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NORSE-DERIVED TERMS IN THE *ORMULUM*

A REAPPRAISAL

by

Sara M. Pons-Sanz

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Languages and Linguistic Varieties

AN	Anglo-Norman		OE	Old English
Da.	Danish		Angl.	Anglian
Du.	Dutch		Kt.	Kentish
Elfd.	Elfdalian		WS	West Saxon
EModE	Early Modern English		OEN	Old East Norse
Fri.	Frisian		OESl.	Old East Slavic
G	German		OFr.	Old French
Go.	Gothic		OFri.	Old Frisian
Gr.	Greek		OHG	Old High German
HG	High German		OIc.	Old Icelandic
Ic.	Icelandic		OIr.	Old Irish
L	Latin		ONorw.	Old Norwegian
LG	Low German		OS	Old Saxon
MDa.	Middle Danish		OSwe.	Old Swedish
MDu.	Middle Dutch		OWN	Old West Norse
MHG	Middle High German		PDE	Present Day English
MLG	Middle Low German		PGmc	Proto-Germanic
MSwe.	Middle Swedish		PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Norw.	Norwegian		PSl.	Proto-Slavic
OCS	Old Church Slavonic		Skr.	Sanskrit
ODa.	Old Danish		Swe.	Swedish
			VAN	Viking Age Norse

Lexicological and Lexicographic Resources

DOE   *Dictionary of Old English*
DOEC   *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*
HTE   *Historical Thesaurus of English*
LAEME *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*
OED   *Oxford English Dictionary*
MED   *Middle English Dictionary*

Grammatical Terms

adj.   adjective
adv.   adverb
aux.   auxiliary (verb)
comp.   comparative
dat.   dative
gen.   genitive
ind.   indicative
n.   noun (in dictionary entries)
p.   person
part.   participle
pl.   plural
pres.   present
pron.   pronoun
reflex.   reflexive
sg.   singular
v.   verb

Miscellanea

a.k.a.   also known as
ca.   L *circa* "around"
chap(s).   chapter(s)
cf.   L *conferre* "compare"
d.   died
dial.   dialectal
e.g.   L *exempli gratia* "for example"
id.   L *idem* "the same (meaning)"
i.e.   L *id est* "that is"
l(l).   line(s)
n   footnote (when immediately preceded by a page number)
n.   footnote (when preceded by a chapter number)
no.   L *numero* "number"
p(p).   page(s)
sic.   L *sicut* "just as"
s.v(v).   L *sub verbo/verbis* "under the word(s)"
viz.   L *videlicet* "namely"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank my family and my friend Harneet, who have not read a single word of this book (and probably never will) but have made the biggest contribution of all by always being by my side, no matter what.
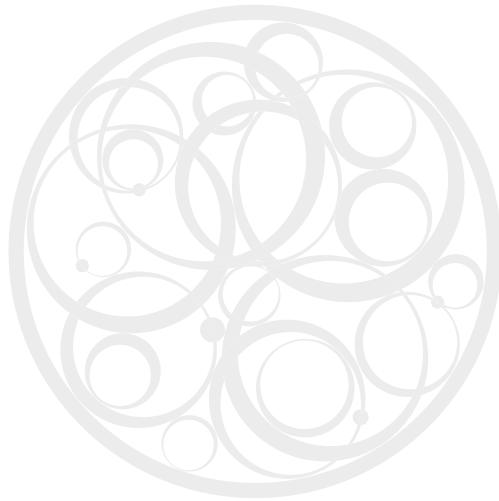
INTRODUCTION

Scope and Aims

Notwithstanding important advances in our understanding of twelfth-century English (e.g., most recently, Faulkner 2022), there still remains much that we do not know about this time of considerable linguistic flux. The multilingual landscape of medieval England was experiencing significant changes: French was establishing itself as a dominant language in various social domains at the same time that Old Norse was dying/had recently died out as the native language of a notable proportion of the English population (see, e.g., Parsons 2001). Language shift from Norse to English most likely happened at different times in different areas of the Danelaw and, accordingly, there would have been much diatopic and diachronic variation in terms of the types of linguistic transfer and the degree of integration of the Norse-derived elements into English. Studying this is very important for the history of English as a whole because, unlike the relationships that English established with other languages during the Middle Ages (Celtic languages, French, Latin) and with many other languages later on as a result of expansionism and colonialism, the interaction between Old English and Old Norse was likely to have been—at least, generally speaking—adstratal. That speakers of Old Norse had similar social status to speakers of Old English is suggested by the nature of most of the Norse-derived terms recorded in English, which—unlike most terms borrowed from French and, particularly, Latin—tend to have an everyday, non-technical character, and are not associated with more formal registers (see further pp. 154–55 and 240).

The extent of Norse impact on English is mainly visible in Late Middle English, as we have a comparatively large number of records from the Scandinavianized areas and the impact of standardization is not present yet. Accordingly, given the dearth of data from earlier periods, later attested varieties often have to be taken as data to assess the effects of language contact centuries before. Albeit helpful, this approach has its own problems, largely because of language change, including the way in which French influence continued to shape the language. Recent work has demonstrated that we need to rethink well-established assumptions about the "rivalry"

between the French-derived terms on the one hand and native and Norse-derived words on the other, as well as the role that French-derived vocabulary played in the survival and use of other terms (see, e.g., Sylvester 2020; Sylvester, Tiddeman, and Ingham 2022). However, the significant presence of French-derived words in a later text is likely to hinder our attempts to unveil the interaction between native and Norse-derived terms at an earlier stage of the language (cf. pp. 237 and 243).

The present work offers a significant contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the speakers of the two languages and its linguistic effects by examining in detail the vocabulary of the *Ormulum*, one of the most important witnesses of twelfth-century English. This text is commonly associated with South Lincolnshire, an area from which we have very few early medieval texts. Given its geographical provenance and its date, the *Ormulum* offers a particularly good window into the lexical impact of Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact before the higher presence of French-derived terms partially obscured the picture. This text records a large number of Norse-derived terms, some of which are not attested elsewhere in English. From the end of the nineteenth century up to now, over 500 words (i.e., around one in five terms in the text's lexicon) have been suggested to exhibit Norse influence. Building on the important methodological advances in the identification of Norse-derived terms in English resulting from the *Gersum* Project (see below), this study re-examines the Norse origin of all these terms; while the etymology of some of them has already been discussed as part of the *Gersum* Project, around 170 of them receive new, in-depth analysis.

Nonetheless, the work carried out here extends beyond etymology to shed light more generally on the impact that Norse-derived terms had on the lexis of the text. The dense, multifaceted analysis presented in this study brings etymology, semantics, stylistics, and corpus linguistics into a fruitful dialogue. As such, this is the most comprehensive and up-to-date examination of the Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum*. Because of its breadth and its use of etymological and semantic taxonomies that facilitate replicability and comparability, this study also offers a valuable methodological approach for future researchers to adopt.

The present work has the following structure: This introduction continues with an outline of the nature and provenance of the *Ormulum* and an overview of the scholarship on its Norse-derived terms to date. The introduction finishes with an explanation of the *Gersum* taxonomy. The latter is the basis for the etymological reanalysis of the text's terms that have so far been identified as Norse-derived, presented in Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.

This exploration, and the opportunities for cross-textual comparisons opened up by the *Gersum* taxonomy, make clear that, while there is not much evidence to support a Norse origin for around 130 terms suggested to be Norse-derived in previous scholarship, the proportion of certainly, likely, or possibly Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* still remains high. This provides robust evidence to place it amongst the key texts to study the lexical outcomes of Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact. The etymological discussion is the starting point for the multi-step investigation of the integration of the certainly/very likely Norse-derived terms into Orrm's language. Chapter 3 charts their semantic distribution with the help of the taxonomy put forward by the *Historical Thesaurus of English*. This, in turn, makes the work in Chapter 4 possible: (a) identification of the terms' (near-)synonyms; (b) study of the semantic and stylistic relationships between the Norse-derived terms and their (near-)synonyms; and (c) contextualization of the level of integration of the Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* in connection with their use in other (near-)contemporary texts composed in nearby areas. Besides providing much-needed nuance to previous claims on the important presence of Norse-derived terms in the text, the quantitative approach in the latter part of the study enables conclusions, discussed in Chapter 5, that go beyond the immediate remit of this study, in connection with the localization of the text and the adstratal character of the relationship between Old English and Old Norse.

The *Ormulum* and Its Norse-Derived Vocabulary

The *Ormulum* was conceived as a collection of metrical homilies that could be delivered each day of the liturgical year (ll. P29–32), possibly by preachers who were more used to talking in French than English (Jakobs 2022, 63–67, with references).[1] To this aim, its author assembled 242 extracts from the Gospels (Johannesson and Cooper 2003, 29–90; see also Honkapohja, forthcoming), although its primary manuscript currently includes translations and explanations of only thirty-two lections; as such, if we assume that

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1 This study follows the edition by Johannesson and Cooper (2023) in terms of line numbers and spellings: not only the text's spellings of the Middle English terms but also the conventions for the name of the work (*Ormulum*) and its author (*Orrm*; see also Pons-Sanz et al., forthcoming). On its etymology, see <orrm(in)>, p. 245. On this edition, see further below in this section. On the meaning of P before a line number, see pp. 11–12. On the genre of the *Ormulum* and the internal structure of each homily, see Johannesson (2013).

the others would have been developed on a similar scale, we probably have an eighth of the original composition (Burchfield 1956, 58; see also chap. 1, n. 6). In keeping with a common format for medieval sermons, each homily tends to consist of a paraphrased version of one or two biblical texts and an explanation that brings together a literal (or historical), allegorical, tropological, and anagogical interpretation (Williams Boyarin 2021, 59).

The text has much socio-cultural and linguistic significance because it often departs from the common norms and patterns suggested by other near-contemporary compositions. Particularly unusual is the fact that it records its own name and that of its author: "Þiss boc iss nemmnedd. orrmulum; / Forrþi þatt orrm itt wrohhte" (ll. P157–58; cf. ll. P250 and P430–31, where the author calls himself *Orrmin*; see chap. 1, n. 1). Its sole manuscript, viz., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1, provides another peculiarity because, rather than being a copy which is a number of steps removed from the original composition, as it is often the case with medieval texts, it seems to be the author's own autograph, possibly "a 'workshop' draft which the author intended to have recopied by a professional scribe" (Burchfield 1956, 57). It can therefore provide interesting insights into Orrm's own language and working methods. The Junius manuscript is commonly dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century (*Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, hereafter *LAEME*, #301, ormt.tag), and this gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the text.

Although we do not have definitive extralinguistic evidence about where Orrm was based when he wrote his text or where he originated from, his work is widely accepted to represent the language of Bourne, in South Lincolnshire (Parkes 1983, 125–27),[2] an area known to have been very heavily Scandinavianized (e.g., Stafford 1985 and Hart 1992; cf. Carroll, forthcoming, on North Lincolnshire). Indeed, the *Ormulum* also stands out in connection with the Norse-derived terms it records, as noted above, not only because of their high number but also because some of them are only recorded in this text.[3] Its significance in this respect has long been recognized by scholars:

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2 See See Cole and Golding, with Rye (forthcoming) for a reassessment of the linguistic and non-linguistic evidence in favour of this localization; they suggest that Thurgarton in East Nottinghamshire might be a better option. Interestingly, an initial analysis of the dialectal distribution of the securely/very likely Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* appears to point towards an affinity with texts composed in the North/North-West Midlands (Pons-Sanz, forthcoming b).

3 There has also been some work on the impact of Norse on the text's syntactic features. See, for instance, Denison (1981), Trips (2002 and 2003), and Walkden and Morrison (2017).

Brate's (1885) work on this topic was one of the foundational pieces for the study of the Norse heritage of the English language. It was soon followed by Egge's (1887) doctoral dissertation on the Norse influence on English and Björkman's (1900–1902) seminal work on the Norse-derived terms attested in Middle English texts; in both of them the *Ormulum* featured very prominently. That was also the case in Serjeantson's (1935, chap. 4) overview on the Scandinavian influence on the English lexicon and Rynell's (1948) close analysis of the relationship between the native ME *nimen* "to take" and its Norse-derived near-synonym ME *tāken*.

Since then, other studies have contributed to deepen our understanding of the contribution that Norse-derived terms made to Orrm's lexis. For instance, Olszewska (1962) presents an overview of the alliterative phrases in the *Ormulum* that are likely to have been influenced by Norse lexical patterns,[4] while Burchfield (1956, 78), Johannesson (1995), and Hille (2004) explore the impact that the text's metrical structure had on Orrm's lexical choices, particularly in connection with grammatical words, such as personal pronouns and prepositions.[5] More recently, Skaffari (2009) has provided another overview of the Norse-derived terms in the text as part of a larger study on the Norse and French influence in Early Middle English texts, while Pons-Sanz (2015a) presents an in-depth analysis of the impact that Norse loans had on the text's expression of EMOTION, one of the semantic fields where Norse-derived terms are most prominent in Early Middle English texts (Skaffari 2009, 152). In 2020, Andrew Cooper took over the preparation of a new edition of the text on the basis of the work that Nils-Lennart Johannesson had carried out for a number of years before his death. The new edition (Johannesson and Cooper 2023) includes a glossary with brief etymological explanations. Because of the accuracy of its transcription, this work is set to replace Holt's (1878) edition as the basis for academic work on the *Ormulum* (see further Cooper and Dekker, forthcoming).

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4 Denison (1981, 291–94) reviews some verb + adverb/preposition collocations that might be Norse-derived, although he does not find any strong evidence in that respect (cf. ME *given* + *ūp* in annal 1140 of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, on which see Denison 1981, 288–89).

5 For a thorough study of the interaction between the two paradigms of pronouns for the 3rd person plural in the *Ormulum* and other Early Middle English texts, see Cole (forthcoming). Hille (2004) refers to such alternating forms as "conditioned variants."

Given this long—and yet non-exhaustive—list of scholarly works on the Norse-derived terms recorded in the *Ormulum*, one might wonder about the need for another study on this topic. The answer involves various factors:

1. Brate's (1885) and Egge's (1887) studies are the most up-to-date attempts to analyze the Norse-derived lexical component of the *Ormulum* in detail. The only two works that come closest to Brate's and Egge's overviews in terms of scope are Skaffari's 2009 book and the glossary at the end of Johannesson and Cooper's 2023 edition, but both works have (understandable) limitations. Skaffari provides a very interesting account of the French- and Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum*. However, since he focuses on exploring the distribution of Norse and French-derived loans in Early Middle English texts in general, as opposed to investigating each individual loan or text, his work is based on the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, which includes only about 10% of the *Ormulum*. Notably, even this small selection shows the important impact of Norse influence on its vocabulary in comparison to other Early Middle English texts (see Skaffari 2009, 310).[6] It is also important to bear in mind that Skaffari (2009, chap. 5) relies mainly on the etymological information provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* (hereafter *MED*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*), giving primacy to the former because, at the time when he was writing, its records for the Early Middle English period relied on more modern scholarship than the *OED*. While this is a very sensible approach for the general aims of his work, this leads him to leave out of his discussion some terms where Norse influence has often been accepted (e.g., ME *bōthe,* "both") because *MED* does not support this interpretation (see Skaffari 2009, 293; *MED*, s.v. *bōthe*; cf. <baþe>, p. 55).Johannesson and Cooper's glossary, while comprehensive, is not intended to provide in-depth comments on the origin of the terms used by Orrm and the difficulties involved in making such etymological decisions. As such, the most helpful etymological studies on the Norse component of the *Ormulum* date from the late nineteenth century but much has changed in the study of English historical linguistics since then (e.g., see pp. 125–27, for a reassessment of Brate's 1885 reliance on the lack of vocalic lengthening before homorganic consonant clusters as clear evidence of Norse influence).

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6 The *Helsinki Corpus*'s site notes that it includes approx. 8,850 words from the *Ormulum*, while Johannesson (2004, 61) estimates that the extant version of the text includes approx. 125,000 words, recorded in approx. 20,000 short verses. On the size of the text's lexicon, see p. 134.

2. More importantly, there have been recent advances in the study of Norse-derived terms in English, particularly *The Gersum Project: Scandinavian Influence on English Vocabulary*, funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council from 2016 to 2019 (AH/M011054/1) and led by Richard Dance and me, with Brittany Schorn as our Research Associate (Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019). The project has aimed at finding a solution for the well-known problem of distinguishing between native and Norse-derived terms, given not only the paucity of early sources from the Scandinavinized areas of Britain (and, indeed, from Scandinavia) but also the typological, lexical, and morphological proximity between the two languages (cf. Pons-Sanz 2013, chaps. 1–2, with references). These factors have meant that, traditionally, scholars have made etymological decisions by relying on very different factors, an approach that has had a detrimental effect on the consistency and comparability of such decisions.

    On the basis of Dance's foundational work (Dance 2019), the *Gersum* Project has tested a taxonomy for the classification of Norse-derived terms in English where the various types of evidence that one can consider for the identification of Norse-derived terms are presented in accordance with their different levels of reliability. This classification, which is explained in the next section, enables scholars to work within very clearly defined parameters and to show succinctly the main type of extant evidence in favour of the classification of a term as Norse-derived, thus increasing the consistency and comparability of the decision-making process. Admittedly, given the complexity of the data and the fact that each word has to be assessed in its own right, the process is far from automatic, and there is likely to be some scholarly debate around the attribution of terms to a certain category.[7] Academic judgement will always be part of the process, but the systematicity of the *Gersum* taxonomy makes the process much more robust and transparent.

    This approach also helps us not to overemphasize the Norse heritage of a text, or English in general. Indeed, the question of over-identifying Norse influence has been an issue in English historical linguistics, to a larger or lesser extent, since the nineteenth century, partially as a result of the Victorian cultural and ideological fascination with the Vikings (see Wawn 2000; Townend 2009; Townend, forthcoming). One of the most

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7 This is likely to be the case mainly in relation to whether one should double or triple the initial letter in categories B–D to reflect the overall strength of the evidence; see further the next section.

recent manifestations of this effect is Emonds and Faarlund's (2014) provocative claim that Present Day English should actually be seen as a continuation of the Norse spoken in England, not as a descendant of Old English, and should, therefore, be classified as a North Germanic language. However, a key weakness is that part of their argument is based on the lack of any serious attempt to separate *bona fide* loans from terms whose Norse derivation is more problematic and native cognates (see Pons-Sanz 2015b).[8]

3. With some important exceptions (e.g., Rynell 1948; Skaffari 2009; Pons-Sanz 2015a), work on the Norse-derived terms in the *Omulum* has focused mainly on their etymological identification. Other aspects of key significance for understanding the impact that they had on Orrm's lexicon, such as their semantic and stylistic relationships with their (near-)synonyms or their level of integration into their respective semantic fields, remained largely unexplored up to now. The present study seeks to remedy this by providing a multifaceted approach where etymological work is the starting point, not an end in itself. As such, this work puts forward the most comprehensive investigation of the Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* to date and sets a clear agenda for further research on this topic, facilitated by recent developments in methodologies and tools. This thorough analysis is fundamental for our understanding of the text's lexical make-up and, given its significance as a source of information on the state of English in a dialectal area that is hardly represented by the near-contemporary texts, Middle English dialectology more generally.

The *Gersum* Taxonomy

This section presents a short overview of the *Gersum* taxonomy (Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019); readers are referred to the project's website (https://www.gersum.org) and Dance (2019) for a more in-depth explanation, particularly in terms of the distinction between A1 and C2 words. The taxonomy presents a systematic way to classify (possibly) Norse-derived terms according to the level of reliability offered by the various types of evidence that we can consider when making etymological judgements. On that basis, the terms are split into four main categories, A to D:

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8 For a critique of their morphosyntactic arguments, see Bech and Walkden (2016) and Buzzoni (2017). See also Stenbrenden (2016b).

Category A consists of the terms for which we have reliable phonological (A1), morphological (in terms of inflectional morphology; A2), or phonological *and* morphological evidence (A3) for their Norse origin, regardless of whether a native cognate is attested in Old English (marked by an asterisk: e.g., A1*) or not.

Category B includes the terms whose root is not recorded early enough in Old English for their native origin to be beyond doubt but it is recorded in Old Norse. These terms are further subdivided into B1, when there is no clear evidence for the existence of forms derived on the same root in any other Germanic languages, and B2, when forms derived on the same root are also attested in other Germanic languages, as this could be argued to make the existence of a native cognate more likely. When lack of early attestation in English can be explained by ways other than Norse derivation (e.g., when the word refers to a rather uncommon concept, or when it could be identified as a demotic word that might not have been deemed acceptable or suitable for the extant records), the initial letter is doubled or tripled, depending on the plausibility of its Norse origin (i.e., BB or BBB: the higher the number of times the letter is repeated, the lower the likelihood of Norse derivation).

Category C gathers the terms whose root has been attested early enough in Old English but where we cannot fully rule out some Norse influence on a particular derivational form (C1); on the word's orthographic form (when the phonological structure signalled by the term's spelling is not a decisive test for Category A; C2); on at least one of the term's senses (C3); on the use of the term in a particular compound or phrase (C4); or on an increase in the frequency of the term that cannot be easily explained otherwise (C5). As is the case in Category B, the initial letter is doubled or tripled (i.e., CC or CCC) when the evidence for Norse derivation is not as strong because the differences between the attested Old English forms and the forms for which Norse derivation is claimed are rather small and could be accounted for without the need to invoke Norse influence.

Category D records the terms whose Norse derivation is most problematic, either because there is no generally accepted etymological explanation (D1) or because the form or sense of the word is unclear and it is therefore very difficult to establish a reliable etymological explanation (D2). The doubling of the initial letter (i.e., DD) indicates that Norse derivation is most difficult to prove.

Together with this overall classification, other circumstantial information is also recorded after the initial category, marked by lower-case letters:

- *a* indicates that a West Germanic cognate with substantially the same form, sense, or usage is attested; this label is applied where that form, sense, or usage is the reason for considering Norse influence.

- *b* indicates that the use of the term is mainly confined to Scandinavianized areas in the toponymic record (either during the Early or Late Middle English period, or later).

- *c* indicates that the use of the term is mainly confined to Scandinavianized areas in the lexical record (either during the Early or Late Middle English period, or later).

- *d* indicates that the earliest attestations of the term are strongly associated with Scandinavian cultural practices.

Finally, when a term's root is not represented in early English and derives (ultimately or more recently) from a non-Germanic language, the category label is prefixed by F (e.g., <crune>, p. 60).
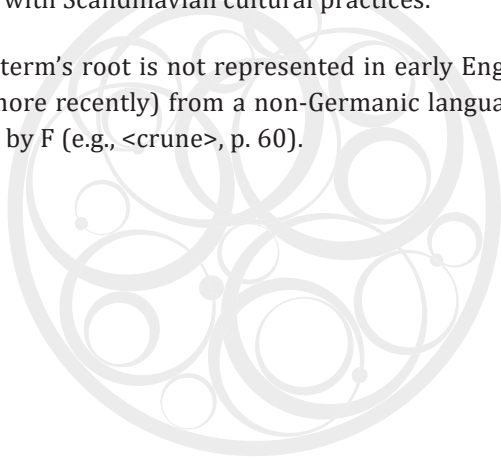
ETYMOLOGICAL REAPPRAISAL OF THE TERMS SUGGESTED TO BE NORSE-DERIVED

AS NOTED IN Chapter 1, the *Gersum* taxonomy is used here as the basis to reassess all the terms in the *Ormulum* that have been suggested to be Norse-derived in one or more of the major scholarly works on the topic and overviews of Norse-derived vocabulary in Middle English, as well as the two main relevant historical dictionaries: *MED* and *OED*. Notably, if the term is only discussed in one work and the author already expresses serious doubts about its Norse origin, the word has not been included in this discussion (e.g., see Brate 1885, 36 and 70, who discusses the possibility that <bucc> might be a loan-word—cf. OIc. *bukkr* "he-goat", ODa. *buk* id.—instead of a direct reflex of OE *bucca* "he-goat" > ME *bukke*; cf. *OED*, s.v. *buck*, n.1).

So as to facilitate intertextual comparisons with the works included in the *Gersum* database, the analysis presented below follows the project's practice and does not include either proper names or terms where Norse-influence can only be suggested as far as a productive derivational affix is concerned; those terms are discussed instead in Appendix 1.[1] Moreover, given that my focus is the identification of Norse-derived loans in (Orrm's) English, the discussion does not engage either with those cases where Orrm's choice of specific native terms could have been boosted by the existence of similar patterns in Old Norse, e.g., his higher-than-usual use of ME *ful* and *al* as intensifiers meaning "fully, completely" (cf. OIc. *full-* and *al(l)-*; see Méndez Naya 2019, 118–19).

Also to facilitate cross-study comparisons and for ease of use, the terms are cited with Orrm's common spelling (as given in Johannesson and Cooper's 2023 glossary), as well as the headword provided by *MED* in brackets. Up to three line numbers are given for the attestation of each term, and three markers (P, V, and A) are used to provide specific information about the location of the lines. P before a line number indicates that it is part of Johannesson and Cooper's (2003) Prolegomenon, which encompasses the

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1 Thus, for instance, ME *ūsel* "wretched, miserable; deprived" is included in the main discussion because, while the absence of the nasal /n/ in the prefix is the strongest indication of Norse derivation (cf. OE *un-*), the root of the derivative might also be indicative of its foreign origin (see <usell>, pp. 35–36).

Preface and Dedication in Holt's (1878) edition. V before a line number indicates that this line comes from Jan van Vliet's transcription of Orrm's text in van Vliet's own notebook (London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783). The latter is an important source because it records both terms otherwise unattested in Middle English (e.g., <leǧesw"e3̇3n>, discussed under <le3̇e>, p. 24) and terms which are not recorded elsewhere in the *Ormulum* (e.g., <unnla3̇e>, discussed under <la3̇e>, p. 79).[2] A before a line number refers to the appendix in Johannesson and Cooper's (2023, 589–91) edition, which includes ninety-four lines deleted from fol. 48ʳ in the Junius manuscript.

The terms in each subsection are arranged alphabetically following Orrm's spelling (with <æ> after <a>, <3> after <g>, and <þ> after <t>). Due to spatial limitations, for those terms that are already discussed by Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019), only the relevant Norse etymon (mainly represented by the Old Icelandic form of the term, as is customary), the bibliographic cross-references (including, where relevant, Dance 2019 and Pons-Sanz 2013, when the terms are already attested in Old English) and the *Gersum* category are given. Any specific features of Orrm's form or use are also discussed. In entries for words that are not discussed by Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019), the meanings of the Old English terms are based on the *Dictionary of Old English* (2024; hereafter *DOE*) for terms starting with *a–le* and Clark Hall's (1960) dictionary for the others; the meanings of Old Icelandic terms are based on Cleasby and Vigfusson's (1874) dictionary. A list of compounds or derivatives which share the same evidence for Norse derivation is given at the end of each relevant entry. Terms which are only recorded in the *Ormulum* are underlined.

Category A Words

<a33> (ME *ai* "always, constantly"; ll. P33, P60, 267, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *ei* "always." See Dance (2019, 2:2); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ay*). Olszewska (1962, 124) suggests that Orrm's phrase <a33 occ a33> "for ever and ever" (e.g., ll. V324, 1216, 2263, etc.) might have been borrowed as a whole from Old Norse (cf. OIc. *ei ok ei*; on ME *ok*, see <occ>, p. 86; for near-synonymous phrases with ME *ō* and *ĕver*, see *MED*, s.v. *ai*, sense 4).

Category: A1*c

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2 For an overview and assessment of van Vliet's transcription practices, see Ker (1940, 2–3), Burchfield (1962, 96–97), Dekker (2018, 268–70), and Cooper and Dekker (forthcoming).

<u>arrfname</u> (cf. ME *ervenāme* "heir"; ll. 17750, 19170, and 19231)

Discussion: The first component in ME *ervenāme* is a reflex of OE *yrfe*, *ierfe*, *erfe* "inheritance" (< PGmc **arbja-*; cf. OFri. *erve* "inheritance," OHG *erbi* id., etc.), while Orrm's vocalism suggests that the form represents the Norse-derived cognate instead (cf. OIc. *arfr* "inheritance, patrimony"), which derives from a Germanic root without the **-j-* formative (PGmc **arba-*; see Brate 1885, 584; Orel 2003, s.vv. **arƀaz* and *arƀjan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **arbja-*; cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 30–31n1). The equivalent compound in Old English was *yrfenuma*, whose second component represents a reflex of PGmc **numan-*, while the term in Orrm's compound seems to go back to the Norse-derived *a*-stem noun based on a root with a different ablaut grade represented by OIc. *nám* "seizure" (PGmc **nǣma-*, **nēma-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **numōn*; and Boutkan and Siebinga 2005, s.v. *nima*). The Norse-derived loan, which exhibits Norse /ɑː/ for PGmc **/eː[1]/ followed by nasal instead of the expected ME /oː/ < OE /oː/ (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 39; Dance 2019, 1:88), is attested in Old English (OE *nām*; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 39), where it means "legal seizure, distraint." Its ultimate etymological association with the well-established OE *niman* "to take" word-field is likely to have contributed to its adaptation and its possible semantic widening from a specific reference to a legal setting to a more general sense associated with the idea of taking something.[3] Some scholars (e.g., Egge 1887, 51; *OED*, s.v. *arfname*; and *MED*, s.v. *ervenāme*) suggest that this compound is a new-formation in English (cf. OE *yrfenuma* "heir," OFri. *erfnoma* "heir," and Go. *arbinumio* "heir, inheritance," whose second element derives from the by-form PGmc **num-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **numjōn*), while others view it as a direct loan-word from Old Norse (e.g., Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *arrfname,* associate it with ODa. *arfnamæ*).

The *Ormulum* is the only text to record the compound with the two Norse formatives, while the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* records the fully native form (<yrfenuma>), and the Essex manuscript London, British Library, MS Stowe 34 records the hybrid form <ervename> in the only extant version of the prose dialogue *Vices and Virtues* (*MED*, s.v. *ervenāme*).

Category: A1c

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3 Here and elsewhere I use *word-field* to refer to the group of words that share the same root; as such, these terms might be simplexes, derivatives, or compounds.

<beȝȝsc> (ME *baisk* "bitter, sour; grievous"; ll. 6698, 10018, 10034, etc.)

Discussion: This adjective is ultimately associated with OE *biter* "biter," a zero-grade *ra*-stem coined on the basis of PGmc **bītan-* "to bite" (cf. OIc. *bitr* "bitter," OS *bittar* id., OHG *bittar* id.). However, the adjective under consideration is a loan-word based on the Norse adjective represented by OIc. *beiskr* "bitter," an *a*-grade adjective based on the same Proto-Germanic root (cf. Go. *baitrs* "bitter" and OIc. *-beitr*; see Heidermanns 1986, 303; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **bitra-*). This is suggested by the presence of the diphthong /ei/ instead of the reflex of OE /ɑ:/, commonly represented as <a> in the text, as the representative of PGmc **/ai/ (> VAN /ɑi/; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 28–29; and Dance 2019, 1:84, with references), as well as the presence of the *-sk-* derivational suffix (< PGmc **baitskra-*; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 33; Björkman 1900–1902, 40; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *beiskr*; *OED*, s.v. *bask*, adj.; *MED*, s.v. *baisk*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *beȝȝsc*). The adjective is only attested in the *Ormulum* in Early Middle English and latter attestations during the Middle English period continue to be strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas. For an argument that its collocation with ME *bitter* in l. 6698 might be based on East Norse usage (cf. *bitert oc beskt*), see Olszewska (1962, 113).

Category: A1c

<beȝȝtenn> (ME *baiten* "to harass, torment"; l. 10171)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *beita* "to graze, feed; cause to bite; set on, chase." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bayted*).

