in the *HTE*, including also its adverbial and verbal usage (as a converted adverbial and a verb); 7 of these categories are adjectival, including the semantic field of its overlap with the native *blīþe* (> *blithe*). These categories are (given in rough chronological order of attestation):

(1) *Pertaining to behaviour > Gentle/mild;*[137]

(2) *Pertaining to farming > Pertaining to animal-keeping practices general > tamed/trained;*[138]

(3) *Domesticated/tame;*[139]

(4) *Humble;*[140]

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[137] 01.15.21.04.02.01 (adj.) Gentle/mild. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=86276> Last accessed 26 June 2020.
[138] 01.07.03.08.01|01 (adj.) Pertaining to animal-keeping practices general :: tamed/trained. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=49092> Last accessed 26 June 2020.
[139] 01.05.07 (adj.) Domesticated/tame. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=27345> Last accessed 26 June 2020.
[140] 02.04.20 (adj.) Humble. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132477> Last accessed 26 June 2020.

(5) *Calm > Meek/mild*;[141]

(6) *Subject to authority > Submissive > in unfavourable sense*;[142] and

(7)   the category of the semantic overlap with *blithe*: *Manner of action > Not violent/severe > not harsh/gentle*.[143] The borrowed adjective is first attested in the senses (1), (2) and (3), all around the year c1200 (*HTE*).

The semantic field pertaining to *gentle behaviour* (1) has been occupied by established native terms since OE, all surviving till PDE: *milde* (> PDE *mild*), *softe/ sefte* (> PDE *soft*) and *tam* (> PDE *tame*). Other early native terms later become obsolete: either very early, or by the 16th century at the latest. These are mostly expressions connected with some 'measure', or 'moderateness' in behaviour, such as *gemetfæstlic, gemetfæst, gemetlic* along with later *metheful* and *meet* (< *imete* < OE *gemæte, gemet*). The later, and still surviving rivals of the introduced borrowing *mēk* are terms of Latin origin, mediated through French and mostly introduced in the 14th century, such as *tender* (a1300-) (< F *tender* < L *tenerum* 'tender, delicate'), *benign* (1377-) (< OF *benigne, benin* < L *benignus* 'kindly'), *pleasable* (1382-) (from the v. *please* < AF *plais-* stem of *pleare* < L *placēre* 'to be pleasing' + *-able*, after the *AF, OF pleisable* 'pleasing, agreeable, peaceful'). The other surviving French-derived lexis enters this semantic field mostly in the second half of the 16th century: *facile* (1541-) (< AF, MF *facile* 'easy, straightforward, willing'), *placable* (1586-) (< MF *placable* 'capable of being appeased, appeasing' and L *plācābilis* 'capable of being appeased, forgiving, pleasing') and especially *gentle* (1552-) (< OF *gentil, jentil* 'high-born, noble'), the ON borrowing's faithful rival in other 3 categories (2, 3 and 7).

With the exception of *mild, tame,* and *soft*, which appear in almost all of the categories to which *meek* pertains, most of the domestic words became obsolete early, even though only a few seem to be stylistically restricted, such as *hnāg, eaþmōdlic, eaþmōdheort*, all tied with poetry (*DOE*). All of the categories are marked by an abundance of Romance terms, either directly taken from Latin (e.g. *domestic* < L *domesticus* < *domus* 'house'), French (e.g. *privy* < AF *prevé* and MF, OF *privé* 'intimate, familiar, tame'), or dependent on their mutual interaction, with French serving as a mediator of the term for English (e.g. *mansuete* < MF *mansuet*, L *mansuētus* 'tame, civilised, gentle').

4.3.3.1 The Semantic Field of *blīþe* (and *blithe*)

The native *blithe* is also listed in 15 different semantic categories in the *HTE*, including its derived adverb, verb or nouns. 8 of these categories are adjectival (including the category of overlap). The other 7 categories are (given in rough chronological order):

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[141] 02.04.09.03 (adj.) Meek/mild. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=128342> Last accessed 26 June 2020.

[142] 03.04.09.04.02|01 (adj.) Submissive :: in unfavourable sense. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=163632> Last accessed 26 June 2020.

[143] 01.15.20.04|02 (adj.) Not violent/severe :: not harsh/gentle. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84899> Last accessed 26 June 2020.

(1) *Loving > Friendly*;[144]

(2) *Pleasurable > Joyful/delighted*;[145]

(3) *Inactive > Quiet/tranquil*,[146] all restricted mostly to the period of OE;

(4) *Pertaining to behaviour > Kind*,[147] which is attested already in OE, but represents a sense in which the word later becomes obsolete (according to the *HTE*, last attested in 1570); and three other categories to which the adjective pertains since OE and keeps to do so in PDE:

(5) *Pleasurable > Cheerful*;[148]

(6) *Pleasurable > Merry*;[149] and

(7) *Pleasurable > Joyful/delighted > of disposition/mind/heart*.[150]

All of these categories are densely populated with both native and borrowed lexis; most of the surviving expressions are also borrowed either from French or from Latin (cp. F and L borrowings in the fields of *meek*). The categories (4) and (2) contain a layer of OE poetic terms, such as *mōdglæd* 'lit. glad in mood', *dreamhealdende* 'having joy', *hyhtlic* 'joyful, full of hope', *ēaþbēne* 'easily entreated', or *hygeblīþe*, and terms tied directly to glosses, such as *welfremmende* 'beneficent' and *wiltygþe* 'satisfied', all of which are obsolete.

4.3.3.2 Referents of *mēk*, *blīþe* and *blīthe*

As the *Table 7: Animacy of Referents: mēk, blīþe and blīthe* illustrates, all of the adjectives are mainly tied in their usage with animate nouns. The OE *blīþe* is in its animate reference mostly restricted to persons, or in the religious contexts to God, angels or the Holy Ghost (39):

> (39) *æfter ðinre þære myclan mildheortnesse weorð me, mihtig god, milde and <u>bliðe</u>*
> 'lit. according to your great mercifulness be to me, mighty God, mild and blithe'

The most frequent accompanying inanimate nouns most often point to 'mood', or 'mindset' (OE *mōd* and *hyge*) in the sense 'happy', or 'mild' (40):

> (40) *eode him mid <u>bliþum</u> mode fægnigende*
> 'lit. [he] went to him with merry mood rejoicing'

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[144] 02.04.13.15 (adj.) Friendly. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=131314> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[145] 02.04.10.08 (adj.) Joyful/delighted. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=128710> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[146] 01.15.09.01 (adj.) Quiet/tranquil. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=79273> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[147] 01.15.21.04.02 (adj.) Kind. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=86209> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[148] 02.04.10.09 (adj.) Cheerful. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=128850> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[149] 02.04.10.10 (adj.) Merry. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=128902> Last accessed 28 June 2020.

[150] 02.04.10.08|01 (adj.) Joyful/delighted :: of disposition/mind/heart. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=128711> Last accessed 27 June 2020.

The ME reflex *blīthe* still frequently signifies a happy mood (with nouns *mod*, or *heart*), and predominantly accompanies nouns or pronouns of personal reference. In its sense 'gentle, not severe, mild' it also frequently modifies lexical items such as *bodword* 'commandment', or *word*; in religious contexts it collocates with *Crist*, *Lord*, *Lamb*, and *God*, with the meaning 'merciful' or 'gentle'. With regard to this meaning, it is similar in use to the ON borrowing *mēk*, which very often co-occurs with *Crist* (in Wycliffite tracts) in religious contexts, often appealing to his 'modesty', 'humbleness' or 'gentleness' (41).

> (41) *Crist is god and man, & was porerste man of lif and <u>mekerste</u> & moost vertuous.*
> 'Christ is God and man, and was the poorest man in life and meekest and most virtuous'

In its senses referring to 'kindness', the word *mēk* often co-occurs with *wife*, *maid* or *maiden*, especially in romances. Unlike the native adjective *blithe*, it may also imply in its inanimate contexts, 'softness' in taste (*spices*), or it may denote the quality of softness upon touch (*clothes*, *surplis* 'loose fitting overgarment'), or texture (*fruit*).

Table 7: Animacy of Referents: *mēk*, *blīþe* and *blīthe*

	mēk	*blīþe*	*blīthe*
Animate	111	32	52
Inanimate	31	14	16
Overall number of the occurrences	142	46	68

4.3.4 <u>External Factors</u>

4.3.4.1 <u>Text Types</u>

As the chart *Fig. 15: Text Type Division: OE blīþe* illustrates, the OE adjective mostly occurs in prosaic writing (36 occurrences out of its overall 51); poetry is represented in 14 of its occurrences, and 1 occurrence is taken from a Latin-Old English glossary:

Fig. 14: Text Type Division: OE *blīþe*
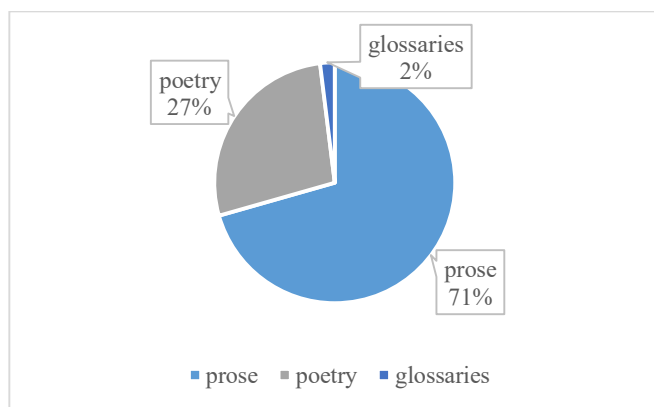
Its ME reflex *blīthe*, on the other hand, mostly occurs in poetry (59 occurrences out of 69), with only 6 quotations being taken from ME prosaic writing. The ME *blithe* also occurs in 2 different cycles of mystery plays (*Ludus Coventriae* and Towneley, cf. Woolf, 1972) and appears twice in a dictionary, as the chart *Fig. 16: Text Type Division: ME blīthe* below indicates:

Fig. 15: Text Type Division: ME *blīthe*
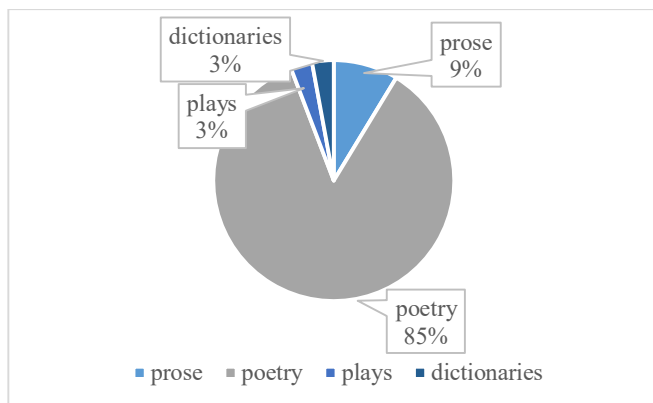
The ON adjectival borrowing *mēk* still represents ME poetry (with 79 occs out of 146) more than ME prosaic writing (58 occs out of 146), but the percentage is lower than with *blīthe*, as the chart *Fig. 14: Text Type Division: ME mēk* below shows. With 6 occurrences, the ON borrowed adjective also represents ME plays (York, *Ludus* and other mystery plays); 3 of its quotations come from dictionaries.

Fig. 16: Text Type Division: ME *mēk*
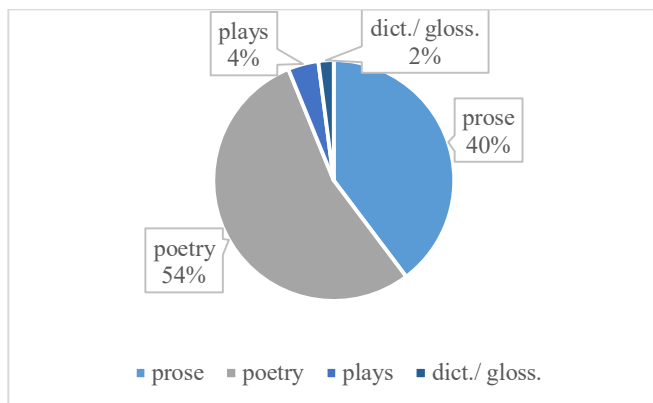
4.3.4.2 Genres

With regard to the genres of the prosaic writing represented by the OE *blīþe*, religious writing forms a significant portion, with 17 occurrences out of 36 coming mostly from homilies. Saints' legends comprise 6 of the overall 36 occurrences, historiographic works, such as *Orosius* or Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, amount only to 4 occurrences. The residual category *other* includes 9 occurrences from a variety of texts: the scholastic *Colloquies* of Ælfric Bata (cf. Gwara, 1997: 7), *Regularis Concordia*, and 1 quotation also pertains to Anglo-Saxon laws.

The OE poetic items in which the OE *blīþe* is attested are also mostly religious ones (8 occurrences out of 14), covering hymns, and poems from the *Exeter book* focusing on religious contemplation, such as the *Phoenix* or *Resignation* (in the case of *Resignation* also sharing some features with elegiac poetry, cf. Klinck, 1987 and Bestul, 1977). Other occurrences pertain to hagiography (4 occs, Cynewulf's *Andreas* and *Elene*, cf. Bjork, 1996), heroic poetry (1 occ in *The Battle of Maldon*), while the category *other* (1 occ) includes *Wife's Lament*.

73
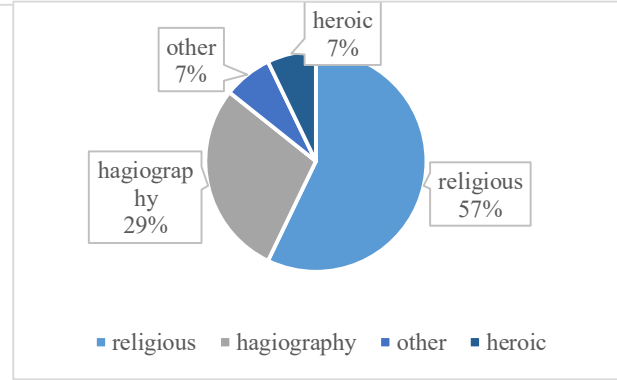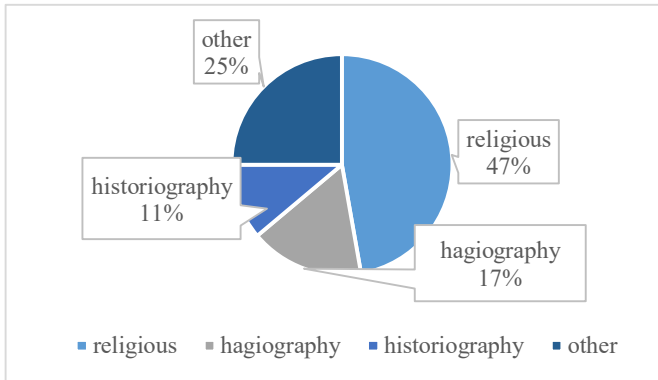
Fig. 18: OE Poetry Genres: *blīþe*

The ME *blīthe* quotations pertaining to prose are mostly subsumed under 'religious', with 5 occurrences out of 6 pertaining to homilies and other religious writings. The remaining prosaic text represented by the ME *blīthe* pertains to historiography, as it is taken from Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*. As the chart *Fig. 19: ME Poetry Genres: blīthe* below shows, the lyrical texts attesting the native adjective, on the other hand, pertain mostly to the genre of romances (23 occurrences out of 59), with citations from *Gawain*, *William of Palerne* and *Athelston*. The second most numerous group points also to the religious sphere (18 occs), with another 3 citations taken from the saints' legends. Laȝamon's *Brut* amounts to 4 occurrences, referring thus to historiographic works, while Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is subsumed under *other* (6 occs). ME dream vision poems are also represented by the attestations of the ME *blīthe* (5 occs).

Fig. 19: ME Poetry Genres: *blīthe*
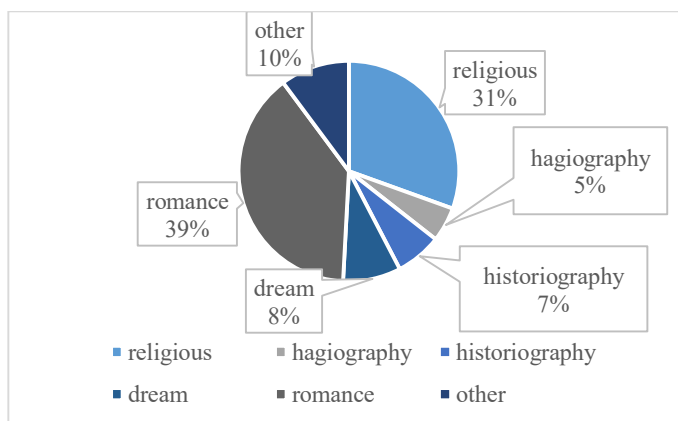
Religious writing covers most of the prosaic occurrences of *mēk* (33 occs out of 58), as it is attested in such texts as *Ancrene Riwle*, various Wycliffite sermons, and treatises. Historiographic writing is also frequently represented by the *Polychronicon* (9 occs), while romance texts in the case of the ME *mēk* occur only once (*Merlin*). The bulky category *other* subsumes 15 citations from such disparate works as the encyclopaedic *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, the travel memoir of Mandeville, and Chauliac's treatise on surgery.

As the chart *Fig. 21: ME Poetry Genres: mēk* shows, poetical texts attesting *mēk* pertain to a variety of genres. The religious sphere covers 28 occurrences out of 79 with hymns, lyrics and citations

from *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi*. Citations from romances are frequent (13 occs) as well as dream vision poems (10 occs, including *Piers Plowman* and the *Parliament of Fowls*). The ON borrowing *mēk* is also attested in poetic historiographic (6 occs) and hagiographic (5 occs) works. The category *other* comprises proverbial poetry, the ME *Book of Courtesy* and *Canterbury Tales* (16 occs).

Fig. 20: ME Prose Genres: *mēk*
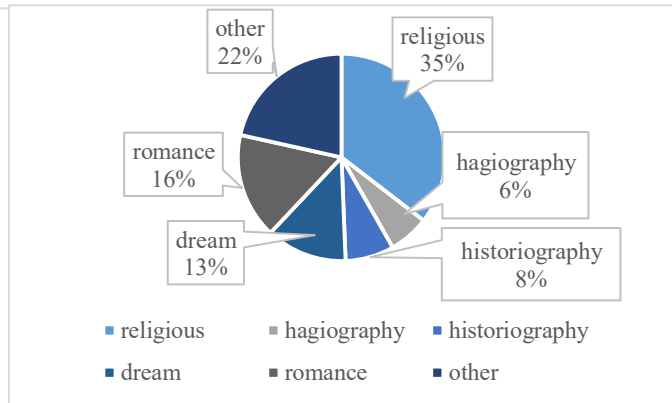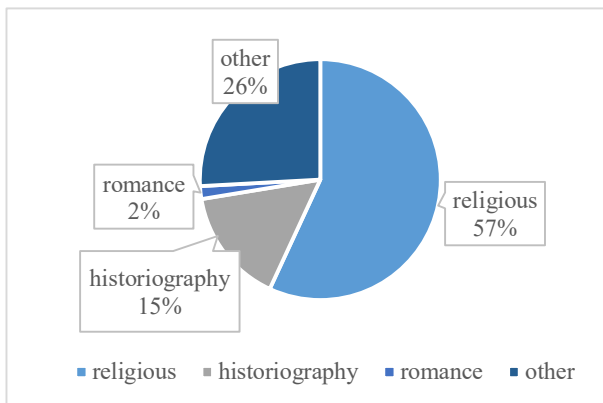
Fig. 21: ME Poetry Genres: *mēk*

4.3.4.3 Localization

As the map in *Fig. 22: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of mēk and blīthe* shows, both the ON borrowing *mēk* (EME occurrences in blue) and the reflex of its native rival *blithe* (EME in red) are widely attested. The linguistic profiles of texts containing the ON borrowing *mēk* and the native adjective *blithe* geographically mostly overlap, with both adjectives attested in Shropshire, Norfolk, West and North Riding of Yorkshire, as well as in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. As the LME localization of the two words suggests, the borrowing *mēk* (cyan) spreads even further, while the native adjective *blithe* (in yellow) did not spread as rapidly:

Fig. 22: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of *mēk* and *blīthe*
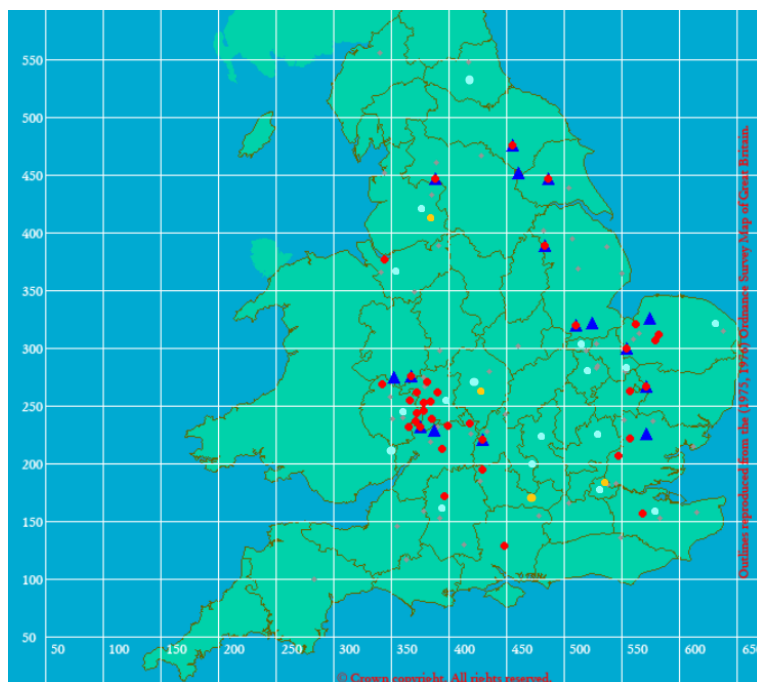
red for EME LPs of *blithe*, yellow for LME LPs of *blithe*, blue for EME LPs of *mēk* and cyan for LME LPs of *mēk*

4.4 The Relationship between *nait* and *behēfe*

Both the native adjective *behēfe* and its borrowed rival *nait* are obsolete. The ON borrowing was first attested around the year 1200 in *Ancrene Riwle* and is listed in the *MED* with 5 occurrences, all associated with 1 sense 'useful'. Its negated form *unnait*, derived by means of the native negative prefix *un-*, is given in the *MED* with 10 occurrences, all attesting a single meaning 'vain, useless'. The borrowed adjective *nait* is last attested in the metrical romance *Clariodus*, translated around the year c1550 (Purdie, 2002: 449-450),[151] while its negated derivative is last attested in the *Pater Noster* commentary of Richard Ermyte (a1450) (*MED*).[152]

The OE *behēfe* is given in the *DOE* in 2 senses 'necessary, needful' and 'useful', with 25 occurrences, whereas for its ME reflex *bihēve* these two senses are in the *MED* subsumed under one along with the meaning 'alone', itself offered with 10 occurrences. The *OED* suggests *Juliana* as the last text attesting *bihēve* (a1225),[153] while the occurrences provided by the *MED* point to *Arthur and Merlin* (c1300) and a religious lyric with the incipit *I wolde witen…* (c1390) as the latest texts attesting the native word (*MED*).

4.4.1 Formal Implications

The ON borrowing *nait* is derived from the OI *neytr* 'good, fit for use', sharing its base with the OI w.v. *neyta* (cp. the s.v. OE *nēotan* 'to use, have the use of, enjoy, employ'). Middle English even borrowed the related verb as ME *naiten* (> *nait*), restricted to the northern regions (now also obsolete), with senses (i) 'to make use, employ, to exert, to want, need' and (ii) 'to repeat'.[154] The borrowed verb formally overlaps with another borrowed verb (also ME *naiten* > *nait*), derived from the OI v. *neita* 'to deny, refuse' (the same base as OI *nei* > PDE *nay* in the northern dialects), with the same meaning 'to deny, refuse', which became obsolete in the 16th century.[155] Middle English also had an imposed noun *nait* 'profit, advantage, usefulness, purpose' (< OI *neyti* 'use, advantage'), which is last attested in the second half of the 16th century (1572).[156]

Even though the borrowed adjective *nait* is attested only sparsely, its base seems to have been very productive in Middle English. It gave rise to the derived adverbial *naitly* 'properly, fittingly,

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[151] "nait, adj.1." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/124877> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[152] The *OED* lists two adjectives *nait*, one with the meaning 'skilful, deft, effective' (from the OI *neytr*), and the other associated with Irish English signifying 'prepared, intended' of much later date (1789-a1827), pointing either to the 'specific use' of the former adjective, or of the adjective *neat* (PDE *neat*, < AF *neet*, *neit*)

[153] "biheve, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/18910> Last accessed 12 July 2020.

[154] "nait, v.2." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/124878> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[155] "nait, v.1." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/124879> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[156] "nait, n." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/124876> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

promptly', which is attested for the first time around the year 1380, and for the last time in c1540.[157] The adjective also possibly served as a base for the negated adj. and adv. *unnait* 'useless, unprofitable, vain', last attested around the year 1500, itself having such derived forms as the adv. *unnaitlike* and nouns *unnaitness*, *unnaitship* (all with last recorded occurrences around the year 1400). The negated adjective *unnait* could have also been borrowed (cp. OI *úneytr* 'useless, incapable'), or it could have been formed in English via the native prefix *un-* (cp. the ME adj. *unnut* 'useless, worthless' < OE *unnit* < OE *nyt* 'useful, advantageous', last attested a1300).[158]

The OE *behēfe* (> ME *bihēve*) also had a multitude of related forms, such as its OE negative counterpart *unbehēfe*, the OE adjective *behēflic* 'necessary, useful', and the OE nouns *behēfnes* 'utility, usefulness' (glossing L *commoditas*, *utilitas*) and *behēfþ* 'want, need' (> ME *bihofþe* 'need, behoof, use'). The adjective *behēfe* is derived from the OE noun **bihōf* or *behōf* 'utility' (> PDE *behoof*, cp. ME n. *bihōve* and the substantive use of the adjective *bihēve*) (*OED*), which in turn depends on the OE verb *behōfian* 'to have need of, require, be proper for' (> ME *bihōven* > PDE *behove*)[159] (< OE *bi-/be-*[160] + OE v. *hebban*, with pret. form *hōf* itself developing into the PDE v. *heave*).[161] The OE noun *behōf* also gave rise to a variant form OE *behōflic* 'useful, suitable, requisite' (> ME adj. *bihōvelī* > archaic PDE *behovely*)[162] as well as to the later derivatives, such as *behoveful* (now archaic, serving as base for the obsolete adv. *behovefully*, and n. *behovefulness*),[163] or *behovesome* (attested only c1330), while the verb *behove* participated in the creation of other adjectives, the converted *behove* 'in want' (occurring in 1413)[164] and the derived adjective *behovable* (obsolete, attested from the first time in a1475)[165] (> itself giving *behovably*, attested only in 1512) (*OED*).

4.4.2 Syntactic Implications

As the *Table 8: Syntactic Properties of nait, behēfe and bihēve* shows, the ON borrowing as well as its native counterparts appear in both the attributive and predicative function, although the OE

[157] "naitly, adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/124880> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[158] "unnut, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/215810> Last accessed 23 June 2020. and "unnait, adj. and adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/215700> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[159] "behoof, n." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17241> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[160] The prefix *bi-* was an OE and ME variant of the OE *be-* with meanings 'about, all over', and 'throughout', which with verbs developed an intensifying meaning (*OED*: "be-, prefix" at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/16442> and "bi-, prefix" at <www.oed.com/view/Entry/18552>).

[161] "behove | behoove, v." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17248> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[162] "behovely, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17252> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

[163] "behoveful | behooveful, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17249> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

[164] "behove | byhoue, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17247> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

[165] "behovable, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/17245> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

behēfe, just as its ME reflex *bihēve* seem to be preferred predicatively, either appearing in copulas with the verb 'be' (42), or as object complements (43):

> (42) *ðas circulas synt <u>behefe</u> eallum gehadedum mannum*
> 'lit. the circles (zodiac) are useful to all ordained men'
> (43) *hira nan ne filige his ahnum dome on þam þingum, þe he him sylfum nytwyrðe talige and <u>behefe</u>*
> 'none of them should follow their own judgement on those things that they for themselves would consider needful and useful'

The ME reflex of the OE *behēfe* similarly appears with 'be' verb copulas (44) as well as in the function of the object complement (45):

> (44) *But Godes Merci vs alle [is] <u>bi-heue</u>.* 'lit. but God's Merci to us all is needful'
> (45) *Sech after þing þe ðe beð <u>biheue</u>.* 'lit. look for [the] thing that to you is useful'

While the borrowed *nait* is predominantly used attributively (46), in its only occurrence attesting predicative usage of the adjective, it appears in the current copula with the verb 'be' (47):

> (46) *Speke to þame fayr wordes and <u>naite</u>* So priuelye mengyd wyth desayt.*
> 'lit. speak to them fitting and fair words so secretly mingled with deceit'[166]
> (47) *Meliades full <u>nait</u> and bissie was* 'lit. Meliades was very quick and busy'

Table 8: Syntactic Properties of *nait, behēfe* and *bihēve*

	nait[167]	*behēfe*	*bihēve*
Attributive	6	4	1
Predicative	1	18	9
Overall number of the occurrences	7	22	10

4.4.3 Semantic Implications

4.4.3.1 The Semantic Field of *nait* and *behēfe*

The native adjective *behēfe* is listed in 2 separate semantic categories in the *HTE*; its participation in both of these categories is short-lived: (1) its presence in the semantic field *Determined by necessity > Necessary*[168] is limited mostly to the period of OE. In connection to the field in which it overlaps with the ON borrowing *nait*, (2) *Advantageous > Useful*, it is according to the *HTE* actively used until the end of first half of the 13th century.

The semantic category pertaining to *necessity* (1) contains a layer of OE competitors for *behēfe*, especially *nīdfull* (PDE *needful*) and a plenitude of the derivatives of the noun *need*, such as *nȳdlīc* 'necessary', *nīdþearflīc* 'needful, useful', *nīdwīs* 'due, necessary' and compounds combining the element 'need' with 'behoof', as with *nīdbehēfe*, *nīdbehōf* and *nīdbehōflīc*, which are all mostly restricted to the period of OE. The first non-native rival appears in the 14th century: the adj. *necessary* (1382-) (< AF, MF *necessarie* 'essential' and L *necessārius* 'essential, inevitable, compulsory').

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[166] This occurrence was taken from the *OED* (Castleford's *Chronicle*), and as suggested by the *Dictionary*, it may signify the meaning 'useful, fitting' (cp. OI *neytr* 'fit for use'). As is implied by the offered meanings in the *MED*, it may also denote the meaning 'skilful', or it may even possibly point to the use of the adjective *neat* (PDE *neat*).

[167] The negated ME *unnait* represents equally the predicative function as well as the attributive function of the adjective (each represented by 5 occurrences out of the overall number of 10).

[168] 02.05.02.02 (adj.) Necessary. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=136459> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

Following the demise of *behēfe,* the 15th century introduces *requisite* (1472-) (< L *requīsītus,* pp. of *requīrere* 'require') and the short-lived Latin derived word *necess* (1456-c1460) (< *necesse* 'essential'), while the 16th century marks the arrival of *essential* (1526-) (< LL *essentiālis*) as well as of *peremptory* (1596-) (< AF *peremptorie* and L *perēmptōrius* 'in legal contexts: decisive'), both spreading in use from their specialised discourses. The 17th century offers yet another layer of specialized terms and phrases dependent on Latin and used in the scientific or legal sphere: the French-mediated word *vital* (1619-) (< OF *vital* < L *vītālis* < *vīta* 'life'), the phrase *sine qua non* (1615-) (L *sine* 'without' + f. *quā* 'which' + *nōn* 'not'), along with its Scottish variant *sine quo non* (L *sine* + m. *quō* + *non*), and *indispensable* (1696-) (< medL *indispensābilis*).