Category: A1*

<biġġenn> (ME *biggen* "to dwell"; ll. 1611, V434, 5549, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *byggja* "to settle, inhabit." See Dance (2019, 2:4); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bigge*).

Category: A1*bc

Related terms: <unnbiġġedd> (ME *unbigged* "uninhabited, not dwelt in"; l. 3199). [4]

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4 Van Vliet also records <biġġinnġ> (cf. ME *bigginge* "dwelling") on fol. 43v of London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783 as part of his word-list based on the *Ormulum*; see Burchfield (1962, 98).

\<braþ\> (ME *brōth* "fierce, violent, angry"; ll. 7164 and 7173)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *bráðr* "immediate, sudden, harsh, fierce." See Dance (2019, 2:5); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *broþe*).

Category: A1c

Related terms: \<braþþe\> (ME *bratthe* "violence, anger, wrath"; ll. 1233, 4561, 4707, etc.), formed by adding the suffix *-þu* (< PGmc *-iþō*), commonly used to form abstract nouns, possibly by analogy with ME *wratthe* "anger, rage" (< OE *wrǣððo*).

\<brodd\> (ME *brod* "shoot, sprout"; l. 10773)

Discussion: OE *brord* "point, blade (of grass or grain)" and OIc. *broddr* "spike, shaft" are cognates (< PGmc *bruzda-*; cf. OHG *brort* "edge, stem"; see Orel 2003, s.v. *ƀruzđaz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *bruzda-*). The forms of the noun under consideration exhibit the common North Germanic process of assimilation PGmc *[zð] > *[ðð] > /dd/ (see Noreen 1913, 95–96; Fulk 2018, 123; and Dance 2019, 1:104, with references) and, as such, can be considered to be Norse-derived (see, e.g., Brate 1885, 35; Björkman 1900–1902, 168; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1968, s.v. *broddr*; *OED*, s.v. *brod*, n.1; *MED*, s.v. *brod*, n.1; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *brodd*). Albeit not exclusively, the attestations of the noun during the Middle English period are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (see *MED*, s.v. *brod*, n.1). Notably, this word-field collocates in the *Ormulum* with the Norse-derived ME *blōm* word-field (see \<blome\>, pp. 56–57), although Olszewska (1962) does not identify any direct Norse parallel.

Category: A1*c

Related terms: \<broddenn\> (ME *brodden* "to sprout"; l. 10769).

<u>\<dowwnenn\></u> (ME *dowwnen* "to smell"; ll. 6745 and 7858)

Discussion: This verb, which is only attested in the *Ormulum*, is often interpreted as a Norse-derived loan formed on the Viking Age Norse equivalent of OIc. *daunn* "smell" (e.g., Brate 1885, 39; Egge 1887, 64; Björkman 1900–1902, 69; Serjeantson 1935, 84; De Vries 1961, s.v. *daunn*; *MED*, s.v. *dowwnen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *dowwnenn*). The Norse noun is an *a*-stem noun formed on PGmc *daun-* (cf. Go. *dauns* "odour, smell; haze"). The same root, with *-m-* rather than *-n-*, can be found in OHG *tuom* "vapour, haze; fume" (see Orel 2003, s.v. *đauniz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. *dauma-* and *dauna-*). De Vries (1961, s.v. *daunn*) suggests that

OE *stēam* "steam, hot breath" might also be related to this root; however, Orel (2003, s.v. **steuþanan*) and Kroonen (2013, s.v. **stauma-*) associate the noun instead with PGmc **steuban-* "to blow, fly about." The vocalism in the *Ormulum* is fully in keeping with Norse derivation, for, as noted by *MED* (s.v. *dowwnen*; cf. Cooper and Åberg, forthcoming), the Norse diphthong /ɑu/ (< PGmc **/au/; > OE /æːɑ/ vs. VAN /ɑu/ > /ɔu/; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 31; and Dance 2019, 1:86–87, with references) often appears as <oww> in the text (cf. <rowwst>, p. 28; and <sowwþ>, pp. 33–34).[5]

Category: A1c

<epenn> (ME *ēpen* "to cry out"; ll. 9198 and 9562)

Discussion: Given that this verb, which is only attested in the *Ormulum* (see *MED*, s.v. *ēpen*), exhibits the effects of the North Germanic loss of PGmc **/w/* in initial position before a rounded vowel, /l/, or /r/ (see Ralph 2002, 716; Pons-Sanz 2013, 64; and Dance 2019, 1:104–5, with references), we can safely interpret it as a Norse-derived loan (cf. OIc. *œpa* "to cry out" < PGmc **wōpjan-*) rather than a reflex of OE *wēpan* (see, e.g., Brate 1885, 40; Egge 1887, 69; Björkman 1900–1902, 178; Serjeantson 1935, 84; De Vries 1961, s.v. *œpa*; *OED*, s.v. *epe*; *MED*, s.v. *ēpen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *epenn*).

Category: A1*c

<fa> (ME *fō* "few"; l. V532)

Discussion: The Old English reflex of PGmc **fawa-* is *fēa(wa)* (cf. Orrm's <fæwe>), which suggests that, *pace* Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *fa*), the form under consideration can be taken as a Norse-derived loanword based on the form represented by OIc. *fár* (cf. Burchfield 1962, 99; *OED*, s.v. *few*; and *MED*, s.v. *fō*, indef. mum.). The latter exhibits the common loss of medial PGmc **/w/* in Old Norse and compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel (see Dance 2019, 1:109, with references). The attestations of the Norse-derived adjective are in the main associated with the North, North-East Midlands and East Anglia.

Category: A1*c

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5 Van Vliet also records <nowwcinn> (cf. ME *noucin* "affliction, misery," cf. OIc. *nauðsyn* "need, necessity"; see *OED*, s.v. *nowcin*; and *MED*, s.v. *noucin*) on fol. 47r of London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783 as part of his word-list based on the *Ormulum*. See Burchfield (1962, 101).

\<forrḡarenn> (ME *forgāren* "to forfeit," past part. "lost, condemned"; ll. 14584 and 17537)

Discussion: OEN *forgøra* "to forfeit" and OWN *fyrgøra* id. See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *forgarte*). On the possibility that this term might share the same root as ME *overgart* "excessive pride, arrogance," see \<oferrḡarrt>, pp. 119–20.

Category: A1*c

\<ḡaᵹᵉnn> (ME *gaᶾhen* "advantage, benefit"; l. 13923)

Discussion: *MED* (s.v. *gaᶾhen*) provides a separate entry for Orrm's noun, while *OED* (s.v. *gain*, n.1) associates it with attestations that are given under ME *gein*, n., in *MED*. Lack of palatalization of the initial velar consonant (cf. the previous term, \<ḡætelæs>) can be taken as indicative of Norse derivation (cf. OIc. *gagn* "gain, advantage, use, avail," OSwe. *gaghn* id. < PGmc **gagn-*; cf. OE *gēn* "(of roads, paths) direct, short") and that is the course commonly taken by scholars (see, e.g., Brate 1885, 43; Egge 1887, 77; Björkman 1900–1902, 112 and 151; Onions 1953, 111; De Vries 1961, s.v. *gagn*; *OED*, s.v. *gain*, n.1; *MED*, s.v. *gaᶾhen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡaᵹenn*).

Category: A1c

Related terms: \<ḡaᵹennlæs> (ME *gaᶾhenlǣs* "of no avail, profitless"; ll. 2019 and 13946): this adjective, only attested in the *Ormulum*, might represent a new-formation in English, with the common suffix ME *-lěs* "-less" (< OE *-lēas*), or a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *gagnlauss* "useless, of no use"). See Brate (1885, 42), Björkman (1900–1902, 112), Onions (1953, 111), *MED* (s.v. *gaᶾhenlǣs*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ḡaᵹennlæs*).

\<ḡætelæs> (ME *gætelæs* "heedless, careless"; l. 6190)

Discussion: The terms associated with ME *gēte* "attention" are normally analyzed as Norse-derived on the basis of lack of palatalization of the initial velar consonant (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 54–55; and Dance 2019, 1:95–102, with references).[6] Further circumstantial evidence comes from

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6 Orrm disambiguated the representation of various sounds which had the same spelling in Old English: he used \<ᵹ> for /j/ as well as (usually doubled) the second component of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /eɪ/; \<ᵹ̵> for [ɤ] (\<h> only appears directly after \<ᵹ> in \<ᵹho>, ME *shē* "she," on which see p. 115); \<g> for [ʤ]; and a flat-topped

attestation, as the terms are first recorded in the Middle English period, particularly, albeit not exclusively, in texts from the Scandinavianized areas (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 42; Egge 1887, 76; Björkman 1900–1902, 99 and 174; Rynell 1948, 60; De Vries 1961, s.v. *gæta*; *OED*, s.vv. *gete*, v., and *geteless*; *MED*, s.vv. *gētēlēs* and *gēten*, v.2; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡætelæs*). The ultimate etymology of the Norse terms that are commonly given as their etyma (cf. OIc. *gætr* "heed, attention" and *gæta* "to watch, tend, take care of") remains highly problematic. See De Vries (1961, s.v. *gæta*), Orel (2003, s.vv. *ʒētjanan* and *ʒētiz*), Kroonen (2013, s.v. *ganhēn-*), and Versloot (2023a).

Category: A1c

Related terms: <ḡætenn> (ME *gēten* "to watch over, take care of"; ll. 1781, 2079, 3765, etc.).

<ḡeᵹᵹnenn> (ME *geinen* "to avail, be useful or helpful; be suitable"; ll. 970, 9975, 12929, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *gegna* "to meet, encounter, go against; be fitting, suit." See Dance (2019, 2:9–10); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gayn*, v.).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <ḡeᵹᵹnlike> (cf. ME *geinlī* "suitably, fittingly"; l. 18089): cf. OIc. *gegnliga* "straight, readily." See Dance (2019, 2:9); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gaynly*, adv.).

<ḡessthus> (ME *gesthous* "guest-house"; l. 7040)

Discussion: Norse influence applies to the first element of the compound (cf. OIc. *gestr* "guest, stranger"), for Old English also records an equivalent term (cf. OE *gysthūs* "guesthouse" and OIc. *gestahús* "guest-house"). See Dance (2019, 2:12); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gest*).

Category: A1*

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g, here represented by <ḡ>, for [g]. See further Johannesson and Cooper (2023, xxvi), and Cooper and Åberg (forthcoming).

<ḡetenn> (ME *gĕten* "to obtain"; l. 10219)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *geta* "to get." See Dance (2019, 2:12–13); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gete*).

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <biḡetenn> (cf. ME *biyēten* "to acquire"; ll. 1645 and 13986).

<ḡeþenn> ("to improve?"; l. V256)

Discussion: This hapax legomenon is only recorded as part of van Vliet's transcription and, as such, it is not included in either *OED* or *MED*, nor is it discussed in any of the main studies of Norse-derived vocabulary in (Middle) English. Burchfield (1962, 100) suggests that the verb is a loan-word based on the Viking Age Norse verb represented by OIc. *gœða* "to bestow upon, endow, enrich" (< PGmc **godjan-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **ʒoðjanan*), a suggestion that is followed by Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ḡeþenn*). If this identification is correct, the strongest evidence for the term's Norse derivation lies in the lack of palatalization of the initial velar consonant (cf. <ḡætelæs>, pp. 17–18) and the presence of the fricative interdental as opposed to /d/, for these two sounds represent the different reflexes of PGmc **[ð]—whether the latter represents the effects of Verner's Law on PIE **/t/ or the reflex of PIE **/dʰ/—in Old Norse and Old English, respectively (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 59; and Dance 2019, 1:92–93). The fact that the root vowel reflects the outcome of *i*-umlaut can also be taken as indicative of Norse origin (cf. the weak class 2 verb OE *gōdian* "to become good, prosper; better, improve," represented in the text by <ḡodenn>). Burchfield suggests that the meaning of the Norse-derived verb is "to improve," while Johannesson and Cooper prefer to render it instead as "to approve"; given that the verb appears in a context dealing with one's moral improvement through offerings and sacrifices, and that the text focuses on the perspective of the penitent rather than those helping them to better themselves, Burchfield's meaning seems more appropriate and, as such, it is the meaning with which the verb is classified below.

Category: A1*c

**<ḡifenn> (cf. ME *yēven* "to give (as a gift, reward, payment, etc.), offer, impart, endow (with power), restore, etc.";
ll. P345, P347, P354, etc.)**

Discussion: <ḡ>-forms for this word-field are only attested in Johannesson and Cooper's (2023) edition, while Holt (1878) transcribes all of them with <ȝ>. For the forms with the velar, cf. OIc. *gefa* "to give" and ODa. *givæ* id. See Dance (2019, 2:14–15); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gif*).

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <forrḡifenn> (cf. ME *foryēven* "to forgive, pardon"; l. P86): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *forgif*).

<ḡom> (ME *gōme* "heed, attention, care"; ll. V206, V284, V328, etc.)

Discussion: *Pace* Brate (1885, 25 and 44), this noun is normally identified as Norse-derived on the basis of its vocalism (cf. OIc. *gaum(r)* "heed, attention"; cf. <dowwnenn>, pp. 15–16; see, e.g., Egge 1887, 79; Björkman 1900–1902, 70; Rynell 1948, 60; *OED*, *gome*, n.2; *MED*, s.v. *gōme*, n.4; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡom*). The Old English cognate (OE *gȳme* "heed, attention" > ME *yēme*) exhibits the effects of *i*-umlaut and can therefore be said to derive from a root with the *-*j*- formative, as opposed to the formativeless nominal forms that we find in Old Norse and other Germanic languages (e.g., OFri. *gōme* "care", MDu. *goom* "heed, attention", etc.; see Orel 2013, s.v. **ȝaum(j)ō(n)*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *gauma-*). The noun is fairly widely attested from the Early Middle English period, although its contemporary use is in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (see *English Dialect Dictionary* 2019, s.v. *gaum*, s.1, v.1).

Category: A1*ac

<ḡreȝȝþenn> (ME *greithen* "to prepare, furnish, complete (preparations); place, set"; ll. 98, 1093, 9158, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *greiða* "to arrange, make ready, pay, interpret." See Dance (2019, 2:16); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *grayþe*, v.). On <ḡreþedd> in l. 1579, see Björkman (1901, 11–12n1).

Category: A1*c

<haᵸʒerr> (ME *hauer* "skilful"; ll. 13471, 13477, and 13499)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *hagr* "handy, skilful." See Dance (2019, 2:45); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *haʒer*).

Category: A2*c

Related terms: <u>haᵸʒerrleʒʒc</u> (ME *haʒherleʒc* "skill"; l. 4906): cf. OIc. *hagleikr* "skill in handicraft." On the derivative suffix <-leʒʒc>, see Appendix 1.

<haᵸʒe(rr)like, haᵸʒeliʒ> (ME *hagherlīch* "skilfully"; ll. 1214, 6672, 6684, etc.): the fact that <haᵸʒeliʒ> lacks the Norse inflectional suffix could be taken as an indication that the form has been borrowed directly from Old Norse (cf. OIc. *hagliga* "skilfully, suitably"; see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *hagherlych*). On the derivative suffix <-liʒ>, see Appendix 1.

<u>unnhaᵸʒerrliʒ</u> (ME *unhagherlī* "unskilfully"; l. 425): on the derivative suffix <-liʒ>, see Appendix 1.

<heʒʒlenn> (ME *heilen* "to greet"; l. 2814)

Discussion: This verb, whose attestations from the Early Middle English period are associated with both Scandinavianized and non-Scandinavianized areas, represents a new-formation on the basis of either ME *heil* "health, good fortune" (cf. OIc. *heill* "good luck, happiness") or ME *heil* "healthy, sound" (cf. OIc. *heill* "healthy, sound, whole"). The presence of the diphthong as opposed to a reflex of the monophthong that we find in Old English (cf. OE *hāl* "whole, sound, healthy" < PGmc **haila-*, also OE *hǣl(u)* "good luck; health" and *hǣlan* "to heal; make safe"; cf. <beʒʒsc>, p. 14) suggests that this word-field is Norse derived (cf. Brate 1885, 46; Egge 1887, 83; Björkman 1900–1902, 44; Serjeantson 1935, 81 and 82; De Vries 1961, s.v. *heill 2*; *OED*, s.v. *hail*, v.2; *MED*, s.v. *heilen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *heʒʒlenn*; see also Dance 2019, 1:84; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.vv. *haile*, n., and *haile*, interj.).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <heʒʒl> (ME *heil* "hail!"): cf. OIc. *heill* "healthy, sound, whole." See Dance (2019, 1:84); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *haile*, interj.). Johannesson and Cooper (2023, 100) reconstruct this interjection, associated with the Latin text included in relation to Homily III/IV, on the basis of van Vliet's annotated glossary (fol. 45v, col. 50).

<kide> (ME *kide* "kid, young of a goat"; l. 7804)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kið* "kid, young of a goat." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *kid*).

Category: A1

<kirrke> (cf. ME *chirche* "church, temple; entire community of Christians"; ll. 1099, 2722, 3531, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kirkja* "church." See Dance (20192:20–21); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (s.v. *kyrk*). See also Laker (2021, 108).

Category: A1*bc

Related terms: <kirrkedure> (cf. ME *chirchedōre* "church-door"; ll. 1327 and 1332).

<kirrkeflor> (cf. ME *chircheflor* "floor or pavement in a church"; l. 9015).

<kirrkeӡǣrd> (cf. ME *chircheyĕrd* "churchyard"; l. 15254): Holt (1878) represents the second component as <gærd>, where lack of palatalization could be taken as indicative of the association of the compound with ME *kirkegarth* (see *MED*, s.v. *kirkegarth*; cf. <ӡǣtelæs>, pp. 17–18). The latter might have been borrowed as a whole (cf. OIc. *kirkjugarðr* "churchyard" and OE *cyricgeard* id.) or might have been newly coined in English (see *OED*, s.v. *kirkgarth*); it is only attested in texts from the Scandinavianized areas. In that case, the presence of a final dental plosive instead of a fricative might point to a hybrid form, with the velar from the Norse noun and the dental stop from the native cognate (cf. OE *geard* "enclosure, home" < PGmc *garda*-). However, Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *kirrkeӡǣrd*) present the compound with <ӡ> instead, which would make the head a clear reflex of the native noun.

<lah> (ME *loue* "low (in height, rank, social status, etc.); inferior"; ll. 2668, 2682, 2744, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *lágr* "low." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 483–84); Dance (2019, 2:23–24); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *loӡe*).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <laȝefollc> (ME *louefolk* "common people"; l. 10203).

<laȝelẹd> (ME *loue lēde* "common people"; l. 10231).

<laȝenn> (ME *louen* "to reduce in power or status; humble (oneself); be subservient or obedient"; ll. 2643, 2648, 3731, etc.): given its vocal-

ism, this verb is likely to be a new-formation on the basis of the adjective ME *loue* (cf. Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *lawene*). However, Olszewska (1962, 123n6) suggests that Orrm's form might be an adaptation of the verb represented by OIc. *lægja* "to lower, bring down; humble," given that its common collocation with the near-synonymous ME *netheren* in the text (e.g., ll. 9206, 9604, 9636, etc.) could have been influenced by OWN *lægja ok niðra*.

<laᵇǧeliȝ> (ME *loulī* "kindly, graciously; meekly, humbly"; ll. V361, 4615, 6170, etc.?): cf. OIc. *lágliga* "lowly." On the possible Norse origin of the suffix, see <-liȝ> in Appendix 1. There is some disparity between scholars about the meaning of this form in the *Ormulum*: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *laᵇǧeliȝ*) associate all its occurrences with the adverb under consideration, while Holt (1878, s.v. *laȝheliȝ*, *laȝhelike*) attributes them instead to ME *lauelīche* "lawfully, legally, in accordance with the law" (cf. the entry for this term under <laȝe>, p. 79); accordingly, *OED* (s.v. *lawly*, adj. and adv.) and *MED* (s.v. *lauelīche*) only provide citations from the *Ormulum* for this lexeme, not for PDE *lowly* or ME *loulī*, respectively. This study takes a middle ground, as the form could be associated with one lexeme or the other, depending on the context.

<late> (ME *lōt(e* "manners, (virtuous) behaviour"; ll. 1213, 1235, and 9998)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *lát* "let, letting; (pl.) manner, behaviour." See Dance (2019, 2:24–25); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lote*).

Category: A1ac

Related terms: <latenn> (ME *lēten* "to behave"; ll., 1229, 1296, and 5670): even though *OED* (s.v. *let*, v.1, sense 15) and *MED* (s.v. *lēten*, sense 17) associate these forms with ME *lēten*, the presence of /a:/ in the root (cf. <láteþþ> in l. 1229 and 1296; cf. VAN /ɑ:/ vs. OE WS and Kt. /æ:/, and Angl. /e:/ > Orrm's <e>; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 39; Dance 2019, 1:88–89, with references) suggests that they should be interpreted as Norse-derived instead (cf. OIc. *láta* "to behave, comport oneself"; cf., e.g., Egge 1887, 90; Björkman 1900–1902, 91; De Vries 1961, s.v. *láta*) and not as a reflex of the native cognate (cf. OE WS *lǣten*, Angl. *lēten* "to let; make as if; behave"), which is attested in this text with <æ> and <e> as the root vowel (cf. <lætenn>, p. 80).[7]

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7 On Orrm's use of an acute accent in <VCV> structures to represent a long vowel,

<le⟨h⟩ǧe> (ME *leie* "wages, hire, pay"; l. 6234)

Discussion: On the basis of its vocalism (cf. <beǧǧsc>, p. 14), this noun is generally considered to be a Norse loan whose etymon is the Viking Age Norse noun represented by OIc. *leiga* "hire, rent, wages," or rather ODa. *lēgha* id., which already exhibits the monophthongization that we can see in the term (see Brate 1885, 48–49; Egge 1887, 94; Björkman 1900–1902, 61–62; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *leiga*, 1; *OED*, s.v. *lay*, n.2; *MED*, s.v. *leie*, n.4; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *le⟨h⟩ǧe*). The Scandinavian terms are associated with Go. *leihvan* "to lend" (< PGmc *laihw-*), as well as OE *lǣn* "loan, grant, fief," OFri. *lēn* id., MDu. *leen* id., OS *lēhan* id., OHG *lēhan* id., OIc. *lán* id., etc. (< PGmc *laihwn(j)a-*). Only Old Norse seems to have a noun without PGmc *-na-* (see De Vries 1961, s.vv. *lán* and *leiga*; Lehmann 1986, s.v. *leihvan*; Orel 2003, s.v. **laixwnaz*; Boutkan and Siebinga 2005, s.v. *lena*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **laihna-*). The noun under consideration is only attested during the Middle English period, and always in texts from Scandinavianized areas.

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <le⟨h⟩ǧemenn> (ME *leieman* "hired man, manservant"; l. 6222): this compound, only attested in the *Ormulum*, might represent a new-formation in English or a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *leigumaðr*, pl. *leigumenn* "tenant, hireling").

<le⟨h⟩ǧesweǧǧn> (ME *leieswein* "hired servant"; l. V362): this compound is only attested in Jan van Vliet's transcription of the *Ormulum* and it is not included either in *OED* or in *MED*; accordingly, the lexeme given between brackets has been coined on the basis of other entries in *MED* (cf. *MED*, s.vv. *leie* and *swein*). The compound might represent a new-formation in English (cf. *MED*, s.v. *hireswain*). On the Norse derivation of ME *swein*, which is similarly based on the term's diphthong (cf. OIc. *sweinn* "boy, young man, servant" vs. OE *swān* "herdsman, peasant"), see Pons-Sanz (2013, 2n2, and 30); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *swaynes*).

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see Phillips (1992), Anderson and Britton (1999, 306), and Jakobs (2022 and forthcoming).

<leȝȝkess> (ME *leik* "game, play"; ll. V358, 2166, 8046, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *leikr* "game, play, sport." See Dance (20192, 2:21); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *layk*). On the semantic evolution of the root (cf. OE *lāc* "offering, gift"), see Bosworth and Toller (1898, s.v. *lāc*).

Category: A1*bc

Related terms: <leȝȝkenn> (ME *leiken* "to trifle, play, jest"; ll. 12044 and 12515): cf. OIc. *leika* "to play, perform." See Dance (2019, 2:21); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *layke*).

<leȝȝtenn> (ME *leiten* "to look for, try to find"; l. 3457)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *leita* "to seek, search." See Dance (2019, 2:22); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *layt*).

Category: A1*c

<mal> (ME *māl*, *mōl* "language"; l. 4270)

Discussion: While in North Germanic the loss of PGmc */θ/ in front of */l/ and the subsequent lengthening of the previous vowel is fairly common (cf. Noreen 1923, §236; and Dance 2019, 1:149), this process is much less frequent in Old English, although we do find examples in OE *mǣl* "talk, conversation" and *mǣlan* "to speak" (< PGmc *maþl-; cf. Orel 2003, s.vv. *maþlan* and *maþljanan*; Kroonen 2013, s.v. *maþla-*). That is the reason why ME *mēlen* is classified as part of Category C rather than A by Dance (2019, 2:166–67); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mele*). Both Old English terms exhibit the lengthening of /æ/ < PGmc */a/ (cf. OE *mæðel* "assembly, council; speech address" and OE *mæþlan* "to speak"), that is, the outcome of the process known as First Fronting, common in Old English and Old Frisian but not in the other Germanic languages (cf. OIc. *mál* "speech, language; suit, action, procedure; stipulation, agreement"; Hogg 1992, §§5.10–15; Pons-Sanz 2013, 46; and Fulk 2018, §4.12). Because of this, Orrm's vowel suggests that we are dealing with a Norse-derived rather than a native form. Further circumstantial evidence comes from the fact that the use of this noun in Middle English is strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas (cf. Orrm's <mælenn> for the reflex of OE *mǣlan*, on which see pp. 83–84; cf. Brate 1885, 50; Egge 1887, 98; Björkman 1900–1902, 103–4; *OED*, s.v. *moal*, n.1; *MED*, s.vv. *māl* and *mōl*, n.1; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *mal*).

Category: A1*c

\<mále\> (ME *mōl* "tribute, tax"; ll. 10180 and 10188)

Discussion: The same phonological principles discussed above for \<mal\> apply here, for this term, already attested as OE *māl*, should also be derived from the Norse nouns represented by OIc. *mál* and its derivative, *mali* "contract, agreement; pay." While its Old English uses can be associated mainly with the Scandinavian newcomers and the areas where they settled, its use during the Middle English period is broader than that of the previous term (cf. Brate 1885, 50; Egge 1887, 98; Björkman 1900–1902, 103–4; De Vries 1961, s.v. *mál* 1; *OED*, s.v. *mail*, n.1; Pons-Sanz 2013, 46–48, 136–47, and 187–89; *MED*, s.v. *mōl*, n.2; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *mále*).

Category: A1*cd

\<maȝȝ\> (ME *mai* "virgin, maid"; l. 2489)

Discussion: The etymology of the various forms that *OED* (s.v. *may*, n.3) and *MED* (s.v. *mai*, n.1) associate with ME *mai* is not clear, as they might represent reflexes of OE *mǣg* "woman" (directly related to OE *mǣg* "male, relative" < PGmc **mēga-*; see *OED*, s.vv. *may*, n.1; Orel 2003, s.v. **mēȝaz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *mēga-*) or the Norse noun represented by OIc. *mær* "maid, girl, virgin; daughter (poetic)" (oblique forms in *mey*(*j*)- < PGmc **mawī-*; see Dance 2019, 2:249–50; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *may*). The form under discussion, however, cannot be said to represent a reflex of the native noun, which appears as \<meȝe\> in the text (e.g., l. 1799, 2661, etc.; cf. \<late\>, p. 23), but can easily be interpreted as Norse-derived (cf. Brate 1885, 50–51; Egge 1887, 98–99; and Björkman 1900–1902, 64–65; but cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *maȝȝ*[1], who give the word as native), for \<ay\> is a common spelling in English for VAN /ɛy, øy/ (cf. OIc. /ey/), the *i*-umlauted reflex of PGmc **/au/ (vs. OE WS /iːe, yː/, Angl. /eː/; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 37–38; and Dance 2019, 1:87–88, with references; cf. Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.vv. *kayre* (1), *nayte*, *snayped*, etc.).

Category: A1*

\<naȝȝ\> (ME *nai* "no"; ll. 10285, 10290, and 10658)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *nei* "no." See Dance (2019, 2:26); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *nay*).

Category: A1*

<nowwt> (ME *nout(e* "ox, bull"; ll. 1298, 1558, 1565, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *naut* "cattle, oxen." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *nowte*).

Category: A1*c

<onnḡæn> (cf. ME *onyēn* "against"; l. 19514)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. (*í*) *gegn* "against, opposite, contrary to, in turn." See Dance (2019, 2:1); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *agayn*).

Category: A1*c

<raþ> (ME *rāth* "advice, counsel"; ll. V270, 1414, 1415, etc.)

Discussion: The Norse derivation of this noun is suggested by both <a> as the reflex of PGmc */e:/[1] and the presence of the fricative consonant as the reflex of PIE */dʰ/ instead of /d/ (cf. OE *rǣd* "advice, counsel" > <ræd> in ll. 6892, 6894, etc. vs. OIc. *ráð* id. < PGmc *rēd- < PIE *Hréh₁dʰ-; cf. <ḡeþenn>, p. 19, and <late>, p. 23; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 53; Egge 1887, 103–4; Björkman 1900–1902, 91 and 165; Serjeantson 1935, 83; *OED*, s.v. *rathe*, n.1; Orel 2003, s.v. *reðan*, *reðaz*; Kroonen 2013, s.v. *rēdan-*; *MED*, s.v. *rāth*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *raþ*). Although the noun is prominent in texts from the Scandinavianized areas, we also encounter it (and some other members of its word-field) in texts from the South-West Midlands; see Dance (2003, 399 and 403).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <u>orraþ</u> (ME *orrāth* "perplexed, doubtful; irresolute"; ll. 3150, 6593, 8457, etc.): this adjective, only attested in the *Ormulum*, is normally explained as having been formed on the model of English words with the prefix *or-* (e.g., ME *ortroue* "distrustful," *ormēte* "huge; excessive," etc.; cf. Brate 1885, 53; Egge 1887, 102; *OED*, s.v. *orrath*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *orraþ*), but *MED* (s.v. *orrāth*) prefers to associate it directly with OIc. *órráð*, *órræði* "expedient."

<u>orraþnesse</u> (ME *orrāthnesse* "doubt, perplexity"; l. 3145).

<raþenn> (ME *rōthen* "to advise"; ll. 2948, 5514, and 11988): this verb, only attested in the *Ormulum* and *Havelok* (see *OED*, s.v. *rothe*; and *MED*, s.v. *rōthen*, v.1), could be a loan-word (cf. OIc. *ráða* "to advise; consult; determine" vs. OE *rǣdan* id., represented by <rede-> in ll. P47, P434, etc.) or a new-formation in English.

<wanndraþ> (ME *wandreth* "woe, misery, wretchedness"; l. 4846 and 14825): the form that we normally find in Middle English texts is *wandreth*, whose second component represents an *i*-umlauted form of the Norse simplex (cf. OIc. *vandræði* "difficulty, trouble"; see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *wandreth*; see also Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *wanndraþ*). Orrm's word might be associated with <raþ> instead (cf. Dance 2003, 80 and 121n54).

<reʒʒsenn> (ME *reisen* "to raise, build; bring into being, bring about, generate"; ll. P226, 504, 4373, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *reisa* "to raise, erect, start." See Dance (2019, 2:28); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rayse*).

Category: A1*c

<rowwst> (ME *roust(e* "voice"; ll. 9107, 9561, and 9569)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *raust* "voice; a voice, vote." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rowste*); see also Dance (2019, 2:308–10). On the possibility that its co-occurrence with ME *rērde* "voice" in l. 9569 might have been influenced by Norse models (cf. ODa. *røst oc roodh*), see Olszewska (1962, 120).

Category: A1c

<sæte> (ME *sēte* "something onto which one seats; seat of God in heaven; assembly at a banquet"; ll. 5807, 11059, 11854, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sæti* "seat." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sete*, n.); see also Pons-Sanz (2013, 500–501).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <kinesæte> (ME *kinesēte* "throne"; l. 2224).

<sannenn> (ME *sannen* "to argue, dispute, maintain, prove"; ll. 11289, 17935, 18207, etc.)

Discussion: This verb, only attested in the *Ormulum* and the northern, fourteenth-century Chronicle attributed to Thomas Castleford, is generally considered to be Norse-derived (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 54; Eggen 1887, 107; Björkman 1900–1902, 172 and 196; Serjeantson 1935, 84; De Vries 1961, s.v. *sanna*; *OED*, s.v. *sann*; *MED*, s.v. *sannen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *sannenn*), on the basis that the verb it is com-

monly associated with, viz., OIc. *sanna* "to prove, make good, affirm" (< PGmc **sanþōjan-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **sanþōjanan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **sanþa-*), represents the typical North Germanic evolution of PGmc **/anθ/* (cf. OIc. /ɑ(ː)nn/), while the English cognate, OE *sōþian* "to prove true," shows instead the common evolution in English, where the nasal consonant was lost before any voiceless fricative, with subsequent nasalization and lengthening of the preceding vowel (i.e., /oːθ/; see Fulk 2018, §§4.9 and 4.1; and Dance 2019, 1:106).

Category: A1*c

\<scald\> (ME *scōlde* "minstrel, poet; worthless person?"; l. 2192)

Discussion: The presence of the non-palatalized initial cluster (cf. \<ḡætelæs\>, pp. 17–18) suggests that we are dealing with a Norse-derived term (cf. OIc. *skáld* "poet"; cf. Egge 1887, 107–8; Björkman 1900–1902, 121; De Vries 1961, s.v. *skáld*; *OED*, s.v. *scold*, n.; Kries 2003, 94; *MED*, s.v. *scōlde*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *scald*), *pace* Brate (1885, 54).[8] The origin of Norse /ɑː/ remains unclear (see Kroonen 2013, s.v. **skalda-*) and hence does not offer compelling evidence in favour of Norse derivation (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 96). Interestingly, even though the use of the term appears to have been fairly widespread from the Early Middle English period onwards, the *Ormulum* is only one of two texts where the noun might mean "poet, minstrel," the meaning of the suggested Norse etymon (see *MED*, s.v. *scōlde*, sense c).

Category: A1

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8 While lack of palatalization of the initial consonant cluster /sk/ can generally be taken as evidence of the fact that the term is not native, it is important to consider as well forms like \<scrennkenn\> (ME *shrunken* "to deceive, ensnare"; ll. 1405, 2618, etc.) because Orrm's spelling suggests a non-palatalized initial cluster, but the term should probably be taken as a reflex of OE *screncan* "to lay a stumbling-block in a person's way, trip, ensnare" (< PGmc **skrankjan-*; see *OED*, s.v. *shrenk*, v.1; *MED*, *shrenchen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *scrennkenn*) and not as a Norse-derived loan because Old Norse does not record any direct cognates (see Heidermanns 1993, 500; Kroonen 2013, s.v. **skrankwjan-*). Burchfield (1962, 102) also reports a form \<skæd\> in van Vliet's transcription and word list, in contrast to Orrm's more common \<shæd\> (< OE *scēad* "division, distinction"), while Johannesson and Cooper (2023, l. V547) transcribe \<shæd\> in van Vliet's lines as well. If Orrm did use \<skæd\>, it cannot be easily identified as a loan either because the root is not recorded in Old Norse (cf. *OED*, s.v. *shed*, v.1). In both cases, we might have by-forms reshaped by the common presence of initial /sk-/ in Orrm's dialectal area. See Laker (2021) for an evaluation of factors that might lead to lack of palatalization in native terms.

<ser> (ME *sēr(e* "separate, distinct"; ll. 18658, 18659, 18667, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sér*, 3rd p. sg. reflex. pron., dat. See Dance (2019, 2:46); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sere*, adj.).

Category: A2c

Related terms: <serlepess> (ME *sēr(elēpes* "separately"; ll. 513, 519, 573, etc.): see Dance (2019, 2:46–47); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *serlepes*, adj.).

<sĩt> (ME *sīt(e* "anguish, grief"; ll. 4852 and 7967)

Discussion: Cf. Norw. *syt*, and OIc. *sýta* "to afflict, grieve" and *sút* "grief, sorrow." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *syt*). Olszewska (1962, 127) presents OWN *sorg ok sút* as a Scandinavian model for the common collocation of the term with ME *sorwe* "sorrow" in Middle English texts from the Scandinavianized areas.[9]

Category: A1c

<skaþelæss> (ME *scāthlĕs* "scatheless, unharmed"; ll. 11356 and 12038)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *skaðlauss* "scatheless, unscathed." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *scatheless*).

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <skaþenn> (ME *scāthen* "to harm"; ll. 4468, 4469, and 4964): cf. OIc. *skaða* "to scathe, hurt."

<unnskaþefull> (ME *unskātheful* "harmless, innocent"; ll. 1176, 7915, and 7919).

<skeȝȝrenn> (ME *skairen* "to scatter, disperse"; l. 16451)

Discussion: The presence of the non-palatalized initial cluster (cf. <ȝætelæs>, pp. 17–18; and chap. 2, n. 8) and the diphthong (cf. <maȝȝ>, p. 26) suggest that, while the verb might ultimately be related to OE *sceran*, *scieran* "to separate, cut" (< PGmc **skeran-* > PDE *shear*), it cannot be straightforwardly derived from it (cf. Brate 1885, 57), as Egge (1887,

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9 On the common presence of double acute accents in monosyllabic native and Norse words ending in a long vowel + /t/ (cf. <skẽt>, p. 32; <þwerrtűt>, p. 35) and their occasional alternation with three accents, see Jakobs (2022 and forthcoming).

65) seems to suggest (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 124). *MED* (s.v. *skairen*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *skeʒʒrenn*) associate it instead with OIc. **skøyra* (< VAN **skeyra* < **PGmc *skaurjan*-) and ODa. *sköre* (on these phonological correspondences, see Pons-Sanz 2013, 22–23; cf. *OED*, s.v. *skair*, v.1, where the etymology is given as uncertain, as the closest *comparandum* is *skair*, v.2, also of uncertain etymology). The distribution of its forms and those of its derivative ME *tŏskairen* (see below) might also offer circumstantial evidence in favour of its Norse derivation: the latter is only attested in the *Ormulum* while the simplex is otherwise only recorded in texts associated with the Scandinavianized areas.

Category: A1c

Related terms: <toskeʒʒrenn> (ME *tŏskairen* "to scatter, disperse; break apart, smash"; ll. 1498, 9462, 16199, etc.).

<skemmtinnǧ> (ME *scenting(e* "play, entertainment, amusement"; l. 2165)

Discussion: This noun is a new-formation on the basis of ME *skenten* "to entertain, amuse." The Norse derivation of the latter (cf. OIc. *skemta* "to amuse, entertain"; cf. as well OIc. *skemtan* "entertainment") is suggested by the lack of palatalization of the initial consonant cluster (cf. <ǧætelæs>, pp. 17–18; and chap. 2, n. 8; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 56–57; Egge 1887, 11; Björkman 1900–1902, 124; Serjeantson 1935, 82; De Vries 1961, s.v. *skemta*; Dance 2003, 375; *OED*, s.v. *skent*; *MED*, s.vv. *skenten* and *skentinge*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *skemmtinnǧ*). The records of the verb and the noun under consideration are restricted to the Early Middle English period; their distribution is in no way restricted to the Scandinavianized areas, although only texts from those areas record forms with the original <mt> instead of the partially assimilated <nt>.

Category: A1

<skerrenn> (ME *skerren* "to frighten"; ll. 676 and 3837)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *skirra* "to bar, prevent" and *skirrask* "to shun, shrink from." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *scarreʒ*).

Category: A1c

**<skḗt> (ME *skēt(e* "swiftly, quickly; soon; easily, readily";
ll. 1266, 2297, 2411, etc.)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *skjótr* "quick." See Dance (2019, 2:31); and Dance,
Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *skete*); cf. Pons-Sanz (2013, 403).

Category: A1*c

**<skill> (ME *skil* "reason as a faculty of the mind; good sense, sound
judgement; something that is reasonable or appropriate; wisdom";
ll. P83, V312, 1210, etc.)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *skil* (pl.) "distinction; discernment, knowledge." See
Dance (2019, 2:32); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *skyl*).

Category: A1a

Related terms: <skilen> (ME *skillen* "to separate, distinguish"; l. 16860):
given that ME *skil* is commonly used with meanings associated with cog-
nition and understanding rather than material separation or division, the
verb might represent a direct Norse loan (cf. OIc. *skiljia* "to part, separate,
distinguish") rather than a new-formation in English on the basis of the
noun (cf. *OED*, s.v. *skill*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *skillen*, v.1; and Johannesson and
Cooper 2023, s.v. *skilen*).

<u>skilllæs</u>> (ME *skillēs* "lacking the faculty of reason"; l. 3715).

<toskilenn> (ME *tŏskilen* "to distinguish"; l. 18657).

<unnskill> (ME *unskil*, with ~ "wrongly, improperly"; l. 427).

<skinn> (ME *skin* "skin"; ll. 3210 and 9229)

Discussion: OIc. *skinn* "skin (of humans or animals), fur." See Pons-Sanz
(2013, 58); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *skinnes*).

Category: A1

**<skir> (ME *skīr(e* "free from moral blemish, pure";
ll. 8015, 12194, and 12201)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *skirr* "clear, bright; pure." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and
Schorn (2019, *skyre*).

Category: A1*c

\<skirrpenn\> (ME *skirpen* "to behave contemptuously"; ll. 7389 and 7393)

Discussion: Because of the lack of patalalization of the initial consonant cluster (cf. \<ḡætelæs\>, pp. 17–18; and chap. 2, n. 8), this verb, only attested in the *Ormulum* during the Middle English period, is commonly presented as a loan-word based on the Viking Age Norse verb represented by OIc. *skirpa* "to spit" (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 57; Egge 1887, 112; Björkman 1900–1902, 128; Serjeantson 1935, 84; *OED*, s.v. *skirp*; Kries 2003, 94; *MED*, s.v. *skirpen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *skirrpenn*).

Category: A1c

\<sloþ\> (ME *sloth* "path, trail"; ll. V9, V278, 1194, etc.)

Discussion: This term, whose Middle English attestations are strongly connected with the Scandianvianized areas, is generally considered to be a Norse loan-word based on the noun represented by OIc. *slóð* "track, trail" (cf. Brate 1885, 58; Egge 1887, 113; Björkman 1900–1902, 165 and 220; Serjeantson 1935, 82; De Vries 1961, s.v. *slóð*; *OED*, s.v. *sleuth*, n.2; Kries 2003, 361; *MED*, s.v. *sloth*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *sloþ*). Even though Björkman (1900–1902, 165) suggests that the origin of the Norse voiced fricative is not clear, De Vries (1961, *slóð*) indicates that the noun shares the same root as a number of ablaut variants, including Norw. *slad*, *slade* "slope, hollow," cognate with OE *slæd* "valley, dale, or dingle" (< PGmc **sladan*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **slaðan*) or OIc. *sleði* "sled," an *n*-stem noun ultimately associated with PIE **sleidʰ*- (see Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **slidan* and **slīdan*-). This suggests that the presence of the dental fricative instead of the stop can be taken as suggestive of Norse derivation (cf. \<ḡeþenn\>, p. 19).

Category: A1c

<u>\<sowwþ\></u> (ME *south* "sheep"; ll. 15565 and 15805)

Discussion: The vocalism of this term (reflex of VAN /ɑu/ vs. OE /æːɑ/; cf. \<dowwnenn\>, pp. 15–16) suggests that it is a loan-word based on the Norse noun represented by OIc. *sauðr* "sheep" (cf. Brate 1885, 58; Egge 1887, 113–14; Björkman 1900–1902, 165; Serjeantson 1935, 84; *OED*, s.v. *sowth*, n.; *MED*, s.v. *south*, n.1; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *sowwþ*). The Norse noun is cognate with Go. *sauþs* "sacrifice" as well as OE *sēað* "well, sea," OFri. *sāth* "spring," etc. (< PGmc **sauþa*-; see Lehmann 1986, s.v. *sauþs*; Orel 2003, s.v. **sauðiz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **sauþa*-).

In its two occurrences in the *Ormulum* (and the Middle English corpus), ME *south* collocates with the Norse-derived ME *noute* (see <nowwt>, p. 27).

Category: A1*c

<tiþennde> (ME *tīding(e* "announcement, message"; ll. P264 and P282)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *tíðindi* (pl.) "tidings, news." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *tyþing)*; see also Pons-Sanz (2013, 406–7).

Category: A1*

<triǧǧ> (ME *trig* "trustworthy, trusty"; ll. P225, 6177, and 12181)

Discussion: This adjective is commonly considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *tryggr* "trusty, faithful"; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 60; Egge 1887, 116–17; Björkman 1900–1902, 35; Serjeantson 1935, 84; De Vries 1961, s.v. *trygð*; *OED*, s.v. *trig*, adj.1 and n.4; Kries 2003, 95; *MED*, s.v. *trig*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *triǧǧ*) on the basis that it shows the effects of Holtzmann's Law, a.k.a. Verschärfung or sharpening, whereby PGmc short vowel + */jj/ or */ww/ > OE diphthong vs. VAN /ggj/ or /ggw/ (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 408–9; and Dance 2019, 1:102–3, with references). In all its attestations in the *Ormulum*, the only text where it is recorded during the Middle English period as an adjective rather than a surname, it co-occurs with its cognate ME *treu(e* (< OE *(ge)trīewe/trīwe/ trēowe* "true, faithful" < PGmc **trewwu-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **trewwaz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **trewwu-*), a collocation whose origins Olszewska (1947–1948, 88) also traces to Old Norse (cf. OIc. *tryggr ok trúr*).

Category: A1*c

<þeǧǧ> (ME *thei* "they"; ll. P79, P81, P139, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þeir* "they." See Dance (2019, 2:35–36); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þay*). See, however, Cole (2018 and forthcoming), and Cole and Pons-Sanz (2023) for a discussion of the likely involvement of the Old English demonstrative forms in the development of the 3rd p. pl. pronouns, particularly when the form has a monophthong rather than a diphthong. On the alternation between these forms and the native *h*-forms in the *Ormulum*, see Johanesson (1995).

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <þeӡӡm> (ME *theim* "them"; ll. P49, 69, 771, etc.). See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þaim*).

<þeӡӡre> (ME *their(e* "their"; ll. P36, P84, P142, etc.). See Dance (2019, 2:36); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þayr*).

<þohh> (ME *though* "(but) yet; although; nevertheless"; ll. P155, 23, 249, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þó* "though, yet, nevertheless" (< VAN **þōh*). See Dance (2019, 2:36–37); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þoӡ*).

Category: A1*c

Related terms: <þohhwheþþre> (ME *though whether* "nevertheless, moreover"; ll. 310, 564, 2459, etc.): cf. OE *þēahhwæþere* "yet, but, nevertheless."

<þwerrtűt> (ME *thwertout* "wholly, utterly, throughout; very"; ll. P74, P99, P261, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þvert* "athwart, across, transverse" (< VAN **þwert*). Cf. Dance (2019, 2:49); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ouerþwert*). Given that Old English diphthongs were monophthongized when followed, directly or with an intervening liquid, by a velar consonant (see Hogg 1992, §5.93) in the Anglian dialects, Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *þwerrtűt*) suggest that forms with <eo> are likely to represent the influence of varieties exhibiting breaking (perhaps by analogy with the native cognate form: cf. OE *þweorh* "crooked, cross; adverse"). This compound, which might have been coined on the basis of OE *þurhūt* "throughout," is only attested in the *Ormulum* and the homilies recorded in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, a manuscript produced in the East Midlands / East Anglia (see *MED*, s.v. *thwertout*; see further p. 38).

Category: A3*bc

<usell> (ME *ūsel* "wretched, miserable; deprived"; ll. 891, 3668, 5638, etc.)

Discussion: Loss of the postvocalic nasal in the prefix (cf. OIc. *ú-* vs. OE *un-*; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 65–67, with references), which might have happened post-1000 (cf. Townend 2002, 96n12), suggests that we are deal-

ing with a Norse-derived term (cf. OIc. *úsæll* "wretched"; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 63; Egge 1887, 123; Björkman 1900–1902, 224; Serjeantson 1935, 84; *OED*, s.v. *usell*; *MED*, s.v. *ūsel*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *usell*). Like the other member of the word-field, ME *ūseldōm* (see below), it is only recorded in the *Ormulum*. Norse derivation might also be suggested by the fact that only Old Norse and Gothic seem to record simplex adjectives from PGmc **sēliz* (viz., OIc. *sæll* "happy" and Go. *sêls* "good, kind"; cf. OE *sǣlig* "blessed, fortunate," OS *sālig* id., and OHG *sālīg* id.; and OE *sǣl* "happiness, good fortune, prosperity"). The form that Bosworth-Toller (1898) record as *unsǣle* "evil, wicked" as a gloss for L *improbus* in the First Cleopatra Glossary is transcribed in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (hereafter *DOEC*; 2009, ClGl 1 (Stryker) 3149) as OE *unfǣle* "evil, bad" instead.[10] However, the root of this adjective, could, in principle, also be associated with ME *sēl(e*, which might be the reflex of an unattested Old English adjective from PGmc **sōli-*, or a back-formation on the basis of OE *sēlra* "better," *sēlest* "best."

Category: A1*c[11]

Related terms: <u>uselldom</u> (ME *ūseldōm* "state characterized by deprivation, wretchedness"; l. 3708).

<waȝȝ> (ME *wei* "misery, trouble, woe"; l. 11904)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vei* "woe." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *waymot*).

Category: A1*c

<wannt> (ME *want* "lacking, missing"; ll. 14398 and 14400)

Discussion: While the presence of /t/ in ME *wanten* "to be in need or lack of something" and *want* "shortage or lack, penury" could be attributed to their derivation from PGmc **wanatōn-* (see <wanntenn> and <wanntsumm>, pp. 106–7), the situation is different for the adjective under consideration, for here the dental consonant can be straightforwardly associated with the characteristic inflectional ending for strong, neuter adjectives in the nominative or accusative singular form (cf. OIc.

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10 All references to and abbreviations for Old English texts follow the *DOEC* (2009).

11 Following the practice in the *Gersum* taxonomy, I have not used secondary labels for Category A words.

vant, a form of OIc. *vanr* "lacking, wanting"; cf. OE *wan* "wanting, lacking, absent") and can, accordingly, be taken as a clear mark of Norse derivation. See, for instance, Brate (1885, 64); Björkman (1900–1902, 225); De Vries (1961, s.v. *vanr*, 2); *OED* (s.v. *want*, adj. and n.2); *MED* (s.v. *want*); Dance (2019, 2:144–45); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.vv. *wont*, n., and *wont*, v.). Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *wanntenn*) give this form as the past participle of <wanntenn>. This rare adjective is only recorded in texts associated with the Scandinavianized areas. *OED*'s entry highlights that Orrm's usage, with the person lacking something in the dative, mirrors Scandinavian usage; however, this construction can also be seen in Old English texts (e.g., "him wana (ys)" renders L *eget* "is wanting, lacking" in the Old English translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* (BlGl (Hale) P.3.3.30–31).

Category: A2*c

Related terms: <wanntenn> (ME *wanten* "to be without, lack"; ll. 13380): this verb should be classified as C1; see p. 106.

<wanntsumm> (ME *wantsum* "poor, in want"; l. 14824): see pp. 106–7 for a discussion about whether this adjective can be said to derive directly from the adjective under consideration here or whether it should be associated instead with the noun ME *want*.

Category B Words

<afell> (ME *āvel* "strength"; l. 3717)

Discussion: This term is very often presented as a Norse-derived loan (cf. OIc. *afl* "physical strength"; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 32; Egge 1887, 50–51; Björkman 1900–1902, 201–2; Serjeantson 1935, 84; Hofmann 1955, §277; De Vries 1961, s.v. *afl* 1; Peters 1981, 91; Wollmann 1996, §5.2.2) on the basis that, other than an attestation of the Saxon-derived form <abal> in the Old English poem *Genesis B* (l. 500; cf. OS *abal*), probably from the ninth century, the term, either as a simplex (OE *afol*) or as part of a complex (OE *woruldafol* "secular or worldly power"), is not recorded until the eleventh century, when it appears in the works of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York (d. 1023), which include a significant number of Norse-derived terms (see Pons-Sanz 2007a). The fact that its presence in the last foot of l. 3717 suggests that the initial vowel was long has also been occasionally presented as further evidence in favour of Norse deri-

vation, as there was a process of sporadic lengthening of initial vowels in West Norse (Fulk 1986, 489). However, there are various arguments against its Norse derivation, although reinforcement from the Norse term is possible: on the one hand and in keeping with other Saxonisms left in *Genesis B*, we can assume some level of familiarity with the lexeme in Old English (probably reflected by Wulfstan's texts); on the other hand, the presence of a long syllable could be attributed to Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (on which see further p. 125). See Pons-Sanz (2005) for a detailed discussion (cf. Pons-Sanz 2013, 429); see also *OED* (s.v. *avel*, n. 1), where the term is presented as cognate with the Norse noun (cf. *MED*, s.v. *āvel*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *afell*, where both Old English and Old Norse words are mentioned without any further clarification). Other than in the *Ormulum*, ME *āvel* is also recorded in the existing fragments of the alliterative poem known as *The Conflict of Wit and Will*, which have been dated to ca. 1400 and said to originate from the South-West Midlands (Edwards 2001, 19).

Category: BB2

Related terms: <áfledd> (ME *āvelen* "to make an effort, strain; ppl. endowed (with strength)"; l. 7903): *OED* (s.v. *aveled*) explains Orrm's form as either a derivative formed on the basis of ME *āvel* (see above, <afell>; cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *áfledd*) or as the past participle of ME *āvelen*, which is otherwise only recorded in the so-called *Trinity Homilies* on the basis of their inclusion in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, a manuscript from ca. 1200 (see further p. 35). The forms appear in Morris's (1873) homilies XXV and XXVII, written by Hand B, which has been localized in West Suffolk by *LAEME* (#1300, trhomBt. tag). *OED* (s.v. *avel*, v.1) suggests that ME *āvelen* was either Norse-derived (OIc *afla* "to gain, earn"; cf. *MED*, s.v. *āvelen*) or the reflex of its native cognate (cf. OHG *avalōn* "to busy oneself, toil" and *giavalōn* "to make an effort, strive, to work at"). While *OED*'s entry suggests that the native cognate is not attested in English, *DOE* (s.v. *geaflian*) does record *geaflian*, which renders L *usurpare* "to take possession of, acquire; make use of" in London, British Library, MS Royal 6.A.vi (AldV 9 (Nap) 119), an eleventh-century manuscript from the South-East (possibly Canterbury; Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 464). Thus, ME *āvelen* could be a reflex of the Old English verb, although it is notable that all the relevant forms in Middle English are restricted to the East Midlands or East Anglia.

<bulaxe> (ME *bōlax(e* "ax for cutting or splitting wood"; ll. 9281, 9935, 9948, etc.)

Discussion: This compound is commonly interpreted as a Norse-derived loan on the basis that ME *bōle* "tree trunk" tends to be identified as a loan-word (cf. OIc. *bolr*, *bulr* "bale or trunk of a tree") and that there is an attested equivalent compound in Old Norse (cf. OIc. *boløx*, *buløx* "pole-axe"; cf. Brate 1885, 36–37; Egge 1887, 60; Björkman 1900–1902, 286n3; Serjeantson 1935: 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *boløx*; *OED*, s.v. *bole-ax*; *MED*, s.vv. *bōle* and *bōlaxe*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *bulaxe*). However, the Norse derivation of ME *bōle* is not beyond doubt: it is classified as BB2ac (cf. OE *bol* "bole, stem of a plant" and MHG *bole* id.) by Dance (2019, 2:66–67); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bole*). Moreover, there are a number of native compounds with OE *æx* > ME *axe* (e.g., *stānæx* "stone-workers' axe?"). While the simplex ME *bōle* is fairly widely used from the fifteenth century onwards (although it is particularly prevalent in the North and East Midlands), the distribution of the compound is not clearly associated with the Scandinavianized areas, other than the fact that it is first attested in the *Ormulum*.[12] For an argument that the expression "nuȝȝu iss/wass bulaxe sett" in ll. 9281 and 9935 could be associated with Norse lexical practices, see Olszewska (1962, 114n3).

Category: BB2a (and CC4 as secondary)

<boþe> (ME *bōth* "booth, stall"; l. 15817)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *búð* "temporary building or tent; trading booth," and OEN **bóð*. See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *boþe*).

Category: B2abc

Related terms: <chepinnḡboþe> (ME *chepingbōthe* "market stall or booth"; ll. 15573, 16095, and 16121).

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12 Besides the attestations noted in *MED* (s.v. *bōleaxe*), the compound is also recorded in the poem *Heil Seint Michel*, included in the *Kildare* Manuscript (London, British Library, MS Harley 913). Turville-Petre (2015, xxviii–xxix) associates the language of the manuscript with the South-West and South-West Midlands.

<clake> (ME *clăk(k)e* "inflicting of injury, sin"; ll. 9317 and 10201)

Discussion: The term is occasionally considered to be Norse-derived by older scholarship (e.g., Morris 1873, xxi; and Egge 1887, 61; cf. OIc. *klaklaust* "scatheless, unhurt"), to a large extent because the OE *clacu* "hurt, harm, injury" word-field is attested rather late, and only sparingly: OE *clacu* is only attested in an eleventh-century homily by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York, where it collocates with OE *sacu* (WHom 5 102), as is the case in Orrm's contexts; OE *clæclēas* "free from evil, pure" is only attested twice, first in the tenth-century First Cleopatra Glossary (ClGl 1 (Stryker) 3048; see *DOE*, s.vv. *clacu* and *clæclēas*). The Middle English attestations of the word-field are similarly rare and are, in the main, associated with the North and East (see *MED*, s.vv. *clăk(k)e*, n.1, and *claklēs*). The Old English terms have parallels in other West Germanic languages (cf. OFri. *klake* "complaint" and *klaklās* "without damage"). Despite a possible Norse origin, most scholars analyze the term as native (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 37; De Vries 1961, s.v. *klaksárr* "touchy, feeling sore"; *OED*, s.v. *clake*; *MED*, s.v. *clăk(k)e*, n.1; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *clake*; cf. Pons-Sanz 2013, 496; and its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Pons-Sanz 2007a).

Category: BB2ac

<clippenn> (ME *clippen* "to shear; circumcise; cut off (sin)"; ll. 1189, 4106, 4142, etc.)

Discussion: Old English texts record OE *clipian* "to call, cry out" and OE *clyppan* "to embrace" (< PGmc *kluppjan-*, cf. OIc. *klýpa* "to clip, pinch, squeeze"), but there is no obvious Old English relevant verb meaning "to cut" because OE *geclypped* "clipped?, trimmed, polled" is only recorded in the fourteenth-century manuscript (London, British Library, MS Harley 436) of a charter supposed to have been issued by King Edgar in favour of Wilton Abbey in 968 (Ch 766 (Searle); see *DOE*, s.v. *geclypped*). This, and the fact that the pre-1350 attestations of the word-field are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (cf. *MED*, s.vv. *clippen*, v.2, *clipper*, *clipping*, ger.2, and *umbeclippen*, v.2) are generally taken as an indication of Norse derivation (cf. OIc. *klippa* "to clip, cut"; cf. LG *klippen* id. and Fri. *klippen* id., of uncertain etymology). See, for instance, Egge (1887, 61), Björkman (1900–1902, 246), Rynell (1948, 60), De Vries (1961, s.v. *klippa*), *OED* (s.v. *clip*, v.2), Kries (2003, 320–21), *MED* (s.v. *clippen*, v.2), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *clippen*); cf. Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *clypper*).

Category: B2c

Related terms: <ummbeclippenn> (ME *umbeclippen* "to circumcise"; l. 15009): on the Norse derivation of the first formative, see <ummbe>, p. 103.

<cnif> (ME *knīf* "knife"; ll. V425, 4128, 4257, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *knífr* "knife." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 107–8); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *knyf*).

Category: BB2a

<croc> (ME *crōk* "stratagem or trick"; l. 11635)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *krókr* "hook, anything crooked." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *crokeʒ*); see also Pons-Sanz (2013, 109).

Category: BB2b

<forrhorenn> (ME *forhōren* "to make a whore of someone, to seduce"; l. 2043)

Discussion: OE *hōre* (> ME *hōre* "woman who commits prostitution or adultery; prostitute") has occasionally been identified as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *hóra* "adulteress"; e.g., Skeat 1876, *whore,* and 1888, s.v. *whore*; Egge 1887, 73; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *forrhorenn*, etc.) on the basis that the attestations of its word-field are rather late, mainly in the works of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York. Dance (2003, 426–27) suggests the possibility that the terms might be associated with OE *horh*, *horu* "phlegm, mucus; filth, dirt," but Kroonen (2013, s.v. **hōrōn-* and **hurhwa-*) derives the terms from PGmc **hōrōn-* "whore" and **hurhwa-* "dirt, mucus", respectively, and does not suggest any association between them; neither does *OED* (s.vv. *hore* and *whore*, n.). The existence of cognates with the same meaning as OE *hōre* in various West Germanic languages (cf. OHG *huora* "adulteress, prostitute," MLG *hōr(e)* id., MDu. *ho(e)r(e)* id.) might be suggestive of native origin, while a possible demotic character for this term and other words in its word-field (see below) might explain their late entry into the written record. In this respect, while the presence of the Norse term might have helped to increase the use of OE *hōre*, there is no strong evidence to analyze it as a loan-word (see, e.g., De Vries 1961, s.v. *hora*; *OED*, s.v. *whore*, n.; Dance 2003, 426–27; Orel 2003, s.v. **xorōn*; Pons-Sanz 2011 and 2013, 447; Kroonen 2013, s.v. *hōrōn-*; and *MED*, s.v. *hōre*, n.2; cf. the absence of the word-field from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, and Serjeantson 1935).

Category: BB2a

Related terms: <horedom> (ME *hōredōm* "fornication, adultery"; ll. 3996, 4438, 4632, etc.): *OED* (s.v. *whore*, n.) indicates that it is unclear whether *hōr-* in various members of this word-field (cf. OE *hōrcwene* "adulteress, prostitute?," *hōrdōm* "fornication, prostitution?," *hōring* "fornicator, adulterer") can be said to represent OE *hōre* or an unattested **hōr* "fornication, adultery" (cf. OFri. *hōr* "fornication, adultery," MDu. *hoer* id., MLG *hōre* id., OHG *hour* id., and OIc. *hór* id.).[13] On the etymology of OE *hōre*, see the discussion for <forrhorenn>. If the root in ME *hōredōm* is considered to be **hōr* rather than **hōre*, one could take lack of attestation of such a strong noun in Old English as suggestive of the fact that the term represents a loan-blend rather than a native term (cf. *OED*, s.vv. *whore*, n., and *whoredom*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *horedom*; see also Dance 2003, 360–61). The attestations of the term are not strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas; see *MED* (s.v. *hōredōm*).