The *HTE* includes 6 semantic fields related to the ON borrowing *nait* (another two categories pertain to the homonymous verb with the meaning 'refuse, deny' from the mentioned OI v. *neita* (4.4.1)). Three categories include the related verb *nait* 'exert oneself, repeat' (cp. OI *neyta* 'to use, enjoy, employ') and two categories point to its related noun *nait* 'use, profit, purpose' (cp. OI *neyti* 'use, advantage'). Its only adjectival category, *Advantageous > Useful,*[169] contains the native rival *behēfe.*

Although the category of the semantic overlap between the two words shares some of its OE lexis with the category *necessary* (1), to which only *behēfe* belongs, such as *nīdþearflīc,* it mostly comprises forms dependent on the OE word *nyt* 'use, advantage, profit, duty', such as *nytweorð* 'useful', *nytþearflīc, nytweorðlīc,* or the adjective *nytt* 'profitable, beneficial' (> ME *nut*). The derived adjective *behōflic* (> *behovely,* until 1393) is joined, by the 12th century, by another related adjective *behoving,* actively used into the 17th century. The 14th century introduced two strong rivals: the native *helpful* (1382-) and the French-derived *serviceable* (1390-) (< OF *serviçable < service,* initially 'ready to minister, to service'). Other two successful contenders entered the field in the 15th and 17th centuries: *utile* (1484-) (< AF, MF *utile* 'useful, beneficial' < L *ūtilis* 'convenient, profitable') and *useful* (1606-) (formed in E from the n. *use* < AF *eos, huis, use* 'exercise, practice, usage', itself initially restricted in the field of law to the sense of 'benefit gained by a person').

4.4.3.2 Referents of *nait, behēfe* and *bihēve*

As the table *Table 9: Animacy of Referents: nait, behēfe and bihēve* illustrates, all three adjectives modify both animate and inanimate nouns. The OE *behēfe* either refers to persons, or frequently co-occurs with *things* in its inanimate context (48):

(48) *feower þing synt ealra þinga* <u>*behefost*</u> *þam arwyrðan men*
'lit. four things are of all things the most useful to the honourable men'

Similarly, the adjective's ME reflex *bihēve* is used in reference to persons, but it occurs especially frequently in inanimate contexts, accompanying such nouns as *thing, soul, hersumnesse* 'obedience' or *merci* (49-50):

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[169] 01.15.14.01 (adj.) Useful. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=81367> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

(49) *Martha, þu eart bisig and gedrefd on feale þingan, Ac anlypig þing is* <u>*behefe*</u>.
'Marha, you are busy and troubled by many things, but only one thing is needful,'
(50) *Hersumnesse..is swiðe* <u>*behieue*</u> *on godes huse.*
'lit. obedience is very useful in god's house (= church).'

The negative counterpart of the borrowed *nait* is consistent in its meaning, denoting 'worthless, useless'. It predominantly appears with inanimate nouns (8 out of 10 occurrences) (52), as with *speech*, *mouth*, and *scrift* 'confession'. In animate contexts, it co-occurs with *thrall* (51).

(51) *He þat wol not forbere his owen sone, how schal he forbere his* <u>*vnnayt*</u> *þralle?*
'lit. he that wills not to spare his own son, how shall he pardon his worthless thrall?'
(52) *Chaunge þi mowth fra* <u>*unnayte*</u> *and warldes speche and speke of hym.*
'lit. change thy mouth from the useless and world's speech and speak of him.'

The positive adjective *nait* is mostly accompanied by animate nouns, such as *men*, but semantically it appears somewhat bleached or ambiguous, depending especially strongly for its interpretation on the context (cp. 53-55):

(53) *Nestor, A noble man,* <u>*naitest*</u> *in were* 'lit. Nestor, a noble man, the most skillful in war'
(54) *Non was so noble, ne of* <u>*nait*</u> *strenght, As Ector*
'lit. none was so noble, nor of great strength, as Ector
(55) *Parys þen preset in with a prise batell Of noble men [...]* <u>*naitist*</u> *of wille.*
'lit. Paris then pressed in with a great battalion of noble men, most resolute of will'

Table 9: Animacy of Referents: *nait*, *behēfe* and *bihēve*

	nait	*behēfe*	*bihēve*
Animate	4	7	2
Inanimate	3	11	8
Overall number of the occurrences	7	22	10

4.4.4 External Factors

4.4.4.1 Text Types

Both the OE *behēfe* and its ME reflex *bihēve* occur predominantly in prosaic writing: out of 24 overall occurrences of the OE *behēfe*, 22 represent prose, while only 2 pertain to poetry; in the case of the ME *bihēve*, 7 quotations are taken from prosaic works, with only 3 cited from poetry. While the negative counterpart of the ON borrowing, the adjective *unnait* included for further comparison, also mainly appears in prose (9 occurrences out of 10), with only 1 occurrence attesting its use within the poetic discourse, the ON borrowing *nait* itself seems to be restricted only to poetry (all of the 7 occurrences).

4.4.4.2 Genres

The prosaic writing represented by the OE *behēfe* could be almost equally divided between religious (11 occurrences out of 22; homilies, and the Gospel of Luke) and mainly educational texts subsumed under *other* (10 occs): Ælfric's *Colloquy*, *Colloquy* of Ælfric Bata, Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, along with Anglo-Saxon charters and *Medicina de quadrupedibus*. Only 1 occurrence pertains to the legends of the saints (Ælfric's *Saint Euphrosyne*). The OE pieces of poetry attesting *behēfe* are

categorised as religious (1 gloss in a hymn of Prudentius), and hagiographic (1 occurrence, the OE *Life of Saint Pantaleon*).

Fig. 23: OE Prose Genres: *behēfe*
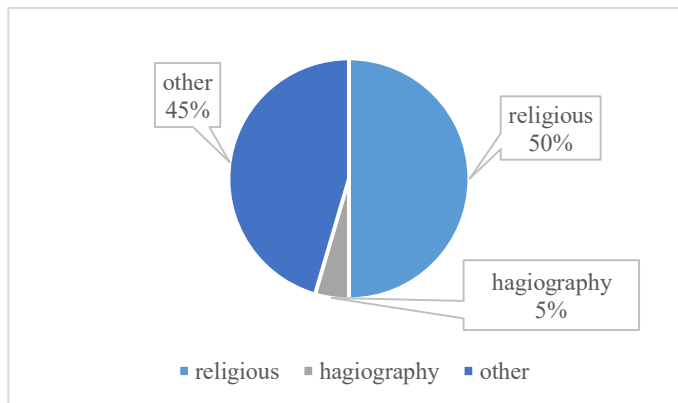
The ME prose attesting *bihēve* is also predominantly religious (6 occs out of 7 overall), comprising citations from homilies, religious instruction and from the prose *Dialogue on Vices and Virtues*, with only 1 citation taken from the OE *Medicina de quadrupedibus*. The poetic works in which the ME *bihēve* occurs inevitably pertain also to the religious sphere (1 occ, religious lyrics) and hagiography (1 occ, Cynewulf's poem *St Juliana*). It also once appears in a ME romance (1 occ, *Arthur and Merlin*).

The ON borrowing *nait* is attested almost exclusively in the context of ME romances (6 out of 7 occs, namely *The Destruction of Troy*, and the Scottish *Clariodus*, cf. Purdie, 2002: 449-450) – it is also once used in Castleford's *Chronicle*. The negated counterpart *unnait*, on the other hand, seems entirely restricted in its use to religious texts (all 9 prose occurrences and 1 poetry citation), comprising religious instruction (*Ancrene Riwle*), Rolle's Psalter, *Pater Noster* of Ermyte, and *Benedictine Rule*.

4.4.4.3 Localization

As the map in *Fig. 24: LAEME Map: The Localization of nait, unnait and bihēve* shows, neither the ON borrowing *nait*, nor the reflex of the OE adjective *behēfe* are widely attested. However, unlike the ON derived adjective *nait* (blue), its native rival *bihēve* (red) is not localized to the north (and Scotland, as *nait* appears in the Scottish metrical romance *Clariodus*, cf. Purdie, 2002), and the texts containing it are localized to Salop (Shropshire), Worcestershire, Berkshire, Middlesex and to the borders of Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Unlike the regionally restricted *nait* (appearing only in texts pertaining to the Western Riding of Yorkshire (WRY) and Lancashire), the negated adjective *unnait* (cyan) is attested not only in WRY, but also in Shropshire and Soke of Peterborough.

Fig. 24: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of *nait*, *unnait* and *bihēve*
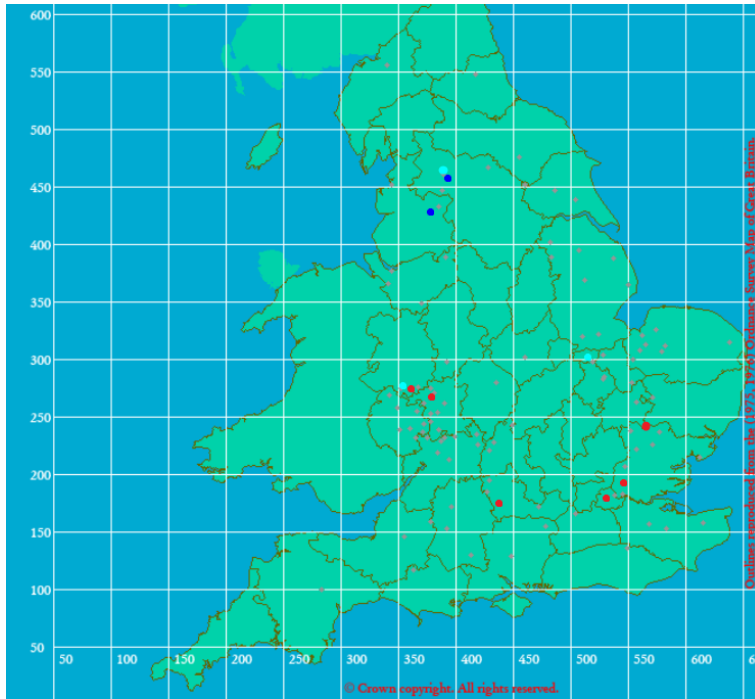
red for *bihēve*, blue for *nait* and cyan for *unnait*

4.5 The Relationship between *rad(e* and *forht*

The ON borrowing *rad(e* is given in the *MED* with 33 occurrences, all attesting the meaning of 'afraid, frightened'. The word survived into PDE (becoming rare), but is chiefly Scottish in its use.[170] The OE *forht* is listed in the *DOE* with 120 occurrences within 2 senses: (i) focusing on the internal emotion of fear, 'afraid, frightened', and the (ii) centred on the source of that emotion, 'frightening' (*DOE*). The OE adjective *forht* itself seems untraceable in ME, with only the reflexes of its related forms given by the *MED*. All of these are very scantily attested in ME, such as *unforht* (< OE *unforht*) with only 2 quotations of the sense 'fearless, unafraid', both pulled from the OE homilies in the Vespasian in ME (a1150), or *forhtigen* (< OE *forhtian*) with a single occurrence in the *MED* in the sense 'to be afraid' (*MED*).

4.5.1 Formal Implications

The ON borrowing *rad(e* (cp. OI *hræddr* < prp. of *hræða* 'to frighten') is homonymous with some later forms of the OE *hræd* 'quick, hasty, eager' (cp. OI *hraðr*), which also continues to be used as PDE *rad*, but dialectally restricted as Scottish and northern (its adverbial is also Scottish (north-eastern)).[171] This native homonymous form has a PDE variant *rathe* (< adv. *rathe*, reg. S),[172] with its

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[170] "rad, adj.2." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/157197> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[171] "rad, adj.1 and adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/157196> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[172] "rathe, adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/158449> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

own derived adv. *rathely*. It is similarly regional in its use, or it is felt to have a literary air.[173] All of the mentioned forms depend on a common Germanic base, but the ON borrowing did not leave any current derived forms (*OED*).

The OE adjective *forht*, on the other hand, pertains to a large group of many (not as frequent) related forms, which represent different word classes: the OE adjectives *geforht* 'frightened' (cp. *gefyrht*, *gefyrhted* 'frightened', pp. of *gefyrhtan*), *forhtfull* 'fearful', or *forhtig* 'abashed'; the OE nouns, such as *forhtlēasnes* 'fearlessness' (possibly for OE **unforhtlēasnes* 'cowardice', cf. the DOE); *forhtnes* and *forhtung*, both meaning 'fear'; or the adverb *forhtlīce* 'fearfully, timidly'. All of these forms are related to the OE w. v. *forhtian* 'tremble, to fear, to be afraid' (of the class 2) (> ME *forhtigen*) with 250 occurrences in the *DOE*, also used as an adjective in its present participle form *forhtigende* 'fearing'. The verb itself is responsible for a multitude of derived forms, such as the v. *geforhtian* 'to fear' (cp. NHtb. *gefyrhtan* > the mentioned pp. *gefyrht*), *aforhtian* 'to become afraid' (> *geaforhtian*, *aforht*), *beforhtian* 'to fear', or *onforhtian* 'to fear'.

The verb's meaning overlaps with that of the w. v. *fyrhtan* (of the class 1) (> ME *frighten* > PDE v. *fright*) with 10 occurrences in the *DOE* (but in multiple MSS). It also means 'to shake with fear', but focuses on the instilling of fear in others, as it denotes 'to frighten'. However, its past participle form *fyrht/ fyrhted* is similarly used in the sense of 'frightened, afraid', thus further encroaching on the semantic space of the verb *forhtian* and its related adjectives. The verb *fyrhtan* itself has a plenitude of related forms, even further strengthening its position with regard to the shared meanings 'afraid, frightened' or 'to be afraid' (*DOE*). These include the verbs formed via prefixation, such as *gefyrhtan*, *offyrhtan* (> ME *offright*), *forfyrhtan*, *afyrhtan* (> ME *afrighten* > PDE *affright* v. and adj. > forming PDE adj. *affrighted*), the compound *godfyrht* 'God-fearing' (> ME *godefriht*), or the nouns *gefyrhtu*, *fyrhtnes* (> ME *frightness*) and *fyrhtu* (with 200 occs in the *DOE* > ME *fright*).[174] The rival OE verb *fyrhtan*, despite its later replacement in PDE by the v. *frighten*,[175] thus seems, along with its related forms, to have overtaken the OE verb *forhtian* (and its own related forms) by the end of the OE period. It then focused on its meaning 'to terrify', as their common OE rival *fǣren* 'to terrify' (> ME *fēren* > PDE *fear*) seems to rise in the ME period to its own glory, as it semantically refocuses on the subjective feeling of fear as 'to be afraid, to fear (sth)'.[176]

The mingling of the two rivalling OE sets of verbal and adjectival forms with the resulting victory of the *-y-/-i-* forms may be suggested by one of the occurrences in the *MED* given for the ME

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[173] "rathe, adj.1." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/158445> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[174] "fright, v." (2020) OED Online. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/74684> Last accessed 24 June 2020.

[175] "frighten, v." (2020) OED Online. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/74687> Last accessed 24 June 2020.

[176] The OE *fǣran* is attested in OE in the sense of 'to terrify (sb.), take (sb.) by surprise', while its pp. *gefǣred* is also used as 'terrified'. In ME, the verb is attested in both senses (not restricted in the sense 'to fear (sth)' to the participial use only) by the 14th century. This is the period in which the ME *frighten* becomes obsolete in this sense, as it is used by the 15th century with the meaning 'to scare'.

verb *afrighten* (< OE *āfyrhtan*), in which the past participle form is given as *afrought*, possibly echoing the 'pre-metathesis' form of the OE *aforhtian*. (cf. the example from c1450 *Le Morte Arthur*):

(56) *Launcelot Answeryd with hert sore, Thoughe he were nothynge <u>A-froughte</u>.*
'lit. Lancelot answered with heart sore, though he was nothing affrighted.'
'Lancelot answered with sore heart, though he was afraid of nothing.'

4.5.2 <u>Syntactic Implications</u>

As the *Table 10: Syntactic Properties of rad(e, forht, unforht* shows, all of the adjectives appear in both syntactic functions, but the predicative usage seems to be prevalent for all of them. In the case of the ME *rad(e*, the 29 examples of predicative usage comprise only the current copulas with the verb 'be' (58-59), or a very frequent construction in which the adjective functions as the object complement, especially with the verb 'make' (57):

(57) *Þis schuld maak men rad to do ani iuil to ani good man*
'lit. this should make men afraid to do any evil to any good man'
(58) *Ȝho drefedd wass & radd off Godess enngell.*
'lit. she dreaded was and afraid of God's angel'
(59) *Arþour..rekenly hym reuerenced, for rad was he neuer*
'lit. Arthur rekenly him treated, for afraid was he never'
'Arthur fittingly him treated, for he was never afraid'

Unlike the ON borrowing, the native *forht* in its 22 attested predicative uses appears both in current copulas with 'be' and in resulting copulas with the verb 'become', signifying the oncoming of the emotional state of fear (60). In its attributive function, the adjective tends to follow its noun in the majority of cases. This is characteristic of its occurrences pertaining to poetry, although this tendency appears also in prose (62):

(60) *wearð me heorte <u>forht</u>* 'lit. became my heart afraid'
(61) *þa wæs he him ondrædende & <u>forht</u> geworden* 'then he became frightened and afraid'
(62) *[sawel mid lice] from moldgrafum seceð meotudes dom, <u>forht</u>, afæred.*
'lit. from graves seeks [the soul and body] the Creator's judgement, afraid, afeared'

The preference for the predicative use seems to be reflected also in the ME occurrences of the negated *unforht*, which appears in both of its listed occurrences in the copula with the verb 'be' (64):

(64) *Eornestlice we axigeð hwæt þu seo, þu þe swa <u>unforht</u> us eart to gecumen.*
'earnestly we ask who you are who so fearless to us art come'

Table 10: Syntactic Properties of *rad(e*, *forht*, *unforht*

	rad(e	*forht*	*unforht*
Attributive	2	9	0
Predicative	29	22	2
Overall number of the occurrences	31	31	2

4.5.3 Semantic Implications

4.5.3.1 The Semantic Field of *rad(e*

The ON borrowing *rad(e* is listed in 2 semantic categories in the *HTE*: (1) *Fearful*,[177] and (2) *Fearful > Apprehensive > frightened by an alarm*,[178] in both of which it is first attested around the year 1200.

The semantic field *Fearful* (1) contains a layer of (now obsolete) OE words, mostly comprising the forms related to the native *forht* as well as *fyrht*, such as *forhtlic, forhtiendlic, fyrht, forhtiende*, and the lexis related to the OE *fǣr*: *gefǣred*, and *afǣred*, the only OE element surviving until 1868). The category also includes the obsolete ME reflexes of those words, such as *offered* (c1200-a1300), *offeared* (1131-a1225), as well as ME formations: the currently dialectal *feared* (a1300-), *fearful* (c1374-) and *frighty* (c1200). The ON borrowing *rad(e* (> rad) served as a basis for the formation of the Scottish variant *rod* (1535), altered most probably only 'for the sake of rhyme'.[179] The 18th century then introduces the currently used *frightened* (a1721-) and *scared* (1725-) (pp. of v. *scare* < ME *skerre* < ON *skirra*, and the refl. *skirrask* 'shrink from').

The ON borrowing is the first attested term in the second category, followed by the ME *frightful* (c1250-1802), and later by the native formation dependent on a French borrowing, the word *afraid* (1330-) (pp. of v. *affray* < AF *afraer, afraier* 'frighten'). The 17th century introduced the adjective *alarmed* (1650-) (pp. of v. *alarm* < n. *alarm* < MF *alarme* 'to arms!', also 'fear, panic, disquiet').

4.5.3.2 The Semantic Field of *forht*

The OE *forht* pertains in the *HTE* to 3 interconnected semantic fields: (1) *Fearful > Frightening*;[180] (2) *Fearful > Timid*;[181] and (3) *Fearful > expressing fear*,[182] in all of which it is restricted mostly to the period of Old English, even though the category of *expressing fear* (3) contains only 2 elements, the OE *geforht* and *egeful*, both restricted to OE.

The category *Frightening* (1) contains 3 derivations of the OE adjective *forht*: *forthtlic, forhtiende*, and *forhtig*, followed by a later ME short-lived form *frighty* (c1250). Most members belonging to the category are of a later date. They are especially frequently introduced by the 14th century, such as *fearful* (1340-1848) and a layer of elements based on 'doubt': *adoubted* (1340) (pp of

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[177] 02.04.21 (adj.) Fearful. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132654> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

[178] 02.04.21.05|06 (adj.) Apprehensive :: frightened by an alarm. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132847> Last accessed 14 July 2020.

[179] "Rod *adj.*" (2004) *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. Available online from <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/rod adj> Last accessed 25 Jun 2020.

[180] 02.04.21.10 (adj.) Frightening. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=133017> Last accessed 15 July 2020.

[181] 02.04.21.07 (adj.) Timid. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132929> Last accessed 15 July 2020.

[182] 02.04.21|08 (adj.) Fearful :: expressing fear. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132663> Last accessed 15 July 2020.

v. *adoubt* < *a-* + v. *doubt* v < ME *duten* < OF *duter*), *redoubtable* (c1374-) (< AF, MF *redoutable* < *redoter* 'to dread, fear, to stand in apprehension'), *redoubted* (1417-1861), *doubtable* (c1430-c1530) (ME *doutable* < F *doutable* 'causing fear, terrible, having fear, doubtful' < L *dubitābilis*), *doubted* (a1485-1579) (pp of v. *doubt* < ME *duten* < OF *duter* < L *dubitāre* 'to waver, hesitate'), *redoubt* (1417-1502) and others. The 16th century lets in the current *feared* (1599-), while the 18th century forms the current *fearsome* (1768-) and *frightening* (1715-).

The semantic field *Timid* (2) is similarly marked by a layer of OE words, related to the native adjective *forht* and shared across the aforementioned fields pertaining to 'fear' in general. Although some expressions are unique to this field, such as *forhtmōd*, *forhtful*, *geforht*, the poetic terms *herebleāþ* 'timid in war', *acolmōd* 'fearful in mind', and the OE *unbeald* (> unbold) (OE-1530, later only in dictionaries), the ME period brings the familiar 'fear' and 'fright' derivatives appearing also within the other fields (for instance *fearful*, *feared*, *frightful*). Only the 15th century added some Latin- based borrowings, mediated by French: the adjectives *trembling* (1430-) (prp. of *tremble* < F *trembler* < medL *tremulāre* < L *tremulus* 'trembling, quaking, shaking'), *timorous* (c1450-) (< OF *temeros*, *timoureus* < L *timōrem* 'fear'); while the 16th century saw the arrival of another native term, the adjective *soft*, attested for the first time in this sense in 1593 and still used in PDE. It was followed by yet another borrowing: *timid* (1549-) (< MF *timide* 'fearful, easily afraid' and L *timidus* 'fearful, timorous').

4.5.3.3 Referents of *rad(e* and *forht*

Unlike the native adjective *forht*, which appears in both animate and inanimate contexts, the borrowed adjective *rad(e* is attested only as used in either personal reference, with personal pronouns (*he*, *thee*, *we*), or as modifying nouns denoting humans (*men*, *lufers* 'lovers'):

> (65) *Oure enmy..es aboute to begyle us..with uggly ymages, for to make us <u>radde</u>.*
> 'our enemy is about to beguile us with ugly images to make us afraid.'

As the *Table 11: Animacy of Referents: rad(e and forht*, illustrates, the native *forht* is predominantly used in personal reference, with personal pronouns, or with animate nouns, denoting those who experience the emotion of fear (animals or humans), co-occurring with such words as *broþor*, *aglæca* 'awesome opponent', or *folctoga* 'folk-leader':

> (66) *ða wearð folctoga <u>forht</u> on mode, acul for þam egesan*
> 'lit. then became the folk-leader afraid in spirit, trembling with horror'
> (67) *hyre se aglæca ageaf ondsware, <u>forht</u> afongen, friþes orwena*
> 'lit. the awesome opponent yielded an answer, gripped by fear, hopeless of freedom'

In its inanimate contexts, it often co-occurs with *sāwul*, *līce*, *heort*, and in the sense 'frightening' also with *tīd* 'tide, flood' (Wulfstan's *In Die Iudicii*) and *cirm* 'noise, cry'. In the case of the ME *unforht* (2 occs out of 2), as well as for the adjectival use of past participle *afrought*, the subjects experiencing the fear are also human (as with Lancelot in example (56) (p. 84), 4.5.1):

> (68) *se <u>forhta</u> cearm and þæra folca wop* 'lit. the fearful cry and weeping of those people'
> (69) *Secgeð eowwer hlaforde þæt he unforht seo.* 'your lord says that he is unafraid'

Table 11: Animacy of Referents: *rad(e* and *forht*

	rad(e	*forht*
Animate	31	24
Inanimate	0	7
Overall number of the occurrences	31	31

4.5.4 External Factors

4.5.4.1 Text Types

While the OE adjective *forht* is almost equally attested in both prosaic writing (with 18 occurrences out of 35) and poetry (16 occs), with only 1 of its occurrences pertaining to the Latin-Old English glossary, the majority of quotations of the ME *rad(e*, as the chart in *Fig. 25: ME Text Types: rad(e* suggests, pertains to poetry (23 occurrences out of 31), with only 6 occurrences representing the ME prosaic texts. The ON borrowing is also twice attested in the Towneley plays (*The Second Shepherd's Play* and *The Resurrection of the Lord*).

Fig. 25: ME Text Types: *rad(e*
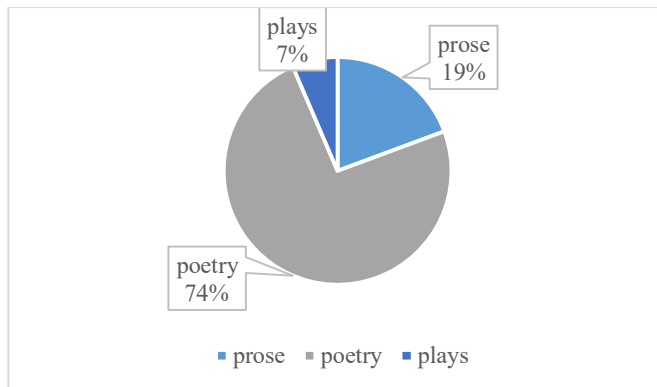
4.5.4.2 Genres

The prosaic texts attesting the ON borrowing *rad(e* are entirely classified as *religious* (6 occs out of 6), as these include various Wycliffite tracts and Rolle's psalter commentary, while the poetical works in which *rad(e* appears are more varied with regard to genres, as the chart *Fig. 26: ME Poetry Genres: rad(e* below shows. Religious works are covered by 10 out of 23 occurrences (*Cursor Mundi*, the poem *Cleanness*, *Ormulum*, and different homilies), and 6 occurrences pertain to the genre of hagiography (Legends of the Saint Cuthbert and Saint Laurence). 6 occurrences attest the word's usage in the context of ME alliterative or metrical romances (*Ywain*, *Morte Arthur*, *Wars of Alexander*). The category *other* includes the ME satirical work about Sir Penny, the personified and ever adored 'almighty penny' with corrupting influence, reflecting the original Dan Denier. (Cooper and Denny-Brown, 2016: 161).

Fig. 26: ME Poetry Genres: *rad(e*
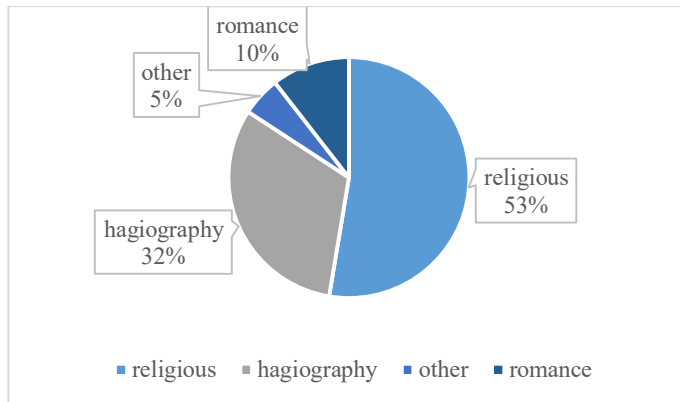
Unsurprisingly, the majority of prosaic works utilizing the OE adjective *forht* also points to the religious sphere (12 occurrences out of 18), with such texts as the OE version of the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great, various homilies, Aldhelm's Latin *De laude virginitatis*,[183] and Lindisfarne Gospels, as illustrated by the chart *Fig. 28: OE Prose Genres: forht*. Two quotations are related to the prosaic *Life of Saint Guthlac* and another 4 occurrences represent the historiographic texts *Orosius* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The items of OE poetry in which the OE *forht* is used are also predominantly of religious nature (10 occurrences out of 16), including mostly Gospels, the poems *Exodus*, *Christ* C, the *Creed*, and the poem *Resignation* in the form of a 'penitent payer' (Amodio, 2013: 265). The chart *Fig. 27: OE Poetry Genres: forht* also shows the attestation of the native adjective within the genre of hagiography (3 occs, poems *Daniel*, *Juliana*, and *Guthlac A* of the Exeter Book), heroic poetry (1 occ, *Beowulf*), in a dream vision poem (1 occ), *Dream of the Rood* (cf. Fulk, 2014: 214), and in OE riddles (1 occ in a riddle in the Exeter book: the riddle 43 (as numbered by Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 204)).

Fig. 27: OE Prose Genres: *forht*
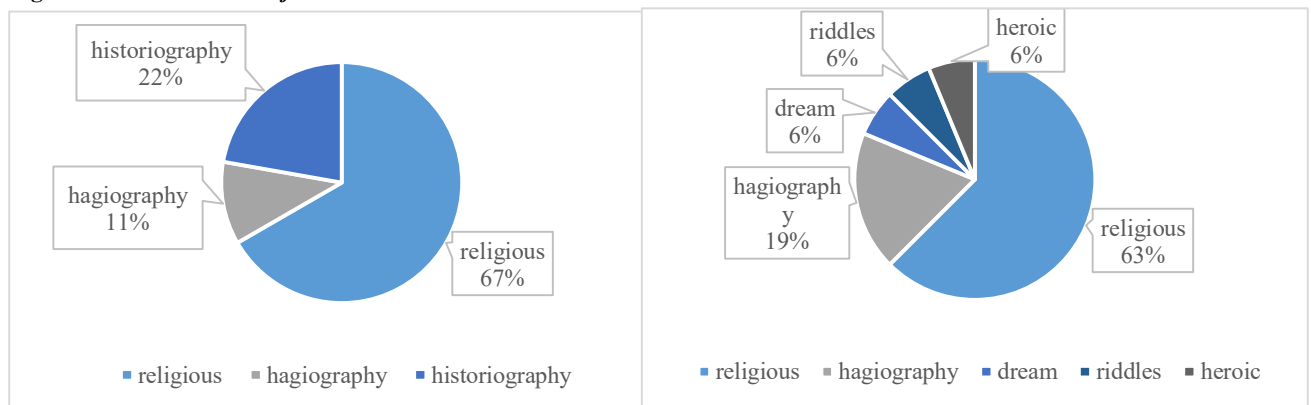
Fig. 28: OE Poetry Genres: *forht*

Both of the quotations of the ME *unforht* are taken from OE prose homilies in ME (a1150). The attestation of the ME *forhtigen* comes from the OE *Gospel* of Mark in ME, also dated early to a1200.

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[183] Even though the text itself is in Latin, containing only OE glosses, it was included into the religious category, as the given text type may have influenced the word selection process for the given gloss (and not only the Latin original wording).

4.5.4.3 Localization

The map in *Fig. 29: LAEME Map: Localization of rad(e and fright(-) forms* below includes the localization of the ME *rad(e* (in blue) and the dialectal provenience of the text giving the past participle of the ME *afrighten* as *a-frought*, possibly echoing the OE *aforhtian* (cp. OE *afyrhtan* > ME *afrighten*) (in red), placing it in Ruthland. It also shows the geographic localization of various texts containing the rival ME *fright(-)* derived forms, such as the ME adjectives *frightful*, *frightī*, the ME nouns *fright*, *frightīhēde* and the verb *frighten* (all in yellow). These are not geographically restricted in their distribution although the main bulk of texts is placed in the south(-eastern) part of England: the western part of Norfolk, Soke of Peterborough, the north-west of Essex, and the meeting of the borders of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Essex.

Although the ON borrowing *rad(e* is attested even in texts associated with Cheshire and Ely in Cambridgeshire, the majority of texts containing the word is localized to the north: Durham, the Western and Northern Ridings of Yorkshire, and the further unspecified Yorkshire and the unlocalized north (the LPs pointing to *NME*).

Fig. 29: LAEME Map: Localization of *rad(e* and *fright(-)* forms
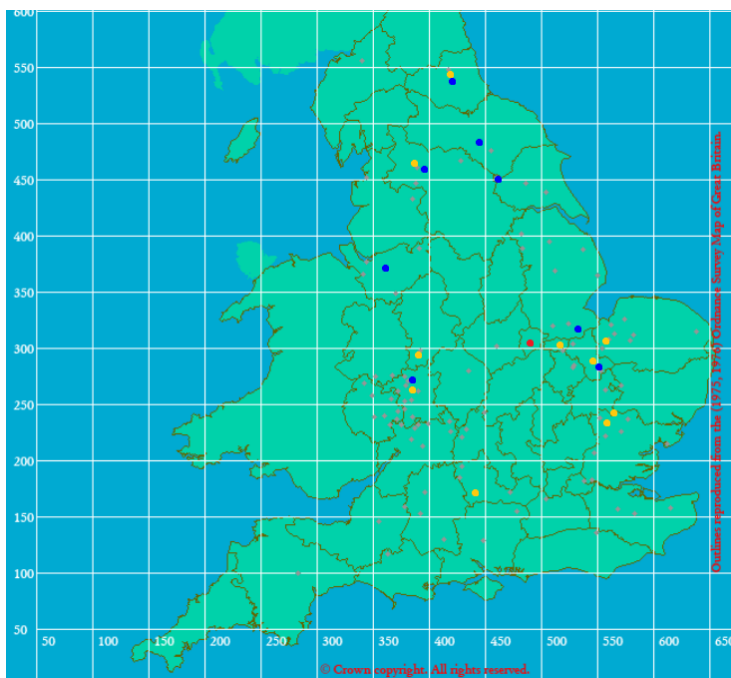
red for *a-frought*, yellow for *fright(-)* forms, blue for *rad(e*

4.6 The Relationship between *baisk* and *biter*

The ON borrowing *baisk* is first attested in *Ormulum* (c1175) and given in the *MED* with 9 occurrences in two related senses: (i) 'bitter, acrid' (in relation to taste), and (ii) 'fig. grievous, bitter'.

Its last ME occurrence is attested in *The Mirror of Man's Salvation* (c1500), while the *OED* lists it later in John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* in the 19th century.[184]

The native adjective *biter* is offered in the *DOE* with approximately 200 attested occurrences in 7 senses, including its use as a substantive, which is given separately with 17 quotations in 2 senses in the *MED*. The ME reflex *bitter* in its adjectival usage alone is listed in the *MED* with 130 occurrences and 5 senses (each with their own subsenses). The word is part of the current English Standard, surviving into PDE in 7 senses out of its 8 attested meanings in the *OED*. The semantic field which it thus seemed to abandon pertains to 'causing of pain or suffering'.[185]

4.6.1 Formal Implications

The *1700 Scottish National Dictionary* gives the ON borrowing in the form *bask* (cp. ON *beisk* 'bitter, acrid') in two senses: (i) '(of weather) withering, dry', and (ii) (of fruit) sharp, bitter, and rough to taste',[186] the senses which have developed from the prior senses 'unpleasant' and 'distasteful', as offered by the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. These meanings are subsumed under one sese of 'ungrateful or irritating to the senses' in the *OED*.[187] The ON adjectival borrowing *baisk* seems not to have participated in word formation, leaving behind no derived forms of its own and being thus attested only in its borrowed adjectival form.

The OE counterpart *biter* is derived from the common Germanic stock (cp. ON *bitr*), probably stemming from the common root of *bîtan* 'to bite', with the original meaning 'biting, cutting, sharp'. Its use as a noun is attested already in Old English as denoting 'bitterness, grief, suffering'. The reference of the noun broadens as it acquires new specialized meanings in addition to its retained OE sense, such as 'bitter medicinal substance' (used in pl. *bitters*), or it may, in colloquial speech, refer to (a glass of) bitter beer (*OED*). Old English also employed its related verb *biterian* 'to be bitter' (> ME *bitt(e)re(n* > v. *bitter*).[188] The native adjective therefore, unlike its ON counterpart, frequently participated in word formation[189] (the OE adj. *biterlic*, adv. *biterlīce*, n. *biternes*, and compound *biter-wyrde* 'bitter in speech'), with some older forms being replaced by newer ones, as in the case of the OE adv. *bitre*

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[184] "bask, adj." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/15964> Last accessed 23 June 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[185] "bitter, adj. and n.1." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/19564> Last accessed 23 June 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[186] "Bask adj." (2004) *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. Available online from <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/bask> Last accessed 23 Jun 2020. All future references will be included in the parentheses in the text.

[187] The *OED* states that the word is either obsolete or retained in dialectal usage; the *DSL* includes entries pertaining to the word's use both prior to 1700 and after, even as late as 1923.

[188] "bitter, v." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/19565> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[189] The *OED* even lists bitter separately as a combining form, for more see: "bitter-, comb. form." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/19567> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

(*bitere*), frequent in poetry, which was later replaced by the more transparently derived adverb *bitterly*, current in PDE.[190]

4.6.2 Syntactic Implications

Both the ON borrowing *baisk* and its native counterpart are attested as functioning predicatively as well as attributively, as the *Table 12: Syntactic Properties of baisk, biter and bitter* below shows. Not only the native adjective *biter*, but also its ME reflex *bitter* are more frequently attested in the syntactic function of an attribute. In its predicative function, the OE *biter* occurs in current copulas with 'be':

> (70) *þa gen sylf cyning geweold his gewitte, wællseaxe gebræd biter ond beaduscearp, þæt he on byrnan wæg*
> 'lit. then the king again regained his wits, war-sax drew bitter and battle-sharp, that he by [his] corslet carried.'
> (71) *[feldwyrt] bið hnesce on æthrine & bittere on byrgingce*
> 'lit. gentian/ field-wort is soft in poison and bitter in taste'

Its ME reflex *bitter* also frequently appears in the function of the object complement, especially with stative verbs, such as 'think' or 'seem':

> (72) *Hwen ei is se hehe þet he..is as in heouene ȝeten, & þuncheð bitter alle worltliche þinges.*
> 'lit. when one is so high that he is as in heaven gotten and thinks bitter all worldly things.'
> (73) *Euery good dede of his neighebore semeth to hym bitter and vnsauory*
> 'lit. every good deed of his neighbour seems to him bitter and unsavoury.'

Unlike the native adjective and its ME reflex, the borrowed adjective *baisk* seems to be predominantly predicative, appearing in copulas with the verb 'be', often postmodified with the source of, or the reasons for, the described bitterness:

> (74) *Þe froyte..was full soure, And bayske and bitter of odoure*
> 'lit. the fruit was full sour and bask and bitter of odour'
> (75) *A! wrecched hert..Thi fruyte is roten and baysk for synne*
> 'lit. wretched heart, your fruit is rotten and bask for sin'

Table 12: Syntactic Properties o*f baisk*, *biter* and *bitter*

	baisk	*biter*	*bitter*
Attributive	3	41	87
Predicative	6	14	43
Overall number of the occurrences	9	55	130

4.6.3 Semantic Implications

4.6.3.1 The Shared Semantic Space of *baisk* and *bitter*

The ON borrowing *baisk* pertains within the *HTE* to a single semantic category: *Taste > Sour/bitter > bitter*,[191] which includes its native rival *biter*. After the OE *ātōrlic* 'poison-like' faded out of use, the OE *biter* (> *bitter*) along with the OE *scearp* (> PDE *sharp*) seem to have been the sole

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[190] "bitter, adv." (2020) *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Available online from <www.oed.com/view/Entry/19566> Last accessed 23 June 2020.

[191] 01.09.06.05|06 (adj.) Sour/bitter :: bitter. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=58706> Last accessed 15 July 2020.

surviving members of the category from the period of Old English before they were joined by the ON borrowing *baisk* at the beginning of the 13th century (c1200-). Other competitors were introduced only later: in the 16th century the native term *gally* (c1530-1665) (< n. *gall* < OE *gealla* 'bile, bitterness') and the derivative *bitterish* (1605-1684) in the 17th century, along with two Latin borrowings, the literary *absinthian* (1638 + 1833-) (< L *absinthium* 'wormwood'), and *acrimonious* (1612-1856) (< n. *acrimony* < L *ācrimōnia* 'irritant quality, harshness, pungency', after the F *acrimonieux* and post-classical L *acrimoniosus* 'harsh'). The current *acrid* (1712-), based on two sources (< L *ācris*, var. *ācer* 'sharp, bitter' + *-id* < AF, MF *ide* and L *idus* for forming adjs.), was added to this semantic field only in the 18th century.

4.6.3.1 Semantic Fields of *biter*

The native adjective *bitter* is listed within 29 separate semantic categories in the *HTE*, including its converted noun and adverb; 15 of these categories pertain to its adjectival use with 8 directly related to their semantic overlap, including the field containing *baisk*. The native *bitter* is attested in most of its classified meanings already in the OE period: in categories

(1) *Harmful > Bitter*;[192]

(2) *Suffering mental pain > Bitter (of grief/affliction) > bitter to the heart/mind*;[193] and

(3) *Pertaining to behaviour > Bitter*.[194]

The OE *bitter* leaves two of its semantic fields in the 17th century: (4) *Manner of action > Severe*;[195] and (5) *Harmful > Savage, cruel*.[196]

The other two overlap-related meanings are attested only later: the field (6) *Suffering mental pain > Bitter (of grief/affliction) > expressing/betokening bitterness*[197] in the 13th century, and

(7) *Suffering mental pain > Bitter (of grief/affliction)*,[198] nearing the end of the 15th century.

Although the fields pertaining to the *severe manner of action* (4) and *cruelty* (5) contain layers of OE words (such as the current *hard*, or *sharp*, and obsolete *hetelīc* 'hostile, inspired by hate', *sārlīc* 'mournful, grievous' or *stīþ* 'stiff, hard, stern'), especially poetic terms, such as *ferhþgrim* 'fierce of

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[192] 02.03.06.09 (adj.) Bitter. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=125409> Last accessed 30 June 2020.

[193] 02.04.11.02.03|02 (adj.) Bitter (of grief/affliction) :: bitter to the heart/mind. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=129229> Last accessed 30 June 2020.

[194] 01.15.21.05.02.03 (adj.) Bitter. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=86551> Last accessed 30 June 2020.

[195] 01.15.20.03.01 (adj.) Severe. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=84864> Last accessed 30 June 2020.

[196] 02.03.06.13 (adj.) Savage, cruel. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=125454> Last accessed 30 June 2020.

[197] 02.04.11.02.03|03 (adj.) Bitter (of grief/affliction) :: expressing/betokening bitterness. (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=129230> Last accessed 16 July 2020.

[198] 02.04.11.02.03 (adj.) Bitter (of grief/affliction). (2020) In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*, version 4.21. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available online from <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=129227> Last accessed 16 July 2020.

spirit', *heorugrimm* 'very fierce', *frecne* 'horrible, savage', or *deāþreōw* 'deadly cruel', in other categories *bitter* is mostly accompanied only by a limited number of OE expressions. Its OE companions in the category *Harmful > bitter* (1) are the adjectives *þweorh* 'cross, angry, wrong', *þrōh* 'rancid', and its own compound *biterwyrde*. In the field of reference to *grievous afflictions* (2) it is the sole OE *torn* 'distressing, grievous', while the category of *bitter behaviour* (3) includes the derivative *biterlic*.

While the fields pertaining to *severity/ cruelty* ((4) and (5) respectively) contain surviving French borrowings since the 14th century, such as *grievous* (1340-) (< OF *grevos* < *grever* 'grieve') and *fierce* (a1300-) (< OF *fers*, *fiers*), the categories relating to *bitterness in taste* (1), and *demeanour* (3) subsume learned borrowings from the 16th century of combined French and Latin origin, such as *rancorous* (1590-) (< n. *rancour* < AF *rancor*, *rancour* 'bitter grudge, animosity' and L *rancor* 'rancidity') and *virulent* (1607-) (< L *vīrulentus*), respectively. The borrowing's native rival *bitter* is thus the only term in those categories before the enlisting of the aforementioned borrowings and the semantic shifts introducing other native elements from other fields, such as *biting* (in the category (2)) (c1374-) (< prp. of *bite* < OE *bītan*), or the adjective *wormwood* (1593-) (folk etymology alteration of OE *wermod*, as if *worm* + *wood*) (*OED*).

4.6.3.2 Referents of *baisk*, *biter* and *bitter*

As its semantic categories listed within the *HTE* suggest, the OE adjective *biter* is also used to describe a bitter, unfriendly, or even hostile, manner of behaviour, albeit less frequently, for it modifies animate nouns only in 5 of its occurrences (76-77), with the majority of cases (50 occs out of 55 overall) inanimate in their reference:

> (76) *ne sceall ic ðe hwæðre, broðor, abelgan; ðu eart swiðe bittres cynnes, eorre eormenstrynde*
> 'lit. I shall not anger you, brother, you are of very bitter kin, angry great generation'
> (77) *þa hi þæt ongeaton and georne gesawon þæt hi þær bricgweardas bitere fundon.*
> 'lit. when they that perceived and clearly saw that they there bridge-wardens bitter found'

In its inanimate contexts, it partially overlaps with *baisk*, in the sense 'grievous, bitter, characterized by great sorrow', as both adjectives are attested as accompanied by such nouns as *tears*, *wop* 'weeping, cry, whoop', *sins*. They also functionally coincide while signifying 'bitter taste' (*taste*, various plants, *fruits*) (cp. *baisk* in 74-75, and *bask* in (82) with *biter* in (71)):

> (78) *and he ... mid biterum wope. his wiðersæc behreowsode.*
> 'lit. and he with bitter weeping his denial pitied'
> (79) *ær þæt eadig geþenceð, he hine þe oftor swenceð, byrgeð him þa bitran synne, hogaþ to þære betran wynne.*
> 'lit. a blessed man sees that early, he himself the more often repents, saves himself from bitter sins, thinks of the better joys.'
> (80) *Pride and covetise and ipocrisie..ben bask or bittir synnes in Goddis knowyng.*
> 'lit. pride and covetise and hypocrisy are bask or bitter sins in God's knowledge'
> (81) *Þurrh beʒʒske & sallte tæress þatt herrte.* 'lit. through bask and salt tears that hurt.'
> (82) *Myrra..iss full bitterr & full beʒʒsc.* 'myrrh is very bitter and very bask.'

Both the OE *biter* and its ME reflex also frequently co-occur with *death* or with deeds (OE *bealodæde* 'evil deed', ME *deeds*, *werkes*) (cp. ME *bitter* in example (73)). Jointly with 'day' the OE adjective also

has a specialized function, *the bitter day*, referring to the Day of Judgement; in heroic contexts it is used in reference to sharp weapons: *stræl* 'arrow, shaft', *wælseax* 'war-sax'; in medical recipes, the native adjective *biter* specifically points to humours, or frequently co-occurs with *hræcetung* 'retching'.

The inanimate preference for the native adjectives, as illustrated by the *Table 13: Animacy of Referents: baisk, biter and bitter* below, is also reflected, along with the word's semantic broadening, in its strengthened reference to the unpleasant peculiarities of weather or of the elements (as with *rain*, *wind*, *frost*, *cold* and fire) (example (80)). The ME reflex also more frequently signifies greater intensity of suffering, appearing with such nouns as *fever*, *pain*, *wounds*, *hunger* (cp. OE *þurst* 'thirst' and *sārness* 'bodily pain'). The native adjective *bitter* in its animate reference also denotes fierceness of *beasts*, or meanness or ill-temper of *women* (82):

(80) *The bittre frostes..Destruyed hath the grene* 'lit. the bitter frosts have destroyed the green'
(81) *In bitter penaunce for euere to be.* 'lit. in bitter penance for ever to be'
(82) *Wommen ben merciable & also enuyous, bitter, gileful.*
'lit. women are merci-able and also envious, bitter and guileful.'

Table 13: Animacy of Referents: *baisk*, *biter* and *bitter*

	baisk	*biter*	*bitter*
Animate	0	5	13
Inanimate	9	50	117
Overall number of the occurrences	9	55	130

4.6.4 External Factors

4.6.4.1 Text Types

The OE *biter* is predominantly attested in OE prosaic writing (32 occurrences out of 57 overall). The percentage of prosaic writing represented by its ME reflex *bitter* significantly decreases, as the ME poetry becomes the major represented text type with 73 occurrences out of 130 overall (cp. the charts in *Fig. 30: OE Text Types: biter* and *Fig. 31: ME Text Types: bitter* below). Similarly, for the ME adjectival borrowing *baisk*, the majority of its attested usages pertains to works of poetry (with 6 occs out of 9).

Fig. 30: OE Text Types: *biter*
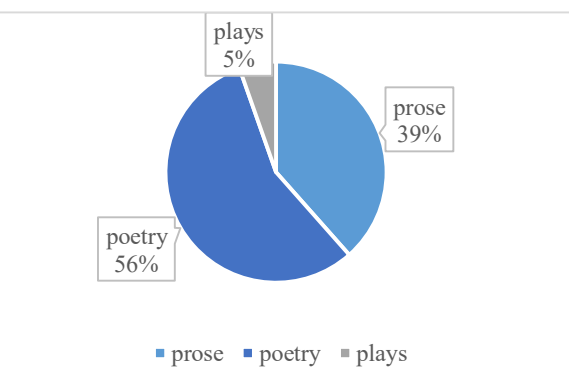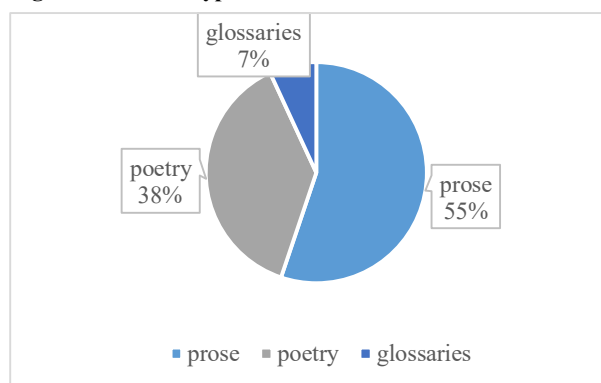
Fig. 31: ME Text Types: *bitter*

The OE *biter* is still well attested in OE poetry (21 occs). Likewise, it is attested (4 occs) in Latin-Old English glossaries in the *MS Cotton Cleopatra*. Some quotations (7 occs out of 130 overall) of the ME

bitter also pertain to ME plays, namely to the cycles of mystery plays: the York plays, Towneley plays and *Ludus Coventriae*.

4.6.4.2 Genres

The majority of prosaic works attesting both the OE *biter* and its ME reflex is of a religious focus (20 occurrences out of 32 for the OE *biter* and 27 out of 50 for its ME reflex), but the prevalence is not as prominent, for the two adjectives are also strongly represented in genres subsumed under the categories *other* (for the OE *biter*, *other* includes 12 occs, and for its ME reflex, it comprises 22 occs), as shown by the charts below. While the religious prosaic texts mostly include homilies, religious instruction, treatises and various parts of the *Bible* (the religious category of the OE *biter* also includes the wisdom collection *Liber Scintillarum* with citations pulled from the *Bible*, cf. Hen, 2019: 219), the individual texts of the category *other*, both for OE and ME periods represent predominantly works in the field of medicine (OE Bald's *Leechbook*, *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, ME Chauliac's surgery treatise *Grande Chirurgie*) and herbariums (the OE *Herbarium* and the ME herbal *Agnus castus* and *de Viribus Herbarum*). One quotation of the OE *biter* is also taken from the selection of Anglo-Saxon laws, while the ME *bitter*, still attested in specialized scholarly works (Trevisa's *Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum*), mostly expands beyond the specialized discourses into vernacular usage, appearing also in Mandeville's travel memoir or in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. In addition, the ME *bitter* is once attested in the *Saint Katherine* legend.

Fig. 32: OE Prose Genres: *biter*
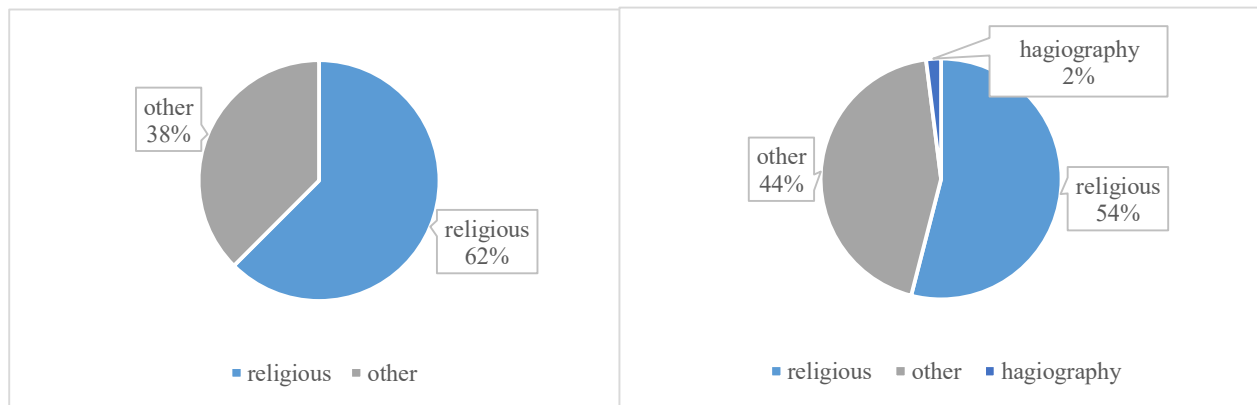
Fig. 33: ME Prose Genres: *bitter*

Although the OE poetic works attesting the native adjective pertain to the religious discourse, with 11 occurrences out of 21 taken from psalms and religious poems, such as *Resignation*, *Christ* or *Genesis*, they also testify to the word's use in a variety of OE poetic genres. The OE *biter* is once attested in the hagiographic poem about the *Saint Guthlac*, once in an OE dream vision poem (the OE *Dream of the Rood*, cf. Fulk, 2014: 2014) and once in riddles, as the dialogue in *Solomon and Saturn II* represents a riddle contest (cf. Dumitrescu, 2017: 1-3). Moreover, it twice appears in elegies (the *Seafarer*, and the elegiac *Rhyming Poem*, cf. North, Allard and Gillies, 2011: 223-224), and 5 of its quotations represent the OE heroic poetry featuring the *Battle of Maldon* and *Beowulf*.

The ME genre division for the reflex *bitter* is very similar, with the majority of poetic works related to the religious sphere (28 occurrences out of 73), including the ME *Ormulum*, *Cursor Mundi*, *Poema Morale*, various religious lyrics and homilies, and the rest of the quotations representing disparate genres, as shown by the charts below. The second most prevalent genre attesting the native adjective is the genre of ME romances, with 11 occurrences taken from such works as *Sir Eglamour* or *William of Pallerne*, and historiographic works (8 occs), mostly comprising Laȝamon's *Brut.* Legends of the saints in verse amount to 4 occurrences of ME *bitter* (the *Juliana* poem or the stanzaic *Saint Margaret*), while 6 quotations represent the ME dream vision poetry (*Romance of the Rose*, *Parliament of Fowls*, *Piers Plowman*). The category *other* for the ME *bitter* includes numerous disparate works (16 occs): proverbial poetry, *Court of Sapience*, political poems, such as *The Death of Edward the III*, and parts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

Fig. 34: OE Poetry Genres: *biter*
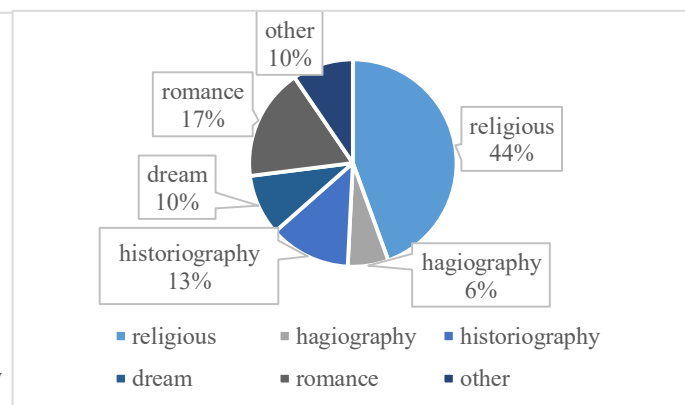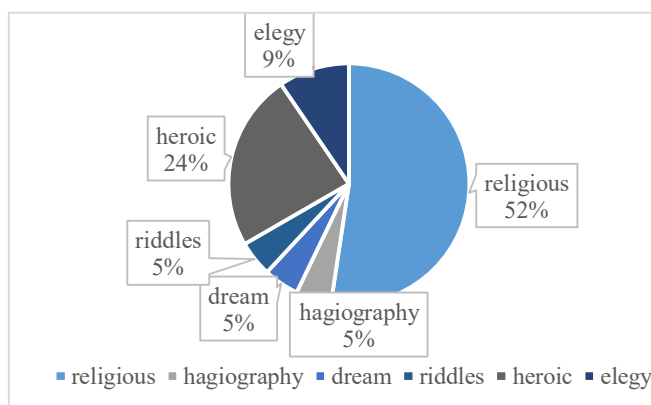
Fig. 35: ME Poetry Genres: *bitter*

The attestations of the ON borrowing *baisk* are almost entirely drawn from the religious texts, both for prosaic works (2 occurrences out of 3), comprising Rolle's psalter commentary and the Wycliffite revision of the Rolle glosses to *Canticles*, and for the poetic texts (6 occs out of 6), subsuming religious lyrics, *Ormulum* and the typological *Mirror of Man's Salvation* (cf. Wilson and Wilson, 1985: 10-12). Its sole occurrence not pertaining to the religious discourse attests its use in a different specialized semantic field – the field of medicine, for it comprises the quotation from Chauliac's treatise on surgery.

4.6.4.3 Localization

The ON borrowing *baisk* (in blue) does not seem regionally restricted; although it is mainly attested in Yorkshire (West Riding and further unspecified Yorkshire), some of its texts concentrate also near the east border of the Midlands area, in southern Lincolnshire, Soke of Peterborough and twice in Cambridgeshire (Huntingdonshire and Ely). As the map in *Fig. 34: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of baisk and bitter* shows, it overlaps in some of these areas with the LME attestations of the native *bitter* (Soke, Ely, WRY and southern Lincolnshire).

The native adjective *bitter* is far more widely attested already in EME texts (red), spreading even further by the LME period (in yellow where not overlapping with EME) to Somerset, Hampshire, Berkshire or to Durham, and including even works localized to Ireland or Wales (Monmouth). It is also attested in London, which ensures, given its high frequency and currency elsewhere, its way into the developing English Standard (cf. Corrie, 2006: 103-116).

Fig. 36: LAEME Map: EME and LME Localization of *baisk* and *bitter*
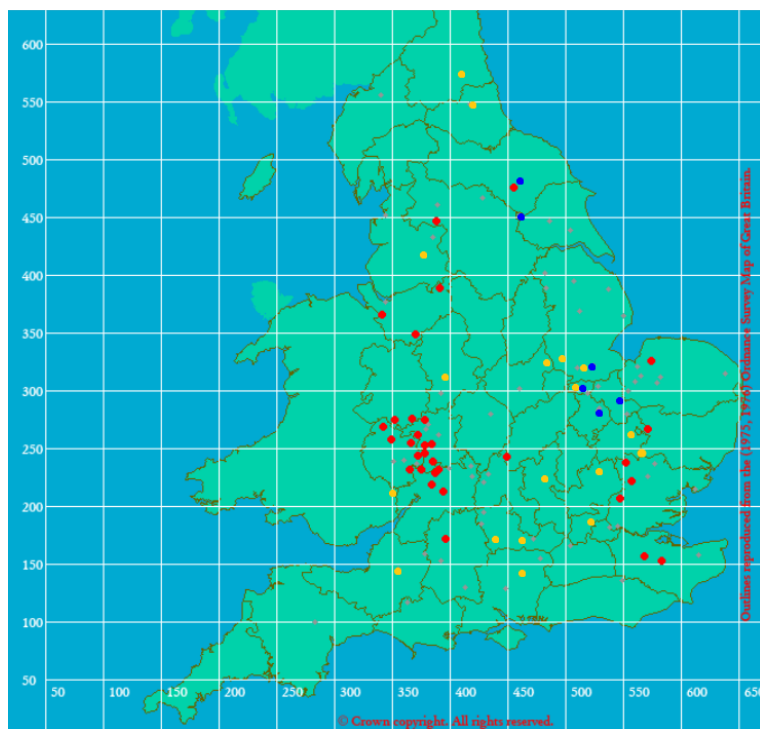
red for EME LPs of *bitter*, yellow for LME LPs of *bitter* and blue for *baisk*

4.7 The Summary of the Properties of the Surviving Lexis

The possible factors contributing to the obsolescence (or survival) of the individual analysed words do not seem to be generally applicable in their entirety; the properties of the native obsolete words do not coincide with those of the incoming ON borrowings that have also become obsolete, nor could a single decisive factor be pinpointed that would determine the outcome of the competition between the individual lexical units. As the tables below show, the properties common to all obsolete, or surviving lexis, differ for the native adjectives and for the entering borrowings.

The tables include the information about the properties of the analysed words, which either worked to strengthen their position or to weaken it, thereby contributing to their obsolescence: (i) information about the formal properties of the words, whether they are simple or complex units (composed of identifiable separable elements); (ii) information on whether the words participate in word formation processes; (iii) information on whether a variant form of the adjective existed (cf. the individual subchapters on formal properties of the individual words: 4.1.1; 4.2.1; 4.3.1; 4.4.1; 4.5.1; 4.6.1); (iv) information on whether the given word formally coincided with another unrelated lexical unit (i.e. the relationship of homonymy; converted elements thus do not count); (v) information on

whether the given lexical units are polysemous (as indicated by the number and nature of the semantic categories given in the *HTE*, and as suggested by the individual occurrences); (vi) information about functional syntactic restrictions (adjectives functioning only predicatively or attributively); (vii) information about strictly defined preference as regards the animacy of the accompanying nouns; (viii) information about the semantic dominance of the given word (whether the word was, albeit only for a short period, the sole member of any of its listed semantic categories); (ix) information about the possible text type restriction; (x) information about the possible genre restriction; and (xi) information about the localization of the term, as offered in the *LAEME* for the EME period, and as suggested by the linguistic profiles in the *LALME* for the LME period (regardless of the status in the *OED* marking the word as dialectal).

The green colour of the properties of the native *bysig* and *biter*, and of the borrowed *odde* signifies that the properties of these words are perceived as positively contributing to their survival and success, and are thus given as reference points for comparison with other words in their groups.

These words are thus considered to be the strongest competitors, for:

(i) they are themselves not complex, which, from the perspective of naturalness, grants them greater freedom as regards their own participation in word-formation. It moreover grants them greater independence within the system, as these words are not reliant on the survival and transparency of other elements participating in their creation;

(ii) they themselves participate frequently in word-formation, becoming more entrenched and more strongly represented in the minds of the speakers due to their higher frequencies of occurrence in general through association of word form;

(iii) do not have any close rival variant forms;

(iv) are not ambiguously homonymous with other words;

(v) are polysemous, and thus more frequent, appearing in different contexts (cf. point iii);

(vi) are not functionally restricted, allowing them to be used more frequently, as the range of possible constructions including them is wider;

(vii) are not similarly restricted with regard to semantics (or stylistics in case of established strict collocations) (cf. point vi);

(viii) were at some point the only term in their respective semantic fields, possibly ensuring their usefulness and giving them a possible boost with regard to frequency, as no rival expressions were available;

(ix) were not restricted to a specific text type, or

(x) genre within the given text type; and

(xi) were not strictly geographically localized, which might have had a negative impact on their diffusion within the speech community.

The *Table 14: Summary of Properties: Native Adjectives* summarises the properties of the analysed native words. It is based on the properties as current of both the OE words and of their ME

reflexes.[199] The *Table 15: Summary of Properties: ON Borrowings* summarizes in a similar fashion the properties of the analysed ON borrowings. The individual cells (in either of the tables) marked by asterisks merit some further comment, which follows below:

Table 14: Summary of Properties: Native Adjectives

	ānlȳpig	*bysig*	*blīþe*	*behēfe*	*forht*	*biter*
complexity	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WF	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
variation	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
homonymy	N	N	N	N	N	N
polysemy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
syntactic restriction	N	N	N	N	N	N
reference restriction	N	N	N	N	N	N
field dominance	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
text type restriction	N	N	N	N	N	N
genre restriction	N*	N	N	N	N	N
localization	N	N	N	N*	Y*	N
status	obsolete	PDE *busy*	PDE *blithe*	obsolete	obsolete	PDE *bitter*

While the native adjective *ānlȳpig* itself is not restricted to a specific genre, some of its uses are specific to them: the established collocation *anlepi son*, referring to Christ, is strictly confined to religious texts, while the ME *anlepiman* and *anlepiwyman* (possibly perceived as a compound) seem to be the feature of ME legal texts (written in Latin and mixed with French, cf. the example in (3) (p. 51), 4.1.2).

The adjective *behēfe* is not strictly localized, but the majority of its occurrences is localized to the south of England. As regard the localization of the native *forht*, nearly all of the occurrences of its related analysed forms are not geographically specified, as they have no listed LPs assigned in the *LAEME* or in the *LALME*. The only traceable text is placed in Ruthland (the one containing the form *afrought*), while the *fright(-)* rival forms are apparently not geographically restricted. Even the *DOE*'s entry for the OE *fyrhtan* (with fewer occurrences than *forhtian*) states that it appears in multiple MSS (*DOE*). It is thus marked as restricted in its localization, but it is so only for the sake of contrast with the -*y*- rival forms, and therefore it should not be taken as a possible factor of obsolescence.