<ḡate> (ME *gǎte* "path, way, manner"; ll. 2281, 2437, 2451, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *gata* "way, path, road." See Dance (2019, 2:69–70); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gate*, n.). See, however, also Versloot (2023b), who has recently argued that the existence of cognates in various Germanic languages—not only Gothic (cf. Go. *gatwō* "street") and Old High German (cf. OHG *gazza* id.), but also Frisian (cf. Fri. *gaat*, attested in the North Frisian dialect of Sylt; with palatalization, cf. Fri. *jaat* in the North Frisian dialect of Föhr and Amrum) and Middle Low German (MLG *gate* id.), all from PGmc **gatwōn-* (see Kroonen 2013, s.v. **gatwōn-*)—should be taken as suggestive of the term's native origin.

Category: B2abc

Related terms: <ḡatelæs> (ME *gātelēs* "without a path, pathless"; l. 9211).

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13 OE *hōr* is sometimes cited as one of the cognates meaning "adultery" (e.g., Orel 2003, s.v. **xōran*; Kroonen 2018, s.v. **hora- 2*) but this form is not actually attested as a simplex in Old English (as suggested by its absence from *DOE*).

\<ḡriþþ\> (ME *grith* "peace (of a nation or society); amity, friendship"; ll. P215, P225, P243, etc.)

Discussion: This noun, already attested in late Old English (cf. OE *griþ* "protection, security; peace, truce") is often identified as a Norse-derived loan-word (cf. OIc. *grið* pl. "truce, peace"; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 44; Egge 1887, 80; Björkman 1900–1902, 163 and 212; Serjeantson 1935, 80 and 82; De Vries 1961, s.v. *grið*; *OED*, s.v. *grith*; Dance 2003, 357; and *MED*, s.v. *grith*). There are no clear phonological grounds for this etymological explanation, for the etymology of the proposed Norse etymon is itself disputed. Pons-Sanz (2013, 114–15) presents the most likely explanations that have been put forward:

1. the term shares the same root as OIc. *greiða* (see \<ḡreᵹᵹþenn\>, p. 20);

2. it shares the same root as Go. *griþs* "step," which is itself of uncertain etymology (possibly < PIE *g^hred^h- or g^hreid^h-);

3. it is related to Skr. *gṛhá-* "house," according to which it could be compared to Go. *gairda* "girdle," which Lehmann (1986, s.v. *gairda*) derives from PIE *g^herd^h-; or to Go. *gards* "house, family, court" (cf. OIc. *garðr* "yard", OE *geard* id. < PGmc *garda-*), which may derive from PIE *g^hort- or *g^hord^h-, based on PIE *$ĝ^her$- and *g^herd^h-, respectively.

4. OIc. *grið* and *griði* "servant" may derive from PIE *$g^hrīd^h$- (the terms could then be also associated with OCS *gridĭ* "retainer, retinue," possibly a Germanic loan-word, and *griždǫ*, *griditi* "to be billeted").

The presence of the dental fricative in OE *griþ* instead of /d/ can only be accepted as secure evidence of Norse derivation if the Proto-Germanic root had */ð/ either as the reflex of PIE */d^h/ or as the result of PGmc */θ/ (< PIE */t/) having been affected by Verner's Law (cf. \<ḡeþenn\>, p. 19). Even though this applies to most of the roots discussed above (including many of the roots discussed under (3), which might offer the best explanation), it does not apply to all of them.

Category: B1

Related terms: \<unnḡriþþ\> (ME *ungrith* "hostility, discord"; l. 16280): cf. OE *ungriþ* "enmity." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 115, 126, 128, 144, 147, and 177–80).

\<ȝatenn\> (ME *yēten* "to grant, concede; acknowledge"; ll. 154, 684, 2372, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *játa* "to say yes, assent, acknowledge; grant, yield" and *játta* id. See Dance (2019, 2:72–74); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ȝette*).

Category: B2ac

\<hæþenn\> (ME *hēthen* "to mock, scorn"; l. 13682)

Discussion: This verb, only recorded in the *Ormulum* and in one of the Harley lyrics (London, British Library, MS Harley 2253), of unknown origin (see *MED*, s.v. *hēthen*, v.), is generally considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *hæða* "to scoff at, mock," ODa. *hædhæ* id.; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 45; Egge 1887, 81; Björkman 1900–1902, 163; *OED*, s.v. *hethe*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *hæþenn*[1]; De Vries 1961, s.v. *hæða* does not mention the verb but does mention the Norse origin of the other members of its word-field: see \<hæþeliȝ\> and \<hæþinnȝ\> below). As Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *heþyng*) point out, the Norse verb was formed on the basis of the noun represented by OIc. *háð* "scorn" (< PGmc *hawēþa-), which has no cognates in the other Germanic languages, even though the base root PGmc *hau- seems to have been the basis for an adjectival root PGmc *hauna-, whence OE *hēan* "low; humble, ignoble; despicable" and its cognates Go. *hauns* "low, humble," OFri. *hāna* id., OHG *hōni* "shameful," as well as the verbal forms OE *hȳnan* "to humble, humiliate," OFri. *hēna* id., OS *gihōnian* id., and OHG *hōnen* id. derive (< PGmc *haunjan-; see Heidermanns 1993, s.v. *hauna*-; Orel 2003, s.v. *xaunaz; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *hawēn-).

Category: B1c

Related terms: \<hæþeliȝ\> (ME *hēthelī(che* "scornfully"; ll. P79, V527, 7408, etc.): this adverb might represent a new-formation or a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *hæðiliga* "mockingly, scornfully"); see *OED* (s.v. *hethely*) and *MED* (s.v. *hēthelīche*). On the suffix \<-liȝ\>, see Appendix 1.

\<hæþinnȝ\> (ME *hēthing* "(object of) contempt, scorn; mockery, abuse; sacrilegious conduct"; ll. 240, 4403, 4876, etc.): cf. OIc. *hæðing* "scoffing." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *heþyng*).

<heþenn> (ME *hēthen* "from this place, hence"; ll. 15570 and 16092)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *héðan* "hence; henceforth." See Dance (2019, 2:53–54); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *heþen*).

Category: B1c

Related terms: <heþennwarrd> (cf. ME *hēthenwărd* "hence, away"; ll. 5490 and 6046): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *hethenward*).

<ille> (ME *il(le* "bad, evil, wicked, immoral"; ll. 54, V30, 6635, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *illr, íllr* "ill, evil, bad." See Dance (2019, 2:54); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ille*, adj.).

Category: B1c

Related terms: <ille> (ME *il(le* "badly; with displeasure"; ll. 6245 and 18284): cf. OIc. *illa, ílla* "badly, ill." See Dance (2019, 2:54); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ille*, adv.).

<kinndlenn> (ME *kindelen* "to kindle, arouse, give rise to"; ll. 13442 and 16135)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kyndill* "candle, torch." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *kindill*).

Category: B2

<lo͡g͡e> (ME *loue* "fire, flames"; l. 16185)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *logi* "flame." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lowe*, n.).

Category: B2ac

<mec> (ME *mēk* "gentle, quiet; tame; benevolent, kind; humble"; ll. 667, 1252, 1258, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *mjúkr* "soft, agile; meek, mild." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *meke*, adj., n.); see also Olszewska (1962, 126) for a discussion of the possibility that its collocation with ME *mīlde* "kind, friendly, merciful," which is fairly widespread from the Early Middle English period (see *MED*, s.v. *mēk*), might have been influenced by Norse models (cf. OIc. *mjúkr ok mildr*).

Category: B1 (and CC4 as secondary)[14]

Related terms: <mecleȝȝc> (cf. ME *mēklāc* "gentleness; humility; submissiveness"; ll. V333, 1170, 1546, etc.): on the suffix <-leȝȝc>, see Appendix 1.

<mecliȝ> (ME *mēklī* "submissively, obediently; humbly"; l. 1189 and 11392): see Dance (2019, 78); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mekely*). On the suffix <-liȝ>, see Appendix 1.

<mecnesse> (ME *mēknesse* "humility"; ll. 1637, 2521, 2640, etc.): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mekeness*).

<mekenn> (ME *mēken* "to make humble, soft; be humble, deferential; submit"; ll. 9385, 11864, 13688, etc.): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *meke*, v.).

<unnmec> (ME *unmēk(e* "unkind, harsh, fierce, cruel"; l. 9880): the adjective might be a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *úmjúkr* "unsoft, harsh") or a new-formation, given the common use of the prefix *un-* in Old and Middle English.

<orresst> (ME *orest(e* "battle, struggle"; l. 12539)

Discussion: This term is first attested in Late Old English texts, where it means "battle, strife" in the texts associated with the Scandinavianized areas, and "trial by combat" in the texts which do not have a strong connection with the areas where the Scandinavians settled down. This semantic distinction continues during the Middle English period: Orrm's usage is in keeping with that in the Old English texts from the Scandinavianized areas, while various legal documents record senses associated with "trial by combat," as well as some misinterpretations of the term (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 166–67; and *MED*, s.v. *orest(e*). Because of its late attestation and its close formal and semantic similarity with the noun represented by OIc. *orrosta*, *orrasta*, *orresta* "battle," whose ultimate etymology remains problematic, the noun is generally considered to be Norse-derived (see *OED*, s.v. *orrest*; Pons-Sanz 2013, 80, with references; cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *orresst*, where the term is given as native).

Category: B1

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14 I have classified those cases where the terms in a collocation alliterate as CC4 rather than C4 because it might be the case that sound effects rather than foreign influence lie behind their pairing.

\<ploh\> (ME *plogh* "plough"; l. 15902)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *plógr* "plough." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 451–52); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *plow*). See also Dance (2019, 1:62).

Category: BB2a

\<radd\> (ME *rad*e "afraid"; l. 2170)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *hræddr* (< **hræððr*) "afraid, frightened, timid" (past participle of OIc. *hræða* "to frighten"). See Dance (2019, 1:58–59); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rad*).

Category: B1c

\<rote\> (ME *rōt*e "root; source"; ll. 3213, 4937, 4976, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *rót* "root." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 64–65); Dance (2019, 2:60); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rote*).

Category: B1

\<sahhte\> (ME *saught* "reconciled, in agreement," under ME *saughten*; ll. 1535 and 5731)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sáttr* "reconciled, at peace." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 42–45); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *saʒte*).

Category: B1c

Related terms: \<sahhtlenn\> (ME *saughtelen* "to reconcile"; ll. 351, V246, V384, etc.): see Pons-Sanz (2013, 25); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *saʒtle*).

\<sahhtnesse\> (ME *saughtnesse* "settlement, concord, reconciliation"; ll. P224, 3515, 3941, etc.).

\<unnsahhte\> (ME *unsaught(e* "hostile"; l. V247).

\<unnsahhtnesse\> (ME *unsaughtnesse* "discord, strife, hostility"; l. 7187).

\<stę̨rrne\> (ME *sterne* "star"; ll. 2136, 2140, 3430, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *stjarna* "star." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sterneʒ*). On vocalic length, see Fulk (1999, 205).

Category: B2c

Related terms: <u><sæsterrne></u> (cf. ME *sēsterre* "star of the sea," epithet for the Virgin Mary"; ll. 2132 and 21340).

<u><sterrnelem></u> (ME *sternelēme* "ray of starlight"; ll. 3442, 6536, and 6622).

<takenn> (ME *tāken* "to take, grasp, seize; receive; suffer, undergo, etc."; ll. P165, P175, P239, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *taka* "to take." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 74–76); Dance (2019, 2:86–87); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *take*). Olszewska (1973, 83) indicates that, in ll. 2824 and 16689, ME *tāken* is used in the sense "to accept as true or correct, to believe"; in the latter context it alliterates with ME *trouen* "to have trust," a collocation that might have a Norse model (cf. OSwe. *taka ok trōa*).

Category: B2 (and CC4c as secondary)

Related terms: <unnderrtakenn> (ME *undertāken* "to entrap, take unawares"; l. 10314).[15]

<þeþenn> (ME *thĕ̆then* "from there, thence"; ll. 1098 and 7491)

Discussion: As in the case of ME *hēthen* "hence" (on which see <heþenn>, p. 45) and *whĕ̆then* "whence" (on which see <wheþennwarrd>, p. 50), the Norse origin of this adverb is suggested by the presence of the interdental consonant (cf. OIc. *þaðan* "from there, thence," ONorw. *þeðan* id.), of uncertain origin (see Dance 2019, 2:53 and 65–66; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.vv. *heþen* and *wheþen*), as opposed to a root with *-n-*, the forms that we find in the West Germanic languages (cf. OE *þanon* "thence," besides OE *heonan* "hence" and *hwanon* "whence"). As with the other two adverbs, the attestation of ME *thēthen* is in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (*MED*, s.v. *thēthen*; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 60; Egge 1887, 117; Björkman 1900–1902, 67; *OED*, s.v. *thethen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *þeþenn*).

Category: B1c

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15 Holt (1878) also mentions <wiþþtaken> (cf. OIc. *viðtaka* or *viðrtaka* "reception, receipt") and indicates that it is attested in l. 11841, where it means "to consent" (cf. Egge 1887, 128). However, that line actually reads <takenn wiþþ>. Accordingly, *MED* (s.v. *tāken*, sense 17.a.a) lists this context in connection with the simplex verb, and Johannesson and Cooper (2023) do not include an entry for the compound verb in their glossary.

Related terms: <þeþennforþ> (ME *thĕthenforth* "from that time, thence-forth"; ll. 10786, 11180, 12930, etc.): cf. OE *þananforþ* "from that point on."

<þrifenn> (ME *thrīven* "to prosper, thrive; grow"; ll. 3182, 8973, 9112, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þrífask* "to thrive." See Dance (2019, 2:63–64); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þryue*). In all its contexts in the *Ormulum*, it collocates with ME *waxen* "to increase," a pairing associated in the main with texts from the Scandinavianized areas (cf. *MED*, s.v. *thrīven*) that Olszewska (1962, 125n1) analyzes as possibly Norse-derived on the basis of similar collocations in Old Swedish (OSwe. *trifvas and växa)*.

Category: B1 (and C4c as secondary)

Related terms: <fullþrifenn> (ME *fulthriven* "complete, perfect"; l. 5130).[16]

<þrinne> (ME *thrin* "three(fold)"; ll. 1144, 1145, 2782, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þrennr*, *þrinnr* "triple, threefold." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 105–6); Dance (2019, 2:61–62); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þrynne*).

Category: B1c

<wenġe> (ME *wing(e* "wing"; ll. 8024 and 16433)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vængr* "wing." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wynge*).

Category: B1

<wheþennwarrd> (ME *whĕthenward* "from that place, whence"; ll. 16668 and 17292)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *hvaðan* "whence." See Dance (2019, 2:65–66); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wheþen*). Cf. ME *hēthenwărd* "hence, away" (see <heþennwarrd>, p. 45).

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16 Van Vliet also included <þrifflic>, which Burchfield (1962, 103) translates as "thrifty" and associates with OIc. *þrifligr* "thrifty," on fol. 49v of London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783 as part of his word-list based on the *Ormulum*.

Category: B1c

Category C Words

<addlenn> (ME *adlen* "to earn"; ll. P151, 1504, V387, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *ǫðlask* "to win, gain as property, get for oneself." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *adill*).

Category: C3c

Related terms: <addlinnḡ> (ME *adling* "earning, that which one deserves"; l. 17711).

<aͪo̯e> (ME *aue* "fear, terror"; l. 7185)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *agi* "dread, awe." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *aghe*); cf. Dance (2019, 2:91–92).

Category: C1c

Related terms: <aͪʒefull> (ME *aueful* "awe-inspiring, terrible"; l. 7172): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *aʒefullest*); cf. Dance (2019, 2:91–92).

<ammbohht> (ME *amboht* "handmaid, servant woman"; ll. 2329, 2538, and 17140)

Discussion: While Old English records *ja*-stem nouns derived from PGmc **ambaht-* (OE *ambiht*, *embiht* "servant, disciple; service"; cf. OHG *ambahti* id.), the facts that Orrm's term, not attested elsewhere, does not show *i*-umlaut in the second element (but cf. OHG *ambaht* "servant, holder of an office; service"; cf. Kroonen 2013, s.v. **ambahta-*) and that it specifically refers to a female servant in all its uses (cf. OIc. *ambátt*, *ambótt* "handmaid, female servant" < PGmc **ambahtō-*) suggest that it is likely to be Norse-derived (Brate 1885, 32; Egge 1887, 51; Serjeantson 1935, 84; De Vries 1961, s.v. *ambátt*, *ambótt*; *OED*, s.v. *amboht*; *MED*, s.v. *amboht*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ammbohht*), but see Björkman (1900–1902, 226–27) for some skepticism. On the lack of lengthening of the initial vowel before the homorganic cluster in this term, see Fulk (1999, 203) and pp. 124–27 below.

Category: C1ac (C3c secondary)

<anḡe> (ME *ă<u>n</u>ge* "affliction, vexation; trouble"; ll. 11904, 16289, and 19809)

Discussion: The root of this noun is well attested in Old English: cf. OE *ange* (< PGmc **angu-*; cf. the adverbs MDu. *ange*, *anghe*, and OHG *ango*) and, with *i*-umlaut, OE *enge* "oppressive, narrow" (< PGmc **angwja-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **anʒuz, *anʒwjaz*). However, the grammatical category of OE *ange* and its Middle English reflex has caused some trouble to scholars. OE *ange* is only attested twice, in an impersonal construction of the type *him biþ ange* "it is distressing for him, he is anxious." While *DOE* (s.v. *ange*) classifies it as an adverb (cf. *OED*, s.v. *ange*; see also Björkman 1900–1902, 227), Bosworth and Toller (1898, s.v. *ange*) identify it as an adjective. *MED* (s.v. *ange*) agrees with the latter, as it classifies this term in similar contexts in the *Ormulum* (ll. 11904 and 19804) as a predicative adjective, while it associates its presence with the preposition ME *with* in l. 16289 with a nominal use. *OED* (s.v. *ange*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *anḡe*) classify all the examples in our text as nominal uses (cf. the etymological note in *OED*, s.v. *ange*). The main reason to identify Norse influence (cf. OIc. **anga*, pl. *ǫngur* "grief") is, therefore, the fact that OE *ange* is not attested as a noun in Old English (but cf. OE *engu* "narrowness, confined place," OHG *engī* "narrowness; distress," MLG *enge* id.), although the grammatical reinterpretation of the term (cf. "Him wæs metes micel lust," "he had a craving for food," in ÆCHom 1:5 221.129) could have easily taken place by native means (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 227; and *OED*, s.v. *ange*). The fact that the noun is otherwise only recorded in a lapidary from Peterborough (see *MED*, s.v. *ange*) could provide further circumstantial evidence in favour of Norse derivation.

Category: CC1c

<annḡrenn> (ME *angren* "to distress, trouble"; ll. 428 and 432)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *angra* "to distress, grieve, trouble." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *angirs*); cf. Dance (2019, 2:92).

Category: C1

<<u>anwherrfeddle</u>ʒʒc> (ME *ānwherrfeddleʒʒe* "single-mindedness"; ll. 11124, 14130, 14334, etc.)

Discussion: Given that this derivative is only attested in the *Ormulum*, it can be said to be one of the various terms coined by Orrm with the Norse-derived suffix ME *-leik* (see Appendix 1). The compound the suffix

is attached to does not have a direct *comparandum* in English (OE *onhwe-orfan* "to turn, change" has the prefix OE *on-*, represented by <onn-> in the text, rather than the numeral OE *ān*, as is the case in this word), but can be directly compared with OIc. *einhverfa* "to go unswervingly in one direction," as suggested by some scholars (e.g., Egge 1887, 51; and *MED*, s.v. *ānwherrfeddleȝȝe*). Accordingly, it might represent a loan-translation (cf. ME *ān* "one" and *wharven* "to change, turn," which brings together forms of the near-synonymous OE *hwearfian*, a weak verb, and *hweorfan*, a strong class III verb).

Category: CC4c

<ar> (ME *ēr* "early"; l. 6242)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *ár* "early." See Dance (2019, 2:92–93); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *are*).

Category: CC1

<arrn> (ME *bēn* "to be," pl. present form; ll. 4555 and 6849)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *eru* "are." See Dance (2019, 2:240–41); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ar*).

Category: CCC5

<asske> (ME *asshe* "ash"; ll. 1001, 3221, 3236, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *aska* "ashes." See Dance (2019, 2:146–47); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *askeȝ*).

Category: CC2

<att> (ME *at* "to," infinitive marker; ll. 2575 and 8245)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *at* "to, (in order) to." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *at*, adv.).

Category: C3c

<attbresstenn> (ME *atbresten* "to break away, escape"; l. 14734)

Discussion: This derivative is a new-formation on the basis of ME *bresten* "to break, shatter." On the likely Norse derivation of the latter (cf. OIc. *bresta* "to crack, crash; break, break loose"), see Dance (2019, 2:152); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bresteȝ*).

Category: C2c

Related terms: <tobresstenn> (ME *tŏbresten* "to break apart, burst open"; l. 16147): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *tobrest*).

<űtbresstenn> (ME *outbresten* "to escape"; l. 61).

<band> (ME *bŏnd* "fetter, shackle"; ll. 46, 61, 81, etc.)

Discussion: The term is directly related to the native strong verb OE *bindan* (> ME *bĭnden* "to bind, tie") but the root vowel suggests that it is likely to represent the Norse-derived *a*-stem noun recorded as OIc. *band* "band, fetter, cord" (< PGmc *banda-) rather than OE *bend*, a synonymous noun with *i*-umlaut (< PGmc *bandī-, *bandj-; see Orel 2005, s.vv. *banđan* and *banđjō*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. *banda-* and *bandī-). Although reflexes of the *a*-stem noun can also be found in other West Germanic languages (e.g., OFri. *band* "bond, band" and HG *bant* id.), the facts that no equivalent forms are attested in Old English,[17] and that the earliest attestations of the term are in the main (albeit not exclusively) associated with the Scandinavianized areas could also be taken as evidence in favour of Norse derivation (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 229; Serjeantson 1935, 77; Rynell 1948, 59; *OED*, s.v. *band*, n.1; Pons-Sanz 2013, 72; *MED*, s.v. *bŏnd*), *pace* Brate (1885, 32), who rejects Norse derivation on the basis of vocalic length rather than quality (on the problematic character of this argument, see pp. 124–27).

Category: C1ac

<bannke> (ME *bank(e* "natural ridge, bank"; l. 9210)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *bakki*, *banki* "bank, shore," and ODa. *banke* "hill, raising ground." See Dance (2019, 2:99); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bonk*).

Category: C1abc

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17 Kroonen (2013, s.v. *banda-) mentions OE *beand* as a reflex of this stem; however, the spelling <beand-> is only attested once in Old English, in the annal for 1079 in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, and Irvine (2004, cix) explains that in that section one can find <ea> for <e> in various contexts (cf. <suðweast> for OE *sūðwest* in the annal for 1097).

<barrliʒ> (ME *barlī* "barley"; l. 15511)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *barrliʒ*) suggest that this noun might represent OE *bærlic* with a change of suffix, or the first element might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *barr* "barley; needles or spines of a firtree"; cf. Egge 1887, 54–55) and the second element might represent ME *-liʒ*. The association of the latter with OE *-līce*, the suffix that *OED* (s.v. *barley*) posits as the likely component of the Old English noun, is discussed below, under <-liʒ> in Appendix 1. OE *bær-* has been explained in two different ways: (1) Morsbach (1896, §108.3) suggests that it might represent a by-form of the common term for "barley" in Old English (viz., the strong *i*-stem noun OE *bere*) where *i*-umlaut has not been carried through (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 31n1). While this might be an option because there is some disparity in the impact of *i*-umlaut on OE */æ/, we need to remember that the process tends to be carried through with most regularity before single or geminated consonants (see Hogg 1992, §5.80). (2) On the basis of PGmc **bariz-* (> OE *bere*) and PGmc **barza-* (> OIc. *barr*), Kroonen (2013, s.v. **bariz-*) reconstructs a primary *s*-stem *baraz for these terms (cf. Ringe 2017, 310). Given that Old Norse seems to be the only Germanic language with a reflex of an *a*-stem noun (the Mainland North Frisian forms, viz., *beer, bäär, baar*, all point to an unattested OFri. *bere; Arjen Versloot, p.c., 26/05/2022), *OED* (s.v. *barley*) suggests that OE *bærlic* might be the reflex of a syncopated form: *bærr-* < *barr-, barz-, < baroz-, bariz-*. In either case, no Norse influence can easily be postulated for the Old English term and most scholars are happy to see ME *barlī* simply as a direct reflex of OE *bærlic*, even though its attestations during the Early Middle English period are mainly, albeit not exclusively, associated with texts from the Scandianvianized areas (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *barley*; *DOE*, s.v. *bærlic*; *MED*, s.v. *barlī*; cf. the absence of the term from Brate 1885, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

Category: CCC1c

<barrn> (ME *bǎrn* "infant, child"; ll. 8040, 8044, and 19593)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *barn* "child, baby." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *barne*); see also Dance (2019, 2:339). *OED* (s.v. *bairn*) suggests that Orrm's plural form <bærn> in l. 6808 is Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *bǫrn*). However, given that Orm uses <æ> for ME /ɛː/, this form could be a reflex of a by-form of the Old English noun with lengthening before the homorganic cluster (see Hogg 1992, §5.203; Anderson and Britton 1999, 324;

and Fulk 2012, 33).[18] Lack of an inflectional suffix can also be explained through native means, as OE *bearn*, like its Germanic cognates, was a strong neuter noun (*DOE*, s.v. *bearn*).

Category: CCC5ac

<baþe> (ME *bōthe* "both"; ll. P27, P87, 250, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *báðir*. See Pons-Sanz (2013, 89–90); Dance (2019, 2:230–31); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *boþe*).

Category: C4a

<bennk> (ME *benk* "bench"; l. 15231)

Discussion: Cf. ODa. *bænk*. See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *benke*).

Category: CC2ac

Related terms: <bennkedd> (ME *benked* "furnished with benches"; l. 15231).

<bennkinnḡe> (ME *benking* "row of benches"; ll. 15232 and 15238).

<birenn> (ME *biren* "to be constrained, obliged; must"; ll. P27, P35, P49, etc.)

Discussion: These verbal forms can be directly associated with OE *(ge)byrian* "to belong, happen, occur." However, *MED* (s.v. *biren*) suggests Norse influence (cf. OIc. *byrja* "to belong to, be (someone's) due") on the basis that the forms are in the main restricted to the North Midlands and the North, and appear only in impersonal constructions (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *birenn*). Nonetheless, the Old English verb can also be found in impersonal constructions (*DOE*, s.v. *byrian*; cf. *OED*, s.v. *bir*, where there is no reference to Norse influence).

Category: CCC5c

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18 Alternation between lengthened and non-lengthened forms before homorganic clusters can seemingly be seen as well in other words (e.g., <forþ> vs. <forrþ>; e.g., ll. 93 vs. 18575).

<bisscopp> (ME *bishop* "bishop"; ll. 1022, 1027, 1070, etc.)

Discussion: Lack of palatalization of the /sk/ cluster (cf. <bisshopes> in ll. 7205 and 9494 < OE *bisceop* "bishop") can be taken as suggestive of Norse input (cf. OIc. *biskup* "bishop," ODa. *biskop* id.; see Björkman 1900–1902, 136–37; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *bisscopp*, *bisskop*), although it might also represent "fresh Latin influence" (cf. L *(e)biscopus* < L *episcopus*), as suggested by Björkman (1900–1902, 137).[19]

Category: CC2c

<blecc> (ME *blĕk* "ink," l. V427)

Discussion: *OED* (s.v. *black*, adj. and n.) and *MED* (s.v. *blĕk*) agree that this noun is likely to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *blek* "ink"). The Norse noun is itself an English loan-word (cf. OE *blæc* "black, of dark hue"), as suggested by the fact that this root is otherwise only attested in West Germanic (OIc *blakkr* "black, dun-coloured" represents PGmc **blanka-* rather than PGmc **blaka-*; see Fischer 1909, 20; Heidermanns 1993, 128–29; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **blanka-*). *OED* (s.v. *bleck*, n.), which has not been revised yet as part of the third edition, does not identify OIc. *blek* as a loan-word and derives it instead from PGmc **blakja-*; this would suggest that we are dealing with a C1 word. However, given that /e/ in the Old Icelandic word seems to represent the adaptation of OE /æ/ rather than the result of *i*-umlaut, it is more appropriate to classify the term, whose attestations during the Middle English period are in the main associated with the North and the East, in terms of phonology rather than derivational morphology.

Category: C2c

<blome> (ME *blōm* "flower, blossom"; l. 10773)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *blóm(i)* "bloom, blossom." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *blom*). On its collocation with the ME *brod* word-field in the *Ormulum*, see <brodd>, p. 15.

Category: C3ac

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19 In the case of <passke> (ME *pask(e)*), lack of palatalization can be interpreted as evidence of borrowing from post-classical Latin *pascha* (see below) and subsequent reinforcement by AN *pasche*, *pask(e)*, although *OED* (s.v. *pasch*) does not completely discount the possibility of Norse influence as far as the forms attested in the Scandinavianized areas are concerned (cp. Dance, forthcoming b).

Related terms: <blomenn> (ME *blōmen* "to bloom, flourish"; ll. 3636 and 10769). Old English records a couple of verbs meaning "to bloom, blossom" ultimately related to PGmc **blom-*, viz., OE *blōwan* (< PGmc **blōan-*), a strong class VII verb, and OE *blōs(t)mian* (< PGmc *blōztman-*), a weak class 2 verb related to OE *blōstm(a)*, the main term for "flower" in Old English (cf. Orrm's <blosstme>). Unlike other Germanic languages (cf. OHG *bluomōn* "to bloom" and OIc. *blómask* id.), Old English does not record any verb with the -*m*(*n*)- suffix but without the -*s*(*t*)- suffix (see Orel 2003, s.vv. **þloanan* and **þlōmōjanan*; Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **blōan-* and **blōman-*), which suggests that the verb is likely to have been coined on the basis of ME *blōm* (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 34; Björkman 1900–1902, 204–5; Rynell 1948, 60; *OED*, s.v. *bloom*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *blōmen*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *blomenn*). The earliest attestations of the verb in Middle English are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas, although the verb's use was relatively widespread in the late Middle English period.

<bodeword> (ME *bōdeword* "commandment"; ll. V325, 4388, 4400, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *boðorð* "message, command." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, *bodworde*).

Category: CC4c

<bone> (ME *bōn* "boon, prayer"; ll. 5237, 5355, 5356, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *bón* "petition." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bone*).

Category: C1

Related terms: <bonenn> (ME *bōnen* "to pray for something"; ll. 694, 5223, and 7465); the absence of *i*-umlaut in the root of this verb, only attested in the *Ormulum* during the Middle English period, suggests that it is probably a new-formation on the basis of ME *bōn* rather than a Norse-derived loan-word (cf. OIc. *bæna* "to pray, entreat"; cf., e.g., *OED*, s.v. *boon*, v.; *MED*, s.v. *bōnen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *bonenn*). However, Olszewska (1962, 123n6) suggests that the fact that the phrase "unnbedenn 7 unnbonedd" (l. 17081; see below, <unnbonedd>) might be based on the West Norse collocation *biðja ok bæna* could be taken as further evidence in favour of the possibility that this is a loan-word exhibiting the substitution of the unmutated stem-vowel rather than a new-formation.

<u>unnbonedd</u> (ME *unbōned* "unasked, unbidden"; l. 17081): cf. ME *bōnen*.

\<bord\> (ME *bŏrd* "table; altar"; ll. 1096, 1708, 14615, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *borð* "table." See Dance (2019, 2:194); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *borde*).