The borrowing *nait* is listed within the *MED* in slightly different meanings than in the *OED* ('useful' as opposed to the 'skilful, deft' respectively). Moreover, its individual occurrences seem to attest to its different meanings, pointing to the possible semantic vagueness of the word, or to its

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[199] All of the properties are taken as applying to the whole period of the word's attestation (words with derived forms are therefore taken as participating in WF processes regardless of the period of creation of those derived forms), except for the geographic localization, which is based on the localization of the ME texts, as these indicate in the case of the currently obsolete words their level of geographic diffusion as co-temporaneous with their last dates of occurrence. The Old English localization is not discussed in this thesis.

confusion with some of its homonyms (cf. example and note to example (46) (p. 78) in 4.4.2 and examples 53-55 (p. 80) in). Although the borrowing *nait* is attested also in a historiographic work – *Castleford's Chronicle, or The boke of Brut* – this occurrence is very reminiscent of its marked association with romance (cf. the example (46) (p. 78) in). Its negative counterpart *unnait* is without any exceptions in its analysed occurrences restricted to religious discourse, but unlike *nait*, which is localized to the north, the negative adjective *unnait* is also attested in the Midlands area or near its eastern borders.

Table 15: Summary of Properties: ON Borrowings

	odde	*sīsel*	*mēk*	*nait*	*rad(e*	*baisk*
complexity	N	N	N	N	N	N
WF	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
variation	N	N	N	N	N	N
homonymy	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
polysemy	Y	N	Y	Y*	N	Y*
syntactic restriction	N	Y	N	N	N	N
reference restriction	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
field dominance	Y	N	N	N	N	N
text type restriction	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
genre restriction	N	Y	N	Y*	N	Y*
localization	N	Y	N	Y/N*	N	N
status	PDE *odd*	obsolete	PDE *meek*	obsolete	dial. PDE *rad*	dial. PDE *bask**

Despite being listed only in one semantic category within the *HTE*, the occurrences of the ON borrowing *baisk* attest it also in other meanings – the figurative meanings which it shares with the native *bitter* (with shared co-occurring words *tears* or *sin*). The borrowing *baisk* is also attested only in specialized discourses: in texts of religious nature and in medical texts.

As the tables above show, the properties shared by the obsolete borrowings and not characteristic of the surviving ones are: (i) localization; (ii) genre restriction and (iii) text type restriction, all of which inhibited in some way their diffusion within the speech community. For the native adjectives, their complexity of form seems to be an important factor (with 2 of the 3 obsolete words). The existence of variant forms seems similarly crucial, as all of the native obsolete words had a variant form (3 out of 3 obsolete OE words); *forht* may have blended in with the OE *fyrht*(-) forms; similarly, the OE *behēfe* (ME *bihēve*) slowly yielded ground to the rival *behove-* forms. The OE *ānlȳpig* had two sets of variants: full forms, such as ME *ænlepi*/ *onelepy*, and perhaps less transparent and abbreviated forms, as with *ælpi*/ *olpy* (*OED*), all in addition to its OE doublet *ānlīpe*, whose reflex outlasted the reflex of the OE *ānlȳpig* in northern English dialects until the 14th century (*OED*).

5. Conclusion

As expected, a single decisive factor cannot be identified because the properties the obsolete borrowings seem to have in common are not shared by their obsolete native counterparts. The obsolescence or survival of the given lexical unit thus rests on a complex interplay of factors. These are specific to each of the individual words and tied with their specific semantic fields, other potential rivals inhabiting those fields, as well as their own properties influencing their distribution.

Nonetheless, some mutual influence between the paired analysed words could be observed, depending on the degree of their mutual overlap:

(1) Despite the semantic and functional overlap between the surviving ON borrowing *odde* and the obsolete OE *ānlȳpig* being only peripheral, the ON borrowing survives in senses other than the meaning shared with its native counterpart. Unlike its OE rival, the ON borrowing participated frequently in word-formation. It therefore became entrenched, as it gained not only in associated forms, but also became more polysemous. It survives in PDE in these acquired new meanings as the adjective *odd*. The native *ānlȳpig*, on the other hand, is marked by a prominent decrease in its number of occurrences in ME (the *DOE* c120 occs, while the *MED* 52 occs), sharing its functional and semantic space also with its OE doublet *ānlīpe*. With both adjectives complex in form, and based on a noun derived from a strong verb, marked in ME by variation, as it was already being reclassified as weak (the variation in its past participle forms is still current in PDE, cp. *leap* > pp. *leaped/ leapt*), their frequency might have been negatively impacted, and further lowered by their seemingly increasingly formulaic nature in ME, as the occurrences of *ōnlēpī* suggest (established collocation in religious contexts and a seemingly legal term, cf. examples (3) in 4.1.2 (p. 51) and (10) (p. 55) in 4.1.3.3). Unlike the native adjective, the ON borrowing *odde* was mostly attested outside the religious discourse: in scholastic works as well as in multiple letters (e.g. *Paston Letters*).

(2) The obsolescence of the borrowed adjective *sīsel* was strongly tied with its apparent lack of diffusion (even if the low number of attested occurrences is not taken into account): the borrowing was syntactically restricted as predicative, localized to the north, and appeared only in religious poetry, in which rhyme and alliteration may have been a decisive factor of lexical selection. In addition, its lack of polysemy and derived forms testify to its absence of entrenchment within the system. The native *bysig*, on the other hand, was a dominant term in some of its semantic categories, and despite its low number of occurrences in the *DOE* (21 occs), it rose to power in ME (115 occs).[200] In addition, the adjective *bysig* was semantically and functionally unrestricted and had numerous derived forms already

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[200] Timofeeva (2018a: 228) relies on the number of occurrences as a factor of its own for determining the reasons of obsolescence of the given religious terms. While analysing the sociolinguistic ties within the speech community, she states that '[OE] words with 500+ occurrences have a much better chance of being used in ME'. The case of *bysig* (which merits further investigation) also emphasises the importance of competition (the absence of rivals within the individual semantic fields) and productivity (participation in word-formation processes) as factors contributing to the word's survival.

in OE. The native adjective completely covered the functional and semantic span of the ON borrowing, and it stood no chance against such strong established rival.

(3) Both the ON borrowing *mēk* and the native *blīþe* are current in PDE: as expected, both words have semantically differentiated and are obsolete in their formerly overlapping senses.[201] Both are attested widely outside the texts pertaining to the religious sphere, in dream poems, romances, and in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but the religious context was their meeting point, with *mēk* and *blīthe* used in the sense 'generous, merciful' with reference to God, and *mēk* additionally denoting 'humble'.

(4) Both the ON borrowing *nait* and the OE *behēfe* are obsolete, despite the (limited) existence of their derived forms. Their position was probably weakened by the existence of a variant form, as in the case of *behēfe*, or by the existence of numerous (also borrowed) homonyms, as in the case of *nait*. Their mutual overlap is very peripheral, as the occurrences of *nait* are very unstraightforward, and very much dependent on their context, and possibly in some cases even represent variants of another lexical unit (the adjective *neat*, cf. examples (46) (p. 78) in 4.4.2 and (53)-(55) (p. 80) in 4.4.3.2). In addition, not only the borrowing *nait* but also its related form *unnait* (be it derived or borrowed) pertain only to a selection of genres (*nait* to romances, *unnait* to the religious). The OE adjective *behēfe* clearly belongs to the learned sphere, appearing in scholastic, religious and medicine texts as well as in laws.

(5) Even though the ON derived *rad(e* is partially homonymous with later forms of the OE *hræddr*, its contexts of occurrence are unambiguous. Even though the borrowing has no derived forms in English and is mostly predicative, it did not have many rivals in its categories. In addition, its possible restriction to dialects may have protected it from the ongoing 'upheaval' within its semantic fields, as its native rivals were semantically differentiating: while its polysemous OE rival *forht* fused with its other OE rival forms (namely *fyrht(-)* forms), changing its semantic focus to 'frightening, causing fear', the fear-derived lexis took its place in the sense of 'fearful'.

(6) The ON borrowing *bask*, marked as dialectal in the *OED*, is also offered in the *DSL* as semantically differentiated from its ME form *baisk* and its native rival *bitter*. Unlike the borrowing, the native *bitter* is functionally unrestricted, productive in word formation and very polysemous; the borrowing overlaps with its native counterpart in both of its senses, sharing even some co-occurring words. The native *bitter* is strongly established already in the period of OE (with c200 occs in the *DOE*), being the sole member for some time in some of its semantic fields. Unlike the borrowing, the native *bitter* is attested in a variety of genres outside of the religious texts and works pertaining to the field of medicine.

The possible factors of obsolescence most prominent with regard to the native forms differ in nature slightly to those that are most crucial in the case of the entering borrowings. Properties marked as essential for the survival of OE lexis are those which do not weaken the native word's position during the period of development of Old English into Middle English (and onwards), such as dependence on

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[201] It would be also useful to further investigate the relationship between *meek* and its other established rivals since OE, the adjectives *soft*, and *mild*.

weakening ablaut forms or unproductive word-formation processes. On the other hand, those features which facilitate the integration of the entering borrowings into the system, or speeding up the exposure of the speakers to the new words, seem to be vital for the incoming ON lexis. Otherwise, the factors determining the outcome of the competition between the native and borrowed lexical units are very individual, depending on other members of their related semantic fields and their functional as well as textual distribution.

An inquiry into the individual meanings of the competing words outside of their scope of overlap, including their own localization, would certainly contribute to deeper understanding of the individual factors and their interplay, along with the analysis of other common rivals within the individual semantic categories. This might help to pinpoint 'the strongest' members in those categories. Observing their common characteristics, other key features for survival may be identified. This might prove especially useful with those native adjectives, which seem to have been ousted from use by their variant forms, as a thorough examination of their properties might shed some light on the possible reasons for their precedence. A more detailed semantic analysis of the competing words may also probe not only into the animacy of referents, but also into the concreteness of the accompanying nouns, illustrating the potential places of overlap even more clearly. A connection between the possible factors offered in this thesis and individual sociolinguistic ties within the speech community would be worth investigating as well.

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Shrnutí (Résumé)

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá popisem vzájemného vztahu šesti vybraných slovních párů v historii angličtiny. Každý z nich sestává ze staroseverské adjektivní výpůjčky a jejího staroanglického protějšku. Za účelem hlubšího srovnání byly do práce zahrnuty i reflexy daných staroanglických slov ze střední angličtiny.

Staroseverské výpůjčky analyzované v této práci byly spárovány s domácími staroanglickými slovy na základě výstupu předchozí bakalářské práce, jejímž úkolem bylo excerpovat středoanglická slova staroseverského původu z *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) a sémanticky je kategorizovat v *Thesaurus of Old English* (*TOE*) (a to na základě prostých definic, zúžených podle principu centrálního významu u polysémních slov). Toto sémantické zařazení vyňatých výpůjček vedlo k identifikaci jejich domácích protějšků v daných sémantických polích. Takto utvořené páry byly pak v rámci přípravy této práce následně protříděny podle doložené frekvence jejich výskytů v *Dictionary of Old English: A to I* (*DOE*), kdy byla jednotlivá staroanglická slova s počtem dochovaných výskytů v *DOE* pod deset vyřazena. Jak staroseverské výpůjčky, tak jejich staroanglické protějšky byly pak nadále analyzovány s ohledem na jejich vztah k současné angličtině tak, jak naznačuje slovník *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), označující daná slova buď za zastaralá, nářeční, či za součást aktivní slovní zásoby v současné angličtině.

Jednotlivé slovní páry pak byly vybrány tak, aby se sémanticky prolínaly (spadaly do stejné sémantické kategorie) v *Historical Thesaurus of English* (*HTE*) a představovaly šest různých vztahů mezi přicházejícími staroseverskými výpůjčkami a domácí slovní zásobou: (1) výpůjčka *odde* přežila (PDE *odd*), zatímco domácí slovo *ānlȳpig* nikoliv, (2) výpůjčka *sīsel* zastarala, ale staroanglické slovo *bysig* je součástí lexika současné angličtiny (PDE *busy*), (3) obě slova, výpůjčka *mēk* (PDE *meek*) a domácí *blīþe* (PDE *blithe*), se dochovala do současné angličtiny, (4) obě slova, vypůjčené *nait* i staroanglické *behēfe*, zastarala, (5) výpůjčka *rad(e* se vymezila nářečně (PDE *rad*), zatímco staroanglické slovo *forht* zastaralo, (6) výpůjčka *baisk* se dochovala v dialektu (PDE *bask*), a to i přesto, že se staroanglický protějšek *biter* dochoval do současné angličtiny (PDE *bitter*).

Popis vzájemného vztahu takto vybraných párů pak vychází z:

(a) analýzy *formálních aspektů daných slov*, zahrnující popis jejich původu a integrace do systému jazyka – zdali přispívají do slovotvorných procesů, a v jazyce se tak nacházejí jejich příbuzné a odvozené formy.

(b) analýzy *syntaktických funkcí daných adjektiv* – zdali se adjektiva vyskytují v predikativní či atributivní funkci, a v případě predikativní funkce pak analýza obsahuje popis, zdali se jedná o jmennou část přísudku nebo doplněk předmětu, a s jakými slovesy se v daných funkcích adjektiva vyskytují.

(c) analýzy *jejich lexikálních polí*, obsahujících další možné konkurenty, a analýzy vlastností podstatných jmen, která daná adjektiva rozvíjejí. Obsahuje popis daných podstatných jmen s ohledem na to, zda odkazují na osoby a živé tvory, či na neživé předměty či koncepty, a popis toho, v jakých významech se s danými adjektivy pojí. Analýza sémantických polí vychází ze sémantických kategorií

asociovaných s danými slovy v *HTE* a z dalších slov v těchto polích obsažených, která jsou na základě informací v *OED* charakterizována s ohledem na svůj původ, možnou funkční specializaci a stáří prvního dokladu.

(d) analýzy *vnějších faktorů*, jako jsou typy textů, ve kterých se slova vyskytují, jejich žánrové vymezení (závislé na daných výskytech slov) a zeměpisná lokalizace původu těchto textů, tak jak naznačují jejich lingvistické profily v *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (*LAEME*) a v *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (*LALME*). Popis typů textů zahrnuje jednoduché rozdělení na texty prozaické, poetické, dramatické a glosáře či slovníky. Identifikované žánry se liší pro staroanglické období a pro období středoanglické a závisí na konkrétních výskytech zkoumaných slov. Informace o jednotlivých textech vycházejí z bibliografických citací k jednotlivým výskytům v *MED* i *DOE* a následně pak z edicí daných děl, antologií a dalších děl pojednávajících o daných textech zkoumaná slova obsahujících.

Na vzájemný vztah takto vybraných adjektivních párů je pohlíženo jako na vztah konkurenční, kdy jednotlivé výše popsané faktory buď přispívají k posílení pozice daného slova vůči jeho oponentu, a tak se pravděpodobně zasluhující o jeho přežití, nebo pozici daného slova oslabují, což může vést k jeho postupnému zastarání či nahrazení slovem jiným. Pokud přežívají obě slova, u nichž je prokázán významový a funkční překryv, očekává se, že budou dochována ve významech jiných, než ve kterých se překrývala se svými konkurenty, jelikož došlo k sémantickému rozlišení obou slov.

Výzkum je založen na konkrétních výskytech slov excerpovaných ze slovníků *DOE*, to v případě staroanglických slov, a *MED*, to v případě staroseverských výpůjček a středoanglických zástupců domácích slov. Tyto výskyty byly pak dále případně rozšířeny o výskyty v *OED* a v souvisejících korpusech *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*), pro staroanglická slova, a o výskyty v *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, version 2* (*PPCME2*), pro slova vypůjčená ze staroseverštiny a středoanglické představitele slov staroanglických.

Jednotlivé faktory se pro každé zkoumané slovo ukázaly jako velmi individuální, jelikož jejich přežití, či naopak zastarání závisí na komplexní vzájemné interakci všech faktorů. Nehledě na žánrovou nevymezenost a aktivní účast ve slovotvorbě, tak mohou slova i s vysokou frekvencí výskytů zastarat (jako je tomu v případě adjektiva *forht*) v závislosti na konkurenceschopnosti blízké varianty či na zaplněnosti asociovaného lexikálního pole. Vlastnosti identifikované jako nejvíce rozhodující pro přežití konkurujících si slov se liší pro slova domácího původu a slova přejatá ze staroseverštiny. Všechna zastaralá staroanglická slova měla existující formální variantu, která je později buď pohltila, či zcela zastoupila: staroanglické adjektivum *forht* podlehlo vlivu odvozených variant souvisejících s příbuzných slovesem *fyrhtan*; staroanglické *behēfe* bylo vytlačeno variantami souvisejícími s podstatným jménem **behōf* a slovesem *behōfian*; a staroanglické *ānlȳpig* zastoupila adjektivní varianta *ānlīpe*, a to ještě dříve, než zastarala sama, k čemuž pravděpodobně došlo kvůli její závislosti na silném slovese *hlēapan* (> ablautově odvozené staroanglické substantivum *hlȳp*). Nejdůležitějšími pro slova domácí slovní zásoby se tedy jeví ty faktory, které jim zajišťují nezávislost na schématech,

vzorcích a slovotvorných procesech, které v průběhu vývoje zastarávají. Pro přicházející výpůjčky se naopak nejdůležitějšími jeví ty vlastnosti, které podporovaly jejich rozšíření v komunitě mluvčích, a zvyšovaly tak jejich šance na zahnízdění v aktivní slovní zásobě. Jedná se především o polysémii, žánrovou a textovou nevyhraněnost a schopnost podílet se na odvozování dalších slov, která by opětovně zvýšila jejich vlastní frekvenci kvůli posílenému zastoupení v aktivní slovní zásobě.

Jako výpůjčka s nejsilnější pozicí bylo vyhodnoceno adjektivum *odde*, jelikož (i) se nejedná o slovo složené, což výpůjčce poskytuje jistou svobodu, co se týče slovotvorby, a zároveň ji to činí nezávislou na jiných prvcích či vzorcích; (ii) se podílí hojně na slovotvorbě, (iii) nemá žádné blízké varianty, které by výpůjčku mohly nahradit; (iv) formálně se neshoduje s jinými slovy, což by kvůli dlouhodobým nejasnostem mohlo její pozici ohrozit; (v) je polysémní, a kvůli výskytu ve více kontextech má také vyšší frekvenci; (vi) adjektivum *odde* není funkčně vymezené, což zvyšuje jeho šanci na přežití, a to kvůli většímu množství konstrukcí, ve kterých by se výpůjčka mohla vyskytovat; (vii) není striktně sémanticky vymezené a není součástí zastarávajícího slovního spojení; (viii) bylo alespoň po nějakou dobu jediným členem v alespoň jednom ze svých asociovaných sémantických polí, což opět zvyšovalo jeho šance na užití, a to pro nedostatek konkurentů v dané oblasti; (ix) nebylo úzce spjato s určitým typem textu; ani (x) s určitým žánrem; a (xi) nebylo ani úzce zeměpisně lokalizováno, což by mělo negativní vliv na jeho šíření v jazykové komunitě. Z domácích slov byla jako slova s nejpevnějším ukotvením vyhodnocena ze stejných důvodů staroanglická adjektiva *biter* a *bysig*.

Dále si pozornost zaslouží možnost, že aktuálnost slova v dialektu mohla dané výpůjčky ochránit před zastaráním, a to kvůli opětovnému vystavení mluvčích dialektu v době, kdy už kontakt se zdrojovým jazykem nebyl možný. Ani *baisk*, ani *rad(e*, slova označená v OED jako náležící k dialektům, nejsou podle svých lingvistických profilů čistě lokalizována do jedné nářeční oblasti. Zároveň jsou obě v některých ohledech oslabena, což u jiných výpůjček i domácích slov pravděpodobně přispělo k jejich zastarání (ani jedna z daných výpůjček se nepodílela na slovotvorbě, *rad(e* je dokonce referenčně vymezeno a formálně se shoduje s některými pozdějšími tvary staroanglického *hræddr*), avšak obě slova se zdají být zachována (alespoň donedávna): obě totiž mají v *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (*DSL*) uvedené výskyty až do období kolem 1930 (slovník *DSL* uvádí pro *rad* také odvozené substantivum *radniss* „strach, hrůza, úlek").

V některých analyzovaných konkurenčních vztazích se daly pozorovat možné vzájemné vlivy, jako je sémantické odlišení konkurujících slov. Jednotlivé konkurenční vztahy by se daly shrnout takto:

(1) I když byl sémantický a funkční překryv mezi staroseverskou výpůjčkou *odde* a staroanglickým *ānlȳpig* podle jejich analyzovaných výskytů pouze okrajový, staroseverská výpůjčka se dochovala ve významech jiných, než ve kterém se překrývala s domácím slovem. Na rozdíl od svého domácího protějšku výpůjčka oplývá hojností odvozených slov, což prohloubilo její upevnění v systému jazyka. Výpůjčka se také od doby svého příchodu sémanticky rozšířila a v získaných nových významech se dochovává do současné angličtiny jako adjektivum *odd*; naproti tomu domácí *ānlȳpig* trvale ztrácí na výskytech, zatímco sdílí svůj funkční prostor se svou domácí variantou *ānlīpe*. Šance na přežití obou

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domácích slov mohla být nepříznivě ovlivněna také jejich závislostí na silném slovese, které v období střední angličtiny (tento stav trvá i v současné angličtině) osciluje mezi svými původními silnými tvary a tvary slabými (srov. formy slovesa *lēpen* v *MED*: tvary préterita *lept(e* a *lepped*). Domácí adjektivum *ānlȳpig* (středoanglické *ōnlēpī*) je navíc součástí ustálených spojení v kontextech náboženských a právních.

(2) Staroseverské výpůjčka *sīsel* byla buď vůči svému domácímu oponentovi velmi znevýhodněna, nebo kvůli jeho pevně vybudované pozici neměla ani šanci se do jazyka hlouběji integrovat: nejenže je zeměpisně omezena na sever Anglie, ale je také funkčně, textově a žánrově ostře vymezena a nepodílí se na slovotvorbě. Domácí protějšek *bysig* měl však dost prostoru pro upevnění své pozice kvůli dočasné absenci konkurence ve svých sémantických kategoriích, a navíc byl nadále posílen množstvím příbuzných tvarů už ve staré angličtině a svou polyfunkčností.

(3) Jak staroseverská výpůjčka *mēk*, tak její staroanglický protějšek *blīþe* jsou sémanticky vyhrazené a součástí současné slovní zásoby angličtiny. Obě slova se střetávala v náboženském prostředí, kde obě znamenala „milosrdný a štědrý“, v těchto významech jsou obě slova nyní zastaralá.

(4) Zatímco staroanglické *behēfe* bylo pravděpodobně ovlivněno existencí blízké varianty, o zastarání staroseverského *nait* se pravděpodobně zasloužila formální podobnost s několika rozdílnými slovy, domácími i vypůjčenými. Staroseverská výpůjčka se také vyznačuje neurčitostí významu a překrývá se s domácím protějškem jen velmi okrajově. Obě slova jsou navíc žánrově vymezená: staroseverská výpůjčka *nait* náleží do jazyka rytířského románu, zatímco její záporná forma *unnait* se naopak vyskytuje v čistě náboženských textech. Domácí adjektivum se vyskytuje nejen v textech náboženských, ale i v textech scholastických a lékařských a zákonných.

(5) Staroseverská výpůjčka *rad(e* se také formálně částečně překrývá s jiným slovem, ale její výskyty se nevyznačují takovou nejasností a závislostí na širším kontextu, jako je tomu u výpůjčky *nait*. Na rozdíl od svého domácího protějšku se nepodílí na slovotvorbě, ale zároveň není ani zasažena existencí blízké konkurenční formy, jako je tomu u staroanglického *forht*, u něhož dochází k míšení s příbuznými formami, které se postupně vyvinou v současné substantivum *fright* a jeho odvozeniny. V daném sémantickém poli dochází k sémantickému vymezení mezi společnými konkurenty, protějškem současného anglické *fear* a s ním souvisejícími dalšími formami, a zmíněnými *fright(-)* a *forht(-)* tvary, zatímco staroseverská výpůjčka si ponechává svůj význam (a aktuálnost), a to právě pravděpodobně kvůli svému nářečnímu statusu.

(6) Kdyby výpůjčka *baisk* nepřináležela k dialektu, pravděpodobně by byla svým hluboce zakořeněným domácím konkurentem vytlačena, jelikož domácí *biter* se s danou výpůjčkou funkčně i významově překrývá. Avšak na rozdíl od staroseverské výpůjčky je domácí adjektivum funkčně neomezené, vyznačuje se množstvím odvozených slov a vyskytuje se hojně i v tvorbě nepatřící k náboženským a lékařským (či botanickým) textům. Neboť domácí adjektivum *biter* je jedním z hlavních členů svých sémantických kategorií, z nichž některé po určitou dobu naprosto bezkonkurenčně ovládalo, a to zpravidla po zastarání staroanglických konkurentů a před příchodem

latinských učených či francouzských výpůjček. Nebýt aktuálnosti staroseverské výpůjčky v dialektu, je možné, že by bylo adjektivum *baisk* velmi rychle vytlačeno, jako tomu bylo v případě vypůjčeného adjektiva *sīsel* and domácího slova *bysig*.

Vliv dialektové přináležitosti na přežití staroseverských výpůjček by bylo určitě záhodné hlouběji prozkoumat právě v rámci konkurenčních vztahů s domácí slovní zásobou. Zároveň by pro hlubší porozumění vzájemným vztahům konkurujících si slov i faktorů přispívajících k jejich zastarání či přežití bylo přínosné důkladněji prozkoumat i jednotlivé konkurenty zkoumaných slov v asociovaných lexikálních polích. To by mohlo pomoci lépe určit faktory nejvíce přispívající k přežití daných slov, zejména pak v případě slov staroanglických, která jsou z aktivní slovní zásoby vytlačená svými blízkými variantami. Bylo by také velmi přínosné prozkoumat vztah mezi faktory zkoumanými v této práci a sociolingvistickými vazbami v jazykové komunitě.

Appendix

The following list includes the individual quotations (along with the bibliographic notes as presented in the dictionaries and the corpora) of the words analysed in this thesis as taken from the sources: the occurrences of the ON borrowings *odde*, *mēk*, *rad(e* are taken from the *MED*, while the other ON borrowings with a low number of quotations within the dictionary, *sīsel*, *nait* and *baisk*, were additionally run through the corpus *PPCME2*, and subsequently searched also in the *OED*. The main source of the OE words *ānlȳpig*, *blīþe*, *forth*, and *biter* is the *DOE*, while some occurrences of the OE *bysig* and *behēfe* are also taken from the corpus *DOEC*. The occurrences of the OE words are also followed by their ME reflexes: *ōnlēpī*, *bisī*, *blīthe*, *bihēve* and *bitter*. In the case of OE *forht* no direct reflex could be found in the *MED*, and thus only the occurrences of the analysed related words are given: *forhtigen*, and *unforht*.

Occurrences of *odde*:

1. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)122a/b :* Compotistes departiþ þilke xii moones in sixe euene & sixe **odde**, as þe moones [Mrg: monþes; L menses] ben euene oþir **odde**, for an euene mone answeriþ to an **odde** moneþ and an **odde** mone to an euene moneþ.
2. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)270a/a :* Þe spiþur..haþ alwey feet euene and nought **odde** [L impares].
3. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)327a/a, a/b :* Some nombres **odde**..may nouȝt be departed in to euene parties, for þe oone partye is more and þe oþer lasse as in þre, fyue, and seuene, and oþre suche..Impar is an **odde** nombre þat comeþ of multiplicacioun of **odde** nombres as..nyne and fourty þat..comeþ of multiplicacioun of **odde** nombres, as seuene siþe seuene makeþ nyne and fourty.
4. *?c1400 Sloane SSecr.(Sln 213)16/6 :* Take þe names..and acounte þe letteres of þo names by þe noumbre..and..if al þe hole noumbre be euene..þe man sal dye, and if it be **odde**, þan es it þe womman.
5. *?a1425 *MS Htrn.95 (Htrn 95)89a/a :* Ȝif it so be þat two pointes suffice not for alle þe wounde, þe pointes moste euermore ben **odde** but ȝif þer be enye corner in þe side of þe wounde.
6. *?c1425 Craft Number.(Eg 2622)7/14 :* Impar si fuerit, totum tunc fiet et impar..If þe first figure token an nombur þat is **ode**, alle þat nombur in þat rewle schalle be **ode**, as here 5 6 7 8 6 7.
7. *a1450(1408) *Vegetius(1) (Dc 291)65b :* Þere be grete drede of grete strengþe of enemyes, þan mote þe brede be seuentene or xixe. foote, for **odde** foot is þe manere to be kepid in dichinge.
8. *c1450 Art Number.(Ashm 396)47/34 :* Therfor vnder the last in an **od** place sette, me most fynde a digit, the whiche lade in hym-selfe, it puttithe away that, þat is ouer his hede.
9. *c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719)482/4 :* He cuthe nott tell no maner of nowmer nor tell whilk was **od**, whilk was evyn.
10. *c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719)482/13 :* He wald all way cownt ij thynges to-gedur..So on tyme afterward, þis chanon..tellid þies bakon-flykkis & fand at þai war **od**, & ane wantid.
11. *c1450 Art Number.(Ashm 396)38/30 :* Yf the other figure signyfie any other digital nombre fro vnyte forthe, oþer the nombre is **ode** or evene.
12. *c1475(1392) *MS Wel.564 (Wel 564)63b/b :* If it so be þat þer bihoueþ mo sticchis þan two, þanne euermore þer schal be **odde** sticchis, as þre, fyue, or vij, & so forþ.
13. *c1475 Court Sap.(Trin-C R.3.21)1961 :* She taught nombre, whyche ys **odde** and whyche ys euyn.
14. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)328b/a :* Oon is moder of pluralite and cause of euene and **odde** [L imparitatis], for if þou settest oon to an **odde** nombre nedes þu makest an euene nombre.
15. *(c1410) York MGame (Vsp B.12)78 :* And men aske what hede bereþ the hert þat he haþ seie, he shal alway answere by euen and not by **odde**, for if he be fourched on þe ryghte side and lak nouȝt of his ryghtes bineth, and on þe righte side auntelere and Rialle and susrial and nouȝt fourthe but only þe beme, he shall say it is an hert of x at defaute, for þe most parte bereþ þe nombre euermore to evin.

16. *c1450 Art Number.(Ashm 396)46/7 :* Whan the progressioun interscise endithe in **ode**, take þe more porcioun of alle þe nombre, and multiplie by hym-selfe.
17. *c1450 Art Number.(Ashm 396)47/33 :* Al-weyes fro the last **ode** me shalle begynne.
18. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)64a/b :* Synowes beþ a-countid in alle too & þritty peyre & one **odde** synowe [L impar].
19. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)505 :* Noe of uche honest kynde nem out an **odde**.
20. *c1425 Castle Love(2) (Eg 927)1214 :* That his brother sal euer be his lord and his god, That sal be a confort to him withouten make **od**.
21. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)4750 :* A burly best..was as a man shapen..And large was his **odd** lome þe lenthe of a ȝerde.
22. *(c1465) Invent.Cirencester in BGAS 18 (Bod 6530)326 :* A peyre vestements for werkedays and an **odde** awbe for to change.
23. *a1325(c1280) SLeg.Pass.(Pep 2344)1497,1499 :* His cloþes hi delde a ffoure..Þo was his curtel odde..'We nolleþ nouȝt his curtel kerue, þey he beo **odde** yffalle.'
24. *(1445) Claudian CS (Add 11814)267/101 :* That householde stuffe sholde not be streyte or **odde** thise heyris founde.
25. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)426 :* Of þe lenþe of Noe lyf..Þe sex hundreth of his age and none **odde** ȝerez..Towalten alle þyse wellehedez.
26. *a1425 Trev.Higd.(Hrl 1900)4.33 :* Þat wole be þre score and twelve; but the Scripture usith ofte to speke not of the litel nombre ȝif it is **odde** over the grete. Thes be called the seventi.
27. *a1450(1408) *Vegetius(1) (Dc 291)26a :* Bitwene þe firste werrus of þe Pynus and þe secounde, þat was twenty ȝere and **odde** [L uiginti et quod..annorum].
28. *c1475(c1399) Mum & S.(1) (Cmb Ll.4.14)prol.68 :* They shall fele fawtis foure score and **odde**.
29. *a1500(1413) *Pilgr.Soul (Eg 615)5.8.92b :* In eche of this ordres be gret nombre of blisseful spirites, an hundred and two and twenti thousand, two hundred and two and twenty and two **odde** in alle.
30. *a1400 Preste ne monke (Cleo B.2)172 :* Of twelue moneþes me wanted one & **odde** days nyen or ten.
31. *(a1438) MKempe A (Add 61823)7/23 :* Þis creatur..was wondyrlye vexid & labowryd wyth spyritys half ȝer, viij wekys, & **odde** days.
32. *a1450(1391) Chaucer Astr.(Benson-Robinson)2.25.48 :* Than leveth there 38 degrees and **odde** minutes.
33. *a1500(?a1400) KEdw.& S.(Cmb Ff.5.48)75 :* Me is owand iiii pounde And **odde** twa schillyng.
34. *a1500(?a1400) KEdw.& S.(Cmb Ff.5.48)776 :* Foure pounde ȝe owe to me..Twey schillyngis is þer **odde**.
35. *a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1)24/57 :* Sex hundreth yeris & **od** haue I..liffyd.
36. *(1447) Shillingford16 :* Thomas Montagew sholde sende me xj li. and **odde** mony.
37. *(1465) Paston1.317 :* I take your sonne of your faders **ode** [Gairdner: oode] mony þat was in þe lytyll trussyng cofyr x mark.
38. *(1472) Paston1.575 :* Your byll a-lone drawyth iiij mark and **ode** monye.
39. *(1474) Let.Christ Ch.in RS 85.3286 :* Over and above my rescept they wolde charge yow with xxix li. and **odde** money.
40. *(c1474) Let.Christ Ch.in Camd.n.s.1926 :* Ther bokes varieth not but ij s. and **odd** money, to the whiche bokes except the **odd** money he is agreed to gader.
41. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)7.1580 :* The word under the coupe of hevene Set every thing or **odde** or evene.
42. *a1450(a1425) Mirk IPP (Cld A.2:Peacock)198 :* Loke also þey make non **odde** [vr. hond] weddynge, Lest alle ben cursed..That thylke serues huydeth so; But do ryȝt as seyn the lawes; Aske the banns thre halydawes..So openlyche at the chyrche dore Lete hem eyther wedde othere.
43. *?c1475 *Cath.Angl.(Add 15562)88a :* **Odde**: Dispar, inequalis.
44. *a1475 *Sidrak & B.(Lnsd 793)3034 :* Who so biholdeþ þese foure þinges, Al goodnesse out of him springes; For he þat good loue haþ in God, Loue on him-self is not al **od**.
45. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)4401 :* But on [Lucifer] the **oddist** of other ordant our lord, Brightest of bemes in blisse for to dwelle.
46. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)189 :* Ane of þe **oddist** Emperours of þe werde worthe.

47. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)2008* : Þe son of Ph [read: Philip] þe fers & of his faire lady, Honoured Olimpadas, þe **oddest** vndire heuyn.

48. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)2121* : Happy be ȝee..all in hert beris Þe honouris of þat **odd** clerke, Homore þe grete.

49. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)4165* : Neuer wegh..Se..So **od** men in armys & egur to fight.

50. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)6179* : The Sexte Batell..Ordant by Ector **odmen** & noble.

51. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)94* : Þer is comyn with him..oþire out of þe orient many **od** hundrethe.

52. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)3783* : Kyng porrus..had assemblid Anoþire ost of **odmen** him eft on to ride.

53. *a1500(?c1400) Gowther (Adv 19.3.1)573* : Þo emperour was in þo voward, And Gowþer rode befor is lord, Of knyȝttys was he **odde**.

54. *c1400(1375) Canticum Creat.(Trin-O 57)286* : Bad me Michel wiþ word **od** Worschipen þe, or elles god Wolde wrathen me.

55. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)6172* : Þes Oysoms all were **od** men of strength, Massily made, mykell as giaunttes.

56. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)6404* : He..atlit hym a dynt, With all the forse of his fole & his fuerse arme..Ector for þat **od** dynt ournyt in hert.

57. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)2631* : Ȝit was ane of his ost ane **odd** man of strenth, A burly berne & a bald.

58. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)4097* : Duke Melios..soght fro..Pygre, With Eleuon **od** shippes abill to werre.

59. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)27* : Þai..Of þe ordere of þat **odde** home þat ouer þe aire hingis Knew þe kynd & þe curses of þe clere sternys.

60. *c1475 St.Anne(2) (Trin-C R.3.21)290* : In theyre deuocion was to gret **od**, Passing all other of that same pepyll clere.

(*MED*)

Occurrences of *ānlīpig*:

1. *Comp 18.2 12:* and ðæs ymbe feower wucan and ymbe þreo niht bið se **ænlipiga** gangdæg.

2. *LS 22 (InFestisSMarie) 9:* Martha, Martha, þu eart bisig & gedrefd on feale þingan, ac **anlypig** þing is behefe (*cf. Lc 10:42 porro unum est necessarium*).

3. *ÆCHom II, 39.1 294.211:* Martinus gelacnode mid **ænlipium** cosse ænne hreoflinne mannan fram his micclan coðe. and fram atelicum hiwe his unsmeðan lices.

4. *ÆCHom II, 45 335.4:* witodlice on ðære ealdan.æ. wæs **anlipig** hus þam ælmihtigan Gode to wurðmynte aræred.

5. *ChronA 871.34:* & þæs geares wurdon viiii folcgefeoht gefohten wiþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese, & butan þam þe him Ęlfred þæs cyninges broþur, & **anlipig** aldormon, & cyninges þegnas oft rade onridon þe mon na ne rimde

6. *ÆCHom II, 4 31.68:* æt þam giftum wæron gesette six stænene wæterfatu. æfter ðæra Iudeiscra clænsunge healdende **ænlipige** twyfealde gemetu. oððe þryfealde; nis gecweden on ðam godspelle þæt ða wæterfatu sume heoldon twyfealde gemetu. sume ðryfealde. ac **ænlipige** hi heoldon twyfealde gemetu. oððe ðryfealde

7. *Lk (WSCp) 10.40:* nis þe nan caru þæt min swustur let me **ænlipie** þenian?

8. *ThCap 1 7.313.1:* ne sculon mæssepreostas nateshwon nænig þinga **ænlipie** butan oðrum mannum mæssan syngan þæt he wite hwone he grete & hwa him oncwæðe (*sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret*).

9. *PPs (prose) 13.2:* nis nan þe eallunga wel do, ne forðon **anlepe** (*non est qui faciat bonum non est usque ad unum*).

10. *BenRGl 32.63.2:* substantia monasterii in ferramentis vel vestibus seu quibuslicet rebus prevideat abba fratres ... et eis singula ... consignet custodienda atque recolligenda æhta [-] oððe reafum oððe midsumum þingum foresceawige [-] ... & heom **ænlepige** ... betæce þa gehealdennelicun & þa gelohgenlican.

11. *Mem 125.27:* forgifenra bletsunga fram þam ealdre hi sittan **ænlepie** on heora endebyrdnesse data benedictione a priore resideant singuli in ordine suo.

12. *BenRGl 58.98.6:* tunc ipse frater novitius prosternatur singulorum pedibus ut orent pro eo [-] se nicumena broðor si aþreht **ænlepigra** fotum þæt hi biddan for him

13. *BenRGl 55.91.13:* nos tamen mediocribus locis sufficere credimus monachis per singulos cucullam et tonicam ... et scapulare propter opera indumenta pedum pedules et caligas [-] on medenlicum stowum genihtsumian [-] munecum geond **ænlepige** culam & tonican ... & scapularian for weorcum fiandreaf fota soccas & hosan

14. *PsCaF 14(10).24:* þurh **ænlipie** dagas we bletsiað þe per singulos dies benedicimus te

15. *PsGlF 6.7:* ic swanc on geomerunga minre ic ðwea ðurh **ænlipie** nihta bedd min of tearum minum laboraui in gemitu meo lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum lacrimis meis

16. *Josh 7.14:* gegaderiað eow be mægðum & gange ðæt gehlot fram mægðe to mægðe & be manna hiwrædenum & be **ænlypegum** *mannum (cf. Ios: accedet per cognationes suas et cognatio per domos domusque per viros).*

17. *AldV 1 34:* singulos **ænliie** *(from aldh. Pros.virg. 2, 229.13 singulos epistolarum textus recitans).*

18. *BoGl M.3.2.34:* repetunt proprios quaeque recursus rediturique suo singula gaudent geedlæsað agyne gehwylce genrynas and ongenhwyrfte hyra **ænlipige** geblissiað.

19. *BenRGl 35.66.6:* septimanarii autem ante unam horam refectionis accipiant ... singulos biberes et panem þa wucan þegnas [-] ær anre tide gereordunge <niman> ... **ænlepige** drencas [-]

20. *ÆHom 9 31:* he sealde eac bysne soðlice mid þam, þæt witan sceolon cyðan heora word openlice, and þa ðe manegum rædaþ, na mid runungum, for ðan þe manega magon maran ræd findan þonne **ænlypige** magon mid agenum gewille.

21. *BenR 10.34.11:* for þan þrim rædingum sy an **ænlypig** rædincg geræd of þære ealdan cyþnesse gemyndelice butan bec *(sed pro ipsis tribus lectionibus una de ueteri testamento memoritur; F anlipig, BenRW 10.45.19 an redinge, BenRGl 10.39.14 anre lectio).*

22. *Bo 32.72.13:* hwæt nu, wisdom is an **anlepe** cræft þære sawle, & <þeah> we witon ealle þæt he is betera <ðonne> ealle þa oðre cræftas þe we ær <ymbe> spræcon.

23. *ByrM 1 2.3.170:* an **ælpi** monð æfter þære sunnan ryne hæfð seofon hundred tida and twentig, and twa þusend and eahta hundred and hundeahtatig prica, and minuta seofon þusend and twa hund, and momenta twentig þusend and eahta þusend and eahta hundred, and ostenta þreo and feowertig þusenda and twa hundred, and atomos an hund þusenda and hundteontig siðon syxtig þusenda.

24. *ChronE 1085a.33:* swa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett ut aspyrian þet næs an **ælpig** hide ne an gyrde landes ne furðon - hit is sceame to tellanne ... ne an cu ne an swin næs belyfon þet næs gesæt on his gewrite.

25. *GD 1 (C) 9.67.15:* ða sona swa se Godes wer þa word gecweden hæfde, swa wæron hi sona ealle utgangende, þæt þær nan **anlipig** binnan þam fæce þæs <wurtgeardes> to lafe ne wunode *(O ænlipe; cf. greg.mag. Dial. 1.9.15 ne una quidem intra spatium horti remaneret).*

26. *BenR 65.125.8:* gif hit beon mæg, swylc notu þurh decanonas on mynstre sy gefadod ... þæt na nan **ænlipig** ne modige, ne hine na ne anhebbe, þonne mynstres notu manegum bið betæht *(ut dum pluribus commitatur unus non superbiat; T ænlypig, BenRW 65.135.30 enlypie).*

27. *PsGlI 140.10:* syndorlice ł **ænlipig** eam ic oð ðæt ic gewite singulariter sum ego donec transeam

28. *BenR 1.9.15:* ða wuniað twam and þrim ætgædere and hwilon **ænlipige**, no on Godes eowode belocene, ac on agenum lustum beswicene *(qui bini aut terni aut certe singuli sine pastore; BenRW 1.13.19 ænlypie, BenRGl 1.10.11 anlepie).*

29. *LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) 464:* ic sona wæs ut aþrungen fram eallum þam folce, oððe ic **ænlipigu** on þam cafertune to læfe oþstod *(cf. paul.diac.neap. Vit.Mar.Egypt. 15, 473 et sola eiecta, inueniebar sola in atrio stans).*

30. *RegCGl 11.179:* nec ad obsequium priuatum quempiam illorum nec saltem sub spiritualis rei obtentu solum deducere presumant ne to hyrsunnysse syndrige ænigne hyra ne hura under gastlices þinges girnincge **ænlypigne** utlædan geþristlæcean.

31. *Ch 651 2:* þonen of land score broce on þæt **ænlipe** ellyn. þonne of þan ænlupan ellynne on hodduces hancgran. of hodduces hancgran on þa ænlypan ac.

32. *Ch 942 1:* ærest of Ellenforda on ðæne **ænlypigan** þorn.

33. *Ch 785 4:* west þanne on þone hrycg þæt on þone **ænlipian** stan.

34. *PsGlL 101.8:* ic wacode & geworden ic eom swaswa spearwa **ænlepe** on getimbre uigilaui et factus sum sicut passer unicus in ædificio

35. *AldV 1 1201:* solitaria **ænlipe** *(AldV 13.1 1147 ænlipe; from aldh. Pros.virg. 16, 245.21 carnalis pudicitiae immunitas ... solitaria nequaquam paradisi valvam recludere valeat).*

36. *Instr 114*: ne mot æniȝ heora awiht onsundran habban **ænlepig**, ac sceal eal wesan munucum gemæne, þæt heom metod leanað.

37. *Lch II (1 Head) 49.1*: læcedom onsundron **anlipig** wiþ þam smalan wyrme.

38. *ÆGram 13.12:* sume synd diuidua, þa getacniað todal mid edlesendre spræce: uterque heora ægðer, quisque gehwa, singuli **ænlipige**, bini getwinne oððe twyfealde, terni ðryfealde

39. *ÆGram 284.5:* sum getel bið æfre menigfeald: singuli homines **ænlipige** men, <bini> getwynne oððe twam and twam, terni <þrim> and þrim

40. *ÆCHom II, 5 42.21:* hwæt ða fyrmestan þe on ærnemeriȝen comon wendon þa þæt hi maran mede onfon sceoldon. ða underfengon hi **ænlipige** penegas. swa swa ða oðre

41. *BenRGl 22.54.12*: singuli per singula lecta dormiant **ænlepige** geond **ænlepige** bedd hi slapan

42. *ÆCHom II, 14.1 138.40:* hi ða ealle mid angsumum mode **ænlipige** cwædon

43. *ÆLS (Thomas) 41:* ic hæbbe ænne wyrhtan wurðfulne and getreowne, þone ic oft asende to **ænlipigum** burgum, and swa hwæt swa he begit his swinces to medes, he hit bringð to me butan swicdome.

44. *RegCGl 25.502:* quod cum audierint, disiungant se singuli ab operibus suis, festinantes ad opus dei þænne hi þæt gehyran asindrian hi **ænlipige** fram weorcum hyra efstende to weorce Godes.

45. *RegCGl 33.751:* accepto cereo ab ędituo psallentibus cunctis accipiant singuli singulas acceptasque accendant onfangenum tapere fram cyrycwerde singendum eallum onfon **ænlipige** syndrige & onfangene ontendum.

46. *BenRGl 48.83.2:* in quibus diebus quadragesime accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca on þam dagum lænctenfæsten hiderfan ealle **ænlepige** bec of boccystan

47. *PsCaG 7(6).7:* gemun daga ealra geþenc cynrena syndriga ł **ænlipige** memento dierum antiquorum cogita generationes singulas

48. *LkGl (Li) 4.40:* omnes qui habebant infirmos uaris languoribus ducebant illos ad eum at ille singulis manus inponens curabat eos alle ðaðe hæfdon untrymiȝo missenlicum adlum lædon hia to him soð he **anlapum** <ł> syndrigum hond gesette lecnade hia ł ðailco

49. *MtGl (Ru) 26.22:* et coeperunt singuli dicere, numquid ego sum domine & ingunnun **anlepum** cweþan, ah ic hit eam dryhten?

50. *ÆCHom II, 9 76.115:* efne nu ðis folc is mid swurde þæs heofonlican graman ofslegen. and gehwilce **ænlipige** sind mid færlicum slihte aweste.

51. *BenR 34.57.17:* syn gehwam behefe þing and alefede gesealde ... ælcan **ænlypium** wæs geseald be ðam, þe he behofade

52. *HomS 25 68:* nu we gehyrdon þæt stær **anlepig** þeoses halgan lectiones reccan and secgan *(alt. to: þæt stær 'ł lice & gyt' anlepig 'ł um' þeoses halgan).*

53. *AldV 7.1 401:* specialis **ænlype** *(AldV 9 387, AldV 14 255 ænlype; from aldh. Pros.virg. 58, 318.26 ubi specialis singulorum proprietas culpari non valet).*

54. *PsCaL 14(3).12:* þære arweorðan þinne soðne & **ænlepne** sunu uenerandum tuum uerum et unicum filium

55. *Bede 1 12.52.29:* hruran, & feollan cynelico getimbro & **anlipie** *(B ænlipie; cf. beda. Hist.eccl. 1.15, 52 ruebant aedificia publica simul et priuata).*

56. *LS 34 (SevenSleepers) 355:* namon him þa gedwollmenn **ænlipige** to gemynde, and lagon on heora gedwylde, and Godes worda swetnysse hi awendon him sylfum to biternysse.

(*DOE*)

Occurrences of *ōn-lēpī*:

1. *a1150(c1125) Vsp.D.Hom.Fest.Virg.(Vsp D.14)15/12*: Martha, þu eart bisiȝ and gedrefd on feale þingan; Ac **anlypiȝ** þing is behefe.

2. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)11*: Forr wel he mihhte lokenn himm, Ʒiff þatt he wollde himm lokenn Fra þatt **anlepiȝ** treo þatt himm Drihhtin forrbodenn haffde.

3. *a1225(?OE) Lamb.Hom.(Lamb 487)23*: Þah an castel beo wel bemoned..and þer beo **analpi** holh þat an mon mei crepan in, Nis hit al unnet.

4. *a1225(?OE) Lamb.Hom.(Lamb 487)29*: On **enelpi** luttele hwile, mon mei underfon ane wunde on his licome.
5. *a1225(?OE) Lamb.Hom.(Lamb 487)33*: Nis nawiht þeos weorld; al heo aȝeð on **ane alpi** þraȝe.
6. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)1747*: Leir ferde to þere sæ mid **an alpie** [Otho: on alpi] swein.
7. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)6187*: We heom scullen senden ferde of þissen ærde..**ænne ælpi** verde.
8. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)6669:* Do al þine i-wille & ich wulle beon stille, bute þe **an-læpi** [Otho: an alpi] þing: ich wulle beon icleoped king.
9. *a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34)39/19*: Gif ic dale all ðat ic habbe wrecche mannen..and ich hatede **anlepine** mann, ðanne ne habbe ic naht charite.
10. *c1225(?c1200) St.Kath.(1) (Einenkel)1226*: Eð were ure lauerd..to awarpen his unwine..wið an **anlepi** word, ȝe, wið his an wil.
11. *c1230(?a1200) Ancr.(Corp-C 402)166/10*: Þu weschest þine honden in **anlepi** [Nero: **inone elpi**] dei twien oðer þrien.
12. *c1275 Ken.Serm.(LdMisc 471)215/48*: Be leue we stede fast liche þet..fader and sune and holy gost is **on-lepi** god.
13. *a1300 Hwi ne serue (Jes-O 29)3*: Hwi ne serue we crist and secheþ his sauht. Seoþþe vs wes at þe font fulluht by-tauht. Ne beo we siker of þe lif **on-lepy** nauht.
14. *?a1300 Fox & W.(Dgb 86)132*: 'A,' quod þe vox, 'ich wille þe telle; **On alpi** word ich lie nelle.'
15. *(c1300) Havelok (LdMisc 108)2107*: He stod, and totede in at a bord, Her he spak **anilepi** word.
16. *c1330(?c1300) Guy(1) (Auch)2237*: Here is gret scorn sikerly, When þat **olepi** kniȝt Schal ous do so michel vnriȝt.
17. *c1350(a1333) Shoreham Poems (Add 17376)18/490*: Cristnyng and confermyng And ordre..no man hy ne takeþ Bote **onelepy** syþe.
18. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)75/13*: Þe ilke blisse is zuo grat þet huo þet hedde ytake þen of **ennelepi** drope of þe leste þinge þat þer ys, he ssolde by of þe loue of god zuo dronke.
19. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)125/2*: A grat lhord ssolde he by, ase me þingþ, þet þise **onelepi** uirtue hedde.
20. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Gosp.(Phys-E)p.127*: Yef thou **an lepi** word wil say, Thi word mi sergant hele maye.
21. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)16187*: Had he þan **anlepi** [Frf: **anlapi**] signe forwit herods wroght, Had noght þe Iuus don him to ded.
22. *a1400 Usages Win.(Win-HRO W/A3/1)p.50*: Euerych gret hows in wham me werkeþ þe qwyltes, shal to þe ferme v s. by þe ȝere, þey he ne werche but **o-lupy** cloþ.
23. *a1400 Siege Jerus.(1) (LdMisc 656)579*: Was non left vpon lyue, þat a lofte standeþ, Saue **o-lepy** [vr. **anlepy**] olyfaunt.
24. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)15700*: Nu hafde Oswald..ænne **ælpine** broðer, nes þer nan oðer.
25. *a1225 Lamb.Hom.Creed (Lamb 487)75*: Ich ileue on þe helende crist, filium eius unicum, his **enlepi** sune.
26. *a1200 Trin.Hom.Creed (Trin-C B.14.52)19*: Ich bileue on þe helende crist, his **onlepi** sune.
27. *c1225(?c1200) St.Kath.(1) (Einenkel)74*: In þis ilke burh wes wuniende a meiden..anes kinges Cost hehte **anlepi** dohter.
28. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)18/34*: Min ahne flesliche feader dude & draf me awei, his **an-lepi** dohter.
29. *c1225(?c1200) SWard (Bod 34)36/338*: Hwen euchan luueð godd mare þen him seoluen..muchel is þe **anlepi** blisse þet ha nimeð.
30. *c1230(?a1200) Ancr.(Corp-C 402)186/14*: Mi deorewurðe feader, hauest tu al for warpe me, þin **anlepi** [Nero: **onlepi**; Cai: **anleapi**] sune?
31. *a1250 Creed (Nero A.14:Everett)217*: Ich bileue on god, feder al-mihti, schuppare of heouene and of eorðe, and on iesu crist, his **onlepi** sune, ure louerd.
32. *a1300 Hit bilimpeð (Corp-O 59)18*: Ihesu crist, þin **elpi** sune þe is þe seolf iliche.
33. *a1325 Creed (Hrl 3724)251*: Hi true in God, fader hal-michttende..and in Ihesu Krist, is **anelepi** sone.
34. *(a1333) Herebert Cryst (Add 46919)2*: Cryst, buggere of alle ycoren, þe uadres **olpy** sone.

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35. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)21/29*: Þe proude and þe ouerwenere..ne dayneþ naȝt do ase oþre..ac raþre wile by **onlepi** ine his dedes.
36. *(c1384) WBible(1) (Dc 369(2))Luke 7.12*: Whanne he cam nyȝ to the ȝate of the citee, loo, an **oonlypi** sone of his modir was born out deed.
37. *a1450 PNoster R.Hermit (Westm-S 3)16/8*: He wolde þat his **oonlepy** sone for mannes synnes pyne þoled & deed here in erþe.
38. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)13/32*: Þe holi gost..is onlepi god, an **onlepi** þing mid þe uader and þe zone.
39. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)145/16*: Enne sseppere..ous made alle of one materie..and to **onelepi** ende.
40. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)146/5*: Uor þet we byeþ alle uelaȝes ine þe ost of our lhorde..alle we abydeþ **on-lepi** ssepe, þeþ [read: þet] is, þe blisse wiþ-oute ende.
41. *(1272-3) in Davenport Nrf.Manorp.xxx*: Idem respondent de viii s. vi d. de chevagiis de vxx et ii **anlepi-mannorum** reddentium chevagia.
42. *(1277) Cust.Rent in OSSLH 2168*: Et sciendum quod unusquisque **anilepiman** et **anilepiwyman** qui lucratus fuit in autumpno duodecim denarios vel amplius dabit domino episcopo unum denarium per annum de chevagio ad festum sancti Michaelis.
43. *(1277) Cust.Rent in OSSLH 2173*: Et sciendum quod unusquisque undersetle vel **anilepiman** vel **anilepiwyman** domum vel bordam tenens de quocunque illam teneat inueniet unum hominem ad quamlibet trium precariarum autumpni ad cibum domini. Item, sciendum quod unusquisque **anlepiman** non habens aliquem mansionem in villa sive sit in servicio sive non, inveniet unum hominem.
44. *(1277) Doc.in Vinogradoff Villainage213*: **Anelipemen**, **Anelipewyman** et coterellus manens super terram episcopi vel terram alicuius custumariorum suorum metet unam sellionem in autumpno ex consuetudine que vocatur luuebene.
45. *(1277) in Homans E.Villagers432*: Summa precariarum in autumpno duodecies viginti et octo cum prepositis preter coterellos, vndersetles et **anilepimans** que innumerabiles sunt quia quandoque accrescunt quandoque decrescunt.
46. *(1327) Doc.Littleport in Seld.Soc.4146*: Quilibet undersetle metet dim. acram bladi in autumpno et ligabit et siccabit sine cibo sicut quilibet **Anelepyman** et **Anelepywymman**.
47. *(1357) Gaytr.LFCatech.(Yk-Borth R.I.11)94/547*: Ane is fornication, a fleshly syn Betwix ane **aynlepi** [vr. **anlypy**] man, and ane **aynlepi** woman.
48. *a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290)103/40*: For wele I myght euere mare **Anlepy** life haue led.
49. *c1475(?c1400) Wycl.Apol.(Dub 245)38*: In prestis..it is mikil greuowsare þan simple fornicacoun bi thwex an **onlepy** man and an **onlepi** womman.
50. *?c1475 *Cath.Angl.(Add 15562)3b*: A **Anlepy** man: Solutus, Agamus..A Anlepy [Monson: Anelepy] woman: inuestis, soluta.
51. *a1300(OE) Deed Crediton (CotR 2.11)119*: Þis his sint þalondes imeare þare ȝurd bi cridia: Erest on schokebrokes ford; þanne east on þan paþe on þan litel gore estward..Opon ȝenstrem on þan **elpenian** aker.

(*MED*)

Occurrences of *sīsel*:

1. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) John & Boy (Phys-E)p.112* : Quen halikirc began newli, Sain Ion was **sisel** and bisi In ordaining of prestes.
2. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Widow's Candle (Phys-E)p.164* : Helpes scho tha that turnes noht thair lof hir fra, Bot menskes hir..And er **sysel** in hir seruyse.

(*MED, PPCME2*)

Occurrences of *bysig*:

1. *Mald 108:* hi leton þa of folman ... gegrundene garas fleogan; bogan wæron **bysige**, bord ord onfeng.
2. *Prov 1 2.8:* ac gif ðe heafdu anes weges nellað, þonne sceal þæt bodig bion þy **bysigre**.
3. *ÆLS (Swithun) 235:* se bisceop wæs **bysig** mid þam cynincge.

4. *RegC 1 5:* æfter geendunge þære mæssan sy seo mare processio ... gan hy ærest þinga swiglunga mid dihlum sealmsange <**bysige**> [ms **bysigige**] to þære cyrican (cf. Reg.conc. 36 sub silentio ordinatim eant dediti psalmodiae).

5. *ÆLS (Christmas) 216:* oft bið seo sawul on anum þinge oððe on anum geþohte swa **bysig** þæt heo ne gymð hwa hyre gehende bið.

6. *ApT 19.14:* min dohtor is nu swiðe **bisy** ymbe hyre leornunga (cf. Hist.Apollon.: filia ... mea studiis vacat).

7. *MSol 59:* nænig manna wat, hæleða under hefenum, hu min hige dreoseð, **bysig** æfter bocum (B bisi).

8. *PPs 58.3:* þi nu mine sawle swiþe **bysige** feondas mine fæcne ofþryhtun (quia ecce occupauerunt animam meam).

9. *ÆCHom II, 36.1 270.85:* drihten bead þæt we næron **bysige** and carfulle cweðende. hwæt sceole we etan. oððe hwæt drincan (cf. Mt 6:25 ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae).

10. *MtHeadGl (Li) 20:* sed regnum dei omnibus præferendum docet nec debere sollicitum esse in crastinum ah ric Godes allum fore læras ne rehtlic is **bisig** sie in morgen.

11. *LS 22 (InFestisSMarie) 8:* se hælend hire andswerede & cwæð, Martha, Martha, þu eart **bisig** & gedrefd on feale þingan.

12. *ÆCHom II, 34 255.15:* Martha. Martha. þu eart carful and **bysig** ymbe fela ðing (cf. Lc 10:41 sollicita es et turbaris erga plurima).

13. *LS 22 (InFestisSMarie) 165:* [Martha] nis na læng **bisig** to fostrigen hire sune swa swa cilde.

<div align="right">(DOE)</div>

14. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Assumption of the Virgin:255-9:* Martha swanc ða swilce on rewette . and maria sæt stille swilce æt ðære hyðe; Heo wæs **bysig** ymbe anum ðinge.

15. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Assumption of the Virgin:255-9:* þæt ge doð me sylfum; Martha wæs swiðe **bysig** ymbe drihtnes ðenunge. and hire swuster maria sæt stille æt drihtnes fotum.

16. *Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343: Christmas Day:78-96:* Oft bið þeo sawle on ane þinge oððe on ane þohte swa **bisig**, þæt heo ne gemeð hwa hyre gehende byð þeah heo on lokie

17. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV: 'In festis sancte Marie':134-9*: On his cildlicen unfernysse, heo hine baðede, & beðede, & smerede, & bær, & frefrede, & swaðede, & roccode, swa þæt man mæig rihtlice beo hire secgen, Martha wæs **bisig** & cearig emb þa þenunge.

18. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV: 'In festis sancte Marie':134-9:* Onmang þyssen þingen heo wæs **bisig** & gedrefd.

19. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV: 'In festis sancte Marie':134-9:* Emb feala þing heo wæs swa swa Martha **bisig** & cearig .

<div align="right">(DOEC)</div>

Occurrences of bisī:

1. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)22a*: Þus ha beoð **bisie** i Þis fule meoster, y eiðer wið oþer striueð.

2. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)49a*: Secnesse is þi goldsmið..se þe secnesse is mare, se þe goltsmið is **bisgre** [Nero: **bisegure**].

3. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)226:* Zaynte pauel wyþnimþ þe yonge wyfmen wodewen, þet were ydele and **bysye** to guonne an to comene ganglinde.

4. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)1708:* Burnes were **busy**, bestes to hulde.

5. *(a1387) Trev.Higd.(StJ-C H.1)4.453:* Þe Est ʒate..was so hevy of sound bras þat twenty men were **besy** i-now for to tende it.

6. *(c1387-95) Chaucer CT.Prol.(Manly-Rickert)A.321,322:* Nowher so bisy a man as he ther nas; And yet he semed **bisier** than he was.

7. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert)I.474:* Desir to haue commendacioun..of the peple hath caused deth to many a **bisy** man.

8. *c1390 NHom.Virg.to Devil (Vrn)104:* And beo **bisy** in hire seruys.

9. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Cl.(Manly-Rickert)E.1029:* He gan to calle Grisilde, as she was **bisy** in his halle.

10. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Mch.(Manly-Rickert)E.1560*: The yongest man..Is **bisy** ynow to bryngen it aboute To han his wyf allone.
11. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)12403*: Quen iesus him sagh sa **bese** [vrr. **bisy**, **besi**] be Abute þis vngainand tre.
12. *a1400 Cursor (Trin-C R.3.8)14089*: Martha was hosewif sikerly, Aboute her seruyse ful **bisy**.
13. *c1400(?a1300) KAlex.(LdMisc 622)3902*: Whan he Alisaunder **besy** seeþ..He took a launce [etc.].
14. *(1421) Let.War France in Bk.Lond.E.(Gldh LetBk I & K)83/10*: Whils we were **besy** to entende therto, come tidinges vnto us.
15. *a1425 *Medulla (Stnh A.1.10)11a/a*: Cadabundus: **bysy** fallinge.
16. *c1440(a1400) Awntyrs Arth.(Thrn)174*: Beryn s and byrdes are **besye** the a-bowte.
17. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)3630*: The bolde kynge es in a barge and abowtte rowes, All bare-heuvede for **besye**.
18. *a1450(c1410) Lovel.Grail (Corp-C 80)44.446*: I hope..we scholen hem fynden most **besy**.
19. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)10388*: Þe kyng..Hurt hym full hidusly..Þat **bisi** was þe buerne to bide in his sadill.
20. *c1450(a1375) Octav.(2) (Clg A.2)340*: Noþer of hem myȝt fram oþer ascape For besy of fyȝt.
21. *a1250 Ancr.(Nero A.14)63/17*: Binihte ouh ancre uorte beon..**bisi** [Corp-C: **bisiliche**] abuten gostliche biȝete.
22. *(c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert)A.1491*: The **bisy** larke, messager of day, Salueth in hir song the morwe gray.
23. *(a1387) Trev.Higd.(StJ-C H.1)3.353*: He made hym [Plato] so **besy** to fynde þe solucioun of þe questioun, and so he deide.
24. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Mch.(Manly-Rickert)E.2422*: For ay as **bisy** as bees Ben they, vs sely men for to deceyue.
25. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)277a/b*: No þyng is more **busy** & witty þan þe hound..houndes..defendeþ þe houses of here lordes..and renneþ to take pray.
26. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)201*: Ilk cristen man..Suld be bughsom ay, and **bysy** To here and lere of þam..Þat understands.
27. *a1425 *Medulla (Stnh A.1.10)7b/a*: Assiduus: **bysi**: curiosus.
28. *a1425 Wycl.Serm.(Bod 788)2.57*: Men shulden on holy daye be **bisye** to make good preieris.
29. *(1440) PParv.(Hrl 221)37*: **Bysy**: Assiduus, solicitus, jugis.
30. *c1475(?c1400) Wycl.Apol.(Dub 245)36*: To þe bigging of þis, þe prest howiþ to trauel, and to be **bisi**, to ding doun of þe contrari.
31. *c1475(c1445) Pecock Donet (Bod 916)27/4*: Sone, it is forto wille, chese, and be **bisie** forto knowe..alle þo trouþis.
32. *a1500 Henley Husb.(Sln 686)58*: To be more ware off doinge amys & to be more **besye** abovte þeir werke & youris.
33. *c1175(?OE) Bod.Hom.(Bod 343)94/13*: Oft bið þeo sawle on ane þinge oððe on ane þohte swa **bisiȝ**, þat heo ne ȝemeð [etc.].
34. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)4.953*: Mi will..is **besi** nyht and day, To lerne al that he lerne may.
35. *(1422) Doc.Brewer in Bk.Lond.E.144/111*: Þe malt was of soche pris þat ȝer þat þei were **besy** to leven.
36. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)1233*: Þe world es ful of mysdoers..þe whilk er **bisy**..To nuye men.
37. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)4253*: He sal ogayn God ryse..And afforce hym and be **bysy**, His laghe to chaunge.
38. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)4275*: I pray God yeve him evel chaunce, That he ever so **bisy** is Of ony womman to seyn amys!
39. *?a1425(c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16)3/1*: Þer are more **besy** for to disherite here neyghbores.
40. *?a1425(c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16)196/30*: So fierce & so **besy** for to putten all the world vnder his subiectioun.
41. *a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290)487/225*: His bragge and his boste is he **besie** to bid vs.
42. *c1450(1369) Chaucer BD (Benson-Robinson)1265*: She wel understod That I..was so **besy** hyr to serve.

43. *c1450(c1386) Chaucer LGW Prol.(1) (Benson-Robinson)103*: My **besy** gost, that thursteth alwey newe To seen this flour.
44. *a1475 Oure fader in heuen (Rwl B.408)75*: The worlde is **besy** us for to blynne.
45. *a1500(a1450) Gener.(2) (Trin-C O.5.2)5303*: Gusare is now as **besy** as he may, To do that he had promys[!] before.
46. *a1500(?a1450) GRom.(Hrl 7333)245*: Late vs be euer **besye** to plese god.
47. *a1500(?c1450) Merlin (Cmb Ff.3.11)222*: He and frelent were **besy** to smyte of his heed.
48. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)6402*: Moni **bisi** kempen, Þeo fihten wið þone duke al þene dæi longe.
49. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)10476*: Þat wes þe **bisegæste** mon..of nane quike monne næuede he care nænne.
50. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)26154*: & wenden of Brutaine **bisie** men & kene þurh ut Normandie.
51. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)1423*: xxx **busy** burnes, barounes ful bolde.
52. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)2321*: William..seie breme burnes **busi** in ful briȝt armes, brandissende wiþ gret bost.
53. *a1150(c1125) Vsp.D.Hom.Fest.Virg.(Vsp D.14)15/1*1: Martha, Martha, þu eart **bisig** and gedrefd on feale þingan.
54. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)36/2*1: Ich am..se **bisi** ham a-buten, þet summesweis ha schulen ham..sulen.
55. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)588*: Þat burde was euer hire bi, **busy** hire to plese.
56. *(c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert)A.2442*: Swich stryf ther is bigonne..Bitwixe Venus..And Mars..That Iuppiter was **bisy**, it to stente.
57. *c1390 PPl.A(1) (Vrn)8.103*: I schal sese of my sowynge..Ne aboute my lyflode so **bisy** beo no more!
58. *(c1390) Chart.Abbey HG (LdMisc 210)353*: Wiste ȝe not..þat I most be **besy** abouȝten my fadres nedys?
59. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Cl.(Manly-Rickert)E.603*: As **bisy** in seruyse And eek in loue, as she was wont to be, Was she to hym in euery maner wise.
60. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Gosp.(Phys-E)p.108*: Me bihoued..Be **bisi** in mi fader needes.
61. *c1400(c1378) PPl.B (LdMisc 581)7.125:* We shulde nouȝt be to **bisy** aboute þe worldes blisse.
62. *a1425(a1382) WBible(1) (Corp-O 4)1 Kings 9.5*: Lest perauenture my fadre..be **bysie** [WB(2): **bisy**; L sollicitus] for vs.
63. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)3.1381*: Tho **besy** wrecches, ful of wo and drede.
64. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)185*: And er **bysy** in wille and thoght To lere þat þe saul helpes noght.
65. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)5294*: If men his freend to deth wolde drive, Lat hym be **bisy** to save his lyve.
66. *a1425 Wycl.Serm.(Bod 788)1.384*: Men shulden not be **besie** aboute her fode and hilyng.
67. *c1425(c1400) Primer (Cmb Dd.11.82)p.66*: Y am a begger & pore: þe lord is **bisi** of me.
68. *?c1425 *Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)33b/a*: It is good to be **besy** and to chaunge it ofte.
69. *?c1430(c1400) Rule & T.St.Francis(1) (Corp-C 296)40*: Be þe freris..war, þat þei be not **bisi** of here temporal goodis.
70. *c1440(?c1350) Mirror St.Edm.(4) (Thrn)26/19*: He es **besy** abowte oure hele.
71. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)4095*: Take no tente vnto me..Bes **besy** one my baners.
72. *a1475(1450) Scrope DSP (Bod 943)142/22*: An impe newe plantede, the whiche berith his fruitee soone or late, after that men be **besie** to gouerne it.
73. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)10388*: Þe kyng..harmyt hym sore, þat **bisi** was þe buerne to bide in his sadill.
74. *?c1450 St.Cuth.(Eg 3309)4436*: Be noȝt aferde..Na noȝt our **bysy** be.
75. *1483 Cath.Angl.(Monson 168)29*: **Besy**: argumentosus, anxius, assiduus, attentus, procliuus, procliuis, diligens, freque[n]s, instans, intentus, jndustris, jugis, sollicitus, solicitudinarius, studiosus, solers, efficax, vigilans, ardens, perseuerans, occupatus, officiosus, sedulus, susspensus.
76. *a1500(c1380) Wycl.Papa (Ryl Eng 86)476*: Herfore seiþ crist..þat men shulden not be **bisi** to þe morowe.

77. *a1500(?a1390) Mirk Fest.(GoughETop 4)47/18:* Hys best frendes ben **besy** forto put yn þe erþe, and hyde hym þer.
78. *a1500 Conq.Irel.(Rwl B.490)99/18:* He was so **byssy** about to kepe the hoste, that ofte he lefte Slepe al the nyght.
79. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)2193:* He ferde ouer Scotte water..& mid **bisie** [Otho: **busie**] ifihte Brut lond heo wolden iwinnen.
80. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Sh.(Manly-Rickert)B.1508:* In myrthe al nyght a **bisy** lyf they lede.
81. *(1451) Capgr.St.Gilb.(Add 36704)90/17:* With worldly occupacion and **bysy** oure, whech longeth on-to prelates.
82. *a1475 Godstow Reg.(Rwl B.408)167/12:* Aftur mani respites of deliberacion..& a **bisi** tretinge I-made bitwene hem.
83. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)2.1764:* He made a besi haste And hath assembled him an host.
84. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)5.1568:* To done his **besy** peyne.
85. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)1.355:* He fayned That other **besy** nedes hym destrayned.
86. *c1425 Found.St.Barth.21/16:* How moche yn withstandynge may oure **besy** purpos prevayle?
87. *(1428) Doc.in Sur.Soc.859:* Ye **bysy** prayers of ye archebisshopp.
88. *(?a1430) Hoccl.MG (Hnt HM 111)108:* Do your **bysy** peyne To wasshe away our cloudeful offense.
89. *a1450(1391) Chaucer Astr.(Benson-Robinson)introd.4:* Thy **besy** praier..to lerne the tretys of the Astrelabie.
90. *a1500(a1450) Gener.(2) (Trin-C O.5.2)68:* To make hym chere they dede ther **besy** payn.
91. *a1525 Conq.Irel.(Dub 592)104/14:* Throgh **bysy** besechynge of the erle.
92. *(c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert)A.2853:* Duc Theseus, with al his **bisy** cure, Caste now wher that the sepulture..may best ymaked be.
93. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)4.509:* With **besy** herte to poursuie Thing which that is to love due.
94. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)2.2445:* After þe hert so priked I my stede..with a ful **besy** þouзt.
95. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)2.5719:* With **besy** attendaunce To a-waite on hir.
96. *a1425 Ben.Rule(1) (Lnsd 378)1/10:* Þat þu aske of hym, wid **besy** prayer, alle gude thing..to be perfytely endid.
97. *c1430(a1410) Love Mirror (Brsn e.9)11:* **Besy** meditacioun..of the blessid lyf of Jesu stableth the soule.
98. *c1450 De CMulieribus (Add 10304)1663:* Whan she hadd doon all hir **besy** cure To the dede corps.
99. *?c1450(?a1400) Wycl.Clergy HP (Lamb 551)362:* By **bissy** study and contemplacyon.
100. *c1475 Wycl.Antichr.(2) (Dub 245)p.cxlvi:* Crist wole þat men knowen hise prestis by kepyng of hise lawe..& bi her **bisy** praier.
101. *a1500(?a1425) Lambeth SSecr.(Lamb 501)65/26:* Men oghte wyth **byse** prayers bysek þe heghe destynour.
102. *c1500(?a1437) ?Jas.I KQ (SeldArch B.24)st.132:* Word is noght, Bot gif thy werk and all thy **besy** cure Accord thereto.
103. *(1440) *Capgr.St.Norb.(Hnt HM 55)313:* Al his **bysi** studious eloquens.
104. *(a1464) Capgr.Chron.(Cmb Gg.4.12)13:* After the **bysi** computacion of the Hebrewis, this Methusale schuld a leved xiiii зere after the Flood.
105. *(c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert)A.2320:* That al hir hote loue..And al hir **bisy** torment..Be queynt.
106. *(?1406) Hoccl.MR (Hnt HM 111)25:* My grief and **bisy** smert.
107. *c1430(c1380) Chaucer PF (Benson-Robinson)89:* Fulfyld of thought and **busy** hevynesse.
108. *c1450(c1370) Chaucer Pity (Benson-Robinson)2:* With herte soore, and ful of **besy** peyne.
109. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Pri.(Manly-Rickert)B.1779:* With face pale of drede and **bisy** thoght.
110. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)3.189:* Pensifhed and inward **besy** drede.
111. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)2.274:* And loked on hire in a **bysi** wyse.
112. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)4.1645:* I am evere agast, forwhy men rede That love is thyng ay ful of **bisy** drede.
113. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)58:* Ine þo ydele wordes me zeneзeþ..yef hi spekþ **bisye** wordes [etc.].

114.   *?a1450 Arderne LW (Em 69)114*: With constypacione of the wombe & **besy** castyng.
115.   *(1448) in Willis & C.Cambridge 1370*: I wol that the edificacion of my same College procede in large fourme..settyng a parte superfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and **besy** moldyng.

(*MED*)

Occurrences of *mēk*:

1. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)2487 :* Godess enngell..seȝȝde himm þatt hiss macche wass Off Haliȝ Gast wiþþ childe, & badd himm ben full milde & **mec**.
2. *c1225(?c1200) St.Juliana (Bod 34)63/672 :* Þe reue..fen on to feamin..up o þis **meoke** meiden.
3. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)4/29 :* Þus ha wes & wiste, **meokest** alre milde, wið oðre meidnes o þe feld hire fostermodres hahte.
4. *?a1300(c1250) Prov.Hend.(Dgb 86)st.6 :* Ne preise ich þe nouht..Bote þou lede þe mid howe And be **meke** and milde.
5. *c1300 SLeg.Mich.(LdMisc 108)735 :* Ȝif man him wolde bi-þenche..he scholde beo **meoke** and milde of heorte and to no man habben onde.
6. *c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11)1321 :* Þe prinse..nis to preisi noȝt, Þat in time of worre as a lomb is boþe **mek** [B: **muk**] & milde.
7. *c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11)5815 :* He was **meok** [vrr. mek, meke; B: muk] & mylde ynou..Debonere to speke wiþ.
8. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)620 :* Him so propirli haue i..portreide in herte, þat me semes in my siȝt he sittes euer **meke**.
9. *(c1380) Chaucer CT.SN.(Manly-Rickert)G.199 :* Thilke spouse that she took but now Ful lyk a fiers leoun, she sendeth heere As **meke** as euere was any lamb to yow.
10. *(a1387) Trev.Higd.(StJ-C H.1)7.441 :* Þe kyng was i-meved to helpe þe chirche..and wolde putte it of wiþ a **meke** answere [Higd.(2): made this excuse; L miti..responso].
11. *(c1387-95) Chaucer CT.Prol.(Manly-Rickert)A.69 :* He was wys And of his port as **meke** as is a mayde.
12. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)5.5396 :* Hire yonger Soster..A lusti Maide, a sobre, a **meke**.
13. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Sum.(Manly-Rickert)D.1984 :* This sely innocent Youre wyf, that is so **meke** and pacient.
14. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)205b/a :* Þis stone..makeþ **meke** and mylde and goodliche [L mitem..humilem et benignum].
15. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)20935 :* He first was verreur, And after-ward be-com prechur; Schep of wulf, and **mek** [Frf: meke] of fell.
16. *c1400 Brut-1333 (Rwl B.171)74/25 :* His worde shal bene gospelle; his beryng shal bene **meke** as a Lambe.
17. *c1400 St.Anne(1) (Min-U Z.822.N.81)22 :* He was rytghtwys in ylke a dede..With other vertues ma He was both **meke** & mylde.
18. *c1400 Bible SNT(1) (Selw 108 L.1)2 Tim.3.3 :* Men schulleþ ben lofynge hemselfen, coueytous and proude, blasphemes..incontynent, noȝ[t] **muke** [L immites], with-outen benygnyte.
19. *a1425 *Medulla (Stnh A.1.10)42a/a :* Mitesco: by gynne to be **myke**. Mitis: myke.
20. *?a1425(c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16)113/20 :* Hem semeth þat whosoeuere be **meke** & pacyent [F simples & debonaires et pacientz], he is holy & profitable.
21. *c1430(c1380) Chaucer PF (Benson-Robinson)341 :* The douve with hire yen **meke**.
22. *c1440(?a1400) St.John (Thrn)57 :* Þou was methe & **meke** as mayden for mylde.
23. *c1460(a1449) Lydg.Look TM (Hrl 2255)91 :* O man is **meeke**; anothir doth manace.
24. *a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290)99/169 :* Þou, goddis aungell, **meke** and mylde, Howe sulde it be..That I sulde consayve a childe.
25. *c1450(c1405) Mum & S.(2) (Add 41666)1273 :* In a **muke** maniere þou mos hym asaye, And not eche day to egge hym.
26. *a1475 Bk.Courtesy (Sln 1986)179 :* Be not to **meke**, but in mene þe holde, For ellis a fole þou wylle be tolde.
27. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)80/228 :* Merveyle not **mekest** maydon..I am a good Aungel.

28. *c1475 As I me lenyd vnto (Trin-C R.3.21)58 :* The dove..so whyte, In hert bothe **meke** and beauteuous.

29. *c1450(a1400) Libeaus (Clg A.2)1726 :* Sche ys **meke** and boneyre.

30. *a1500(1465) Leversedge Vision (Add 34193)28 :* Kneling stil as **meeke** as a jnnocent or lambe in gret feer and dred of his jugement.

31. *c1500 Orfeo (Ashm 61)11/91 :* Euer þou ast be **meke** & myld; Thou arte be-com wod & wyld.

32. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)2501 :* & tohh wass heh & soþ weddlac Haldenn onn eȝȝþerr hallfe, Forr eȝȝþerr wass wiþþ oþerr **mec** & god att alle nede.

33. *a1325 Heil beo þou Marie Mylde (StJ-C S.30)17 :* Ladi, ful of myȝte, **mek** & milde of mode.

34. *?c1335 Þe grace of godde (Hrl 913)233 :* Beseche we him **mek** of mode, Þat soke þe milk of maid is brest, Ȝiue us þe ioi þat euer sal lest.

35. *a1350 Mayden moder (Hrl 2253)15 :* Mayde, byseche y þe..**meoke** ant mylde be wiþ me pur la sue amour.

36. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)412 :* Dere douȝter..haue here þis bold barn & be til him **meke**.

37. *(a1387) Trev.Higd.(StJ-C H.1)5.207 :* He was like Traianus in alle poyntes, **meke** [vr. meoke] and mylde and softe [Higd.(2): mylde and meke; L clemens, communis, mansuetus] to men, and sugette to God.

38. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)7.916 :* And whom this planete underfongeth..He schal be **meke** and pacient And fortunat to Marchandie.

39. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)73b/a:* For riȝtful lordis beþ fre of ȝiftis & **meke** of herte [L pij].

40. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)102 :* Lauedi scho es o leuedis all, Mild and **mek** witouten gall.

41. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)21895 :* And he gain us sa **meke** and mind Sua mikel luues nathing als ur kind.

42. *c1400(a1376) PPl.A(1) (Trin-C R.3.14)1.150 :* Þeiȝ ȝe ben miȝty to mote beþ **mek** of ȝour werkis.

43. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)5.1847 :* And syn he [Christ] best to love is, and most **meke**, What nedeth feynede loves for to seke?

44. *c1430(c1386) Chaucer LGW (Benson-Robinson)2198 :* **Meker** than ye fynde I the bestes wilde!

45. *(1440) PParv.(Hrl 221)331 :* **Meke** and mylde and buxum: Pius, clemens, benignus.

46. *1448 Glo.Chron.C in Mannyng Chron.Pt.2 (Arms 58)p.12 :* Edburge sturied her lorde a yenst giltlese men, notwithstandyng that him self was **meoke** and benynge.

47. *a1475 I knowlech to god (Rwl B.408)49 :* The werkes of mercy I haue not fulfilled..To bery þe dede I was not **meke**.

48. *a1500(1465) Leversedge Vision (Add 34193)31 :* She is..the fayrest in fayrnes..the most **mekest** in cowntenaunce and speche.

49. *a1500 Sire emperoure (Ashm 750)10 :* O Mahound, þou grete god and tru, Lowuely and also **meke** of hew.

50. *(c1380) Chaucer CT.SN.(Manly-Rickert)G.57 :* Now help, thow **meke** and blisful faire mayde, Me flemed wrecche in this desert of galle.

51. *a1400(c1303) Mannyng HS (Hrl 1701)12254 :* Newe þy shryfte euer ylyke, hyt makeþ Iesu cryst to þe b [vr. myke].

52. *a1400 Cursor (Frf 14)26457 :* Qua wraþþis his lorde, he dos him squeke, quen he of merci has funden him **meke**.

53. *c1400(a1376) PPl.A(1) (Trin-C R.3.14)1.147:* He was miȝtful & **mek** & mercy gan graunte To hem þat hongide him.

54. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)771:* **Meke** Mayster..Loth lengez in ȝon leede..tempre þyn yre.

55. *a1425(c1395) WBible(2) (Roy 1.C.8)2 Par.10.7 :* If thou..makist hem softe bi **meke** [WB(1): mercyable; L clementibus] wordis, thei schulen serue thee in al tyme.

56. *a1425 Ben.Rule(1) (Lnsd 378)1/4 :* Spedily fulfil þe warnyng of þe **meke** fadir.

57. *a1450 Bonav.Medit.(5) (Pep 2125)4/123 :* My Fader most **mek**, Y praye that thou wolt here my prayer and nat despise hit.

58. *a1500(c1386) St.Erk.(Hrl 2250)250 :* My body þay buriet in golde; Cladden me..In mantel for þe **mekest** and monlokest on benche.

59. *(c1300) Havelok (LdMisc 108)945 :* Of alle men was he mest **meke**, Lauhwinde ay and bliþe of speke.

60. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)5118 :* Be **meke** & mercyabul to men þat þe serue.
61. *?a1425(c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16)85/11 :* Þei seyn..þat Ihesu crist..was an holy prophete..& **meke** & pytous & rightfull [F debonere pitous et droiturels] & with outen ony vyce.
62. *(1440) PParv.(Hrl 221)57 :* Buxum, or lowly or **make**: mansuetus, benignus.
63. *c1440 PLAlex.(Thrn)36/4 :* I come to ȝow..**meke** & mylde, bot in þat degre ȝe walde noȝte ressayffe me, þarefore now are ȝour schippez brynned.
64. *a1450(a1338) Mannyng Chron.Pt.1 (Lamb 131)1475 :* To Brutes men þey were ful **meke**..þey seyde, 'We wole wenden wiþ ȝow.'
65. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)215 :* Jason..Þat so mighty & **meke** & manly art holdyn.
66. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)190/85 :* Be **meke** and lowe þe pore man to, And put out pryde.
67. *a1475 *Sidrak & B.(Lnsd 793)4404:* For euere þe mightier þat he be, Þe **meker** to hem be shulde he.
68. *a1400 Bk.Mother (Eg 826)39 :* He that bysyeth hym to lyve piteuosly..hath pite and reuthe, of alle thinges yvele fare, and that is to be **meke**.
69. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)4971 :* Lerneþþ att me þatt icc amm wiss Rihht milde & **meoc** wiþþ herrte.
70. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)13315 :* Symon haffde ben Ædmod & **mec** & milde Wiþþ alle men.
71. *c1230(?a1200) Ancr.(Corp-C 402)145/21 :* Þe wildebar ne mei nawt buhen him to smiten Hwa se falleð adun & þurh **meoke** eadmodnesse strecheð him bi þer eorðe.
72. *c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11)6595 :* He wende him uorþ to chirche..& mid **mek** [B: muke] herte pitoslicche is kinges croune nom.
73. *c1330(?c1300) Spec.Guy (Auch)666 :* Man, þou þu do muchel god, But þou be **meke**, þolemod..muchel on ydel is þat werk.
74. *(a1333) Herebert Holy wrouhte (Add 46919)4 :* Crist..Her þe bone of **moeke** wyht.
75. *c1390 Þe wyse mon in (Vrn)394 :* Þe herre of stat þat þou be, Þe more **meke** haue þou þe [F Plus vous deuez humiliez].
76. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Fkl.(Manly-Rickert)F.739 :* For his **meke** obeysaunce..she fel of his acord.
77. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)71b/a :* In a goode spouse and wif nediþ..þat sche be..**meke** [L humilis] and seruisable to here housbonde.
78. *a1400(c1303) Mannyng HS (Hrl 1701)5823 :* Alle þat euer any man hym do bade, Pers dyd hyt with hert glad; he wax so mylde and so **meke**, A mylder man þurt no man seke.
79. *c1400(a1376) PPl.A(1) (Trin-C R.3.14)10.83 :* Dred is such a maister Þat he makiþ men **meke** [vr. Meoke] & mylde [vr. mylde and mek] of here speche.
80. *c1400(?c1380) Pearl (Nero A.10)404 :* My Lorde ne louez not for to chyde, For **meke** arn alle þat wonez hym nere.
81. *a1425(c1300) NHom.(1) Alex.(Ashm 42)642 :* To þat blisse Þat to all **mekemen** graithid is.
82. *a1425(c1300) NHom.(1) Nativ.(Cmb Gg.5.31)p.65 :* He That es sa heght in Trinite Was sa **meke** that he wald take Flesche and blode for mannes sake.
83. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)385 :* God..Of the foulest matere man he wroght..For man suld here þe **meker** be.
84. *a1425 Wycl.Serm.(Bod 788)2.117 :* Crist..was **mekerst** man, and moost servisable of oþer.
85. *c1425 Castle Love(2) (Eg 927)529 :* Lerne at me, for I am mylde and also **meke** of hert.
86. *c1425 Found.St.Barth.6/20 :* He dred to laches the preceptis of the Apostle, and..nat **meke** but prowte, to be bownde with the streite examinacion of the hie Iuge.
87. *?c1430(c1400) Wycl.FCLife (Corp-C 296)189 :* Þis **meke** sittynge & deuout herynge of cristis wordis was best to magdeleyne.
88. *(a1438) MKempe A (Add 61823)108/34 :* Owr Lord Ihesu hath no deynte of a ryche man les þan he wil be a good man & a **meke** man.
89. *(c1449) Pecock Repr.(Cmb Kk.4.26)13 :* He ouȝte be **meke** to othere men and not proud.
90. *a1450 Where-of is mad (Dgb 102)30 :* Presthod..**Meke** of spirit in pouerte.
91. *c1460 Oseney Reg.39/3 :* We grauntyng to þere **meke** axinges, graunte..to them..the church of Seynte George.
92. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)30/43 :* I ȝow counseyll..God ffor to loue..hym evyr be-sechyng with **meke** entent..to save and spede.

93. *?a1475(?a1425) Higd.(2) (Hrl 2261)5.423 :* Heraclius willenge to entre in..Ierusalem with grete pride, the ʒate..was schutte..but Heraclius, made **meke** [Trev.: meked hym; L rege..humiliate] and commynge..barefoote, the ʒate was openede.

94. *a1500(?c1450) Merlin (Cmb Ff.3.11)94 :* Full **meke** was the kynge a-gein god and the peple.

95. *a1500 *Chartier Treat.Hope (Rwl A.338)65/28 :* For ther pride shall haue a fall, and the **meke** shall stye to hevene.

96. *a1500 Mirror Salv.(Beeleigh)p.38 :* Thire kinges did at Bethlem to crist fulle **meeke** reuerence.

97. *(a1333) Herebert Heyle leuedy (Add 46919)20 :* Of sinne ous quite on haste And make ous **meoke** and chaste.

98. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)206a/a :* Sardonix..putteþ of leccherie and makeþ men **meke** [L humilem] and chaste.

99. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)21987 :* [Anticrist] sal cum the **meke** to fell, Sinful rais.

100. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)776 :* Tempre þyn yre, As þy mersy may malte þy **meke** to spare.

101. *(1435) Misyn FL (Corp-O 236)85/28 :* Of þe sweit gudenes þe more he felys þat to lufers is wont þe self to inscheed, & with myrþ with-out comparison in-to hartis of **meyk** [L piorum] to scryth.

102. *?a1475(?a1425) Higd.(2) (Hrl 2261)4.473 :* Nerua, the **meke** prince [Trev.: mylde prince; L pius princeps].

103. *c1475(1392) *MS Wel.564 (Wel 564)51b/b :* He is goodlich of vertues..hardy, honest, benygne, and **meke**.

104. *a1500(c1340) Rolle Psalter (UC 64)26.8 :* His ristynge is noght bot in a **meke** saule.

105. *a1425(c1395) WBible(2) (Roy 1.C.8)Judith 8.16 :* In contrit spirit and maad **meke** serue we hym.

106. *a1425 Dial.Reason & A.(Cmb Ii.6.39)41/5 :* Lusti leuyng..is not to god acceptable, but a **meke** spiriʒt þat is holili trubled & contrite of his wickidnes sendith vp to heuene a swete smellynge offryng.

107. *a1450 PNoster R.Hermit (Westm-S 3)6/9 :* Knowynge of oure giltis with **meke** preyer schal fynde mercy at þe streyt domesman.

108. *a1450 PNoster R.Hermit (Westm-S 3)6/14 :* Liftiþ vp his herte & his hondis, mercy criande wiþ **meke** preier.

109. *c1450(c1400) Vices & V.(2) (Hnt HM 147)140/21 :* Þe **meke** hertes, y-charged ful of scharpe þornes of penaunce.

110. *?a1475(?a1425) Higd.(2) (Hrl 2261)7.31 :* He expulsede his synnes by **meke** and hollesom penaunce.

111. *c1475(a1400) Wycl.Conf.(Dub 245)338 :* We shulden be **meke** to god for trespasses þat we han don to hym.

112. *c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11)6868 :* Þe king was **mek** & milde [B: milde & muke] ynou, & as þe bissopes him bade Wolde is moder do al out.

113. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.WB.(Manly-Rickert)D.1259 :* Iesu Crist vs sende Housbondes **meke**, yonge, and fressh abedde.

114. *a1400 Ihesu þat al þis (Mert 248)17 :* Ihesu..haue merci on me & mak me **meke** to þe.

115. *a1450(?c1421) Lydg.ST (Arun 119)1655 :* His lordes..echon cam at his bidding..**meke** and ful benygne.

116. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)1939 :* Be **meke**, where thou must nedis bow; To stryve ageyn is nought thi prow.

117. *a1425(?a1400) Cloud (Hrl 674)15/3 :* Þou schuldest be more **meek** & louyng to þi goostly spouse.

118. *(a1438) MKempe A (Add 61823)195/16 :* Þer was neuyr woman in þis world bar a bettyr childe, ne a **mekar** to hys modyr þan my Sone was to me.

119. *c1440 PLAlex.(Thrn)42/20 :* To Darius..his lordes whilke he hase ordeyned cheftaynes vnder hym Sendez **meke** seruyce.

120. *a1450(a1396) Hilton CPerf.(Paris angl.41)23 :* Ther is þre maner transfoormynge of þe soule: Oon is whanne þe soule is maad **meke** and buxum to þe wille of God.

121. *a1450(?c1400) Wycl.LFCatech.PN (Add 17013)337 :* We scholden bi reson be **meke** & buxom to þis lord.
122. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)1747 :* Mare menseke is a man to **meke** him be tyme Þan eftir made to be meke malegreue his chekis.
123. *c1450(c1405) Mum & S.(2) (Add 41666)1322 :* To mete hym with þayre modre in a **muke** wise And pray hym in his pouaire pite forto haue.
124. *(a1470) Malory Wks.(Win-C)1085/14 :* There was never chylde nother wyff more **mekar** tyll fadir and husbande.
125. *a1500 St.Brendan Conf.(Lamb 541)7/60 :* I ouȝte þe moore to haue be **meke** and buxum to þee, my God.
126. *c1600(c1350) Alex.Maced.(Grv 60)953 :* Hee ne stint..Till hee had take þe toune..And imade alle þe menne **meeke** too his wyll.
127. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)1313 :* Lamb is soffte & stille deor, & **meoc**, & milde & liþe.
128. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)145a/a :* Colueres beþ mylde briddes & **meke**..& loueþ companye of men.
129. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Gosp.(Phys-E)p.158 :* Douf a ful **mec** fuel es.
130. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)1713 :* Tak ȝow with Beist and fouxul..þe **meke** be þam ai tua and tua, þe wild do be þam-self alsua.
131. *c1400(c1378) PPl.B (LdMisc 581)14.113 :* Wilde wormes in wodes þorw wyntres þow hem greues, And makest hem welnyegh **meke** and mylde for defaute.
132. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)1.3317 :* With þe plowe he made hem gon..in hem was no rebellioun, But humble and **meke**.
133. *(?1440) Palladius (DukeH d.2)4.715 :* Take oxon yonge..Their thewis is to se that they be **meke** [L mansueti]..and aferd of clamour and of gode.
134. *a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290)12/67 :* Sum [fish] sall be **meke** and milde, and sum both fers and fell.
135. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)900 :* The freike..for to þe hornes Of þe balefull bestes & hom aboute ladde; Þai were made als **meke** as maistur behouet.
136. *c1450 Capgr.St.Kath.(Arun 396)4.1475 :* He..Be whom alle creaturis, be þei wylde or **meke**, Are conserued.
137. *c1450 PPl.B (RwlPoet 38)15.275 :* **Meke** [vr. hynde; Ld: þorw þe mylke of þat mylde best þe man was susteyned].
138. *a1500(?c1425) Spec.Sacer.(Add 36791)217/7 :* They made hem [two wild tigers] to stonde..like **meke** schepe.
139. *c1500 Orfeo (Ashm 61)25/280 :* The bestys of þat forest wyld Com a-boute hym **meke** & myld.
140. *a1325(c1280) SLeg.Pass.(Pep 2344)57 :* Ȝour kyng..Comeþ her, lo to þe, **Meok** ynow and mylde.
141. *(a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959)Judith 16.13 :* Þanne ȝelleden þe tentis of assirijs whan apereden my **meeke** [L humiles mei].
142. *(a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959)Job 5.11 :* I shal preyen þe lord..þat setteþ **meeke** men in to heiȝte.
143. *a1400 NVPsalter (Vsp D.7)81.3 :* Fadreles and nedefulle deme to þa; **Meke** and poure rightwises swa.
144. *c1400(?a1387) PPl.C (Hnt HM 137)10.15 :* Bisshopes yblessed..Merciable to **meek** and mylde to þe goode.
145. *c1400 *Bk.Mother (Bod 416:Everett)169/14 :* Be þe meke broþer glad in his heiȝnes, þe riche man in his **mekenes**.
146. *a1425(?c1384) Wycl.Church (Bod 788)342 :* Cristis viker shulde be porerste..and **mekerst** of oþir men.
147. *a1425(c1395) WBible(2) (Roy 1.C.8)Ps.34.14 :* Y was maad **meke** [L humiliabar] so as morenynge and sorewful.
148. *a1425 Wycl.Serm.(Bod 788)1.386 :* He þat is more amonge ȝou be maad as ȝonger..Þat is to seie, þe **mekere** of ȝou is more of ȝou.