Category: CCC3

\<bracc\> (ME *brak* "sound, cry, noise"; ll. 1178, 1186, and 1233)

Discussion: De Vries (1961, s.v. *brak*), *OED* (s.v. *brack*, n.1), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *bracc*[1]) suggest that, when this noun refers to noise as opposed to breaking, it might be a Norse loan (cf. OIc. *brak* "creaking noise"). Without fully denying this possibility, Brate (1885, 35) and Björkman (1900–1902, 232) note the existence of the Old English poetic phrase *borda gebræc* "crashing of shields" as evidence in favour of the native derivation of the term, which is the position put forward by *MED* (s.v. *brak*). Indeed, OE *gebrec*, *gebræc* is well attested with the meaning "loud noise, crashing sound" (see *DOE*, s.v. *gebrec*, *gebræc*); thus, even though the noun is only attested in the *Ormulum* during the Middle English period, Norse derivation is very problematic (cf. Egge 1887, 129).

Category: CCC3c

\<bræd\> (ME *brēd* "bread"; ll. 992, 997, 1588, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *brauð* "bread." See Pons-Sanz (2017) and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bred*).

Category: CCC3a

\<brennenn\> (ME *brennen* "to burn; destroy by burning"; ll. 1000, 1086, 1620, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *brenna* "to burn." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *brenne*).

Category: C2c

\<breþre\> (ME *brōther* "brother"; ll. 6367, 8269, 8293, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *brœðr* "brothers." See Dance (2019, 2:150–51); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *breþer*).

Category: CC2bc

<brittnenn> (ME *britnen* "to divide (something) into parts"; ll. 14178, 14631, 14749, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *brjóta* "to break, damage, wreck (etc.)" and *brytja* "to chop into pieces, quarter; cut into portions and serve." See Dance (2019, 2:197–98); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *britten*).

Category: CC3c

Related terms: <tobrittnenn> (ME *tŏbritnen* "to break up, divide"; l. 9468).

<unntobrittnedd> (ME *untŏbritned* "undivided, indivisible"; l. 11179).

<broþþfall> (ME *broþþfall* "epileptic fit"; l. 15504)

Discussion: This compound, only attested in the *Ormulum*, is often explained as Norse-derived, with OIc. *brotfall* "epileptic fit" given as a *comparandum* (cf. OSwe. *brot* "epilepsy," *brutfall* id., and ODa. *fallæ i brot* "to have an epileptic fit" and *brotfælling* "epilepsy"; cf., e.g., Egge 1887, 59; Björkman 1900–1902, 232; Serjeantson 1935, 84; *OED*, s.v. *brothfall*; *MED*, s.v. *broþþ-fall*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *broþþfall*). While the presence of the fricative consonant in Orrm's term instead of the stop is difficult to account for (see Brate 1885, 35–36) and could perhaps be explained as a result of association with ME *brōth* (see <braþ>, p. 15), which could also mean "sudden," the similarity in the structure of the compound (cf. OE *brǣcsēoc* "epilepsy," *brǣccoþu* id., *fyllesēocnes* id., and *fyllewærc* id.) could be taken as an argument in favour of its Norse derivation.

Category: C4c

<bule> (ME *bōle* "bull"; ll. 990, 1292, and 1296)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *boli* "bull," ODa. *bul* id. See Dance (2019, 2:243–44); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. bullez).

Category: CCC5a

<bun> (ME *boun* "ready, prepared"; ll. 523, 2329, 2495, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *búinn* "ready, prepared." See Dance (2019, 2:195); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *boun*).

Category: C3c

<cnelenn> (ME *knelen* "to kneel"; ll. 6138, 11384, and 11392)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 61) seems to take the absence of the semivowel (cf. OE *cnēowlian* "to kneel") as indicative of Norse influence (cf. Da. *knæle* "to kneel"). However, its loss can easily be explained by association with the loss in the noun (cf. OE *cnēow* "knee"), which is already attested in Old English texts (see *DOE*, s.v. *cnēow*; cf. OFri. *kniu*, *kni*, *knē*, and MLG *knelen*). Most scholars do not assume any Norse influence for the verb, which is widely attested in Middle English (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *kneel*; *MED*, s.v. *knēlen*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *cnelenn*; cf. its absence from Brate 1885; Björkman 1900–1902; Serjeantson 1935; Rynell 1948; Dance 2003 and 2019; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019).

Category: CCC2a

Related terms: <cnelinnḡ> (ME *knēling(e* "kneeling"; ll. V117, 1451, 5526, etc.).

<come> (ME *come* "arrival, coming"; ll. P268, P374, 56, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kváma* "coming, arrival, visit" and OEN *kōma* (< *kvǫma* < *kvám*-). See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *come*).

Category: CCC2

<cosst> (ME *cost* "behaviour, manners"; l. 8056)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kostr* "condition, choice, opportunity." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 108–9); Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *cost*).

Category: C1ac

<crune> (ME *coroune* "crown"; ll. 8158 and 8180)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *krúna* "crown." See Dance (2019, 2:155); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *croun*).

Category: FCCC2a

Related terms: <crunedd> (ME *corounen* "to crown"; ll. 5462 and 7125).

<dale> (ME *dāle* "valley"; ll. 9203, 9601, 9643, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *dalr* "valley; hollow, depression (in the landscape)." See Dance (2019, 2:247–48); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *dale*).

Category: CC5ab

<deȝenn> (ME *dīen* "to die"; ll. 3743, 7775, 8090, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *deyja* "to die." See Dance (2019, 2:103–4); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *deȝe*).

Category: C1a

<derrf> (ME *derf* "bold, daring"; ll. 16780 and 19603)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *djarfr* "courageous, aggressive; heedless, impudent" (< **derfʀ*). See Dance (2019, 2:104–5); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *derf*).

Category: C1ac (and C3 as secondary)

Related terms: <derrflike> (ME *derflī* "boldly, fearlessly; fiercely, sternly"; ll. 9752 and 16196).

<dill> (ME *dil* "sluggish; foolish, stupid"; ll. 3714 and 9885)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *dylja* "to keep in ignorance, conceal." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *dylle*).

Category: CCC5c

<draᶣȝenn> (ME *drauen* "to delay"; l. 9939)

Discussion: Olszewska (1962, 113–15) suggests that the meaning "to put off, delay" for ME *drauen* in the alliterative expression "Þatt aniȝ sholllde dwellenn / Ne draȝhenn nohht fra daȝȝ to daȝȝ" (ll. 9938–39; "that anyone should delay or put off from one day to another…") should be considered Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *draga (undan)* "to delay," as well as the combinations of OIc. *dvelja* and *draga*, and their nominal counterparts OIc. *dvǫl* and *dráttr*) because ME *drauen* (unlike ME *dwellen*) is not often attested with this meaning. She notes, however, that we do find the relevant meaning for ME *drauen* in *Seinte Iuliene*, where we are told that the saint's heathen suitor complained to her father that she "droh him from deie to deie." Olszewska points out that the text's editor also suggests that this meaning might be Norse-derived (d"Ardenne 1936, s.v. *drahen*). *MED* (s.v. *drauen*, sense 1.g.e) records this meaning in other Middle English texts, mainly, albeit not exclusively, from the Scandinavianized areas (including *Cleanness* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*). Dance (2019, 2:439) notes that *MED* (s.v. *drauen*) also mentions the Norse verb as a *comparandum* but "does not appear to be claiming ON input into the development of any particular ME forms or usages"; consequently,

he does not discuss this term in any detail (it is not discussed by Dance 2003; or Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019).

Category: CC3c

<drunncnenn> (ME *dronknen* "to drown (in sin)"; ll. 6795, 8594, 14570, etc.)

Discussion: Brate (1885, 39) and Egge (1887, 64–65 and 102) would like to interpret the meaning "to drown" for this verb as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *drukna* "to be drown" < *drukkna* < *drunkna*, cf. OSwe. *drunkna*) on the basis that the main meaning of its cognate, OE *druncnian*, is "to be or get drunk." The English and Norse verbs are formed on PGmc *drunkan-*, the base of the participial forms OIc. *drukkinn* "drunk(en)" (cf. OIc. *drekka* "to drink") and OE *druncen* "drunken" (cf. OE *drincan*). Even though the meaning "to drown" for OE *druncnian* is first attested in Aldred's glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels, which include a significant number of Norse-derived terms (see Pons-Sanz 2000 and 2013), OE *drincan* meant not only "to drink" but also "to sink, drown" (see *DOE*, s.vv. *drincan* and *druncnian, druncian*) and West Germanic cognates of OE *druncnian* also have the meaning "to drown" (cf. OHG *trunkanōn* "to sink, drown"). The Middle English attestations of the verb with this meaning are in the main, albeit not exclusively, associated with the Scandinavianized areas (see *MED*, s.v. *dronknen*, senses 1 and 2); *OED* (s.v. *drunken*, v.1) does not record any post-medieval attestations of the verb. On the basis of the extant evidence, most scholars prefer a native derivation for this meaning (cf. Rynell 1948, 14; De Vries 1961, s.v. *drukkinn*; Holthausen 1963, s.v. *druncnian*; Orel 2003, s.v. **đrunkanōjanan*; *OED*, s.v. *drunken*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *dronknen*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *drunncnenn*).

Category: CCC3ac

Related terms: <drunncninnḡ> (ME *druncning* "drowning"; l. 14547).

<offdrunncnenn> (ME *ofdruncnen* "to drown; wash away"; ll. 6793, 14611, and 14852).

<dwellenn> (ME *dwellen* "to procrastinate, delay; abide or continue for a time in a place"; ll. 226, 5576, 9938, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *dvelja* "to keep/hold back, detain, impede; delay; hesitate; stay, dwell (etc.)." See Dance (2019, 2:201); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *dowelle*).

Category: CC3

<efennric> (ME *ēvenrike* "equally powerful"; l. 11868)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *efennric*) suggest that this compound is made up of OE *efen* "even, equal" and the Viking-Age Norse adjective represented by OIc. *ríkr* "mighty, powerful." If this etymological explanation were accepted, one might want to consider as well the equivalent compound OIc. *jafnríkr* "equally mighty." However, a comparable compound is also attested in Old English (OE *efnríce*). Moreover, as already noted by Brate (1885, 17 and 39), the presence of a velar rather than the expected palatal consonant in the head (cf. OE *ríce* "powerful, mighty," represented as <riche> in the *Ormulum*) could be explained by native means as a result of intraparadigmatic variation, although Norse influence cannot be completely ruled out, given that <k>-spellings for the adjective are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (cf. *OED*, s.v. *riche*, n.; and *MED*, s.v. *rǐche*, adj.; cf. also Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *muckel*).

Category: CC2c (and CCC4)

<effnenn> (ME *ěvenen* "to make equal in rank; to compare"; ll. 1206 and 15979)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *jafnask* "to compare oneself, to be equal to, call oneself a match for another." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *euen*).

Category: CCC3

<eɡ̄ɡenn> (ME *eggen* "to egg, urge on, incite"; ll. 11683, 11819, 11842, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *eggja* "to sharpen; egg on, goad, incite." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *eggyng*).

Category: C2 (and C3 as secondary)

Related terms: <eɡ̄ɡinnɡ̄> (ME *egging* "urging, incitement, encouragement"; l. 11675).

<ehhtennde> (ME *eightend* "eighth"; ll. 543, 617, 4196, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *áttandi* "eighth." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *aʒtand*).

Category: C2ac

<ẹrl> (ME ě̆rl "any noble ranking below emperor, king, prince, or duke"; l. 3989)

Discussion: Semantic influence from the Norse cognate of OE *eorl* (cf. OIc. *jarl*) is normally accepted in order to account for the uses of the term during the Anglo-Scandinavian period to refer to a Scandinavian nobleman, with a rank below the king, holding power in the Danelaw (initially) or beyond, particularly during Cnut's reign, when the term became fully equivalent to OE *ealdormann* "chief officer of a shire" (for a detailed discussion, see Pons-Sanz 2007a, 176–81; and 2013, 80–81 and 213–15). The use of the term to refer to a post-Conquest nobleman, equivalent to a count or duke, can be seen as a further generalization of the Norse-derived sense, triggered by the adaptation of the term to the feudal hierarchy that developed in England under Norman rule (see Crouch 1992, 41–75; and 2011, 40–48). When it comes to the more general sense of the term, as is the case in this context, where it refers to a nobleman without an indication of rank or title (*OED*, s.v. *earl*, n.1, sense 3.a; and *MED*, s.v. *erl*, sense 1.a), the situation is not as clear, for this meaning could be considered together with the semantic widening of the Norse-derived sense (cf. Lutz 2019, 24) or it could simply be associated with one of the original meanings of the Old English term, viz., "man of noble birth or rank" (see Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ẹrl*; cf. Egge 1887, 66–69; *OED*, s.v. *earl*, n.1, sense 1.a; and Dance 2003, 419).

Category: CC3

<fannḡenn> (ME fǒ̆ngen "to receive"; l. 10799)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *fanga* "to fetch, capture." See Dance (2019, 2:107–8); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *fonge*).

Category: CCC1ac

Related terms: <onnfannḡenn> (ME *onfǒ̆ngen* "to receive"; ll. 6353, 12661, and 16571): cf. OE *onfōn* "to get, receive."

<unnderrfannḡenn> (ME *underfōngen* "to receive, accept"; ll. 1647, 4055, 11112, etc.): cf. OE *underfōn* "to receive, have given, get"; see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *vndirfangid*).

<fasste> (ME *faste(n* "voluntary abstinence from food and drink"; ll. 5943, 11330, 11333, etc.)

Discussion: Old English records a noun meaning "fast," viz., OE *fæsten*, which, like its cognates (e.g., OS *fastunn* "fasting," MDu. *vastene* "religious fasting; period of fasting, Lent", etc.), derives from the same root as OE *fæstan* "to fast" (viz., PGmc **fast-*) and includes a suffix that might represent a zero grade variant of the Proto-Indo-European suffix represented by L *-men*, i.e., PGmc **-mn-* (see *OED*, s.v. *fasten*, n.; Orel 2003, s.v. **fastēnan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **fastu-*). Forms without the suffix might therefore be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *fasta* "fasting"; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 40; Egge 1887, 69–70; Björkman 1900–1902, 236–37; *OED*, s.v. *fast*, n.1; *MED*, s.v. *faste(n*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *fasste¹*, etc.). When deciding on the etymology of this form, it is important to consider that *OED* (s.v. *fast*, n.1) explains that Old English *does* attest some forms without the suffix but might represent a spelling mistake or a verbal past form. The suffix-less forms are fairly widespread by the Early Middle English period (see *MED*, s.v. *faste(n*) and other West Germanic languages also attest suffix-less nouns (cf. OS *fasta* "fasting" and OHG *fasta* "fast, parsimony"; see Orel 2003, s.v. **fastōn*).

Category: CC1a

<fasstenn> (ME *fasten* "to fast, abstain from food"; ll. 11326, 11327, 11408, etc.)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.vv. *fasstenn* and *fasstinnḡ*) suggest that this verb and its derivative have been coined on the noun represented by Orrm's <fasste> (see above). There is no reason, however, not to assume that the verb is a reflex of OE *fæstan* "to fast" (cf. *OED*, s.v. *fast*, v.2; *MED*, s.v. *fasten*, v.2) and, indeed, neither this verb nor ME *fasting(e* is discussed by Brate (1885), Björkman (1900–1902), Serjeantson (1935), or Rynell (1948).

Category: CCC1

Related terms: <fasstinnḡ> (ME *fasting(e* "voluntary abstinence from food"; ll. V116, 1450, 1616, etc.).

<fére> (ME *fēre* "power, sufficiency, ability"; ll. 1251, 4429, and 6135)

Discussion: This noun, recorded only in the *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi* (where it has the close meaning "(good) health"), and the related adjective ME *fēre* "strong, healthy" are often considered to be Norse-derived

(cf. OIc. *fœri* "capacity, ability" and *fœrr* "able, capable, strong; fit for use, safe") on the basis that the Old English homonyms *gefēre* "companion," *gefēre* "companionship, community," and *gefēre* "easy of access, passable" have a different meaning (cf. Brate 1885, 40; Egge 1887, 70–71; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *færa*; *OED*, s.vv. *fere*, adj., and *fere*, n.3; *MED*, s.vv. *fēre*, adj., and *fēre*, n.3; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *fére*). All these terms are ultimately related to PGmc **fōri-*, an ablaut variant of PGmc **faran-*, the root of a well-attested strong verb (e.g., OE *faran* "to go, proceed; happen"). The main reason to assume Norse input seems to be the difference in meaning between the Old and Middle English terms; however, the presumed semantic gap might not be as significant when one considers that OE *gefēre* "companion" implies an active meaning, referring to one who has the ability to travel, and that Old English also records the adjective *unfēre* "infirm, feeble." Accordingly, the terms' Norse derivation has also been problematized (e.g., Björkman 1900–1902, 237; and Pons-Sanz 2013, 436–37). Cf. Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *fere* (1)); cf. also Dance (2019, 2:354–55).

Category: CC3c

<fesstnenn> (ME *fastnen* "to strengthen; fix or keep (in mind); to join or unite (in marriage)"; ll. P325, P331, 1718, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *fastna* "to pledge." See Dance (2019, 2:156–57); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.vv. *fest* and *festnen*).

Category: CC2c

<firrste> (ME *first* "first"; ll. P100, P444, 293, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 70–71) suggests that the increasing frequency with which ME *first* is used as an ordinal numeral might be, at least to some extent, attributable to Norse influence (cf. OIc. *fyrstr* "first"). After all, the most common terms used to express this concept in Old English were forms derived from bases meaning "early" (OE *ærest*) or "front" (OE *forma*; cf. Mengden 2010, 119–22; and the entries for these words, as well as OE *fyrst*, adj., and *fyrst*, adv., in *DOE*), while the Late Old English / earliest Middle English uses of the adjective and the related adverb (see below, <firrst>) are often, although not solely, associated with the Scandinavianized areas (including the *Peterborough Chronicle*). This suggestion is, however, not shared by many scholars (cf. the absence of the term from Brate 1885; Björkman 1900–1902; Serjeantson 1935; Dance

2019; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019) and *OED* (s.v. *first*, adj., adv., and n.2) suggests that this pattern might simply represent differences in dialectal distribution during the Old English period that are otherwise not visible because of the lack of textual witnesses.

Category: CCC5

Related terms: <firrst> (ME *first* "first"; ll. 471, 499, 4011, etc.).

<fissc> (ME *fish* "fish," l. 13297)

Discussion: In spite of lack of palatalization of the /sk/ cluster, the Norse derivation of this noun and the related verb <fisskenn> (see below), which are only spelt with <sk> in the *Ormulum*, has long been questioned (e.g., Brate 1885, 24 §25, and 40; cf. <asske>, p. 52; see also Egge 1887, 129). Björkman (1900–1902, 137) suggests that the presence of the velar sound might have been influenced by metathesized forms with /ks/, which appear to have been somewhat common in Old and Middle English, particularly as far as the noun is concerned (cf. *DOE*, s.vv. *fisc* and *fiscian*; and *MED*, s.v. *fish*). However, given the dialectal distribution of the forms, Norse influence cannot be completely ruled out (cf. OIc. *fiskr* "fish" and *fisk(j)a* "to fish"). See *MED* (s.v. *fishen*) and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.vv. *fisskenn* and *fissc*).

Category: CC2c

Related terms: <fisskenn> (ME *fishen* "to fish"; ll. 13292 and 13297).

<flærd> (ME *flērd* "falsehood, deceit"; ll. V65, V175, 7334, etc.)

Discussion: As part of her discussion of the redundant collocation ME *fals and flērd* "deceit" (cf. ME *fals* "deceit, fraud" < OE *fals* id. < L *falsum* id.), Olszewska (1962, 116–17) suggests that ME *flērd* might represent a Norse-derived semantic loan (cf. OIc. *flærð* "falsehood, deceit"), for the OE *fleard* word-field (which comprises the noun as well as OE *gefleard, fleardere*, and *fleardian*) is associated with folly and acting foolishly, rather than with deceit (see the entries for these terms in *DOE*; cf. also Egge 1887, 71). Notably, in a set of glosses to Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, OE *fleard* appears as part of a gloss with multiple Latin terms and Old English interpretamenta: *colludio fraude ł deceptione ł obprobrio getwance flearde* (AldV 1 (Goossens) 1531). Like Olszewska, *DOE* (s.v. *fleard*) suggests that *flearde* here glosses L *colludium* "wanton amusement." The facts that the Middle English noun is only recorded in texts from Scandinavianized

areas (see *MED*, s.v. *flērd*) and that it appears in a collocation uncommon in English but fairly common in (late) Scandinavian texts (cf. Norw. *fals ok/eða flærð*) might also support Norse derivation. However, as Björkman (1900–1902, 160) points out, it might be the case that OE *fleard* in the Adlhelmian context glosses L *fraus* "cheating, deceit, fraud," *deceptio* "deception, deceitfulness," or *opprobrium* "dishonour, reproach" rather than L *colludium*,[20] and Olszewska does mention the possibility that the collocation under consideration, as well as ME *fox and flērd* (recorded in the *Bestiary*; cf. OIc. *fox ne flærð*) as a reference to a deceiver, might have originated in English. Neither Brate (1885), *OED* (s.v. *flerd*), *MED* (s.v. *flērd*), or Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *flærd*) suggest that the meaning of this noun is Norse-derived, and Dance (forthcoming b) explicitly expresses his belief in a native derivation.

Category: CCC3c (and CC4c as secondary)

\<flittenn\> (ME *flitten* "to carry, transfer, remove; change, alter; go, direct one's course, depart; deviate"; ll. P195, V381, 2082, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *flytja* "to cause to flit, carry" and *flytjask* "to flit, migrate." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *flytt*). See Olszewska (1962, 118–19) for a suggestion that the verb's alliterative use with *faren* in l. P195 might have been influenced by the fact that *flytjask* and *fara* often collocate in Old West Norse texts.

Category: C1 (and CC4c as secondary)

Related terms: \<flittinnḡ\> (ME *flitting* "a going, movement"; ll. 10781, 13397, and 18028).

\<forrhunnḡrenn\> (ME *forhongred* "extremely hungry"; ll. 5679, 11567, 11579, etc.)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *forrhunnḡrenn*) explain this verb as a new-formation with ME *for-* and the Norse verb represented by OIc. *hungra* "to hunger." Although no explanation is given, this suggestion might depend on the fact that, while the Norse verb is a weak class 2 verb and, therefore, does not exhibit the effects of *i*-umlaut, OE *hyngrian* is a weak class 1 verb, with the concomitant *i*-umlauted root vowel (Orel 2003 gives their roots as *xunʒrojanan and *xunʒrjanan,

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20 Björkman (1904, 169) suggests that the Norse noun might be an Old English loan itself; however, this suggestion is rejected by De Vries (1963, s.v. *flærð*).

respectively). However, the non-umlauted forms, which are not restricted to Scandinavianized areas, can be explained by association with OE *hungor* > ME *hunger* "hunger," the nominal base of the verb. Indeed, most scholars do not consider Orrm's form to exhibit Norse influence (cf. *OED*, s.vv. *forhunger* and *hunger*, v.; *MED*, s.vv. *forhongred* and *hungren*; and its absence from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

Category: CCC1

<u>forrt</u> ("quickly, immediately"; l. 8415)

Discussion: This term, which Burchfield (1956, 62) explains as representing an adverbial extension of PGmc **for-* (cp. OE *for*), viz. PGmc **forþa* (cp. OE *forþ* "forth, forward"), is only attested in the *Ormulum* and this leads Holt (1878) to emend it to <forr> (ME *for* "for"). This might be the reason why it is not recorded either in *OED* or *MED*. Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *forrt*), however, retain the reading and suggest that the term is a loan from Continental Germanic (cp. MLG *vort* "immediately," MDu. *fort* id.). Here they follow Burchfield (1956, 62–63), who explains that, while a Low German origin for the term might be "inevitable," there is a "slight chance" that the term might have been borrowed from the Viking Age Norse equivalent to OIc. *forr* "fierce, raging." This explanation, however, needs to account for the fact that the Norse term is not recorded in an adverbial form with the relevant meaning "quickly; forth on" (Burchfield 1956, 64).

Category: CCC1c

<fra> (ME *from* "from"; ll. P193, P197, P314, etc.)

Discussion: Nasal-less forms of the preposition are classified as clearly Norse-derived (A1*c; cf. OIc. *frá* "from") by Dance (2019, 2:7–8); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *fro*, prep.). The reason for this classification is that the common loss of the final nasal in unstressed words before a word starting in a consonant cannot easily account for the relevant forms in the texts included in the *Gersum* Project (e.g., the prepositions *in* and *on* appear before both vowels and consonants; cf. Dance 2019, 1:107). However, the situation is not as clear in the *Ormulum*. In this text, prepositional forms with and without a nasal alternate according to whether they are followed by a vowel or a consonant, respectively (cf., e.g., "broþerr min i crisstenndom" in l. P3 and "o þe þride wise" in l.

P6 vs. "Inn all þe ʒer att messe" in l. P32 and "upp onn all þiss boc" in l. P.69; cf. Jordan 1974, §172; and Cooper and Åberg, forthcoming; cf. the alternation between ME *tō* and *til*, on which see <till>, p. 97). However, this alternation is not equally visible with the preposition under discussion here, to a large extent because in all the contexts where it appears in the text it is followed by a consonant or the proper noun <iezabel> (l. V3; cf. PDE Jezabel), where the initial sound is unlikely to have been fully vocalic.[21] Nonetheless, notably, while full forms of the prepositions ME *in* and *on* tend to appear in line-final position, regardless of whether the next line starts with a vowel (e.g., ll. 1076 and 2171) or a consonant (e.g., ll. 6464, 6932, and 7716), only nasal-less forms of the preposition under consideration here appear in this context (ll. 8125, 18656, and 19606, always followed by a consonant in the next line). This suggests that, for this preposition and in this text, the absence of the nasal can be taken as indicative of Norse derivation, even if that indication is not as strong as in the *Gersum* corpus (cf. Pons-Sanz 2013, 65–67).

Category: C2c

Related terms: <frawarrd> (ME *frōward* "(away) from"; ll. 4672, 6607, 14199, etc.): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *fraward*).

<fraʒʒnenn> (ME *frainen* "to inquire"; ll. V41, 2199, 2292, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *fregna* "to ask; to hear, be informed." See Dance (2019, 2:108–9); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *frayn*).

Category: CCC1c

<frame> (ME *frāme* "advantage, benefit, profit"; ll. P18, V277, 961, etc.)

Discussion: Björkman (1900–1902, 239) includes this term, whose early attestations are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas (see *MED*, s.v. *frāme*, n.2), amongst those that are "possibly borrowed from Scandinavian" on the basis that it might have derived its meaning from the Norse term represented by OIc. *frami* "advancement, esp. distinction, renown, fame"). *MED* (s.v. *frāme*) also interprets the noun as Norse-derived. However, alternative explanations are also available: Brate (1885, 42) prefers to associate it with OE *fremu* "profit, advantage,

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[21] Cf. the presence of nasal-less forms of the preposition ME *in* in front of words such as <iesu> (l. 16149), <iohan> (l. 12866), <iudea> (e.g., l. 6880), and <iudisskenn> (l. 8623).

benefit" (cf. OFri. *fremo* id.), a suggestion followed by *OED* (s.v. *frame*, n. and adj.2), which posits a possible unattested Mercian variant of OE *fremu* (viz., **freamu*), although it also hypothesizes the existence of OE **framu* (cf. Egge 1887, 74; Dance 2003, 394; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *frame*). The latter would be a direct cognate of the Old Icelandic noun as well as MDu. *vrāme*, *vraem* "advantage, benefit, profit, good fortune" and MLG *vrāme*, *vrām* id., and would share the same root as the adjective OE *fram* "excellent, splendid; brave, bold" (viz., PGmc **fram-*; cf. Orel 2003, s.v. **framaz*; and Boutkan and Siebinga 2005, s.v. *forma*). The etymology of the noun remains unclear.

Category: CCC1ac

<fresst> (ME *first* "time, period"; ll. 261, 481, V231, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *frest* "delay." Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *fryst*) discuss the possibility of Norse derivation of this word-field on the basis of absence of metathesis (and dialectal distribution), but don't focus on the root vowel (cf. OE *fyrst*, *first* "space of time, period") because the form in the *Gersum* corpus exhibits a high vowel (cf. Dance 2003, 403). Although Old English texts do attest some forms with <e> in the root (all with metathesis), the root vowel of the noun seems to have been in the main a high vowel. Orel (2003, s.v. **frestan*, **frestaz*) accounts for the presence of <i> in various West Germanic forms (e.g., OFri. *frist* "respite", OS *frist*, *first* id.) by suggesting that they might represent an *i*-stem (i.e., PGmc **fresti-*) rather than an *a*-stem noun (as is the case with the Norse term) because this would explain the raising of **/e/ to /i/ (see Fulk 2018, §4.4).

Category: CC2c (and CC1 as secondary)

<frosst> (ME *frost* "a chill"; l. 12655)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 75) and Björkman (1900–1902, 184) suggest that lack of metathesis in this noun could be taken as indicative of Norse influence (cf. OIc. *frost* "frost"). However, OE *forst* is also recorded with non-metathesized forms, both early (e.g., the Épinal Glossary: EpGl (Pheifer) 345)) and late (e.g., Edwine's Canterbury Psalter: PsGl (Harsley) 77.47; see *DOE*, s.v. *forst*), and, as such, other scholars are happy to see the Middle English forms as a direct reflex of the Old English term (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *frost*, n.; *MED*, s.v. *frost*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *frosst*; cf. its absence from Serjeantson 1935 and Rynell 1948). Non-

metathesized forms in Early Middle English are not particularly common but they are, in the main, associated with northern and eastern texts; these forms are more broadly attested during the Late Middle English period. It might be the case that the presence of Scandinavian forms simply contributed to an increase in the frequency of the non-metathesized forms.

Category: CCC2c (and CC5c as secondary)

<ḡenḡe> (ME *ginge* "army; body of retainers; gathering of people, company"; ll. 534, V10, 3918, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *gengi* "good luck, success; help, support; troop." See Dance (2019, 2:109–10); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gyng*).

Category: CC1c

Related terms: <ḡenḡenn> (ME *gēngen* "to assist, guide, help"; ll. 3128, 3132, 4160, etc.): when ME *gēngen* means "to go, walk," it can easily be interpreted as the direct reflex of OE *gengan* "to go, walk, circulate." However, the *Ormulum* is the only text where the verb means "to assist, guide, help," according to *MED* (s.v. *gēngen*). Old English records a large number of terms associated with PGmc **gang-* (cf. OE *-genga*, *-genge* "goer," *gegenga* "companion," *genge* "latrine," etc.). Nonetheless, they refer to movement rather than helpfulness (a possible exception is OE *gegenge* "appropriate, agreeable" > ME *genge* "current, prevalent; effective, successful") while the Norse noun represented by OIc. *gengi* has both meanings. In that respect, it might be the case that this meaning of the verb in the *Ormulum* has been influenced by ME *ginge* (see above, <ḡenḡe>), as suggested by *MED* (s.v. *gēngen*), or that the verb is a new-formation on the basis of the noun, and thus is homonymous with ME *gēngen* "to go, walk," as analyzed by Egge (1887, 77), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ḡenḡenn*). Norse influence is, however, not always considered: Brate (1885, 43) rejects it on the basis of the apparent lengthening of the vowel (cf. <ḡenḡe>; see pp. 124–27 for the problems of this approach), Björkman (1900–1902) does not discuss this term, and *OED* (s.v. *geng*) simply refers to the Old English verb in its etymological explanation. Given the extant evidence, this term would be classified as CC3c.