149.   *?a1425 Mandev.(2) (Eg 1982)1/9 :* Þou doghter of Syon..lo, þi kyng commes to þe, dulye mylde and **meke**.
150.   *c1425 *Wycl.Concord.(Roy 17.B.1)95b :* A **meke** broþir haue glorie in his enhaunsyng, Iames, firste cap.
151.   *a1450(a1396) Hilton CPerf.(Paris angl.41)1 :* If þat he þat is loued be symple and pore, **meke** and in despiit, þanne he þat loueþ coueitiþ to be viile, pore, and meke, and to be in repref.
152.   *a1500(c1380) Wycl.Papa (Ryl Eng 86)460 :* Crist is god and man, & was porerste man of lif and **mekerste** & moost vertuous.
153.   *a1500(1422) Yonge SSecr.(Rwl B.490)180/31 :* See thy kynge comyth to the **meke** [L mansuetus].
154.   *a1500 *Chartier Treat.Hope (Rwl A.338)33/20,28 :* In erthe **meke** men haue disfacid the prowde men..Wher is become also the riche paleys of þe cursid Emperour Nero? Forsothe there stondith now the devoute chirche of the curteys and meke prechour Sainte Petir.
155.   *(a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959)4 Kings 19.26 :* Þilke þat sitten in hem **meeke** in hond [WB(2): meke of hond; L humiles manu] han tremblid to gidere & ben confoundid.
156.   *a1475 *Sidrak & B.(Lnsd 793)6354 :* His owne loos he dredeþ eke, And þat drede makeþ his herte **meke**.
157.   *c1230(?a1200) Ancr.(Corp-C 402)214/11 :* Ower schon i winter beon **meoke**, greate, & warme.
158.   *c1230 Ancr.(Corp-C 402)215/15 :* A meoke surpliz ȝe mahen in hat sumer werien.
159.   *(?1440) Palladius (DukeH d.2)12.192 :* His translacioun The pynys fruyt [wol] esy make and **meke** [L mitescere].
160.   *a1450(c1410) Lovel.Grail (Corp-C 80)38.5 :* The See, bothe **Mek** and stable it was.
161.   *a1500 3rd Fran.Rule (Seton)49/4,10 :* The bretherne of this fraternite shalbe comynly clothed with **meke** clothes..The susters also shall haue vesture made wt soche meke clothe.
162.   *?c1425 Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)383/25 :* Amonge alle þe spices, i. kyndes, of þe lepre, þe spices leonina and elephancia ben werste, as of þe worste mater; The oþer forsoþe ben softer and **meker** [*Ch.(1): more milde; L magis miti] maters.

<div align="center">(<i>MED</i>)</div>

Occurrences of <u>blīþe</u>:

1. *Bo 16.39.23:* ge furðom his agen wif he ofslog mid sweorde; & for ðyllecum næs he nanwuht geunrotsod, ac wæs þy **bliþra** & fagenode þæs.
2. *Mald 146:* se eorl wæs þe **bliþra**, hloh þa, modi man, sæde metode þanc ðæs dægweorces þe him drihten forgeaf.
3. *ÆCHom I, 38 517.294:* eode him mid **bliþum** mode fægnigende
4. *LS 9 (Giles) 121:* þa wearð he swa **bliðe** þæt he cleopode þone Godes man & gecyste hine mid mycelre lufe.
5. *HomS 31 21:* gyf þonne þa deoflu þæt ongytað, þæt heo sceal beon on heora geferscype, þonne beoð hi ealle efenhleoþriende and swyðe **bliðe**, and þa englas beoð swyðe sarige ... gewordene.
6. *LS 8 (Eust) 385:* hi ealle gegadere ... blissodon for heora gemetinge, and miccle þe **bliðran** þe hi oferwinnen hæfdon þa hæþenan.
7. *Judg 16.25:* ða Philistei þa micele fyrme geworhton & gesamnodon hi on sumre upflora ... þreo þusend manna, on micelre blisse: & þa þa hig **bliðust** wæron, þa bædon hig sume, þæt Samson moste him macian sum gamen (P bliþost; cf. Idc: laetantesque per convivia).
8. *ÆHomM 14 20:* se cyning bebead þam gebeorum eallum, þæt hi **bliþe** wæron æt his gebeorscipe.
9. *HyGl 3 117.1:* utan singan mid **bliðum** mode þa ecan lac [-] canamus cum letis mentibus aeterna munera Christi.
10. *Solil 1 49.12:* ac læt beon þone wop and þa unrotnesse, and beo gemætlice **bliðe**.
11. *And 831:* leton þone halgan be herestræte swefan on sybbe under swegles hleo, **bliðne** bidan burhwealle neh.
12. *El 96:* cyning wæs þy **bliðra** ond þe sorgleasra, secga aldor, on fyrhðsefan, þurh þa fægeran gesyhð.

13. *Wife 42:* a scyle geong mon wesan geomormod, heard heortan geþoht, swylce habban sceal **bliþe** gebæro, eac þon breostceare, sinsorgna gedreag.
14. *ÆCHom I, 9 250.27:* & he wæs þa **bliðe** þæs behates. & com to Godes temple þurh myngunge þæs halgan gastes.
15. *ÆCHom II, 39.1 296.305:* hwæt ða gehyrdon gehwilce on life halige englas singan on his forðsiðe. **bliðe** on heofenum þæs halgan tocymes.
16. *LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.95:* se eadiga wer Guðlac swiþe **bliþe** wæs þæs heofonlican cuman
17. *Exod 18.9:* ða wæs Gethro **bliðe** for eallum ðam godum ðe drihten dyde Israhela folce *(cf. Ex: laetatusque est Iethro super omnibus bonis).*
18. *Mart 5 Oc 24, B.4:* ond hie wæron **bliðran** to ðam deaðe þonne hy her on hæðengilde lifden.
19. *ÆLS (Vincent) 172:* his liþa toslupon on þam laðum tintregum; ac he eall þis forbær mid **bliþum** andwlitan *(cf. Pass.Vinc. 16.5 hilari vultu).*
20. *Res 70:* hwæþre ic me ealles þæs ellen wylle habban ond hlyhhan ond me hyhtan to ... gæst gearwian, ond me þæt eal for gode þolian **bliþe** mode.
21. *BonGl 9:* quod ab Apostolica sede ... postulastis, libenti animo concedimus [-] gebedon mid **bliðum** mode we geunnon.
22. *LibSc 29.4:* hilarem enim datorem diligit deus **bliðne** soðlice syllend lufað God.
23. *GenB 655:* Adam, frea min, þis ofet is swa swete, **blið** on breostum.
24. *Phoen 598:* weorc anra gehwæs beorhte bliceð in þam <**bliþan**> [ms **bliþam**] ham.
25. *Bede 5 13.430.27:* wit ða ... becoman to ðan **bliðan** wunenessum ðara hwittra gasta & fægra
26. *Or 2 8.52.15:* hu þyncð eow nu ... siþþan Gallia ut of þære byrig aforan, hu **bliðe** tida Romane æfter ðæm hæfdon.
27. *RegCGl 2.20:* non solum monachos uerum sanctimoniales ... constituit bonisque omnibus locupletans gratulabundus ditauit na þæt an munecas ac eac mynecyna ... he gesette & mid godum eallum gegodiendum **bliþe** he gewelegude.
28. *RegCGl 64.1542:* coquinę ... <officina> ... unusquisque, prout uires suppetunt, gratulabundus exhibeat kycenan ... ambihthus ... anra gehwylc, swa him mihta fylstan, **bliþe** gearwige *(with officina perh. for officia 'duties').*
29. *AldV 1 873:* uoti compotibus. leti **bliþum**
30. *ErfGl 1 77:* alacris **blidi** (ClGl 2 48.10 snel. bliðe).
31. *OccGl 28 14:* cuncti euax ealle **bliðe** (from ælf.bata. Coll. 36.24 cuncti euax estis mihi).
32. *OccGl 28 134:* eugeque & beo <**bliþe**> *(ms bli; from ælf.bata. Coll. 68.21 euax, eugeque, didascole.i. magister).*
33. *Bo 5.10.28:* þa þæt mod þa þillic sar cweðende wæs ... se wisdom þa & seo gesceadwisnes him **bliðum** eahum on locodon
34. *ÆLS (Martin) 749:* on sumne sæl eft siþþan com se swicola deofol into þam halgan were ... mid purpuran gescryd, and mid kynelicum gyrlum ... and mid **blyþre** ansyne on micelre beorhtnysse
35. *LS 10.1 (Guth) 15.8:* ða se eadiga wer Guðlac mid **bliþum** andwlitan and hlihhende gespræce he cwæþ to heom: for hwon behydde git þa flaxan under ane tyrf ?
36. *GD 4 (C) 20.291.3:* him þa se drihtnes wer andwyrde sona mid glædre ansyne & **bliðum** mode *(O mid bliðan; cf. greg.mag. Dial. 4.20.2 uultu ac mente placida).*
37. *PrudGl 1 118:* serenus glæd oþþe **bliþe**
38. *MtGl (Li) 10.16:* estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae wosas ge forðon hogo suæ nedro & **bliðo** ł mildo suæ culfre (RuACpH forms of bilewit).
39. *LkGl (Li) 11.34:* lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus: si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit ðæccila lichomes ðines is ego ðin: gif ego ðin bið milde ł **bliðe** ł bilwit, all lichoma ðin leht bið *(Ru bliðe, ACpH hluttor).*
40. *And 969:* ic adreah feala yrmþa ofer eorðan; wolde ic eow on ðon þurh **bliðne** hige bysne onstellan.
41. *ChristB 773:* utan us to fæder freoþa wilnian, biddan bearn Godes ond þone **bliðan** gæst þæt he us gescilde wið sceaþan wæpnum.
42. *LS 18.1 (NatMaryAss 10N) 695:* ac uton we hire nu eadmodlice biddan, þæt heo us beo milde mundbore & **bliþe** þingestre to þam heofenlice mægenðrymme
43. *BoGl M.3.12.12:* nec uisum timuit lepus iam cantu placidum canem ne gesewenne ne ondræd hara of sange **bliþne** hund.

44. *MtGl (Li) 21.5:* ecce, rex tuus uenit tibi mansuetus et sedens super asinam heonu, cynig ðin cuom ðe **bliðe** ł biluit & sittende ofer asal.
45. *OccGl 70.2 7:* blanda **bliðe** *(from greg.mag. Reg.past. 3.2.8 istos uero ad meliora opera depraecatio blanda componit).*
46. *PPs 118.88:* æfter ðinre þære myclan mildheortnesse weorð me, mihtig god, milde and **bliðe** *(<secundum> misericordiam tuam uiuifica me).*
47. *El 1316:* him bið engla weard milde ond **bliðe**, þæs ðe hie mana gehwylc forsawon, synna weorc.
48. *Conf 2.1 29:* þonne byð þe God hold and milde and **bliðe** and ðu most mid him þonne rixian in ealra worulda woruld.
49. *Bede 3 12.196.28:* ongyrde hine þa his sweorde & sealde his þegne, & stop ofostlice toforan biscope & feoll to his fotum, & bæd þæt he him **bliðe** wære
50. *Bede 4 25.348.6:* þa ondswaredon hy ... þæt heo nænigne incan to him wiston ... & heo wrixendlice hine bædon, þæt he him eallum **bliðe** wære
51. *LawIVEg 16:* ic beo eow swyðe hold hlaford þa hwile þe me lif gelæst, & eow eallum swyðe **bliðe** eom *(cf. C [Lat.]: fidelis omnibus uobis perseuerabo).*

<div align="center">(DOE)</div>

Occurrences of *blīthe*:

1. *c1175(?OE) HRood (Bod 343)4/16:* Sonæ swa he ðes wateres swetnysse ifelde, þa wearð he swiðe **bliðe** on his mode.
2. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)8141:* He warrþ swiþe **bliþe** þa & toc to lahhȝhenn lhude.
3. *a1225(?OE) Lamb.Hom.(Lamb 487)139:* Beo we **bliðe** and glade [L exultemur et letemur] on þis dei.
4. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)11145:* Þa weoren Rom-leoden **bliðen** on heore þeoden.
5. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)50/8:* Wið **bliðe** heorte beoreð me genge for te herien þe king.
6. *?a1300 Jacob & J.(Bod 652)472:* Him þuȝte þat he was **bliþore** þen þauȝ he were in heuene.
7. *c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11)339:* His men he tolde of þat cas wiþ wel **bliþe** mod.
8. *c1390 PPl.A(1) (Vrn)2.128:* Þenne was Fals fayn and Fauuel also **bliþe**.
9. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Sq.(Manly-Rickert)F.338:* Ful glad and **blithe** this..kyng Repeireth to his reuel.
10. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)2251:* Quedur godd be wrath or **blyth**.
11. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)10377:* Sir Ioachim was fain and **blith** [Göt: glad and **blith**].
12. *c1400(?c1390) Gawain (Nero A.10)1213:* Gawayn þe **blyþe**..bourded a-ȝayn with mony a blyþe laȝter.
13. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)6773:* Be wroth or **blithe** whoso be.
14. *c1430(c1380) Chaucer PF (Benson-Robinson)622:* Whoso be wroth or **blythe**.
15. *(1440) PParv.(Hrl 221)40:* **Blythe** and mery: Letus, hillaris.
16. *a1450(a1400) Athelston (Cai 175/96)378:* **Blyþe** schal I neuer be Tyl I my weddyd broþer see.
17. *c1475(c1399) Mum & S.(1) (Cmb Ll.4.14)3.277:* Forbede I no burne to be **blithe** sum while.
18. *c1450(a1375) Octav.(2) (Clg A.2)5/109:* Tho was all Rome gladde and **blyde**.
19. *a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1)14/160:* Wheder that he be blithe or wroth.
20. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)796:* Mani mann Wass off hiss come **bliþe**.
21. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)1636:* He wes swiðe **bliðe** for his muchele biȝate.
22. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)3624:* Aganippus wes **bliþe** þet Leir wes cumen.
23. *?a1300 Jacob & J.(Bod 652)33:* Iacob bihalt his sones; of hem he was **bliþe**.
24. *c1330 Orfeo (Auch)471:* Of hir ichil þatow be **bliþe**.
25. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)385:* Þemperour, **bliþe** of þe barn, on his blonk rides.
26. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)1472:* Eche a rynk was **bliþe** þat þe milde meliors so mariede scholde bene.
27. *(c1387-95) Chaucer CT.Prol.(Manly-Rickert)A.846:* The cut fil to the knyght, Of which ful **blithe** and glad was euery wight.
28. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)2.18:* Whanne I have sen an other **blithe** Of love.
29. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)1399:* Adam was for þis tiþand **blith**.
30. *?a1400(a1338) Mannyng Chron.Pt.2 (Petyt 511)p.54:* Þei gaf him þe coroune & were of him fulle **bliþe**.

31. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)1706*: His barounes boȝed hym to, **blyþe** of his come.
32. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)981*: For bale of þe botelesse, **blythe** be I neuer.
33. *a1500 Trental St.Greg.(2) (Adv 19.3.1)21*: Of þis tyþandis was he not **blythe**.
34. *a1225(?OE) Vsp.A.Hom.(Vsp A.22)233*: Se hlaford..et and dranc and macede hine wel **bliðe** mid his.
35. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)8.929:* The yifte of al this worldes good Ne scholde have mad hir half so **blythe**.
36. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)10553*: Anna..þou ma þe **blith** [Göt: make þe **blith**], þi lauerd es comand.
37. *c1400(?c1390) Gawain (Nero A.10)1398*: Þay laȝed & made hem **blyþe**.
38. *a1450(a1400) Athelston (Cai 175/96)206*: Þis lettre ouȝte to make þe **blyþe**.
39. *a1450 St.Editha (Fst B.3)520:* Þus fysshers..etone and drongone and made hem **blythe**.
40. *a1500(?a1400) Morte Arth.(2) (Hrl 2252)1563*: Is it youre wille to..Ete and drynke and make you **blythe**?
41. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)9065*: Jesu..Wass..**bliþe** & fus To follȝhenn heore wille.
42. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)85/19:* His herte is zuo **bliþe** to [Vices & V.(2): enioyned to; F governe selom] þe wylle of gode, þet al þet god deþ, al hit is him uayr.
43. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)2393*: Lest þe segges wold haue sesed here seute to folwe, he wold abide..þe **bliþer** hem to make.
44. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)2422:* **Bliþe** were þei boþe þanne to bi-hold on oþer.
45. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)5.1383*: Was ther nevere herte yet so **blithe** To han his lif.
46. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)811*: I wolde have karoled..As man that was to daunce right **blithe**.
47. *c1460 Chaucer CT.WB.(Bodmer cod.48)D.220:* **Blithe** [crit.ed.: Ech of hem ful blisful was and fawe To brynge me gaye thynges fro the feyre].
48. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)39/130*: This dede ffor to do, be bothe **blythe** and bolde.
49. *c1300 Assump.Virg.(1) (Cmb Gg.4.27)104*: Wel **bliþe** bode [Add: Bliþe tiþynges] ihc þe bringe.
50. *a1400 Cursor (Frf 14)20160*: **Bliþ** bodeworde I þe bring.
51. *c1450(a1425) MOTest.(SeldSup 52)3955*: A **blyth** bodword to þem scho broyȝt.
52. *(a1300) MS Dur-C.B.1.18 in Wenzel ME Lexicon (Dur-C B.1.18)472*: Edom…signat potatorem qui ex nimia potacione habet faciem rubeam; quorum prouerbium, idest **blithword**, est in taberna 'Sope, and drope, and driberd'.
53. *c1175(?OE) Bod.Hom.(Bod 343)128/28*: Heo dæȝhwamlice þene heofenlice kyng bliðne iseoð.
54. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)10945*: Crist Iss meoc & milde & **bliþe**.
55. *a1400 Cursor (Trin-C R.3.8)828*: Soone bigan he vengeaunce kiþe As lord þat first was meke & **bliþe**.
56. *c1400(?c1380) Pearl (Nero A.10)1131*: Best watz he [the Lamb], **blyþest** and moste to pryse.
57. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)1228*: His beryng so badde agayn his **blyþe** Lorde.
58. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)3.1318* : O blisful nyght..How **blithe** unto hem bothe two thow weere!
59. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)2342*: Your biddyng to obey, as my **blithe** ffader.
60. *c1450(c1350) Alex.& D.(Bod 264)624:* God is..a spryt clene, Boþe blessed and **blyþe** þat blendeþ all sorwe.
61. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)48/34*: Heo stod up, alre burde **blidest**.
62. *c1330(?a1300) Tristrem (Auch)2970*: Ysonde for to se In halle briȝt and **bliþe**.
63. *c1330 KTars (Auch)13*: Þe meiden was schast & **bliþe** [Vrn: feir] of chere.
64. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)1337*: Cherubin, þat angel **blyth** [vrr. bliht, briȝt], Bad him ga.
65. *c1400(?c1390) Gawain (Nero A.10)162:* Oþer **blyþe** stones..were richely rayled in his aray clene.
66. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)629*: At Bareflete apon þa **blythe** stremes.
67. *c1450(c1350) Alex.& D.(Bod 264)411*: Hure face to enoine For to bliken of hur ble, þe **bliþure** of chere.
68. *a1500(a1400) Ipom.(1) (Chet 8009)377*: A noble countenavnce he hade, A **blyther** and a better made Before they had not sayne.

69. *a1500(?a1400) Torrent (Chet 8009)1028*: The theff had non ey but on, Soche sawe I neuer none, **Blyther** be nyght and be day.

<div align="center">(MED)</div>

Occurrences of *nait*:

1. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)1038 :* Nestor, A noble man, **naitest** in werre.
2. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)3878 :* Non was so noble, ne of **nait** strenght, As Ector.
3. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)9058 :* Parys þen preset in with a prise batell Of noble men, for the nonest, **naitist** of wille.
4. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)9479 :* To deire hym with dethe, he duly deuyset With a narow full noble of a **nait** shap.
5. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)9843 :* Ah! noble men of nome, **nayet** of your werkes.

<div align="center">(MED, PPCME2)</div>

6. *?a1425(?a1350) T. Castleford Chron.I. l. 885:* Þou wend To þar wakemen, wyth wordes hend, Speke to þame fayr wordes and **naite**, So priuelye mengyd wyth desayt.
7. *c1550 Clariodus (1830) iii. 865:* Meliades full **nait** and bissie was To beir at the command of hir maistres The woll unto hir cousigne.

<div align="center">(OED)</div>

Occurrences of *behēfe*:

1. *LkGl (Ru) 10.41:* solicita es et turbaris circa plurima porro unum est necessarium geornful is & ðu bist astyred forðon monige, soðlice an is nedðarf ɫ **bihoefe**
2. *ByrM 1 2.3.254:* heræfter we þencað iunge mynstermen ... gefrefrian ... mid eallum þam þingum þe **behefuste** synt þærto to witanne.
3. *MkGl (Ru) 11.3:* et si quis uobis dixerit: quid facitis? dicite quia domino necessarius est & gif hwelc iow bicweðes: hwæt doað ge? cweoðas ðætte drihtne **bihoefe** ɫ nedðarf is *(Li behoflic ɫ nedðarf, ACpH forms of drihten hæfð his neode)*.
4. *ByrM 1 3.2.203:* ðas circulas synt **behefe** eallum gehadedum mannum and swyðust þam preostum þe sceolon folc læran and þa Easterlican tid þurh þæs monan ryne ætywan.
5. *Lk (WSCp) 14.28:* hwylc eower wyle timbrian anne stypel, hu ne sytt he ærest & teleð þa andfengas þe him **behefe** synt
6. *HomU 39 30:* feower þing synt ealra þinga **behefost** þam arwyrðan men, þam godes frynd, þam þe <þencð> to þam ecan life *(A behefest)*.
7. *PrudGl 4 3:* indigens **behe** *(from prud. Cath. 4.54 clausus iugiter indigensque uictus)*.
8. *ÆColl 5:* quid curamus quid loquamur, nisi recta locutio sit et utilis, non anilis aut turpis hwæt rece we hwæt we sprecan, buton hit riht spræc sy & <**behefe**> [ms **behese**], næs idel oþþe fracod.
9. *Eluc 1 61:* syðóen þa ateorigendlice þing byð swa **behefe** & leofe to brucane, wel swyðe mycele betere & fremfullre byð þa heofonlice welen, þe næfre ne forealdigeð
10. *BenR 72.132.3:* hira nan ne filige his ahnum dome on þam þingum, þe he him sylfum nytwyrðe talige and **behefe**, ac þam swiðust, þe oðrum furður framiam mæge
11. *LS 7 (Euphr) 250:* nu wylle ic sylfe eac ... God biddan þæt he þe forgife forebyrd and geþyld, and þe getiðige þæs ðe selost sy and hire **behefast**
12. *ÆColl 168:* est quidem ars mea utilis ualde uobis et necessaria ys, witodlice, cræft min **behefe** þearle eow & neodþearf.
13. *Ch 1513 8:* & hio he bebot ... ðet ða hiwan hit næfre utt ne syllan of hira bæddern wið nanan feo buton hi hit wið oðre lande sullan ðæ him gehændre beo & **behefre**.

<div align="center">(DOE)</div>

14. *The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions: The Rushworth Gospels (Lk):15-239:* gif ne sellas him arises forðon ðætte freond his bið scendla giornisse hweðre freondes his ariseð & seleð him ðæt ðætte hæfeð ða nedðarfe ɫ **bihoefe**.
15. *'The Old English Life of Saint Pantaleon':* Ða cwæð pantaleon, Nis me **behefe** þæt ic andswerige þinum wordum.

16. *Benedict, Rule, Winteney Version:3-147 (Halle):* Drihten, onfoh me æfter þinre **behese**, & ic libbe; & ne gescend þu me on minre anbidunge.
17. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion: Byrhtferth's Manual:2-236:* Nu ic ealles ymbe þas þing spræce hæbbe, me þingð **behefe** þing þæt ic swa mycel ymbe þissum getæle preostum gecyðe, swa me ne gesceamige þonne þa getydde weras þys gewrit gehyrað
18. *Ælfric, Colloquy:18-49:* Ic secge þæt **behefe** ic eom ge cincge & eoldormannum & weligum & eallum follce.
19. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV: 'In festis sancte Marie':134-9:* Se Hælend hire andswerede & cwæð, Martha, Martha, þu eart bisig & gedrefd on feale þingan, ac anlypig þing is **behefe**.
20. *Byrhtferth's Manual:2-236:* Þe ys **behefe** þing, la arwurða cleric, þæt þu gemete on getæl, þæt ys swylce ic þus hyt gehradige.
21. *Ælfric Bata, Colloquies:no. 56, Anecdota Oxoniensia:* commoditatibus **behef**
22. *Catholic Homilies: Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis:465-75 'Ælfric's The First Text':* Gif hwilc sibling þe bið swa deorwurðe swa þin eage. & oþer swa **behefe** swa þin hand
23. *Medicina de quadrupedibus:234-73:* Eft do hyne adune & onlut. He bið **behefe** to ðam neoðran dæle þæs lichoman.
24. *Benedict, Rule:1-133:* Syn gehwam **behefe** þing and alefede gesealde, be þam þe hit on ðara apostola drohtnunge awriten is þisum wordum;

<center>(*DOEC*)</center>

Occurrences of *bihēve*:

1. *a1200 Trin.Hom.(Trin-C B.14.52)7:* Þat we..do þat ure sowle and ure lichawe be **biheue**.
2. *a1200 Trin.Hom.(Trin-C B.14.52)9:* Sech after þing þe ðe beð **biheue**.
3. *a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34)141/30:* We ne witen hweðer we bidden ðat godd he ȝecweme and us **biheue**.
4. *c1225 St.Juliana (Roy 17.A.27)40/345:* Ichulle warnen þe biforen, nis hit nawt þe **biheue**.
5. *c1390 I wolde witen (Vrn)71:* Mony maters men don meue, Sechen heor wittes hou and why; But Godes Merci vs alle [is] **bi-heue**.
6. *?a1200(OE) Hrl.MQuad.(Hrl 6258B)6/8:* He byð **behefe** to ðan nyþeran dæle þas lichaman.
7. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)47a:* Spearewe haueð ȝet a cunde þet is **bi heue** [L oportunam] ancre..þet is þe fallinde uuel.
8. *a1150(c1125) Vsp.D.Hom.Fest.Virg.(Vsp D.14)15/12:* Martha, þu eart bisig and gedrefd on feale þingan, Ac anlypig þing is **behefe**.
9. *a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34)107/28:* Hersumnesse..is swiðe **behieue** on godes huse.
10. *c1330(?a1300) Arth.& M.(Auch)6146:* Þer hadde ben miche mischef, No had Merlin seyd a conseil **bi hef**.

<center>(*MED*)</center>

Occurrences of *rad(e*:

1. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)1292 :* Seth..was noght **raadd**.
2. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)11724 :* Qui er yee **rade** [rime: mad]?
3. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)1543 :* He..romyes as a **rad** ryth þat rorez for drede.
4. *c1400(?c1390) Gawain (Nero A.10)251 :* Arþour..rekenly hym reuerenced, for **rad** was he neuer.
5. *a1425(?c1350) Ywain (Glb E.9)481 :* If it so bytide..Þat..any dremis mak þe **rad**, Turn ogayn and say I bad.
6. *a1425 Ben.Rule(1) (Lnsd 378)15/11 :* Saint benet..bidis..tat ye be als **rad** als ye saȝ þe iugiment of god.
7. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)2881 :* The raskaille was **rade** and rane to þe grefes..as cowardes.
8. *a1450(?1348) Rolle FLiving (Cmb Dd.5.64)92/108 :* Oure enmy..es aboute to begyle us..with uggly ymages, for to make us **radde**.
9. *?c1450 St.Cuth.(Eg 3309)4934 :* He was bathe dred and **rad**.
10. *a1500(c1340) Rolle Psalter (UC 64)18.6 :* Nathynge might make him **rade**.

11. *a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1)121/175 :* I shall make the full **rad**..with thy gawdys.
12. *a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1)321/514 :* We were so **rad** euerilkon.
13. *a1500 Tundale (Adv 19.3.1)1276 :* Thou wer full **radde**.
14. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)2170 :* ʒho drefedd wass & **radd** off Godess enngell.
15. *c1390 NHom.Virg.to Devil (Vrn)63 :* His wyf was for him selly **rad**.
16. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Gosp.(Phys-E)p.2 :* Al bestes er **red** for man.
17. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)6260 :* For pharaon was he noght **radd**.
18. *a1425(?c1375) NHom.(3) Leg.(Hrl 4196)111/275:* Decius thoght grete hething Þat Laurence was noght for him **rad**.
19. *a1425(?a1400) Penny (Glb E.9)53:* Of counsail thar þam neuer be **rad** Þat may haue him to frende.
20. *c1440 Degrev.(Thrn)598 :* Thow wold holde me drade, And for þe Erle full **rade**.
21. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)1040 :* Þen ware þe..all **redd** of his come.
22. *?c1450 St.Cuth.(Eg 3309)4627 :* For few perills were þai **radd**.
23. *?c1450 St.Cuth.(Eg 3309)6958 :* Proude men and lychours war for him **rad**.
24. *a1500(c1340) Rolle Psalter (UC 64)9.5 :* Thou made thaim **rad** for thaire syn.
25. *a1500(c1340) Rolle Psalter (UC 64)75.8 :* All erthly lufers was **rad** for pyne.
26. *a1400(c1300) NHom.(1) Knt.PW (Phys-E)p.142 :* This okeres was selli **radde** [Vrn: Rad] To do that this bischop him badde.
27. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)3955 :* He was **raad** of al thing For to cum in his metyng.
28. *a1425(c1300) NHom.(1) Martin AM (Cmb Gg.5.31)p.73:* He was **rad** to tyne mekenes Wit louely worde.
29. *a1425(?c1375) NHom.(3) Leg.(Hrl 4196)106/91:* No-man sal be **rad** for þis Anoþer time to do omis.
30. *c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)2510:* Þan am I **redd** [Dub: raddest] all oure rewme be reft vs for euire.
31. *c1475(?c1400) Wycl.Apol.(Dub 245)27 :* Þis schuld maak men **rad** to do ani iuil to ani good man.
32. *c1440(?a1400) Morte Arth.(1) (Thrn)3896 :* Ristys he no lengere, For **rade** of oure riche kynge.
33. *c1450(?a1400) Parl.3 Ages (Add 31042)429 :* When Pharaoo had flayede the folkes of Israelle, Thay ranne in-to the Rede See for **radde** of hym-seluen.

(*MED*)

Occurrences of *forht*:

1. *Bede 2 6.114.31:* þa he ða se cyning gehyrde & oncneow, þætte he se biscop ... from Cristes apostole swa micele tintregu & witu þrowade, þa wæs he swiðe **forht** geworden, & him swiðe ondred ond sona towearp al þa bigong þara deofolgelda
2. *Bede 3 14.214.3:* mid þy þæt fyr him nealecte, þa wæs he him ondrædende & **forht** geworden
3. *Bede 5 17.462.16:* & mid þy hi ða sum fæc somod sæton & sumu þing **forhte** sprecan ongunnon be þam upplican domum Godes ælmihtiges, ða het se biscop ða oðre broðru sumu hwile ut gan
4. *Or 3 4.57.24:* Gallie oferhergedan Romana lond oð iiii mila to ðære byrig, & þa burg mehton eaðe begitan gif hie þær ne <gewacadon>; for þon Romane wæron swa **forhte** & swa æmode, þæt hie ne wendon þæt hie þa burg bewerian mehton
5. *CP 9.57.2:* ðonne he wilnað on his mode ðæt he sciele ricsian he bið swiðe **forht** & swiðe behealden; ðonne he hæfð ðæt he habban wolde, he bið swiðe ðriste
6. *LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) 222:* he ða Ioachim wearð to þam **forht**, þæt he feoll on his ansyn and læg swilce he dead wære fram þære sixtan tide þæs dæges, oð þæt afen wæs *(LS 18.1 220 afyrht).*
7. *PPs 118.161:* wearð me heorte **forht**, þær ic þin halig word on þinum egesan ærest æðelu tredde *(& a uerbis tuis formidauit cor meum).*
8. *Dan 724:* ða wearð folctoga **forht** on mode, acul for þam egesan.
9. *Beo 753:* he on mode wearð **forht** on ferhðe; no þy ær fram meahte.
10. *Phoen 503:* weorþeð anra gehwylc **forht** on ferþþe, þonne fyr briceð læne londwelan.
11. *ChristC 1180:* þa þe æþelast sind eorðan gecynda, ond heofones eac heahgetimbro, eall fore þam anum unrot gewearð, **forht** afongen
12. *Jul 319:* hyre se aglæca ageaf ondsware, **forht** afongen, friþes orwena

13. *BenR 5.11:* þeah hwet teartlices hwæthwara stiðlice on þisum regule, þe ures færyldes latteow to Criste is, geset and getæht sy ... ne beo þu þurh þi **forht** and afæred, ne þurh yrhþe ðinre hæle weg ne forlæt
14. *HomU 9 (Verc 4) 194:* & þonne standað **forhte** & afærede þa þe ær wirigdon & unriht worhton, & <swiðe> betwyh him heofað & wepað, hwylcne dom him dryhten deman wille.
15. *ChristC 889:* þær mon mæg sorgende folc gehyran hygegeomor ... cearum cwiþende cwicra gewyrhtu, **forhte** afærde.
16. *Phoen 521:* hat bið monegum egeslic æled, þonne anra gehwylc ... sawel mid lice, from moldgrafum seceð meotudes dom, **forht**, afæred.
17. *HomS 25 253:* and for ðan he se engel on swa egeslicum onsyne æteowde, þæt þæra wearda mod sceolde beon þy **forhtra**, þa ðe Iudeas þær setton þæt þa byrgenne healdan sceoldan.
18. *Ex 259:* ne beoð ge þy **forhtran**, þeah þe Faraon brohte sweordwigendra side hergas, eorla unrim.
19. *GuthA 201:* no þy **forhtra** wæs Guðlaces gæst, ac him God sealde ellen wiþ þam egsan.
20. *MkGl (Li) 4.40:* et ait illis quid timidi estis & cueð to him hwætd **frohto** ł forhto aro gie ł gebiðon ł gesint
21. *AldV 1 4613:* formidolosorum **forhtra** timidorum, timidorum
22. *AldV 1 3662:* tremebundis: formidantibus **forhtum**
23. *AldV 1 5154:* trepidantibus **forh**
24. *CP 3.33.4:* be ðære byrðenne ðæs reccenddomes, & hu he scyle eall earfoðu forsion, & hu **forht** he sceal beon for ælcre orsorgnesse
25. *LS 25 (MichaelMor) 51:* ða þæt gesawon ða burgware, ða wurdon hie swiðe **forhte** for ðæm fære þe heo næfre swylc wundor ne gesawon
26. *Num 22.25:* ða fleah se assa gyt **forht** for þam encgle, & ðyde his hlafordes fot ðearle to ðam hege.
27. *LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) 563:* ða wæron hi ealle swiðe **forhte** for ðæs engles gesihðe and his worde and ongunnon hi wurþian and hyre eadmodlice hyran
28. *Dream 20:* eall ic wæs mid <sorgum> gedrefed, **forht** ic wæs for þære fægran gesyhðe.
29. *LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.66:* mid þam þe his geferan þas word gehyrdon, þa wæron hi swiþe wundriende and swyþe **forhte** for þam wordum, þe hi þær gehyrdon
30. *LS 10.1 (Guth) 20.151:* þa hi þas þing gesawon, þe þær samod æt wæron, þa wæron hi swiðe **forhte** for þig, þe hi þær gesawon; and hi swa swyðe mid þære fyrhte wæron geslegene, þæt hi naht sprecan ne mihton
31. *Rid 43 10:* ne wile **forht** wesan broþor oþrum; him þæt bam sceðeð
32. *Res 64:* min is nu þa sefa synnum fah, ond ic ymb sawle eom feam siþum **forht**.
33. *MtGl (Li) 1.20:* noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam nelle ðu ðe ondrede ł **forht** bian to onfoanne Maria gebede ł geoc ðin
34. *ClGl 1 2108:* experge [merograph of expergefactus] **forht**
35. *Creed 55:* ic þone ærest ealra getreowe, flæsces on foldan on þa **forhtan** tid, et uitam eternam þær ðu ece lif eallum <dælest>.
36. *HomU 32 84:* heofonwara fulmægen and heora hlafordes þrym, þæt ongrislice gemot and seo egesfulle fyrd, se reða wealdend and se rihta dom ... þa blacan andwlitan and þæt bifiende wered, se **forhta** cearm and þæra folca wop, þæra feonda grimnes and se hluda heof, þæt sarige mancynn and se <synniga> heap

(*DOE*)

Occurrences of *forhtigen*:

1. *a1200(OE) Hat.Gosp.(Hat 38)Mark 14.33*: Þa on-gan he **forhtigen** [L pauere] & sarigen. (*MED*)

Occurrences of *unforht*:

1. *a1150(OE) Vsp.D.Hom.(Vsp D.14)106/35*: Secgeð eowwer hlaforde þæt he **unforht** seo.
2. *a1150(OE) Vsp.D.Hom.Nicod.(Vsp D.14)86/17*: Eornestlice we axigeð hwæt þu seo, þu þe swa **unforht** [OE unforht] us eart to gecumen.

(*MED*)

Occurrences of *baisk*:

1. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)6698 :* Myrra..iss full bitterr & full **beȝȝsc**.
2. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)10018 :* Full **beȝȝsc** & full off atterr.
3. *?c1425 *Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)187a/b :* Fermentum, soure doghe..is **balske** [read: baiske; *Ch.(1): egre; L acre].
4. *a1450 Desert Relig.(Add 37049)674 :* Þe froyte..was full soure, And **bayske** and bitter of odoure.
5. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)13849 :* To wattrenn..Þurrh **beȝȝske** & sallte tæress þatt herrte.
6. *?c1400(c1340) *Rolle Psalter (Sid 89)Cant.Mo.2.47 :* Þeir froyte is all turned to **bayscke** synne.
7. *a1425 Hayle bote (Wht)133 :* A! wrecched hert..Thi fruyte is roten and **baysk** for synne.
8. *c1400 Interpol.Rolle Cant.(1) (Bod 288)42 :* Pride and covetise and ipocrisie..ben **bask** or bittir synnes in Goddis knowyng.
9. *a1500 Mirror Salv.(Beeleigh)p.23 :* This floures tast makes **baiske** of luxure the delite..All manner werldely lust shal hym thinke bitternesse.

(*MED, PPCME2*)

Occurrences of *biter*:

1. *ÆCHom II, 26 214.47:* ðurh ða earan we gehyrað. on ðam muðe we habbað swæcc. and tocnawað hwæðer hit bið þe wered. ðe **biter**. þæt we ðicgað.
2. *CP 41.303.12:* sua eac se læce, ðonne he **bietre** wyrta deð to hwelcum drence, he hie gesuet mid hunige ... ac ðonne se swæc ðære bieternesse bið bediegled mid ðære swetnesse, ðonne bið se deaðbæra wæta on ðæm menn ofslægen mid ðæm biteran drence
3. *Bo 39.132.6:* þæt is forhwi se gooda læce selle þam halum men seftne drenc & swetne, & oðrum halum **biterne** & strangne
4. *Alex 13.4:* þa ic þæt wæter bergde ða wæs hit **biterre** & grimre to drincanne þonne ic æfre ænig oðer bergde.
5. *Lch I (Herb) 17.0:* [feldwyrt] bið hnesce on æthrine & **bittere** on byrgingce
6. *Lch I (Herb) 185.0:* ðeos wyrt þe man colocynthisagria ... nemneþ ... hafaþ wæstm sinewealtne & **byterne**, se ys to nymenne to þam timan þonne he æfter his grennysse fealwað.
7. *Exod 15.23:* ða ne mihton hi drincan ðæt wæter, for þam ðe hit wæs **biter**: þa heton hi ealle his naman Mara, þæt is on ure leden biternys
8. *AntGl 2 331:* picra **biter** wyrtdrenc
9. *ClGl 1 1925:* dirior **bittera** *(from aldh. Enig. 100.32 dirior et rursus quam glauca absinthia campi).*
10. *ClGl 1 637:* amaro þa **biteran**.
11. *HomS 32 122:* ne þær on þæm egeslicum witum nænig stefn bið gehyred buton heof and wop and næni rest gemeted buton **biter** attor and ece cwealm.
12. *ClGl 1 2898:* gorgoneo aterlicum ł **biter**
13. *GuthB 865:* nænig monna ... bibugan mæge þone **bitran** drync þone Eue fyrn Adame geaf, byrelade bryd geong.
14. *Lch II (2 Head) 8:* læcedomas wiþ sare & unluste þæs magan se þe ne mæg ne mid mete ne mid drincan beon gelacnod & **bitere** hræcetunge þrowað.
15. *Lch II (2) 44.1.5:* þes deah wiþ magan ablawunge & innoþa, hnesceþ þa wambe, þynnað þa oman, **bitre** hræcetunge aweg deð
16. *Lch II (2) 1.1.33:* gif hie þonne cumað of oþrum **biterum** & yfelum wætum þa þe wyrceað oman þonne beoþ þa elcran to stillanne oþþæt þe hie unstrangran weorþan
17. *Beo 1745:* þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen **biteran** stræle.
18. *ChristB 763:* wrohtbora in folc godes forð onsendeð of his brægdbogan **biterne** stræl.
19. *Beo 2702:* þa gen sylf cyning geweold his gewitte, wællseaxe gebræd **biter** ond beaduscearp, þæt he on byrnan wæg; forwrat Wedra helm wyrm on middan.
20. *ChristC 1247:* on þystra bealo þæt gesælige weorud gesihð þæt fordone sar þrowian, synna to wite, weallendne lig, ond wyrma slite **bitrum** ceaflum.
21. *PsCaF 7(6).24:* beoð fornumene hungor & forswelgað hig fugelas mid **bite** þam bitereston consumentur fame et deuorabunt eos aues morsu amarissimo

22. *Az 57:* se **bittra** bryne beorgan sceolde for þæs engles ege æfæstum þrim.
23. *JDay II 242:* ðonne blindum beseah **biterum** ligum, earme on ende, þæt unalyfed is nu.
24. *Med 1.1 10.14:* scinseocum men wyrc drenc of hwites hundes þoste on **bitere** lege.
25. *GenB 323:* wite þoliað, hatne heaðowelm helle tomiddes, brand and brade ligas, swilce eac þa **biteran** recas, þrosm and þystro.
26. *HomU 3 45:* gewitæþ, ge awarigede, from me on <þane> mycele æðm, and on þæne ece brune, and on þene **bittræ** þrosm hælles fures, þær þe leig reþelice bærneð.
27. *CP 21.165.1:* hwæt is ðienga ðe **bieterre** sie on ðæs lareowes mode, oððe hit suiður gehierste & gegremige ðonne se anda ðe for ryhtwisnesse bið upahæfen
28. *Mald 111:* **biter** wæs se beaduræs, beornas feollon on gehwæðere hand, hyssas lagon.
29. *Mald 84:* þa hi þæt ongeaton and georne gesawon þæt hi þær bricgweardas **bitere** fundon.
30. *Beo 1430:* hie on weg hruron, **bitere** ond gebolgne, bearhtm ongeaton, guðhorn galan.
31. *MSol 330:* ne sceall ic ðe hwæðre, broðor, abelgan; ðu eart swiðe **bittres** cynnes, eorre eormenstrynde.
32. *GenB 762:* hwearf him eft niðer boda **bitresta**; sceolde he þa bradan ligas secan helle gehliðo.
33. *ÆCHom II, 21 185.153:* lufiað ge weras eowere wif on æwe. ne beo ge **bitere** him. ungebeorhlice.
34. *Prog 6.3 4:* gif he bið on wodnesdeig oþðe on da niht acenned, he bið scarp & **biter** & swiðe wær on his wordum.
35. *AldV 1 2894:* acerrimę crudelissime **bitereste**
36. *ÆCHom II, 35 265.158:* ac ðæra rihtwisra gewinn awent to blisse. and ðæra arleasra bliss. to **biterum** sarnyssum on ðære ecan worulde þe gewelgað ða þolmodan.
37. *Eluc 1 72:* **bitere** byð þa saregan þe heo sculen on helle on ecnysse geðrowigen, for heora unmihte.
38. *Sea 1:* mæg ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan, siþas secgan, hu ic geswincdagum earfoðhwile oft þrowade, **bitre** breostceare gebiden hæbbe.
39. *ChrodR 1 37.1:* ealswa **biter** æfest is, þe ascyrað fram Gode and gelæt to helle *(sicut est zęlus amaritudinis)*.
40. *AldV 1 2736:* tam rancidis swa **biterum** mid swa biterum
41. *PsCaF 3(2).8:* efne on sibbe **biternys** min seo biteroste ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima
42. *HomU 55 57:* wala þæt for swa scortum life to swa langum deaðe hi synt lædde ... for swa sceortum hleahter to swa langum & **biterum** tearum.
43. *ChristA 150:* bring us hælolif, werigum witeþeowum, wope forcymenum, **bitrum** brynetearum.
44. *HomU 7 (Verc 22) 207:* ac utan sorgian on ðysse medmyclan tide þæt we ne þyrfen wepan in ecnesse þone **biterestan** wop.
45. *ÆCHom II, 14.1 142.137:* ða becyrde se hælend. and beseah to Petre. and he ... mid **biterum** wope. his wiðersæc behreowsode.
46. *HomU 32 82:* þæt **bitere** wite and se blodiga stream, feonda fyrhto and se fyrena ren, hæðenra granung and reafera wanung.
47. *HomS 37 88:* þær bið se hearda hungor and se **bitera** þurst.
48. *LibSc 47.9:* melior est mors quam uita amara betere ys deað þænne lif **biter**.
49. *ÆCHom II, 42 313.110:* ælc ehtnys bið earfoðe to þolienne. ac swa ðeah seo bið ealra **biterost** þe bið fram siblingum oððe fram ðam þe getreowe beon sceoldon.
50. *Res 19:* forgif me to lisse, lifgende god, **bitre** bealodæde.
51. *Rim 80:* ær þæt eadig geþenceð, he hine þe oftor swenceð, byrgeð him þa **bitran** synne, hogaþ to þære betran wynne.
52. *PsGlI 63.4:* forþi þe hig scerptan swaswa sweord tungan heora & hi bændon bogan **biter** þincg quia exacuerunt ut gladium linguas suas intenderunt arcum rem amaram
53. *Dream 112:* frineð he for þære mænige hwær se man sie, se ðe for dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde **biteres** onbyrigan, swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.
54. *ÆHom 11 111:* on ðreo wisan [deað] cymð ... mors acerba, mors inmatura, mors naturalis; ðæt is on Englisc, se **bitera** deað, se ungeripoda deað, and se gecyndelica.
55. *LibSc 15.20:* quia dulce est peccatum sed amara est mors forþi swete ys synn ac **biter** ys deað.
56. *HomS 37 97:* þæt is susle dæg and þæt is se **bitera** bifigenda dæg and se cwacienda dæg and se forhtigenda domesdæg.

57. *HomU 8 (Verc 2) 39:* on þam dæge us bið æteowed se opena heofon & engla þrym ... & þara bymena sang, & se brada bryne & se **bitera** dæg.

<div align="center">(DOE)</div>

Occurrences of *bitter*:

1. *c1175(?OE) HRood (Bod 343)20/24*: An waterput þe wæs to þam swiðlice **bitter**, ðæt nan mon ne mihte anes dropæn ðærof anbyriæn.
2. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)6698* : Myrra..iss full **bitterr** & full beȝȝsc.
3. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)15419* : To birrlenn firrst te swete win siþþenn **bitterr** galle.
4. *c1225(?c1200) HMaid.(Bod 34)32/521* : Þi muð is **bitter**, & walh al þet tu cheowest.
5. *a1250 Wooing Lord (Tit D.18)283* : With galle, þat is þing **bittrest**.
6. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)100b*: Mirre &..aloes..beoð **bittre** speces & bitacnið bittre swinkes.
7. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)129*: Þe guode leche þet..chongeþ his humours and him yefþ..a **byter** medecine.
8. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)6.341*: Tuo tonnes fulle of love drinke..That other **biter** as the galle.
9. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)6.371*: He the **biter** tonne draweth.
10. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)57a/b*: The Galle..conteyneþ humour þat is most **bittir**, for reed colera haþ maistere þerinne.
11. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)85b/b*: **Bittir** oyle of bittir almaundes schal be droppiþ in þe ere.
12. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)206b/b*: Þe more **bitter** salt is, þe more hoot it is.
13. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)313a/b*: Of sauours ben..dyuers: swete, vnctuous, salte, **bitter**..sour.
14. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)313b/a:* Þre sauours ben witnesse of..þikke substaunce: sourissh, **bitter** and swete.
15. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)315a/a:* **Bitter** sauour comeþ of hete in þe þridde degre and druyenesse in þe secounde degre..**bitter** þinges haue lasse hete þan scharpe þinges of sauour..bitter þynges purgeþ coleram, for þey ben liche þer to in complexioun.
16. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)6348*: Þai faand..Water **bitter** sum ani brin.
17. *a1400 PPl.C (Corp-C 293)11.208* : Noþur an a **bytur** brom wex broune beryus.
18. *c1400(?c1380) Cleanness (Nero A.10)1022* : Þe derk Dede See..is brod and boþemlez, and **bitter** as þe galle.
19. *?a1425(c1380) Chaucer Bo.(Benson-Robinson)4.pr.6.226*: To some bodies **byttere** thinges ben covenable.
20. *?a1425(c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16)178/33*: Ryueres & waters þat ben full **byttere**..more þan is the water of the see.
21. *?c1425 *Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)51a/b* : Take..of bittre almaundes..of **byttre** cost.
22. *?c1425 *Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)118b/a:* Euel metes, þat is, to salt metes and **bitter** [L amaris] metes.
23. *a1450(c1410) Lovel.Grail (Corp-C 80)29.525* : Thorwh the water that so **bitter** was, that ouerkeuered the world.
24. *?a1450 Agnus Castus (Stockh 10.90)183* : Þe apples are ȝelwe..and in taste þei are **byttre**.
25. *?a1450 Macer (Stockh Med.10.91)125* : Coriaundre..is **bitter** in taste.
26. *?a1450 Macer (Stockh Med.10.91)143* : An herbe..amarisca..stynkeþ and is **bitter**.
27. *c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719)168/14* : I ete neuer **bitterer** flessh.
28. *c1450 Burg.Practica (Rwl D.251)204/11* : Yff yt be **bytter**, put a lytyll suger þer-to.
29. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)160/255* : **Byttyr** myre to þe I brynge.
30. *c1475(c1450) Idley Instr.(Cmb Ee.4.37)2.A.899* : Reyne as **bitter** as galle.
31. *a1550 *Norton OAlch.(BodeMus 63)2119* : **Bitter** taste, vnder soure, and dowce.
32. *c1175(?OE) Bod.Hom.(Bod 343)126/14* : Gewitæþ..on þene **bittræ** þrosm hælles fures.
33. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)101b:* Hwen ei is se hehe þet he..is as in heouene ȝeten, & þuncheð **bitter** alle worltliche þinges.
34. *a1250 Ancr.(Nero A.14)51/10,11*: Grucchunge of **bitter** & of sur heorte is him surre & bitture [Corp-C: bittrure] nu þene was þeo þe galle.

35. *a1350 God þat al þis myhtes (Hrl 2253)12* : Of þe werkes þat ich ha wroht, þe beste is **bittrore** þen þe galle.
36. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)82* : Þe wordle is..**biter** in smac.
37. *c1390 Ihesu þi swetnes (Vrn)3 :* Al eorþly loue **bitter** schulde be But þin alone.
38. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert)I.510*: Euery good dede of his neighebore semeth to hym **bitter** and vnsauory.
39. *(a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)8.2256* : Of the **bitter** cuppe I have begunne.
40. *a1400 Þe flour of hour (Ghent 317)2*: Ye flour of hour gerland es doun falle, hour joye es **byterrer** yan es any galle.
41. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)1.385*: Love to wide yblowe Yelt **bittre** fruyt.
42. *c1430(a1410) Love Mirror (Brsn e.9)298*: Forto medle to gidre that heuenly ioye with these **bitter** askes of fleschely likynge.
43. *a1450(?c1343) Rolle EDormio (Cmb Dd.5.64)64/102* : Þaire mede..es **bitterer**..þan þe gall.
44. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)9685* : Ȝif heo hider cumeð liðen..heo sculeð ibiden **bitterest** [Otho: biterest] alre baluwen.
45. *a1200 Trin.Hom.(Trin-C B.14.52)33* : Swo þe wowe þinkeð **biter** þe hwile þe he lesteð, swo þincð wele þe swettere þan hit cumeð þarafter.
46. *c1225 St.Juliana (Roy 17.A.27)16/139 :* Hire feder..þurh þis **bittre** teone bitahte hire to elewsium.
47. *c1330 Iesu þat for vs (Auch)25* : Godes passion, **biter** als galle.
48. *c1390 Deus caritas (Vrn)12* : In **bitter** penaunce for euere to be.
49. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert)I.272*: Gret peyne and **bitter** passioun.
50. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Fkl.(Manly-Rickert)F.1194:* He saw..somme with arwes blede of **bittre** woundes.
51. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)271a/a*: His smytyng is more **bitter** and more sore þan þe bytynge of þe serpent.
52. *a1400 Cursor (Trin-C R.3.8)4827* : For **bittur** hongur þat is bifalle.
53. *c1400(?a1387) PPl.C (Hnt HM 137)5.181*: Ich..brynge alle men to bowe with-oute **byter** wounde.
54. *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)4729*: Love, it is..**Bitter** swetnesse and swete errour.
55. *?a1425 *Chauliac(1) (NY 12)27a/a*: If þe febre be mych **bitter** [*Ch.(2): byttre; L acerba] or felle.
56. *a1450 Godys sone þat (Dc 126)14* : And suffrede many a wownde þat scharp & **betere** wore.
57. *a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290)512/362* : Youre helpe to thame was noght at hame..þere-fore bere this **bittir** blame.
58. *?a1450 Macer (Stockh Med.10.91)196* : Fetherfoy..wole..dryve a-wey þe **bitter** feuere.
59. *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)46/93* : In **byttyr** bale now am I brought, my swete childe with knyf to kylle.
60. *a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1)142/50* : If ther be fonden any of tho, with **bytter** payn I shall theym slo.
61. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)101a* : Wreastlunge..aȝeines fondunges..is ful **bitter** to monie.
62. *(c1384) WBible(1) (Roy 1.B.6)Jas.3.14 :* If ȝe han **bittir** zeel [WB(2): bitter enuye; L zelum amarum], and striuynges ben in ȝoure hertis, nyle ȝe glorye.
63. *a1450(?c1421) Lydg.ST (Arun 119)3420* : Our lif her..Is but an exile..Ful of torment and of **bitter** Rage.
64. *a1425(c1385) Chaucer TC (Benson-Robinson)5.913* : Drif out that **bittre** hope, and make good cheere!
65. *a1425 Rolle FLiving (Arun 507)414* : Schrift of mouth..sal als be **bitter**.
66. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)2502* : Soche bargens are **bytter** þat hafe a bare end.
67. *c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)5712* : There sothely was sene..how balfull & **bittur** the banke was to wyn.
68. *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)7967* : To betenn þine sinness..wiþþ **bitter** wop.
69. *a1200(?OE) Trin.Hom.(Trin-C B.14.52)151* : Ðe wop..þe man wepeð for his agene sinne is swiðe **biter** alse saltwater.
70. *a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34)145/25* : Him rewh þat he hadde swa ȝie-don and mid **bittere** teares hit bewop.
71. *c1300(?c1225) Horn (Cmb Gg.4.27)960* : Horn..spak wiþ **bidere** [vr. blody] tires.

72. *(1340) Ayenb.(Arun 57)211* : **Biter** zobbinge of uorþenchinge, þet is to zigge, of zorge and of repentonce of herte.
73. *(c1385) Chaucer CT.Kn.(Manly-Rickert)A.1280* : The pure fettres..Were of his **bittre** salte teres wete.
74. *a1450(?c1421) Lydg.ST (Arun 119)1867* : Deyphyle with **bitter** teeres dewed al her face.
75. *c1175(?OE) Bod.Hom.(Bod 343)130/24* : Þeah cymeð þe **bitter** deaþ.
76. *a1225(?OE) Lamb.Hom.(Lamb 487)27* : Hit hine tið to þan **bittre** deðe to helle mare þenne to þan eche liue.
77. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Mel.(Manly-Rickert)B.2762* : Bettre it is to dye of **bitter** deeth than for to lyuen in swich wise.
78. *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)7271* : Þe lyfe of þam..Es wers and **bytterer** þan þe dede.
79. *a1425 I þanke þe lorde (Roy 17.A.27)180* : In memori of þi **bittur** deyt.
80. *a1500(1413) *Pilgr.Soul (Eg 615)4.21.65a* : O deth..**Bitter** art thu and ful of crabydnesse, That thus my Sone hast slayne with cruelte.
81. *c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402)32a* : Aȝein **bittre** ancres dauið seið..'Ich am..as pellican, þe wuneð bi him ane.'
82. *a1325(?c1300) NPass.(Cmb Gg.1.1)168* : Ivdas..set him doun among hem alle With herte **bitir** [vr. bytterer] þan þe galle.
83. *(c1384) WBible(1) (Dc 369(2))Col.3.19* : Men, loue ȝe ȝoure wyues, and nyle ȝe be **bitter** [L amari] to hem.
84. *(c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert)I.1053* : That swiche manere penaunces..ne make nat thyn herte **bitter** or angry.
85. *c1390 NHom.Theoph.(Vrn)329*: How þe fend **bitter** and felle, hedde mad his careful seete in helle.
86. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)70a/a* : Wommen ben merciable & also enuyous, **bitter**, gileful.
87. *c1430(c1380) Chaucer PF (Benson-Robinson)252* : Al the cause of sorwes that they drye Cam of the **bittere** goddesse Jelosye.
88. *(1440) *Capgr.St.Norb.(Hnt HM 55)572* : I bidde þe þat þou swage All þi malyce and thi **bittyr** corage..ffor-ȝeue þi neybouris.
89. *c1450 Scrope Othea (Lngl 253)24* : Mynerve, the which is not **bitter** to the.
90. *c1450(c1370) Chaucer ABC (Benson-Robinson)50* : Glorious mayde..that nevere Were **bitter**..But ful of swetnesse and of merci evere.
91. *a1500(?a1450) GRom.(Hrl 7333)242* : A fair woman..but she was fon & **biter**.
92. *c1225(?c1200) St.Kath.(1) (Einenkel)2037* : Hwet medschipe makeð þe þu **bittre** balefule beast to weorrin him þet wrahte þe?
93. *c1225(?c1200) St.Marg.(1) (Bod 34)26/9* : Ha..þet **bittre** beast makede to bersten.
94. *a1400(a1325) Cursor (Vsp A.3)697* : Ne þe nedder was noght **bittur** [Göt: bitter].
95. *?a1400(a1338) Mannyng Chron.Pt.2 (Petyt 511)p.35* : He tok **bittere** Estrild.
96. *c1440-a1500 Eglam.(Schleich)692* : Þare lyes a worme, **bitter** and balde [Cmb: ferse and felle].
97. *c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719)290/14* : This kyng Charlis..was a passand wyse knyght & a **bitter** & strong of lym.
98. *a1225(?c1175) PMor.(Lamb 487)136* : Hu biter wind þer blaweð.
99. *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)19769* : Ifulled mid attere, weten alre **bitterest**.
100. *a1200 Trin.Hom.(Trin-C B.14.52)99* : Holi husel..is..alre **bitere biterest** eches mannes soule, þe ne haueð alle..michele sinnes forleten.
101. *c1225(?c1200) St.Juliana (Bod 34)15/150* : Þu schalt..beon ibeaten wið **bittere** besmen.
102. *a1375(1335-1361) WPal.(KC 13)4261* : & balfulli do þe brenne in **bitter** fire.
103. *(c1395) Chaucer CT.Fkl.(Manly-Rickert)F.1250* : The **bittre** frostes..Destruyed hath the grene.
104. *(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)103a/b* : A good leche..doþ a way rotid and dede fleische..wiþ **bittre** & fretinge medicines.
105. *c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)2.5069* : Wynter with his frostis hore Gan taswagen of his **bitter** colde.
106. *a1425(a1400) Ihesu þat hast (Wht)84* : Thow þat bare vpon thin handes For my synnes so **bytter** bandes.

107.   *?a1425(c1380) Chaucer Bo.(Benson-Robinson)1.pr.3.70* : I, in the **byttere** see of this lif; be fordryven with tempestes.
108.   *?c1425 *Chauliac(2) (Paris angl.25)32a/b :* It is made of þe more **byttre** and sotil i. smal colre.
109.   *a1450 Castle Persev.(Folg V.a.354)2342* : Slawthe..to þe sowle he is **byttyrer** þanne gall.
110.   *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)153/59* : Thorwe **byttyr** blastys þat gyn blowyn.
111.   *c1475 Court Sap.(Trin-C R.3.21)184* : The kyng..Bad oone, hym put in **bytter** pryson.
112.   *a1275 Þene latemeste dai (Trin-C B.14.39)73 :* A domes-dai to a **bittre** bacþe we sule bo nakit..of piche wellinde imakit.
113.   *?c1335 Þe grace of godde (Hrl 913)134* : Hit is so grisful forto loke and forto hir þe **bittir** dome.
114.   *c1400(c1378) PPl.B (LdMisc 581)18.64* : A **bitter** bataille.
115.   *a1500(?c1414) ?Brampton PPs.(1) (Sln 1853)p.10* : Lust and lykyng ȝyf thou love, The ende therof is **bitter** chaunce.
116.   *(?a1439) Lydg.FP (Bod 263)1.6088* : The world to you cast a ful **bittir** chaunce.
117.   *a1450(c1410) Lovel.Grail (Corp-C 80)23.668* : It snew..þere was manie A **bitter** blaste.
118.   *c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)21247* : Heo **bittere** swipen [Otho: bitere swipes] ȝefuen mid axes.
119.   *c1350 MPPsalter (Add 17376)p.187* : Foules shal deuore hym wyþ **bitterest** [L amarissimo] biting.
120.   *c1390(1377) Death Edw.III (Vrn)68* : Duk henri..a-bod mony a **bitter** brayd.
121.   *a1400 Cursor (Trin-C R.3.8)16055* : Pilat..bihelde her **bitter** bere.
122.   *a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196)5497* : Loverd, þou suffers here..Be writen **bitter** syns ogaynes me.
123.   *a1450(c1410) Lovel.Grail (Corp-C 80)39.528* : He witte how fowl Synne were, and how **bytter**.
124.   *?a1475 Ludus C.(Vsp D.8)160/256* : **Bytter** dentys on þe þei xall dyng.
125.   *a1500 Eglam.(Cmb Ff.2.38)732* : Wyth **byttur** dynte and felle.
126.   *c1175 Orm.(Jun 1)8786* : Fulle off **bitterr** spæche.
127.   *?a1300(c1250) Prov.Hend.(Dgb 86)st.46* : Frendes wordes..Summe **bittere** and summe swete.
128.   *a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)3814* : His tunge was fyled sharp..Poignaunt, and right kervyng, And wonder **bitter** in spekyng.
129.   *c1425(?a1400) Arthur (Lngl 55)248* : Arthour wroot to Rome a lettre, Was sentence was somm-what **byttere**.
130.   *a1450(a1425) Mirk IPP (Cld A.2:Peacock)1145* : Hast þow, wyþ wordes **bytter** and schrewede, I-tened any mon?

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