<ḡolike> (ME *gōlīke* "gay, joyful?; lustful?; pretty, fine, splendid?"; ll. 15662 and 15665)

Discussion: The lack of the dental consonant in this adjective (cf. ME *gōdlī* "excellent, good" < OE *gōdlīc* id., MLG *gōtlīk* id., OS *gōdlīk* id.) and the fact that it is only recorded in the *Ormulum* can be taken as suggestive of Norse derivation (cf. OIc. *góligr* "fine, pretty," probably from *góðligr*; cf. Brate 1885, 44; Egge 1887, 78; *OED*, s.v. *golik*; Pons-Sanz 2015a; *MED*, s.v. *gōlīke*; and Dance, forthcoming b). The absence of palatalization in the suffix could be the result of Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact (cf. OIc. -*líkr*) but might better be attributed to the existence of non-palatalized forms in the comparative and superlative degrees of the native suffix (OE -*licra*, -*licost*; cf. Dance 2019, 2:164; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *lyke*, adj, n.). Given that we are dealing with a hapax legomenon, its meaning is not beyond doubt, hence the question marks above; see further Pons-Sanz (2015a, 567–70).

Category: C2c

<ḡreȝȝfe> (ME *greive* "steward, headman of town"; l. 18370)

Discussion: The presence of the diphthong (cf. ME *rēve* "officer of the king" < OE *gerēfa*) is often taken as suggestive of Norse derivation (cf. OIc. *greifi* "governor of town; earl, count," OSwe. *grēve* "proconsul, count," ODa. *grēve* id.; cf. Brate 1885, 44; Egge 1887, 79–80; Björkman 1900–1902, 43; De Vries 1961, s.v. *greifi*; *OED*, s.v. *grave*, n.3; *MED*, s.v. *greive*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡreȝȝfe*). The Norse term is itself, however, identified as a loan-word from Low German (cf. MLG *grēve* "count," as well as OIc. *margreifi* "margrave, marquis, count" and MLG *margrēve* id.), where the diphthong has been substituted for the original vowel (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 43; Fischer 1909, 30; De Vries 1961, s.v. *greifi*). Had the term been borrowed directly into English, we would not have expected the same vocalic substitution (cf. EModE *grave* for a foreign title < MDu. *grave*; see *OED*, s.v. *grave*, n.4). The strong medieval association of the term with the Scandinavianized areas can also be taken as circumstantial evidence in favour of Norse origin.

Category: C2ac

<ḡress> (cf. ME *gras* "plant, herb"; ll. 8193 and 15468)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *-gresi*, as in *illgresi* "weed." See Dance (2019, 2:113–14); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gres*).

Category: CC1ac

Related terms: <ḡresshoppe> (cf. ME *grashoppe* "locust"; l. 9224): the compound might have the noun discussed above as its first component (cf. ODa. *gresshoppe*; cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡresshoppe*). Notably, though, OE *gærshoppa*, *græshoppa* is very often attested with <e>, both with and without metathesis (see *DOE*, s.v. *gærshoppa, græshoppa*), and this is reflected by the Middle English records, where <e> is similarly dominant (cf. *MED*, s.v. *grashoppe*; see also *OED*, s.v. *grasshop* for a native derivation of the term).

<ʒemsle> (ME *yēmsle* "care, keeping"; l. 5095)

Discussion: This noun, which in Middle English is only attested in the *Ormulum* but also appears in fifteenth-century Scots documents (see *OED*, s.v. *yemsel*; and *MED*, s.v. *yēmsle*), is generally considered to be a Norse-derived loan-blend (besides the entries in *OED* and *MED*, see further Brate 1885, 65–66; Egge 1887, 128; Rynell 1948, 60n15; De Vries 1961, s.v. *geyma*; Kries 2003, 335; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ʒemsle*): ME *yēmen* "to keep, protect, take care" (< OE *gȳman*; cf. Orrm's <ʒemenn>) has been substituted in the root of the Old Norse term represented by OIc. *geymsla* "guardianship, watch" (cf. OIc. *geyma* "to watch, observe"). The term, however, retains the Norse suffix *-sla*, which, like its Old English cognate *-els* (< PGmc *-islo-*), forms deverbal nouns (cf. OE *gȳmnes* "care; guardianship"; see *OED*, s.v. *-els*; and Kries 2003, 398).

Category: C1c

<ʒol> (ME *yōl* "December"; ll. 1910 and 1915)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *jól* "Yule, Christmas." See Dance (2019, 2:158–60); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ʒol*).

Category: CC2c

Related terms: <ʒolldaʒʒ> (ME *yōldai* "Christmas day, 25th December"; ll. 11063 and 11064). The term might represent a Norse-derived loan-blend (cf. OIc. *jóladagr*) or a new-formation in English on the basis of other compounds with OE *-dæg* > ME *-dai*, including OE *geohholdæg* "Yule-day."

\<hallf ferþe\> (ME *fērthe half* "three and a half"; ll. 8621 and 13777)

Discussion: Given that the collocation in Old English for "three and a half" and equivalent expressions tends to place OE *healf* after the ordinal number (cf. OE *feorþe healf*; see *DOE*, s.vv. *fēorþa*, sense 1.e.ii; and *healf*, adj., sense 2.c.i; cf. G *anderthalb*, *dritte halb*, etc.), the phrase with the inverse order, also recorded in *Cursor Mundi* (*MED*, s.v. *fērthe*, sense 1e; cf. *MED*, s.v. *thrid*, sense 1.b.a), might represent Norse influence (cf. OIc. *hálfr fjórði*; see Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, s.v. *hálfr*, sense II; cf. White 1852, lxxviiin4; and Egge 1887, 81–82). This order is already attested in late Old English texts, but all of them come from the Scandinavianized areas and most of them record other Norse-derived terms (see Pons-Sanz 2013; and *DOE*, s.v. *healf*, adj., sense 2.c.i). However, not all scholars think that Norse influence is necessary to explain this structure (cf. *OED*, s.v. *half*, adj., sense 2, where we are told that it became obsolete soon after 1300; and *MED*, s.vv. *fērthe* and *thrid*).

Category: CC4c

\<hanndfessten\> (ME *hǒndfesten* "to betroth"; l. 2389)

Discussion: This compound is often considered to be Norse-derived or to show, at the very least, some Norse influence (cf. OIc. *handfesta* "to strike a bargain by shaking hands, to pledge, to betroth" and *handfestr* "striking a bargain by joining hands"; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 45; Egge 1887, 82; Björkman 1900–1902, 242; Carr 1921, 29; *OED*, s.vv. *fast*, v.1, and *handfast*; Dance 2003, 426–27; *MED*, s.v. *hǒndfesten*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *handfessten*; on \<hannd\>, see p. 128). There are two main reasons to suggest Norse influence for this verb, whose earliest attestations are already fairly geographically spread (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 497; and *MED*, s.v. *hǒndfesten*). On the one hand, we would have expected the reflex of the root vowel in the determinatum to be /a/ rather than /e/ (cf. OE *fæstan* "to confirm"). While the presence of /e/ could be explained as a result of the common change ME /a/ > /e/ when followed by /s/ + another consonant (Morsbach 1896, §87, Anm. 2; Dance 2019, 2:148; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *fest*), the common presence of \<e\> in this verb in the texts associated with the Scandinavianized areas as opposed to \<æ\> or \<a\> elsewhere could represent Norse influence. On the other hand, the specific association with the concept of betrothal could be taken as semantic influence, for the other forms attested in the Germanic languages refer more generally to the joining of hands to seal a contract or a bond (cf. OE *handfæstnung* "joining of hands to seal a con-

tract or bond; ratification," OHG *hantfesti* id., and MLG and MDu. *hand-veste* id.). Nonetheless, as noted by Pons-Sanz (2013, 497), the process of semantic specialization could also have taken place by fully native means.

Category: CC2c (and CC3 as secondary)

\<hennḡenn\> (ME *hŏngen* "to suspend"; ll. 1018, 1677, 9952, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *hengja* "to hang." See Dance (2019, 2:118–19); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *henge*).

Category: CC1ac

Related terms: \<bihennḡenn\> (ME *bihōn*, *bihŏngen* "to attire, adorn"; ll. V370 and 951).

\<herrberrȝ̥e\> (ME *herberwe* "temporary dwelling place, lodgings"; l. 6167)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *herbergi* "harbour; inn; closet, room." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 446); Dance (2019, 2:233–34); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *herber*, n.).

Category: CCC4a

Related terms: \<herrberrȝ̥elæs\> (ME *herberwelēs* "without lodgings, shelterless"; l. 6166).

\<hof\> (ME *hōf* "moderation, discretion"; ll. 4742 and 6104)

Discussion: This noun is often considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *hóf* "moderation, measure"; see, e.g., Brate 1885, 46; Egge 1887, 83; Björkman 1900–1902, 214; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *hóf 1*; *OED*, s.v. *hove, hof*, n.2; *MED*, s.v. *hōf*, n.2). The main reasons behind this etymological explanation, besides the fact that its attestations are restricted to Middle English texts from Scandinavianized areas (see *MED*, s.v. *hōf*, n.2), are that the only Old English *comparandum* (viz., OE *behōf*) is always attested with the prefix *be-* and it meant "need; poverty; use, benefit" (cf. ME *bihōve* "benefit, use, advantage," OFri. *bihōf* id., MLG *behōf* id.). The Middle English form could be analyzed as a clipped form (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *hof*, where the noun is translated as "need"), which would make the semantic difference between the Old and Middle English terms the key factor (cf., however, Go. *gahōbains* "temperance"; on the possibility that these forms exhibit the merger of two roots originally meaning "befitting" and "necessarily," respectively, see

Heidermanns 1993, 287–88). Interestingly, Orrm's uncommon prepositional phrase <att hof> finds a *comparandum* in OIc. *at hófe* "in moderation" (cf. OE *mid gemete / gemetgunge* "in moderation").

Category: CC3c (and CC4c as secondary)

Related terms: <hofelæs> (ME *hōflēs* "immoderate, unreasonable," *att* ~ "excessively"; l. 6224): this adjective could represent a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *hóflauss* "immoderate, boundless") or a new-formation in English (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 46; Egge 1887, 83; Björkman 1900–1902, 214; *OED*, s.v. *hofles*; Dance 2003, 360; and *MED*, s.v. *hōflēs*). In keeping with their analysis of ME *hōf*, Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *hofelæs*) translate the term instead as "lack of need" and do not posit any Norse influence.

<u>immess</u> (ME *immess* "variously, differently"; l. 11510)

Discussion: This hapax legomenon is always interpreted as Norse-derived and associated with the adjective represented by OIc. *ýmiss* "various, alternate" (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 46; Egge 1887, 84; Björkman 1900–1902, 214; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *ýmiss, ímiss*; *MED*, s.v. *immess*). The root of the Norse adjective can be associated with various other Germanic terms: e.g., Go. *misso* "each other, reciprocally," OE *mislic* "different, various," OHG *missi* id., OS *mislīko* "otherwise, in a different form," etc. (see Heidermanns 1993, 413; and Orel 2003, s.v. **missaz*). The Norse adjective (and related words: e.g., OIc. *ýmisligr* "various," *ýmisliga* "variously") is the only term where we find the prefix, which, as De Vries (1961, s.v. *ýmiss*, *ímiss*) points out, has been variously explained as representing the preposition *í* (cf. OE *in*) or an *i*-umlauted by-form of the prefix *ú-* (cf. OE *un-*). The latter does not normally undergo umlaut but Sturtevant (1944) explains that it might have done so in this case because its rarer distributive, indefinite force in this term would have blocked its identification here as the common negative prefix (i.e., the Norse adjective does not mean "not-alternate"). While the association with the negative prefix would provide clear phonological evidence of Norse derivation (cf. <usell>, pp. 35–36), the association with the preposition cannot offer such clear phonological evidence because prepositions often lose their final nasal in the text when they appear in front of a word that starts with a consonant (cf. <fra>, pp. 69–70). Björkman (1901, 11–12n1) suggests that Orrm's seemingly short vowel could come from inflected forms such as OIc. *ymsir*.

Category: C4c (and CC2 as secondary)

<innsihht> (ME *insight* "capacity to understand, intellectual, mental, or spiritual sight"; ll. 3434, 3437, 3802, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. Da. *indsigt* "insight," Swe. *insikt* id. See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *insiʒt*).

Category: CCC4a

<kanunnk> (ME *cānunk* "clergyman living under the rule of canons, canon"; l. P9)

Discussion: Some scholars (e.g., Serjeantson 1935, 82; and *MED*, s.v. *cānunk*) identify this noun, ultimately a Latin loan-word (L *canonicus* "clergyman"), as Norse-derived, while others (e.g., *DOE*, s.v. *canunc*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *kanunnk*; cf. the absence of the term from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, and Rynell 1948) are happy to interpret it as a reflex of OE *canonic* "canon, cleric." The latter is often given as the etymon of the Norse noun represented by OIc. *kanúkr*, *kanóki*, *kanúki kanónkr*, *kanúnkr* "canon," although further influence from other languages, including French, is not ruled out (see Fischer 1909, 52; De Vries 1961, s.v. *kannukr*; Gunn 2017, 106–8, with references; Tarsi 2022, 195; and Dance, forthcoming b). The evidence in favour of Norse derivation for Orrm's noun is not conclusive. Spellings of OE *canonic* indicate that we would not necessarily expect palatalization of the velar consonants in its Middle English reflexes (see *DOE*, s.v. *canonic*), although the spelling <canunche>, which *DOE* (s.v. *canunc*) associates with the by-form *canunc*, attests to the existence of palatalized forms. In English the vowel is generally retained in the third syllable (cf. *DOE*, s.v. *canonic*), while Thors (1957, 62) notes that syncopated forms are most common in Old Norse. OE *canunc* cannot be taken as clear evidence for the familiarity with syncopated forms in England because it is first attested in a legal document copied in the late eleventh or early twelfth century on fol. 5r of the Exeter Book (Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3501; Rec 10.7). This late attestation, however, does not rule out either influence from French (cf. AN *canun* "clergyman living under canon rule" > ME *canoun*), to which Thors (1957, 61) attributes the presence of <u> instead of <o> in the Norse forms. Influence from Low German (cf. MLG *canoonc, canuenc* as by-forms of *canonic*) at this time might be less likely for English but not for necessarily for Norse (see Thors 1957, 61). The presence of OE *canunc* in the Exeter Book also indicates that the noun's limited attestations are not fully restricted to the Scandinavianized or eastern areas,

in spite of what the Early Middle English data might suggest (see Skaffari 2009, 216; *MED*, s.v. *cānunk*).

Category: CC2c

\<karrte\> (ME *cart* "cart, chariot"; ll. P204, P210, P212, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *kartr* "cart, chariot." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *kart*).

Category : CC2

\<keʒʒsere\> (ME *caiser* "Roman emperor, Caesar"; l. 3519)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *keisari* "emperor." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *cayser*).

Category: C2

\<laͪʒe\> (ME *laue* "(moral, Mosaic) law, rule; Commandments; custom; what is right, justice"; ll. 264, 284, 481, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *lǫg* pl. "law, law-district" (< **lagu*). See Pons-Sanz (2013, 84–85); Dance (2019, 2:214–16); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lawe*).

Category: C3d

Related terms: \<laͪʒeboc\> (ME *lauebōk* "law-book; Jewish law-book, specifically the Pentateuch"; ll. V22, 1953, 1967, etc.): the compound is likely to have been coined in English, but cf. OIc. *lǫgbók* "lawbook, code of laws."

\<laͪʒeliʒ\> (ME *lauelīche* "lawfully, legally, in accordance with the law"; ll. 1965, 2374, 10767, etc.): this adverb might represent a new-formation in English (cf. OE *lahlīce* "lawfully") and/or might have been influenced by the Norse adverb represented by OIc. *lǫgliga* "lawfully." On the meaning of this term, see also the entry for this derivative above (p. 23). On the possible Norse origin of the suffix, see Appendix 1.

\<unnlaͪʒe\> (ME *unlaue* "wrongdoing, injustice"; l. V318): cf. OE *unlagu* "breach of the law; bad law"; on its use, see Pons-Sanz (2007a, 112–14; and 2013, 126, 128, 139–40, 144, 158–59, and 168). On the attestations of ME *unlaue*, see also Pons-Sanz (2013, 477–78).

\<unnlaͪʒeliʒ\> (ME *unlaulīche* "sinfully, immorally, in violation of divine or religious law, in an inappropriate manner"; ll. 15867 and 16154): on the possible Norse origin of the suffix, see Appendix 1. Like the previ-

ous term, this adverb might represent a new formation in English (cf. OE *lahlīce* "lawfully," OE *unlagu* "injustice," etc.) and/or might have been influenced by the Norse adverb represented by OIc. *úlǫgliga* "illegally."

<lasst> (ME *last* "sin; moral defect, vice"; ll. 4522, 4558, 5068, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *last* "vituperation," *lǫstr* "fault, flaw." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 118); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lastes*).

Category: C1

<lætenn> (ME *lēten* "to behave in a certain manner, act"; ll. P79, V528, 7408, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *láta* "to behave, comport oneself." See Dance (2019, 2:216–17); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *leten (as)*). See also <latenn>, p. 23. Egge (1887, 86–89) would like to identify Norse influence as well when the forms mean "to think" (e.g., l. 12081; see *MED*, s.v. *lēten*, senses 14 and 15), but this suggestion is not commonly followed by other scholars (e.g., this possible semantic loan is not discussed in Dance 2003, even though it is attested in his corpus, and it is not one of the senses where possible Norse influence is identified in *OED*, s.v. *let*, v.1; or *MED*, s.v. *lēten*).

Category: CC3ac

<ledenn> (ME *lēden* "to lead (physically or mentally), show the way; go before, precede, etc."; ll. P132, P198, P201, etc.)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.vv. *ledenn* and *űtledenn*) suggest that this word-field could be associated with ODa. *ledæ* "to lead" instead of its native cognate OE *lǣdan* (< PGmc *laidjan*-). Although they do not provide any further clarification given the nature of the glossary, we might assume that the reason for this etymological explanation is that OE /æ:/ arising from the *i*-umlaut of OE /ɑ:/ is commonly represented by <æ> in the text and, accordingly, the root vowel might point towards the Norse origin of the term. However, the text also records other cases where the vowel is represented by <e>, which could be taken, not as the common spelling of the vowel's Middle English reflex, viz., /ɛ:/, but rather as indicative of /ɛ:/ > /e:/ in specific contexts, particularly before dental consonants, especially in the East Midlands: e.g., <del> for ME *dēl* "part, division" (< OE *dǣl* < PGmc *daili*-), which Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *del*) explain as a loan-word from MLG *dēl*; and <clen->

alongside <clæn-> for ME *clēne* "clean, pure" (< OE *clǣne* < PGmc **klainiz*; cf. Jordan 1974, §48). As such, most scholars do not consider any Norse influence on the word-field (cf. *OED*, s.v. *lead*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *lēden*, v.1; and cf. the absence of this verb from Brate 1885, Egge 1887, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, Rynell 1948, etc.).

Category: CCC2

Related terms: <űtledenn> (ME *outlēden* "to lead out, deliver"; l. 14776).

<lende> (ME *lĕnd(e* "lower part of the human torso; human loins"; ll. 3211, 4776, and 9230)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *lend* "loin." See Dance (2019, 2:122–23); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lyndes*).

Category: CCC1a

<lesske> (ME *leske* "part between the ribs and thighs, flank"; l. 4776)

Discussion: This noun is often analyzed as Norse-derived (cf. ODa. *liuske* "groin," Da. *lyske* id., OSwe. *liuske*, *liumske* id., Swe. *ljumske* id., Ic. *ljóski* "groin") given the absence of palatalization of the /sk/ cluster and the association of the term with the Scandinavianized areas, both during medieval and modern times (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 48; Egge 1887, 93; Björkman 1900–1902, 138; Serjeantson 1935, 83; *OED*, s.v. *lisk*; Kries 2003, 133; and *MED*, s.v. *leske*). Old English texts record a couple of uncommon terms that are likely to be associated with this word-field (< PGmc **leuskan-*): OE *lesca* (possibly for OE **leosca*, as suggested by *OED*, s.v. *lisk*) glosses L *inguen* "groin" in the Werden and Épinal-Erfurt glossaries (WerdGlC 584.35 and ErfGl 3 (Lindsay) 64; cf. MDu. *liesche* "groin, membrane," Du. *lies* "groin"), while OE *belyscyd* glosses L *truncatus* in a glossary included in the late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century manuscript London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho E.i (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 360; CollGl 11 (Voss) 87). *DOE* (s.v. *belyscyd*) gives its meaning as follows: "'truncated, cut off, shortened / maimed by cutting,'? in specific sense 'cut off at the flank / groin.'" As such, the possibility that the noun under consideration is a reflex of OE *lesca* cannot be discounted (cf. Kroonen 2013, s.v. **leuskan-*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *lesske*). If the Middle English words represent a reflex of the native noun, Norse influence could be invoked in terms of giving the noun a boost in its use.

Category: CC2ac (and CC5c as secondary)

<lic> (ME *līk* "similar to, like"; ll. 889, 2569, 3572, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *líkr* "like, alike." See Dance (2019, 2:164); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lyke*).

Category: CCC2c

Related terms: <lic> (ME *līc̆* "(dead) body"; l. 4783, 6484, 6690, etc.): cf. OIc. *lík* "body." The text also records forms with <ch> (e.g., ll. 16300, 16306, etc.).

<liccness> (ME *līknes(se* "image"; ll. 1047, 1057, and 1695): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *liknes*), where the term is categorized as CCC2 because of its more widespread attestations.

<like> (cf. ME *līche* "shape, form"; ll. 5827, 19453, A46, etc.).

<onnlicnesse> (ME *anlīcnesse* "state of being alike; image or copy"; ll. 5056, 17580, 19017, etc.).

<unnlic> (ME *unlīk(e* "different"; ll. 16859): cf. OIc. *úlíkr* "different". See Dance (2019, 2:164); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *unlyke*).

<litell> (ME *līt̆el* "little, small, limited, short; a short period"; ll. V66, V111, V125, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *lítill* "little." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *littel*).

Category: CCC5c

Related terms: <littlær> (ME *līt̆el ēr* "a little earlier"; ll. 366, 463, 10417, etc.).

<littlesswhatt> (ME *līt̆el what* "little bit"; ll. 6952 and 8649).

<unnlitell> (ME *unlitel* "great, large"; ll. 726 and 16065).

<lofft> (ME *loft, o ~* "high up, above, aloft"; ll. 11823, 11849, and 11961)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *loft, lopt* "air, sky; upper room." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 72–73); Dance (2019, 2:123); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lofte*).

Category: C1b

<lott> (ME *lot* "portion, share; section, part"; ll. 4030, 5177, 7844, etc.)

Discussion: The meanings for this noun associated with the concept of sharing out are sometimes considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *hlutr* "lot, share, portion") on the basis that OE *hlot* meant mainly "lot; fate" (cf. Brate 1885, 49–50; and Hofmann 1955, §208). However, the Old English term is also well-attested with senses associated with "allotted portion, share (determined by lot)" (see *DOE*, s.v. *hlot*, sense 3 and subsenses) and, therefore, most scholars do not identify any Norse influence on this simplex (cf. Egge 1887, 129; De Vries 1961, s.v. *hluta*; *OED*, s.v. *lot*, n.; Pons-Sanz 2013, 98n118; *MED*, s.v. *lŏt*, etc.; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902 and Serjeantson 1935).

Category: CCC3

<lund> (ME *lund* "disposition, mental or spiritual attitude"; ll. 7038, 7046, 9385, etc.)

Discussion: Given that OE *lynd* "fat" and the compound *lundlaga* "rein, kidney" are only used as concrete nouns to refer to bodily items, the Middle English uses of the noun, which is only attested in the *Ormulum* and the northern text *Life of St Cuthbert*, and always with the abstract senses "disposition, attitude," are normally considered to represent its Scandinavian cognate (cf. OIc. *lund* "mind, temper"; pl. *lundir* "the flesh along or inside the back"; cf., e.g., Egge 1887, 97–98; Björkman 1900–1902, 217; De Vries 1961, s.v. *lund 2*; *OED*, s.v. *lund*, n.; *MED*, s.v. *lund*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *lund*). Brate (1885, 50) offers a discordant voice, but on the problematic basis that Orrm's spelling could be taken to suggest that the noun has undergone the expected lengthening before the homorganic cluster (see pp. 124–27).

Category: C3c

<make> (ME *māke* "mate, partner, companion"; l. 1276)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *maki* "match." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *make*).

Category: CC1

**<mælenn> (ME *mēlen* "to speak, talk; proceed (with a narrative)";
ll. 304, 430, 462, etc.)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *mæla* "to speak." See Dance (2019, 2:166–67); and
Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mele*).

Category: CC2c

<mennissk> (cf. ME *mannish* "human"; l. P324)

Discussion: Middle English texts record a number of words associ-
ated with meanings such as "worth," "honour," and "courtesy" that are
very likely to derive from the Old Norse adjective represented by OIc.
mennskr "human" (see Dance 2019, 2:167–68; and Dance, Pons-Sanz,
and Schorn 2019, s.vv. *mensk*, *menskful*, *menskly*, etc.). Orrm's adjective,
however, seems to represent a blend of the reflex of the native cognate,
viz., OE *mennisc* (notice the presence of <i>, which is absent from the
other terms) and the Norse adjective (notice the presence of the non-
palatalized cluster; cf. *MED*, s.v. *mannish*).

Category: C2c

Related terms: <menniscleȝȝc> (ME *menniscleȝc* "human nature,
humanity"; ll. 85, 1380, and 1883): on the Norse derivation of the suffix,
see Appendix 1.

<mennisscnesse> (cf. ME *mannishnes(se* "humanity"; ll. 1185, 1359,
1373, etc.).

**<merrke> (ME *marke* "seal, confirmation; indicator, symbol";
ll. 7642, 7644, and 17987)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *merki* "landmark, boundary; mark, token, sign." See
Dance (2019, 2:169–70); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v.
merk).

Category: CC2

<messe> (ME *messe* "mass"; ll. P32, V87, 1726, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *messa* "mass." See Dance (2019, 2:170–71); and
Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *messe*).

Category: CCC2a

Related terms: <messeboc> (ME *messebōk* "missal"; l. P31).

<messedaȝȝ> (ME *messedai* "feast day, mass-day"; ll. 2721, 4172, 4180, etc.).

<miccle> (cf. ME *muchel* "many, large number; great in amount or degree; large; to a great extent"; ll. P18, P258, 17, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *mikill* "great, large; much." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *muckel*); cf. Dance (2019, 2:171–72).

Category: CC2c

Related terms: <micclelic> (ME *micclelic* "elephantiasis, leprosy"; l. 15502). On the meaning of the word, see further Hall (2013, 56, with references).

<munenn> (ME *monen* "(aux.) will; would, may; must; be able to"; ll. 2017, 3116, 4788, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *monu*, *munu* "(aux.) will, shall; may; must"). See Dance (2019, 2:217–18); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mon*).

Category: C3c

<namecund> (ME *nāmecund* "famous, renowned"; l. 6863)

Discussion: Given that the common term in Old English was *namcūþ* "well-known, famous," a compound with OE *cūþ* "known" as the second component, Egge (1887, 101) would like to identify some Norse influence on the compound, for in Old Norse we have relevant *comparanda* with -*nd*- in the head (cf. OIc. *nafnkendr* "famous"). However, he does not detail the type of influence he has in mind. If he had in mind the presence of a participial form with -*nd* (cf. *OED* s.v. *namecund*), we should associate Orrm's term with the verb that *OED* gives as *con*, v.1, a weak verb coined during the Middle English period on the basis of ME *cunn-*, *conn-* (related to ME *connen* > PDE *can*; *MED* does not distinguish between these verbs and gives all the forms under *connen*). However, the earliest attestations of *con* provided by *OED* date to the fourteenth century. It might be that Orrm's noun was influenced instead by the adjectival suffix -*cund*. In that case, one might want to consider the possibility that the suffix's presence was facilitated by an increase in the latter's use on the basis of the Norse cognate (cf. OIc. -*kundr*; cf. *MED*, s.v. -*cund*). Indeed, while the suffix seems to have become obsolete rather swiftly during the Middle English period, the *Ormulum* includes various other hapax legomena with this suffix (e.g., ME *gramcund* "fierce, given to anger"; *grimmcunndleȝȝc* "harshness, cruelty," on which see Appendix 1) as well as terms well-attested elsewhere (cf. ME *godcund* "divine").

Category: CCC2c (and CCC5c as secondary)

\<niᷘennde\> (cf. ME *nīnthe* "ninth"; l. 4488)

Discussion: As noted by Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *aȝtand*) in relation to ME *eightend* "eighth," the Proto-Germanic ordinal numerals with intrusive -*n*- were restructured under the influence of PGmc **sebundan* "seventh" and can be found in Old Norse (cf. OIc. *níundi* "ninth") and West Germanic (cf. OFri. *nigunda*, OS *nigundo*, OHG *niundo*, etc.), but not normally in Old English, where the common form is *nigoþa* (see Mengden 2010, 124; cf. \<ehhtennde\>, p. 63; and \<tende\>, p. 98). As such, some scholars identify forms with intrusive -*n*- as Norse-derived (cf. Egge 1887, 101; and *OED*, s.v. *ninth*, adj., n. and adv., an entry already updated for the 3rd edition), although not all do, as the nasal could have been added by analogy with the cardinal (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *tenth*, adj. and n., an entry that has not been updated yet for the 3rd edition; *MED*, s.v. *nīnthe*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *niᷘennde*; and cf. the absence of the term from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948). The geographical attestations of the forms could be taken as circumstantial evidence in favour of Norse influence, because OE *nigende* is first attested in three eleventh-century documents associated with Bury St Edmunds (Ch1070 (Harm 10), Ch1078 (Harm 18), and Ch IWm (Davis 7)), and its Early Middle English reflexes are in the main associated with northern and eastern texts, although they also appear in fourteenth-century texts from Kent.

Category: CC2ac

\<occ\> (ME *ok* "and"; ll. V324, 1216, 2263, etc.)

Discussion: These forms are often considered to be Norse-derived and are associated with the conjunction/adverb represented by OIc. *auk*, *ok* "and; and yet, but" (cf. Brate 1885, 52; Egge 1887, 101; Björkman 1900–1902, 72; Serjeantson 1935, 83; *MED*, s.v. *ok*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *occ*). *OED* (s.v. *oc*, adv.) suggests, however, that the forms might partly represent as well a by-form of OE *ac*, which could be used not only with a strong adversative meaning ("but, yet, etc.") but also as a connective without a clear adversative sense ("and, moreover"; see *DOE*, s.v. *ac*; cf. Pons-Sanz 2013, 119–20). Given this uncertainty, the strongest evidence for considering that Orrm's term might be Norse-derived, at least in some of its occurrences, is its use in the collocation \<aȝȝ occ aȝȝ\> "for ever and ever" (cf. OIc. *ei ok ei*); see \<aȝȝ\>, p. 12.

Category: C4c (and CC2c as secondary)

\<primmseʒʒnenn> (ME *primseinen* "to mark someone with the sign of the cross prior to baptism"; ll. 1542, 16553, 16560, etc.)

Discussion: The elements of this compound ultimately derive from Latin (cf. L *primus* "first" > OE *prīm(e*) "first hour," and *signare* "to make the sign of the cross" > OE *segnian* "to bless or consecrate with the sign of the cross"). However, the direct etymon of the compound is disputed. Following a comment by White (1852) in his edition of the *Ormulum* (cf. Holt 1878, 411, note to ll. 18143–83), Egge (1887, 103) suggests that it is Norse-derived and mentions OIc. *prímsigna* "to give the *prima signatio* or *signaculum crucis* a religious act, preliminary to christening" (cf. Lynch 1998, 62) as a relevant *comparandum*. *MED* (s.v. *primseinen*) does not reject this possibility but gives a French origin (cf. AN *primsener* "to prime-sign, mark with the sign of the cross prior to baptism") as the first etymological alternative. This is the suggestion that *OED* (s.v. *prime-sign*) sees as most likely (cf. as well Skaffari, forthcoming). Gunn (2017, 187–89) argues that the Norse compound is likely to have been coined around the twelfth century following the close contact between the Anglo-Norman Church and Scandinavia, and that it is not possible, or helpful, to establish whether English or French was the source language. Other than the *Ormulum*, the few attestations of the compound during the Middle English period are not associated with the Scandinavianized areas.

Category: CCC4

\<rennenn> (ME *rennen* "to run, flee"; l. 1364)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *renna* "to run." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 63); Dance (2019, 2:175–76); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *renne*).

Category: C2c

Related terms: \<attrinnenn> (ME *atrennen* "to run away"; l. 1424).

\<ro> (ME *rō* "peace, quiet, rest"; ll. 4190, 4972, 5208, etc.)

Discussion: OE *rōw* "peace, calm, rest" and OIc. *ró* id. are cognates (< PGmc **rōwō*). While the nominative singular form of the Norse term exhibits the common loss of */w/ after a long vowel, the equivalent form in Old English tends to retain the consonant by analogy with oblique forms (see Hogg 1992, §§4.9 and 7.72; and Fulk 2018, §7.12) and this can be taken to suggest that forms without the consonant are Norse-derived (cf. Brate 1885, 53; Egge 1887, 104; Björkman 1900–1902, 252; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *ró*; Dance 2003, 81; Kries 2003, 327–28; and

Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ro*). However, *OED* (s.v. *ro*, n.) prefers to suggest that the Middle English forms without /w/, which are attested fairly broadly, represent reinforcement by the Scandinavian forms rather than direct loans (cf. *MED*, s.v. *rō*, n.4).

Category: CC2

<ros> (ME *ros* "boast, bragging"; l. 4910)

Discussion: This noun is normally interpreted as a Norse loan-word based on the noun represented by Ic. *hrós* "praise" (only the by-form *hrósan* "praise, boasting" is attested in Old Icelandic; cf. Brate 1885, 53; Egge 1887, 104; Björkman 1900–1902, 218; Serjeantson 1935, 83; *OED*, s.v. *roose*, n.; *MED*, s.v. *rōs*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ros*). A key reason for this etymological interpretation is that the Norse word-field (cf. OIc. *hrósa*, on which see <rosenn>) exhibits the Norse assimilation */θs/ > /ss/ (Dance 2019, 2:308–9; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *rous*; cf. Dance 2019, 1:106; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *rose*). However, this assimilation can also be seen in Old English (e.g., <bliss> for OE *blīþs* "bliss, joy" and <liss> for OE *līþs* "tranquillity, peace; mitigation, cessation"; see Campbell 1959, §481; Hogg 1992, §7.4; Hogg and Fulk 2011, §6.13; and Fulk 2018, §12.24). In that respect, the strongest evidence for Norse derivation can be said to lie in derivative morphology rather than phonology. While PGmc *$hrōþ$- is well attested in the various Germanic languages, including Old English (e.g., OE *hrōþor* "solace, joy, pleasure, benefit," OS *hrōð* "glory," OIc. *hróðr* "praise; fame, reputation; an encomium," etc. < PGmc *$hrōþra$-; OE *hrēþ* "glorious" < PGmc *$hrāþi$-; and OE -*hrēþiʒ* "triumphant"; see Orel 2003, s.vv. *$xrōþaz$* and *$xrōþiʒaz$*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. *$hrōþi$-* and *$hrōþra$-*), no other terms with the morphological structure of the suggested Norse etymon are attested in Old English. As noted by *OED* and *MED*, the Middle English attestations of this noun are in the main, albeit not entirely, associated with the Scandinavianized areas, and it remains in use only in Scotland (the word-field is, however, not discussed by Kries 2003).

Category: C1c

Related terms: <rosenn> (ME *rōsen* "to brag, boast"; l. 4906): the verb might be an English new-formation or it might have been borrowed directly from Norse (cf. OIc. *hrósa* "to praise; boast"); see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rose*).

<rosinnḡ> (ME *rōsing(e* "boasting, pride"; ll. V351, 4564, and 4902).

<sacclæs> (ME *sǎklěsse* "innocent, guiltless"; ll. P308, 1900, and 5299)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *saklauss* "not guilty, innocent." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 101); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *saklez*).

Category: C3c (and C1c as secondary)

<same> (ME *sām(e* "same, equal"; l. 9914)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *samr* "same." See Dance (2019, 2:129); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *same*).

Category: C1ac

<samenn> (ME *sāmen* "together"; ll. 377, 1326, 3303, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *saman* "together." See Dance (2019, 2:129); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *samen*).

Category: CCC1ac

Related terms: <tosamenn> (ME *tǒsǎmen* "together"; ll. 649, V276, 3422, etc.). Cf. OE *tōsamne* "together."

<sammtale> (ME *samtāle* "reconciled, agreed; joined together"; ll. 1535, V510, 5731, etc.)

Discussion: ME *sāmentāle* "agreement, harmony" (only attested in *Ancrene Wisse* and *Cursor Mundi*) and *sāmentāle* "agreeable, harmonious" (only attested in *Cursor Mundi*) clearly have ME *sāmen* as their first element (see above, <samenn>), although some attestations of the compound with adjectival meaning suggest that a phrasal structure with the Norse-derived adjective might have also been involved (see *OED*, s.v. *samentale*; and *MED*, s.vv. *sāmentāle*, n., and *sāmentāle*, adj.). Various scholars (e.g., Brate 1885, 54; Serjeantson 1935, 83; Olszewska 1962, 122; and *MED*, s.v. *samtāle*) have suggested that ME *samtāle*, which is only attested in the *Ormulum*, might have been coined following the influence of OIc. *samtal* "discussion, colloquy; agreement" (cf. OE *sammæle* "agreed, concordance," likely to have been coined on the basis of the Norse compound represented by OIc. *sammáli*, *sammali* "agreement" and *sammali*, *sammala* "agreeing"; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 48). That would associate this term with the same root as ME *sāme* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *samtale*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *sammtale*). The fact that the adjective collocates with the Norse-derived ME *saught* (see <sahhte>, p. 47) is also adduced as further evidence, although Olszewska (1962, 121–22)

notes that there is not directly comparable collocation in Old Norse, even though there are some possible models (cf. OIc. *sáttmál ok samtal* to refer to an agreement, *sættask ok samtala* to refer to reaching an agreement, etc.). However, Old English also had a number of adjectives with the prefix *sam-* referring to things that are done together, often in a harmonious way (cf. OE *samrād* "harmonious, united," *samwinnende* "struggling together," and *samwist* "cohabitation, matrimony") and, therefore, the adjective could have been coined by fully native means by bringing OE *sam-* and *talu* "tale, story; discussion, dispute" together. Accordingly, it is not obvious whether Orrm's form should be associated with <same> or <samenn> above, and not all scholars identify Norse influence in this compound (e.g., the term is not discussed by Björkman 1900–1902).

Category: CC4c

<sandermann> (cf. ME *sŏndesman* "messenger"; ll. V208, 10273, 10304, etc.)

Discussion: Middle English texts often record forms of this compound with *-es-* at the end of the first root, which suggests that the compound has been formed on the basis of OE *sand*, *sond* "message" and *mann* "man, person." However, texts from the Scandinavianized areas also record a variant with *-er-* as the inflexional ending; the latter could be interpreted as a Norse morpheme. *OED* (s.v. *sandesman*) and *MED* (s.v. *sŏndesman*) hypothesize that it might represent the genitive singular ending *-ar*, even though there is no direct cognate of OE *sand*, *sond* "message" in Old Norse. Nonetheless, Scandinavian texts also record, not only the compound *sendimaðr*, *sendimenn* "messenger(s)" but also the phrase *sendir men* (these terms are likely to be the basis for ME *sendmen*, only attested in *Cursor Mundi*; see *OED*, *sendmen*; and *MED*, s.v. *sŏndman*). Accordingly, it might be the case that the inflectional ending represents a nominative plural morpheme (cf. "sandir men" in the *Cursor Mundi* manuscript Göttingen, University Library, MS Theol. 107, from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; see Laing 1993, 55–56). If this were the case, this word should be classified as A2*c. However, /r/ might simply represent an epenthetic consonant (cf. *MED*, s.v. *sŏnderbōde*), or an agentive suffix, as hypothesized by Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *sandermann*). Accordingly, although the term might exhibit Norse influence (cf. as well Rynell 1948, 61; and Pons-Sanz 2013, 71), this is not beyond doubt (cf. Brate 1885, 54).

Category: CC1c

<scone> (cf. ME *shēne* "beautiful, fair, pleasing"; ll. 15662, 15665, 15668, etc.)

Discussion: While Orrm's <shene> is a clear reflex of OE *scīne, scīene, scēne* "beautiful, fair" (< PGmc **skaun-*; e.g., l. 3431), the form under discussion here, with a non-palatalized initial cluster (cf. <ḡætelæs>, pp. 17–18; and chap. 2, n. 8), has sometimes been interpreted as a Norse loan, for, as noted by Björkman (1900–1902, 77–78), the text exhibits much less influence from other Germanic languages (cf. OFri. *skōne* and *skēne*, OS *skōni*, OHG *scōni*; cf. *MED*, s.v. *shēne*).[22] However, a non-Norse origin for the term cannot be completely ruled out (cf. *MED*, s.v. *shēne*). Orrm's form suggests that the root of its etymon had not been affected by *i*-umlaut. While the Norse lexicon does not record a simplex that might account for Orrm's term, it does have compounds with *-skjóni*, such as OIc. *kinnskjóni* "horse with a piebald head" and the Norwegian place-name Skaun (Trøndelag); these terms could be taken as indicative of the existence of the simplex (see De Vries 1961, s.v. *-skjóni*). However, as Dance (forthcoming b) points out, we need to remember that the Viking Age Norse diphthong represented by OIc. /joː/ and /juː/ seems to have merged with late OE /eːo/, which is represented as <eo, (ẹ), e> in the text (cf. <mec>, pp. 45–46; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, xxvi; on the evolution of the Norse diphthong in English, see also Dance 2003, 129 and 145–48). Dance, like Burchfield (1956, 63), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *scone*), sees the term as a likely borrowing from a continental West Germanic language, while *OED* (s.v. *sheen*, adj.) prefers to leave Orrm's form "unexplained," although it accounts for the same spelling in *Laʒamon's Brut* by native means (cf. Brate 1885, 25–26).

Category: CC2ac

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22 Besides this term (see below), Burchfield (1956, 62–64) identifies two likely Low German loans in the text: <huccstere> (ME *huckster(e* "petty merchant, peddlar"; cp. MDu. *hoecster*) and <forrt>. While Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *huccstere*) follow the former etymological suggestion, *MED* (s.v. *huckster(e*) prefers to explain ME *huckster(e* as a native derivation, and *OED* (s.v. *huckster*) and Dance (forthcoming b) prefer to leave the term's origin as uncertain. On <forrt>, see p. 69. Although there seems to have been a significant presence of speakers of various forms of Low German (mainly Flemings) in Anglo-Scandinavian and post-Conquest England—Lincolnshire in particular—(see Bense 1924, chaps. 1–2; Llewellyn 1936, chap. 1; cf. the place-names Freiston, Friesthorp, and Frisby), the number of loans from Frisian, Low German, and Dutch that made their way into Early Middle English is extremely low (see Toll 1926; and Durkin 2014, 354–57; neither of them mentions the term under consideration). That is also the case for the loans from High German (see Busse 2023).

<secnenn> (ME *sĭkenen* "to be or become ill"; ll. 4771 and 4801)

Discussion: Most scholars consider this verb, whose attestations are not strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas, a native new-formation with on the basis of the Middle English reflex of OE *sēoc* "sick" (cf. *OED*, s.v. *sicken*; *MED*, s.v. *sĭkenen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *secnenn*; cf. as well its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Dance 2003, even though the verb is attested in his corpus). Brate (1885, 55) hypothesizes instead that it might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *sjúkna* "to sicken, become sick") and explains that the vowel is in keeping with <mec> and <skḗt>, on which see pp. 45–46 and p. 32, respectively. However, he also notes the existence of OE *sēocen* "troubled with sickness." Moreover, given that the verbal *-n-* formative was productive in English in spite of being less common than in Old Norse (see Björkman 1900–1902, 15–16; *OED*, s.v. *-en*, suffix.5; and Pons-Sanz 2013, 68–69), the evidence in favour of Norse derivation of the verb is not particularly strong.

Category: CCC1

<sefennde> (cf. ME *sĕventh(e* "seventh"; ll. P351, 4168, 4186, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 108) argues in favour of analyzing this ordinal number as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *sjaundi* "seventh"), on the basis that the common form for the Old English cardinal number meaning "seventh" was OE *seofoþa* (cf. Mengden 2010, 124). However, as noted above in connection with <niǥennde> (p. 86), Germanic forms with *-n-* seem to have arisen by analogy with PGmc **sebundan* "seventh" (cf. OFri. *sigunda*, OS *sivondo*, OHG *sibunto*, etc.) and, accordingly, there should be no reason to doubt that the relevant forms recorded in Late Old English texts (<seo­fond->), are native and that Orrm's form exemplifies their Middle English reflex (cf. *OED*, s.v. *seventh*; and *MED*, s.v. *sĕventh(e*; cf. the absence of the forms from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, Rynell 1948, and Pons-Sanz 2013). During the Old English period, we find relevant forms in Anglian texts, both Northumbrian (e.g., Aldred's and Owun's glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, respectively, which record a number of Norse-derived terms; e.g., MtGl (Li) 22.26, JnGl (Li) 4.52, and JnGl (4.52)) and Mercian (Farman's glosses to the Rushworth Gospels, where there are no Norse-derived words; MtGl (Ru) 22.26; on these texts, see Pons-Sanz 2013, 376–77 and 385), as well as elsewhere (cf. the use of forms in the Old English version of the Heptateuch

included in London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.iv, of likely Kentish origin; see Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 315; HeptNotes 16 and 18). Relevant Middle English forms are attested mainly in northern, East Midland and East Anglian texts, but also in south-eastern texts. We cannot, however, discount the possibility that these forms, rarely attested in Old English, might have become more common thanks to the presence of the Norse cognate and the existence of the seemingly Norse-derived forms (cf. <ehhtennde>, p. 63).

Category: CCC2a

<sekenn> (ME *sēchen* "to seek, try to find; try to find out; ask for, request; go to; visit"; ll. 1517, 2722, 3457, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sœkja* "to seek, visit, advance, catch." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *seke*).

Category: CC2

Related terms: <þurrhsekenn> (ME *thurghsēchen* "to examine, scrutinize"; ll. P67, 242, 1814, etc.).

<semenn> (ME *sēmen* "to be proper or seemly, suit"; l. P66)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sóma* "to beseem, become, befit" and *sœma* "to honour." See Dance (2019, 2:220); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *seme*, v.).

Category: C3[23]

<sene> (ME *sēn* "to see," past participle *sēn(e* "seen, visible"; ll. 2173, 2209, 2547, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sýnn* "visible, clear, evident." See Dance (2019, 2:131–32); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sene*).

Category: CCC1a

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23 Van Vliet also included <semlike> (ME *sēmelī* "seemly" or "in a seemly manner"; cf. OIc. *sœmiligr* "becoming" and *sœmiliga* "becomingly") on fol. 48r of London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783 as part of his word-list based on the *Ormulum* (see Burchfield 1962, 102).

<sillferr> (ME *silver* "silver, money"; ll. 3561, 6675, 7812, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *silfr* "silver." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *syluer*).

Category: CC2a

<slan> (ME *slān* "to strike, kill; bring to spiritual death; destroy, extinguish"; ll. 2092, 4439, 4450, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *slá* "to smite, strike, kill." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 49 and 401); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sla*).

Category: CC2c

<sleckenn> (ME *slekken* "to quench (thirst); extinguish (fire); mitigate (sin)"; ll. 5689, 10124, 10126, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *sløkkva* "to extinguish, put out; slake, quench." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sleke*).

Category: CC2c (and CC3c as secondary)

<sleh> (ME *sleigh* "skilful, clever, dexterous"; l. 13498)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *slœgr* "sly, cunning." See Dance (2019, 2:132); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sleʒe*).

Category: C1

<smikerr> (ME *smiker* "beautiful"; l. 13679)

Discussion: In the introduction to this edition of *Genesis and Exodus*, Morris (1873, xxii) gives this adjective as part of the list of Norse-derived terms that can be found in the *Ormulum* (cf. Norw. *smikr* "fine craftsmanship"; there are no cognate adjectives recorded in Old Norse; see Heidermanns 1993, 521). While no explanation is given, we might assume that this judgement was based on the lack of palatalization of the medial velar. However, this criterion has been shown to be problematic (cf. <bennk>, p. 55; <miccle>, p. 85, etc.) and most scholars are happy to treat the adjective, which is only attested in the *Ormulum* during the Middle English period but is attested again in post-1500 texts, as a reflex of OE *smicer* "beautiful, elegant, fair" (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *smicker*; *MED*, s.v. *smiker*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *smikerr*; cf. as well its

absence from Brate 1885, Egge 1887, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

Category: CCC2c

<stǫ̣ressmann> (ME *stēresman* "helmsman, pilot; leader"; l. 2135)

Discussion: This compound, already attested during the Old English period, has sometimes been considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *stýrismaðr* "skipper, captain") on the basis that OE *stēoran* is not attested with the meaning "to steer a ship" before the period of Anglo-Scandinavian contact, and that the presence of the genitive inflection in the first root of the compound might have been triggered by the Norse model: cf. OE *stēormann* "steersman, pilot," which is attested in texts not associated with the Scandinavianized areas (a glossary included in Brussels, Royal Library, MS 1828–30: BrGl 1 (Wright-Wülker) 2.2, where it renders L *gubernator navis* "steersman, pilot"; and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*: ÆCHom II 43 325.226; on these texts, see Pons-Sanz 2013, 334 and 330, respectively) vs. OE *stēoresmann*, which is only attested during the Old English period in the heavily Scandinavianized legal code known as *II Æthelred* (LawIIAtr 4; see Pons-Sanz 2013, 336). However, semantic influence does not need to be invoked when we consider that the native verb is well-attested with the meanings "to steer, guide, direct, govern, rule," which means that the semantic difference in question could easily be explained through semantic shift by native means. Morphological influence can similarly be deemed unnecessary because genitive compounds are otherwise well-attested in Old English. For a detailed discussion, see further Pons-Sanz (2013, 413–14, with references).

Category: CCC3 (and CCC4 as secondary)

<stoffnenn> (ME *stofnen* "to produce, generate"; l. 14561)

Discussion: *OED* (s.v. *stofne*, v.), *MED* (s.v. *stofnen*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *stoffnenn*) suggest that this verb, only recorded in the *Ormulum*, is Norse-derived and associate it with the verb represented by OIc. *stofna* "to establish, lay the foundation of." Brate (1885, 58) is also happy to consider a Norse origin for the verb, but he points out that the main reason to accept this suggestion instead of analyzing it as a derivative based on OE *stofn* "stem, trunk of a tree" (cf. Holt 1878, s.v. *stoffnedd*) is that the latter and its Middle English reflex *stǒven* only seem to have been used with that meaning (cf. MDu. *stoof*, *stove*) and, unlike the Norse

cognate (cf. OIc. *stofn*), are not attested as well with the metaphorical meaning "foundation." However, given the proximity of the two senses, a native process of metaphorical extension is not out of the question. In fact, this verb is not discussed by Björkman (1900–1902) or Serjeantson (1935); this might be the reason why De Vries (1961, s.v. *stofn*) does not mention either the possibility that Orrm's term might have been borrowed from Old Norse (cf. Egge 1887, 129).

Category: CC3c

<summ> (ME *sum* "as, such as; soever"; ll. P10, P11, 98, etc.)

Discussion: Old English had a number of terms associated with ablaut variants of this root (cf. OE *sum* "some(one)" and -*sum*, a suffix used to form adjectives from nouns and adjectives < PGmc **suma*-; OE *same* "similarly, in the same way" and the correlative *sam* "whether, or" < PGmc **sama*-; see <same>, <samenn>, and <sammtale>, pp. 89–90, for words associated with this root). However, Old English texts do not record any form which acts as a conjunction and, in that respect, the word under consideration is normally considered to be a loan-word based on the Norse conjunction represented by ODa. *sum*, *som*, *sem*, *sæm*, *sam* "as," and OIc. *sem* id. (cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 59; Björkman 1900–1902, 221; Serjeantson 1935, 82; *OED*, s.v. *sum*, conj. and adv.; *MED*, s.v. *sum*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *summ*). This term is only attested during the Middle English period and its attestations are strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas, as noted by *OED* (see Dance 2003, 455 for an argument against associating a possible context in *Laȝamon's Brut* with this term).

Category: C1c

Related terms: <wha summ> (ME *whōsum* "whoever"; ll. 4064, 4068, 4074, etc.).

<sware> (ME *swāre* "answer, reply"; ll. 2422, V539, 6494, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *svar* "reply, answer." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sware*, n.).

Category: C1 (and C3c as secondary)

Related terms: <swarenn> (ME *swāren* "to answer, reply"; ll. 8938): cf. OIc. *svara* "to answer." See Dance (2019, 2:134–35); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sware*, n.). They classify the verb as CC1c.

<sware> (ME *swēre* "oppressive, grievous"; l. 16280)

Discussion: Orrm's <a> could be said to represent the common evolution of PGmc /e:/[1] in Old Norse rather than Old English (cf. OE *swǣr* "heavy, grievous, painful, unpleasant" vs. OIc. *svárr* "heavy, grave" < PGmc *swēra-*; see Orel 2003, s.v. *swēraz;* and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *swēra-*; cf. as well <late>, p. 23) and, therefore, it could be taken as evidence that we are dealing with a Norse-derived term (cf. *OED*, s.v. *sweer*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *sware²*). However, the spelling <swar> is also well-attested for the Old English adjective. It is particularly typical of West Saxon, where /æ:/ is retracted to /ɑ:/ when it appears between /w/ and /k, g, l, r, p/, especially when there is a back vowel in the following syllable (see Hogg 1992, §5.39), but we also find it in the Northumbrian place-name Swarland, which the *Key to English Place-Names Database* associates with the English rather than the Norse adjective. As such Björkman (1900–1902, 97) and *MED* (s.v. *swēre*) suggest that Orrm's form is a reflex of the Old English adjective, although Björkman does not fully exclude the possibility of some Norse influence.

Category: CC2c

<till> (ME *til* "onward, to; until, etc."; ll. P18, P28, P90, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *til* "to, until." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 492); Dance (2019, 2:251–52); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *til*). On the alternation between ME *til* and *tō* in the *Ormulum* for metrical reasons, see Hille (2004).

Category: C5ac

Related terms: <inntill> (ME *intil* "into"; ll. P13, P130, 884, etc.): see Dance, Pons-Sanz; and Schorn (2019, s.v. *intill*).[24]

<tærtill> (ME *thērtil* "also, moreover"; ll. 4328 and 4334): see Dance (2019, 2:252); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þertylle*).

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24 Holt (1878) records <unntill> (ME *until* "down into") in l. 1399 (cf. OIc. *undz*, *unz* "till that, till, until" and *til* "to, until"; cf. Dance 2019, 2:422–23; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. **vntyl*). However, on the basis of their re-examination of the manuscript, Johannesson and Cooper (2023) record <inn till> (cf. ME *intil*) in that context as well (cf. Burchfield 1952, 37). The confusion in the previous edition seems to arise from the fact that the Tironian et (7) is joined to the preposition's initial <i>.

<tende> (cf. ME *tenth(e* "tenth"; ll. 2719, 4518, 6125, etc.)

Discussion: While forms for "tenth" with intrusive -*n*- can be found in Old Norse (cf. OIc. *tíundi* "tenth") and West Germanic (cf. OFri. *tiānda*, OS *tehando*, etc.; cf. <niᵹ̊ennde>, p. 86), the common form in Old English is *tēoþa* (< **teoh(e)þa* < **tehūþo* < **tehunþo-*, showing the influence of the cardinal PGmc **tehun* on the ordinal PGmc **teᵹunþo-*; see *OED*, s.v. *tenth*, adj. and n.; and Mengden 2010, 124). As such, the form under consideration and related forms are often interpreted as Norse-derived (cf. Egge 1887, 70, 115, and 120; *OED*, s.v. *fifteenth*; *MED*, s.vv. *tenth(e*, *fĭftēnde* and *thrĭtēnth(e*) but this interpretation is not always accepted (see *OED*, s.v. *tenth*, adj. and n., where no Norse influence is put forward; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *tende*, who seem to provide the Norse term as a *comparandum* rather than as an etymon). These forms are predominantly attested in northern and eastern texts, but also occur in texts associated with Kent, such as a homily in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.xii, from Rochester, and the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (see *MED*, s.v. *tenth(e*).

Category: CC2ac

Related terms: <fiftende> (ME *fĭftēnde* "fifteenth"; l. 8303): cf. OIc. *fimmtándi* "fifteenth."

<þrittende> (cf. ME *thrĭtēnth(e* "thirteenth"; l. 3476): cf. OIc. *þrettándi* "thirteenth."

<tor> (ME *tŏre* "difficult, hard"; ll. 6350, 7165, and 7173)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *tor-* "difficult, hard." See Dance (2019, 2:252–53); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *tor*).

Category: CC5ac

<twinne> (ME *twinne* "double, dual"; ll. 1353, 1355, 1361, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *tvennr*, *tvinnr* "twofold, double." See Dance (2019, 2:135–36); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *twynne*, adj. and n.).

Category: CC1c

Related terms: <totwinnenn> (ME *tŏtwinnen* "to separate, divide"; l. 19065). See Dance (2019, 2:136); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *twynne*, v.). They classify the verb as CC1 because it has a wider distribution than the adjective/noun.

<þarrnenn> (ME *tharnen* "to be without, lack"; l. 10142)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þarna* < *þarfna* "to need, want." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þarnes*).

Category: CC1c

<þennkenn> (ME *thenken* "to conceive, imagine; have concern, care; meditate, ponder"; ll. 1761, V435, 3274, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þekkja* "to perceive, recognize, know." See Dance (2019, 2:182); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þenk*).

Category: CCC2

Related terms: <biþennkenn> (ME *bithinken* "to think, meditate"; l. 2917).

<ummbeþennkenn> (ME *umbethinken* "to think about, consider"; ll. 1216, 1240, 1248, etc.): on the first component of this verb, see <ummbe>, p. 103.

<þesste> (ME *thas the* + comp. "the + comparative form"; l. 3080)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *þess*) suggest that, while the construction goes back to OE *þæs þe* + comp. (on which see Mitchell 1985, §§23347–59), the form of the genitive demonstrative pronoun has been influenced by its Norse cognate (cf. OIc. *þess*), which can also be followed by a comparative adjective. There is, however, no reason to posit Norse influence, as the native demonstrative pronoun is not uncommonly spelt <þes> in Old and Early Middle English texts (cf. Dance, forthcoming b; and *MED*, s.v. *thas*, pron.).

Category: CCC2

<þinnkenn> (ME *thinken* "to seem"; ll. V478, 5028, 5030, 5151, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *þykkja* "to seem." See Dance (2019, 2:182–83); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *þynke*).

Category: CCC2

Related terms: <oferrþinnkenn> (ME *oferthinken* "to grieve"; ll. 8920 and 19601).

<þrennǧenn> (ME *threngen* "to move in a crowd, throng"; l. 16182)

Discussion: Various scholars (e.g., Brate 1885, 61; Egge 1887, 118; *MED*, s.v. *threngen*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *þrennǧenn*) consider this verb to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *þrøngva* "to rush, press forward, throng"). This etymological explanation can be supported by a number of factors, but none of them is free from counter-arguments:

1. Like the suggested Norse etymon, the Middle English verb, also recorded in the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, *Cleanness*, *Patience* and the poems of the Kentish fourteenth-century poet known as William of Shoreham, is a weak verb, whereas Old English only records the related strong form OE *þringan* "to throng, crowd together; move with eagerness or hurry" (< PGmc **þrengwan-*). Weak, causative, forms, derived from PGmc **þrangwjan-*, are, however, also recorded in other West Germanic languages (MDu. and MHG *drengen*; see Orel 2003, s.v. **þranʒwjanan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **þrangwjan-*). Even if Old English did not have weak forms associated with this root, the attestation of an initially strong verb with weak forms is a common pattern in English (e.g., Orrm's <flowed> as the past participle for ME *flouen* "to flow", the reflex of strong class VII verb OE *flōwan*; <trededd> as one of the past participle forms of ME *treden* "to tread, trample", the reflex of strong class V verb OE *tredan*; or <wharrfedd> as the past participle for ME *wharven* "to change," the reflex of strong class III verb OE *hweorfan*).

2. Björkman (1900–1902, 157) explains that, while lack of palatalization of the velar consonant could be taken as a sign of Norse derivation, its native origin could be supported by the fact that depalatalization is common when the velar is followed by another consonant, as is the case in Orrm's past form <þrennǧdenn>. Moreover, one should note that, should a native weak verb with <e> in the root have existed, we would not have expected the palatalization of the velar stop in that position anyway (cf. Hogg 1992, §§ 7.16–17; see also Dance 2019, 1:100–1). Finally, the presence of the velar consonant might have also been facilitated by association with the native strong verb, whose past and past participle forms had non-front vowels in the root.

3. Brate takes Orrm's spelling as a clear indication that we are dealing with a short vowel before a homorganic cluster; however, he points out himself that this can be explained by the presence of the dental consonant in the past form, as we would not expect lengthening when the cluster is followed by another consonant (cf. Hogg 1992, §§5.202–4; on vocalic

length as a criterion for Norse derivation, see further pp. 124–27). Because of the lack of watertight evidence, not all scholars find it necessary to interpret the verb as Norse-derived (cf. De Vries 1961, s.v. *þrøngd*; *OED*, s.v. *threng*, v.; and its absence from Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019).

Category: CC1ac (and CCC2c as secondary)

<þurrfe> (ME *thurfe* "needed, needful"; l. 9628)

Discussion: The Germanic languages record a large number of terms associated with PGmc **þarf-* "need, necessity" and its ablaut variant PGmc **þurf-* "to be satisfied; use" (e.g., OE *þearf* "need, necessity," *þearf* "necessary," *þearfa* "destitute," *þearfian* "to be in need," *þurfan* "to need," etc.). Heidermanns (1993, 630) indicates that only North and East Germanic record an adjectival form based on PGmc **þurf-* (cf. OIc. *þurfi* "wanting, in need of" and Go. *gaþaurbs* "self-controlling, forgoing"; cf. Orel 2003, s.vv. **þurƀaz* and **þurƀōn*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **þurfan-* and **þurfti-*). This could, therefore, be taken as an indication that we are dealing with a Norse-derived adjective (cf. *OED*, s.v. *thurfe*; *MED*, s.v. *thurfe*, adj.; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *þurrfe*). The fact that the adjective is only recorded in the *Ormulum* might offer further circumstantial evidence in favour of this etymological explanation. Heidermanns also mentions OE *unbeþyrfe* "useless," which he derives from PGmc **þarbi-* instead; however, the vocalism also makes a derivation from **þurf-* possible. Even if there is indeed no Old English adjective from that Proto-Germanic root, a native new-formation on the basis of OE *þurfan* would also be possible. After all, this is one of the options that *MED* (s.v. *thurfe*, n.) gives for the noun *þurfe* "benefit, profit, use," which is only recorded in one of the Interpolations to the *Peterborough Chronicle* (annal 656), together with the possibility of Norse derivation (cf. OIc. *þurfsamr* "helping" and *þurft* "need").

Category: CC2c

<þurrsdaȝȝ> (ME *Thūresdai* "Thursday"; l. 5989)

Discussion: Loss of /n/ (cf. OE *þunresdæg* "Thursday" and *þunor* "thunder" vs. OIc. *þórsdagr* and OEN *þūrsdagr* id., cf. PGmc **þunra-*) is sometimes taken as indicative of Norse influence (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 180–81; Rynell 1948, 61; and Dance 2003, 380 and 439; cf. De Vries 1961, s.v. *Þórr*; and *MED*, s.v. *Thūresdai*) as the nasal consonant is commonly lost

in Old Norse in postvocalic position (cf. <usell>, pp. 35–36). The presence of Middle English forms with <o> might also point towards Norse derivation, particularly influence from Old West Norse, while, as Dance notes, forms with <u> could be taken to show East Norse influence or the substitution of the Old English vowel onto the Norse form. However, while it might indeed be the case that Norse influence is reflected by <o>-forms and that the frequency of forms without the nasal increased thanks to the presence of Norse cognates, the loss of the consonant in forms with <u>, which is already visible in the Old English period in texts without an obvious connection with the Scandinavianized areas, can be fully explained by native means: cf. <mire> for OE *mīnre* dat./gen. sg. "my" or <sateresdag> for *Sæternesdæg* "Saturday" (see Hogg 1992, §7.85). As such, Norse influence is not always invoked (cf. *OED*, s.v. *Thursday*; Kries 2003, 307; Pons-Sanz 2013, 410–11; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *þurrsdaʒʒ*).

Category: CC2

<þutenn> (ME *thēoten* "to revile, condemn"; ll. 2034, 4875, and 4893)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 120–21) hypothesizes that, since OE *þēotan, þūtan* "to howl" and its direct cognates (e.g., OIc. *þjóta* "to howl, whistle" and OHG *diozan* "to howl") tend to be strong verbs, the weak forms, which are only attested in the *Ormulum*, could be associated with weak verbs such as Da. *tūde* "to toot, howl," Norw. *tūta* id. < *þúta*, etc. It is, however, not obvious that these forms would have been weak during the period of Anglo-Scandinavian contact; moreover, the Old English verbs, which—like the Middle English forms—are rather infrequently attested, could have developed weak forms without Norse influence, given that this is the general trend for strong verbs to follow (cf. <þrennġenn>, pp. 100–101). As such, most scholars do not identify any Norse influence on this verb (cf., e.g., *OED*, s.v. *theoten*; *MED*, s.v. *thēoten*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *þutenn*; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948). In all its attestations in the *Ormulum*, it collocates with ME *houten*, on which see <hutenn>, pp. 115–16.

Category: CCC1c

<ummbe> (ME *umbe* "concerning, about"; ll. 304, 430, 6321, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *umb* "around." See Dance (2019, 2:183–84); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *umbe*).

Category: CC2ac

Related terms: <ummbeclippenn> (ME *umbeclippen* "to circumcise"; l. 15009): on the Norse derivation of the root, see <clippenn>, pp. 40–41.

<ummbesherenn> (ME *umbeshēren* "to circumcise"; ll. V424, 4066, 4080, etc.).

<u>ummbetrin</u> (ME *umbetrīn* "round about, around; ?set around, placed around"; l. 17569): this adverb is only attested in the *Ormulum*, although there have been some attempts to associate ME *umbetorne* "all around, about" with it (see Dance 2019, 2:136–37; Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *umbe-torne*). As noted by Dance and his collaborators, Orrm's adverb is sometimes considered to be Norse-derived (cf. Brate 1885, 62; Egge 1887, 121; and *MED*, s.v. *umbetrīn*) on the basis of the existence of good *comparanda* in the Scandinavian languages: e.g., Da. *omtrent* "about, approximately," an adverb related to terms associated with "roundness" which ultimately derives from PGmc **trand-* (e.g., ODa. *trynd* "round," Norw. *trind*, *trinn* id., MLG *trint* id., OE *trinda* "round lump, ball," OE *trendan* "to turn around, roll"; see Heidermanns 1993, 602–3). However, as the forms provided so far exemplify, this root is well attested across the North-Sea area, where we also find suitable *comparanda* for the adverb (cf. MLG *umme trint* "about, around" and OFri. *trind umbe* "all around"). Accordingly, Orrm's adverb might represent a native formation, or a Frisian/Low German loan (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ummbetrin*), as might be the case with the Scandinavian terms themselves. On this basis, the adverb would be classified as CC1ac. *MED* suggests as well that the form might represent a past participle of ME *trenden* "to go, step, proceed," which is classified as B1c by Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *trone*; cf. ODa. *trene*, OSwe. *trīna* "to go, tread").

<ummbeþennkenn> (ME *umbethinken* "to think about, consider"; ll. 1216, 1240, 1248, etc.): on the head of this compound verb, see <þennkenn>, p. 99.

<u>unnderrprẹst</u> (ME *underprēst* "a priest subordinated to the bishop in the Catholic Church"; ll. 1146, 1154, and 10882)

Discussion: This compound, without an equivalent in Old English, is occasionally considered to be Norse-derived, probably on the basis that there is an equivalent term in Old Norse (cf. OIc. *undirprestr* "subordinate priest," where OIc. *prestr* is itself a loan-word; see Fischer 1909, 54; De Vries 1961, s.v. *prestr*; and Tarsi 2022, 30 and 53–54) and the English compound is only attested in the *Ormulum* (see Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *unnderrprest*; cf. *MED*, s.v. *underprest*, where it is not clear whether the Icelandic compound is given as a *comparandum* or as an etymon). However, Old English texts already record the use of *under-* as a formative to refer to subordination (e.g., OE *undercynning* "dependent, tributary king; one who rules for another" and *underdiācon* "under-diacon, sub-diacon") and *MED* (s.v. *under-*, pref.) explains that it became particularly productive in Middle English, when it was used to coin mainly verbs and nouns, very often loan-translations based on Latin terms with *sub-*. In that respect, it is highly possible that we are dealing with a native term (cf. Du. *onderpriester* and G *Unterpriester*, both first attested in the seventeenth century, according to *OED*, s.v. *underpriest*; and the absence of the term from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, and Serjeantson 1935).

Category: CCC4c

<unnhilenn> (ME *unhilen* "to reveal, disclose"; l. 12944)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *hylja* "to hide, cover." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.vv. *hilen* and *vnhyles*).

Category: C1a

<u>uppbrixle</u> (ME *upbrixle* "object of reproach"; l. 4871)

Discussion: This noun, which is only recorded in the *Ormulum*, and the other members of its word-field, viz., ME *brixel* "humiliating treatment or circumstances; shameful behaviour" (only recorded in *Cursor Mundi*) and *brixlen* "to chide, find fault with" (only recorded in *Patience* and *Wars of Alexander*), are always derived from Old Norse (cf. OIc. *brigzl*, *brigzli* "reproach, blame, shame" and OIc. *brigzla* "to upbraid, reproach, deride"; see Brate 1885, 62–63; Egge 1887, 122; Björkman 1900–1902, 206; Serjeantson 1935, 83; De Vries 1961, s.v. *brigð*; *OED*, s.v. *upbrixle*; and *MED*, s.v. *upbrixle*). The terms are ultimately related to OE *brē(g)dan*

"to move quickly, pull, shake" (cf. OIc. *bregða* id., OFri. *breida* "to pull, tug"; see Orel 2003, s.vv. **breȝðan* and **breȝðanan*) but Norse derivation might be indicated by the unparalleled presence of the derivative suffix (cf. PGmc *-*sla*- and OIc. *brigð* "change, vacillation"; see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *bruxleȝ*; cf. <ȝemsle>, p. 74). The prefix ME *up*- in Orrm's noun could be explained by reference to MDa. *obrygdhilse*, *opbryksel*, and MSwe. *upbrygdhilse* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *upbrixle*), or as an example of an analogical new-formation mirroring ME *upbreid* "reproach, rebuke" (cf. OE *ūpbrē(g)dan* "to reproach with").

Category: C1c (and CC4c as secondary)

<upphald> (ME *uphōlde* "(source of) support"; l. 9217)

Discussion: Because OE *upheald* "support, maintenance" is only attested in a charter from Edward the Confessor's time, viz., Ch 1047 (Rob 95) 4, this compound (cf. <haldenn> for ME *hōlden* "to hold, grasp" < OE *healdan*) is often compared with the Norse term represented by OIc. *upphald* "holding up, lifting; preservation, maintenance" (e.g., Holt 1878, s.v. *upphald*, Robertson 1939, 427; *MED*, s.v. *uphōld*), or directly derived from it (Brate 1885, 63; cf. Egge 1887, 123). The existence of equivalent compounds in other West Germanic languages (cf. MDu. *ophout* "delay, stop, cessation," MLG *upholt* id., and MHG *ūfhalt* id.) and the fairly widespread attestation of ME *uphōlden* "to shoulder up, support" could be taken as an indication that the compounds might share an etymon or, more likely, might have developed independently (cf. *OED*, s.v. *uphold*, n.; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *upphald*; see also Dance 2019, 2:423–24; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *vphalt*). Indeed, the compound is not discussed by Björkman (1900–1902), Kries (2003)—in spite of its attestation in Older Scots documents and its current strong association with Scottish and northern dialects—or Pons-Sanz (2013).

Category: CCC4c

<uppon> (ME *upon* "above and touching, upon; in, into; against; within the confines of"; ll. 117, 415, 723, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *upp á* "upon, on." See Dance (2019, 2:437–38); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *vpon*).

Category: CCC4c

<waȝȝnenn> (ME *wainen* "to carry, transport, convey"; ll. P193, P233, and 5909)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vegna* "to proceed." See Dance (2019, 2:253–54); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wayne*).

Category: CCC5c (CCC1)

<wand> (ME *wŏnd(e* "rod"; l. 16178)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vǫndr* "wand, switch." See Dance (2019, 2:138); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wandez*).

Category: C1c

<wannsenn> (ME *wansen* "to become shorter, diminish in length, importance, honour; reduce"; ll. 1901, 1904, V442, etc.)

Discussion: This verb, which has the same root as the ME *wanten* word-field (cf. OE *wan* / OIc. *wan-* "lacking" < PGmc **wana-*; see below, <wanntenn>) + the Proto-Germanic suffix **-sōn*, has occasionally been analyzed as a possible Norse-derived loan (cf. OIc. *vansi* "lack, want" and *vansa* "to do too little"; see, e.g., Bosworth and Toller 1898, s.v. *wansian*; Heidermanns 1993, 653; *MED*, s.v. *wansen*) on basis that all the attestations of OE *(a)wansian* "to diminish" date from the twelfth century onwards and are associated with the East of England. Most authorities, however, are happy to interpret the verb as native (e.g., Holthausen 1963, s.v. *wansian*; De Vries 1963, s.v. *vansa*; *OED*, s.v. *wanze*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *wannsenn*; cf. its absence from key studies like Brate 1885 and Björkman 1900–1902).

Category: CC1c

<wanntenn> (ME *wanten* "to be without, lack"; ll. 13380)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vanta* "to want, lack." See Dance (2019, 2:144–45); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wont*, v.).

Category: C1

Related terms: <wannt> (ME *want* "lacking, missing"; ll. 14398 and 14400): this adjective has been classified as A2*c on pp. 36–37.

<wanntsumm> (ME *wantsum* "poor, in want"; l. 14824): this adjective is only attested in the *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi*. *OED* (s.v. *wantsome*) and *MED* (s.v. *wantsum*) suggest that it is formed on the basis of the noun ME

wont "want" (on this term, also classified as C1, see Dance 2019, 2:144; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *wont*, n.). The suffix *-sum*, however, could also form adjectives on the basis of other adjectives (see *OED*, s.v. *-some*, suffix[1]) and, accordingly, it might be the case that this form should be associated with the adjective ME *want* "lacking, missing" instead; see <wannt>, pp. 36–37.

<wehht> (ME *weght* "standard measure of weights"; ll. 7812, 7828, and 7880)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vætt*, *vétt* "weight" (< VAN **weht*). See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *weȝtes*).

Category: CCC2c

<werre> (ME *wer* "worse"; l. 4898)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *verri* "worse." See Dance (2019, 2:188–89); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *worre*).

Category: CC2ac

<werrst> (ME *werste* "in the worst manner"; l. 4250)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ille⁴*) identify the Norse form represented by OIc. *verst* "worst" (cf. OIc. *verri* for the comparative form; see above, <werre>; cf. Rynell 1948, 61) as the etymon of this superlative, whose attestations are fairly widespread from Early Middle English. While some scholars are happy to simply associate this form with OE *werst*, a somewhat rare by-form of OE *wyrst* (cf. Kries 2003, 400; *MED*, s.v. *werste*, adv. (superlative)), others do not rule out some Norse influence for this and related terms in the Scandinavianized areas, given that <e>-forms became dominant there (cf. Flasdieck 1923, §§24 and 31; and *OED*, s.vv. *worst*, adj. and n., and *worst*, adv.).

Category: CC2ac (and CC5c)

Related terms: <werrse> (ME *werse* "more severe; inferior in quality"; ll. 7395, 8258, 14064, etc.).

<werrsenn> (ME *wersen* "to bring down morally or spiritually; diminish"; ll. V173, V179, and 11845): see also Burchfield (1962, 105).

<whillc> (ME *which* "which, what"; ll. 1132, 1133, 1134, etc.)

Discussion: The text records forms with <c> and with <k>, both of which suggest lack of palatalization of the final consonant (particularly <k>). Some scholars take lack of palatalization in this and similar forms as indicative of Norse derivation (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *whillc*; but see also the entry for <iwhillc>, where the term is only associated with OE *gehwylc*), to a large extent because they tend to be attested mainly in the northern and eastern areas (cf. *OED*, s.v. *which*). However, as noted by Dance (2019, 2:164), and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lyke*, adj., n.) with regard to the noun and adjective ME *like* (which is ultimately the same root as in the second component of the pronoun under consideration), lack of palatalization in non-initial position is not clear evidence of Norse derivation and, as such, most scholars prefer a native origin for these forms (cf. *OED*, s.v. *which*; *MED*, s.vv. *which*, adj., and *which*, pron.; cf. its absence from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

Category: CCC2c

Related terms: <iwhillc> (ME *iwhilch* "each"; ll. 4570, 4941, 5032, etc.).

**<witerr> (ME *witter* "clear, evident, manifest";
ll. 3363, 4013, and 6585)**

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vitr* "wise." See Pons-Sanz (2013, 465); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wittir*).

Category: CC1

Related terms: <witerrliʒ> (ME *witterlī* "plainly, evidently, manifestly"; ll. 785, 861, V199, etc.): cf. OIc. *vitrliga* "wisely, with wisdom." See Dance (2019, 2:141–43); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *weterly*). On the derivational suffix, see Appendix 1.

<wiþþ> (ME *with* "with"; ll. P22, P60, P94 etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *við* (with dat.) "along with, with (instr.)," (with acc.) "by, at, close to; at, to; together with." See Dance (2019, 2:228); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *with*).

Category: CCC3

Related terms: <þærwiþþ> (ME *thĕrwith* "(be presented) with it; with that or those"; ll. 146, 902, 912, etc.).

<wiþþ alle> (ME *withal* "completely, fully, altogether; as well, too; by this means, thereby; then, on that occasion"; ll. 1580, 2174, 2572, etc.): see Dance (2019, 2:228–29); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *withalle*).

<wranḡ> (ME *wrong* "contrary to what is right; bent, crooked"; ll. V30, 9207, and 9653)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vrangr* "awry, not straight; wrong, unjust, unrighteous." See Dance (2019, 2:145–46); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wrang*, adj.); but cf. Pons-Sanz (2013, 466–67).

Category: C1

Related terms: <wranḡ> (ME *wrong* "verbal injury, insult, calumny"; l. 18733).

<wranḡ> (ME *wrong(e* "wrong, falsely; mistakenly; improperly, unduly"; ll. 7443, 10020, 10023, etc.): see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wrang*, adv.).

Category D Words

<apperr> ("bitter?; irritable?"; l. 4720)

Discussion: Burchfield (1952, 38; 1956, 62; and 1962, 109) notes that the reading <awwerrmod> in Holt's (1878) edition is a mistake for <apperrmod>, for it is not uncommon for Holt to retain White's (1852) misreading of the runic character *wynn* (<ƿ>) as <p> (cf. <winnenn> in l. 4510 for <ƿinenn>). He argues that the Norse origin of <apperr> is suggested by the typically Old West Norse assimilation */mp/ > /pp/ (cf. OIc. *apr* "harsh, severe, rough" < VAN **appr*, MDu. *amper* "sour, bitter, harsh" < PGmc **ampra-*; see Noreen 1913, §69; Kolb 1969; Kroonen 2013, s.v. *ampra-*; and Pons-Sanz 2015a, 558). While Burchfield follows Holt (1878) in considering that it is part of a compound with ME *mōd* "heart" as the determinatum (cf. *MED*, s.v. *awermōd*), Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *apperr*), who accept Burchfield's etymological explanation, give the form as a simplex.

Category: D2c

\<awwnenn\> (ME *aunen* "to show (oneself); point"; ll. V39, V106, V369, etc.)

Discussion: The etymology of this verb is not clear (see *OED*, s.v. *awn*, v.2). *MED* (s.v. *aunen*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *awwnenn*) would like to interpret it as Norse-derived and associate it ultimately with the Norse term for "eye" (cf. OIc. *auga*, gen. pl. *augna*). If that is the case, the vocalism would point towards Norse origin (cf. ME *ēye* "eye" < OE *ēage* < PGmc **augo-*; cf. \<dowwnenn\>, pp. 15–16). However, there is no directly comparable verb in Old Norse, although various Germanic languages record verbs with the *-n-* formative (cf. dial. Norw. *öygna* "to show," which shows the effects of *i*-umlaut; OHG *ougenen* "to show"; and, with a zero grade of the preposition PGmc **at*, MLG *tonen* "to show" and MHG *zounen* id.; see Orel 2003, s.v. **au(a)njanan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **augjan-* and **taunōn-*). It might be the case that the verb is a new-formation in English on the basis of the Norse noun, in keeping with other transitive verbs with the *-n-* formative (see Björkman 1900–1902, 15–16), although there are, otherwise, no attestations of the noun, as a simplex, in English. Björkman (1904, 170) suggests that the verb might, in fact, be native; he hypothesizes an unrecorded form OE **ēawnian*, which, presumably, would have undergone shortening (cf. ME *taunen* "to show, manifest," only recorded in the *Bestiary*, and *Genesis and Exodus*, which he similarly derives from **(æ)tēawnian*, cf. OE *ætȳw(i)an* "to show"; see *OED*, s.v. *tawne*, v.1; and *MED*, s.v. *taunen*). The fact that four of the five attestations of the verb in English are restricted to the *Ormulum* could also be taken as circumstantial evidence in favour of Norse derivation.

Category: D1c

Related terms: \<unnawwnedd\> (ME *unauned* "undisclosed, undeclared"; ll. 2003, 2012, 7227, etc.).

\<ǣḡæde\> (ME *ēgēde* "frivolity, folly"; ll. V358, 2166, 8046, etc.)

Discussion: The meaning of the term is not fully clear, as it is only recorded in the *Ormulum*, and always in a very similar context (together with ME *leik* "game, sporting contest," on which see \<leȝȝkess\>, p. 25). While Holt (1878) translates it as "luxury," *OED* (s.v. *egede*, n.), *MED* (s.v. *ēgēde*, n.), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ǣḡæde*) prefer "frivolity, folly"; the dictionaries associate it with the more widely attested homonymous adjective (viz., ME *ēgēde* "foolish, absurd"). The Norse nouns represented by OIc. *ágæti* "renown, glory, excellence" and *ǫgéde* "tedium; possibly indolence" have been brought forward as possible etyma for the noun (Holt 1878, s.v. *æȝæde*,

and 580), but formal differences in the case of the former and the uncertainly surrounding the meaning of the latter make these associations problematic. Other explanations, based on native terms, have also been put forward but, again, none of them is fully convincing because of semantic differences for the first three options and formal differences for the last one: (1) a form associated with OE *gegæde* "collection, congregation" (Holt 1878, 580; Brate 1885, 31–32), a noun recorded in Bosworth and Toller's (1898, s.v. *gegæde*) dictionary but not in the *DOE*; (2) a derivative formed by the prefix OE *ǣ-* (on which see Dietz 2005) and OE *gād, gǣd* "lack, want," on the basis that a semantic change from "no lack (of merriment or pleasures)" in the common expression OE *nis wilna gād* to "folly, frivolity" could be easily understood in a Christian context (*OED*, s.v. *egede*, adj.; *MED*, s.v. *ēgēde*, n.); (3) a derivative formed by the prefix OE *ǣ-* with a privative meaning and OE *gād* "goad; sharp prompting of one's consciousness" (*OED*, s.v. *egede*, adj.); and (4) a form associated with OE *gidig* "insane." Thus, the etymology of the noun remains unclear, but there is no strong reason to invoke Norse influence.

Category: DD1*c*

<blunnt> (ME *blunt* "dull, stupid"; l. 16954)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *blunda* "to close one's eyes, doze." See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *blunt*, adj.).

Category: DD1

<currsenn> (ME *cursen* "to damn or curse"; ll. V149, V155, V264, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 62–63) suggests that this verb, which is fairly widely attested in Middle English (see *MED*, s.v. *cursen*), is Norse-derived on the basis that it should be associated with *cross* (cf. Mayhew 1886; and Skeat 1888, s.v. *curse*), a noun with likely Norse influence (cf. OIc. *kross* "cross"; see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *cros*, where it is classified as FC5b). The etymology of the word-field (cf. OE *curs* "curse" and *cursian* "to curse") remains problematic and unclear: it has been variously associated with OE *cyrn* "churn" (Ritter 1922, 27–29), OIr. *cursagim* "I rebuke, chastise" (Föster 1921, 151; and Baugh and Cable 1992, 69; cf., however, Pokorny 1923), L *incurrere* "to run into" and *incursus* "attack; penalty?" (Spitzer 1946 and 1948), etc. In any case, there is no strong evidence to associate it with *cross* (see *OED*, s.vv. *curse*, n., and *curse*, v.).

Category: DD1

<flumm> (ME *flum* "river, stream of water"; ll. P297, 5940, 8299, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 72) suggests that this noun, which is fairly widely attested from the Early Middle English period onwards, might be a loan-word based on the Norse noun represented by OIc. *flaumr* "flow." The latter derives from PGmc **flauma-*; this root is ultimately related to PGmc **flō(w)an-* (cf. OE *flōwan* "to flow") but it is not otherwise attested in Old English (cf. OHG *weraltfloum* "transitoriness of the world"; cf. Orel 2003, s.vv. **flaumaz* and **flōwanan*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **flauma-* and **flōan-*). However, the vocalism of the Norse term cannot easily account for the Middle English noun and, in fact, the latter is most commonly interpreted as French-derived (cf. AN *flum* "river, stream" < L *flumen* id. ; see *OED*, s.v. *flume*, n.; Skaffari 2009 and forthcoming; *MED*, s.v. *flum*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *flumm*; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902; Serjeantson 1935; Rynell 1948; Dance 2003; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019).

Category: DD1

<forrḡloppnenn> (ME *forglopned* "disturbed with fear, badly frightened"; l. 670)

Discussion: This adjective, only attested in the *Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi* (*MED*, s.v. *forglopned*), is made up by the prefix ME *for-* and ME *glopnen*, a verb that is commonly identified as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *glúpna* "to look downcast, let the countenance fall, as one about to cry"). However, this etymological explanation is not unproblematic: see Dance (2019, 2:359–62); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. **glopnyng*); see also Pons-Sanz (2015a).

Category: D1c

<friȝȝenn> (ME *frīen* "to find fault, taunt"; l. 16513)

Discussion: This term is commonly (e.g., Egge 1887, 74–75; Björkman 1900–1902, 117 and 210; De Vries 1961, s.v. *frýja*; *OED*, s.v. *frie*; and *MED*, s.v. *frīen*), albeit not unanimously (cf. Brate 1885, 19; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *friȝȝenn*, where the verb is translated as "to question"), interpreted as Norse-derived on the basis that, while Orrm's form might have been influenced by OE *frigeþ*, 3rd p. sg. pres. ind. of OE *fricgan* "to ask, enquire," its meaning associates it rather with the Norse verb represented by OIc. *frýja* "to defy, challenge, question, taunt," of uncertain etymology. The Middle English verb, only otherwise attested in *Havelok*

the Dane, has sometimes been associated with ME *frēles* "without any weakness, faultless," only attested in *Pearl* (e.g., Björkman 1900–1902, 117, and 210; and *OED*, s.v. *frie*), but this association remains problematic (see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *freles*).

Category: D1c

<u>fullnáþe, náþe</u> (ME *nāþe* "grace"; l. 18367)

Discussion: There is some disagreement amongst scholars about how best to understand the structure of <full náþe> in l. 18367, the only context in English where this term is attested. Holt (1878, s.v. *náþe*), Brate (1885, 51), Serjeantson (1935, 84), and *MED* (s.v. *nāthe*, n.2) prefer to interpret the words as a phrase and associate the head noun with OIc. *náð* "grace, mercy; peace, quietness," as it seems to be a synonym of ME *ĕdmōdnesse* "grace" in l. 18361. Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *fullnáþe*) interpret the terms as forming a compound and associate it with OIc. *fullnaðr* "fulfilment," a noun formed on the basis of the past participle of OIc. *fullna* "to fulfil." They follow a suggestion put forward by Holt (1878, 597, note to l. 18362), who says that Orm might have been trying to render John 1:16 in this context and, as such, the meaning of the Norse word offers a good fit for L *plenitudo* in John's text. Björkman (1900–1902, 91 and 162) seems to agree with Holt and Brate on the fact that <náþe> can be treated as an independent word, but also records *fullnaþ* as a possible Middle English term. With either suggested etymon, the presence of the fricative consonant as representing the effects of Verner's Law on PIE */t/ is indicative of Norse origin (cf. OIc. *náð* < PGmc *nēþō- < PIE *nēteh²-*, on which see Kroonen 2013, s.v. **nēþō-*; or PIE **-to- > PGmc **-þa/da-* as the past participle formative, on which see Ringe 2017, 186–91; and Fulk 2018, 292; cf. <ḡeþenn>, p. 19). If the scholars who view <náþe> as an independent word are right, the Norse derivation of this hapax legomenon would also be suggested by the presence of <a> as the reflex of PGmc */e:/[1] (cf. <late>, p. 23).

Category: D2c

<ḡære> (ME *gēre* "behaviour, way of acting"; ll. 8050 and 10885)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *gervi*, *gørvi* "gear, apparel." See Dance (2019, 2:263–66); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *child-gered*).

Category: D1[25]

<ḡluterrnesse> (ME *glūternesse* "gluttony"; ll. 812, 830, 3995, etc.)

Discussion: Various older scholars (e.g., Brate 1885, 44; Egge 1887, 78–79; and De Vries 1961, s.v. *glutr*, following Serjeantson 1935, 84) have identified this noun, only attested in the *Ormulum*, as Norse-derived and have associated it with the Norse noun represented by OIc. *glutran*, *glutr* "squandering, extravagance" (cf. OIc. *glutra* "to squander"). Ásgeir Magnússon (1950, 120) and De Vries (1961, s.vv. *glutr* and *glata*) suggest that the OIc. *glutr* word-field shares the same root as OIc. *glata* "to destroy, slay" (cf. Ic. *glata* "to destroy, lose," Norw. *glatra* "to waste"), which, in turn, should be associated with OIc. *glaðr* "glad; bright" (cf. OE *glæd* id., OFri. *gled* "smooth, slippery," OHG *glat* "bright, light; smooth" < PGmc **glada-*). Magnússon hypothesizes the following sense development: "to be smooth" > "to slide" > "to let slide" > "to lose." However, given the semantic difference between the Norse and English terms, and the fact that the French-derived ME *gloterie* word-field is well-attested in Middle English (cf. ME *glutenerie* "gluttony," *gloterie* "intemperate appetite, gluttony," and *gloterous* "gluttonous, voracious"), the suggestion that the term represents a loan-blend based on OFr. *glotornie*, *gl(o)uternie*, where the native suffix ME *-nesse* has been substituted seems stronger (cf. *OED*, *gluterness*; *MED*, s.v. *glūternesse*; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡluterrnesse*; Dance, forthcoming b; Skaffari, forthcoming; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902).

Category: DD1c

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25 The term is classified as DD1 by Dance (2019, 2:263–66); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *child-gered*). The reason for this classification is that, as it appears in *Sir Gawan and the Green Knight*, it could be taken to represent, amongst other options, OFr. *giere*, a variant (with initial voicing > [dʒ]) of OFr. *cheir*, *ch(i)er*, *chere* "face, facial expression, demeanour (etc.)." This explanation, however, is not appropriate for Orrm's term, for <ḡ> suggests a velar pronunciation (see chap. 2, n. 6).

\<ḡowenn\> (ME *gouen* "to look, gaze, stare"; l. 12233)

Discussion: The etymology of this verb, whose attestations are fairly widespread from the Early Middle English period, remains unclear. It is commonly interpreted as Norse-derived (cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 85–86; Björkman 1904, 169–72; *MED*, s.v. *gouen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡowenn*; see also *OED*, s.v. *gaw*, v., where the Norse form is presented as a *comparandum*, not as an etymon) and is associated with OIc. *gá* "to heed," on the basis that the latter is considered to derive from PGmc **gaw-* (see De Vries 1961, s.v. *gá*; and Orel 2003, s.v. **ʒawēnan*). This explanation is, however, not free from problems. On the one hand, Brate (1885, 25) indicates that we might have expected \<ww\> instead of \<w\> in Orrm's spelling (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡowenn,* and note to l. 12233) because of vocalic length but, as noted below (p. 126), this suggestion is debatable. More importantly, Kroonen (2013, s.v. **ganhēn-*), following Noreen (1886, 16–17), rejects the aforementioned derivation for the Norse verb on the basis of the presence of nasalization in Elfd. *gą̊* "to notice, observe" (cf. \<ḡætelæs\>, pp. 17–18) and reconstructs instead PGmc **ganhēn-*, a form that would be difficult to associate with Orrm's verb. However, Björkman (1904, 171–72) points out that Noreen himself notes that Elfdalian occasionally shows nasalization when it would not be expected or does not show it when it would be expected and, as such, he rejects the need to assume the presence of a nasal consonant in the root.

Category: D1

\<ʒho\> (ME *shē* "she"; ll. 115, 129, 130, etc.)

Discussion: See Dance (2019, 2:314–16); Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *scho*); and, specifically on Orrm's form, Laing and Lass (2014, 220–22) and chap. 2, n. 6.

Category: DD1c

\<hutenn\> (ME *houten* "to shout out in derision, revile"; ll. 2034, 4875, and 4893)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 84), following a number of older scholars (including Skeat 1876, s.v. *hoot*; cf. Skeat 1888, s.v. *hoot*), suggests that this verb, which is first attested in Middle English and whose medieval records are, in the main, associated with the Scandinavianized areas, should be interpreted as a Norse-derived loan. He puts forward OIc. *hóta*

"to hoot, threaten," Norw. and Swe. *hota* id., and Da. *höde* id. as relevant *comparanda* for the Old Norse term that this verb might rely on (cf. as well OIc. *hót* "threat"). These Scandinavian verbs have been associated with PGmc **hwōt-*, a root also attested in Gothic (cf. Go. *hwōta* "threat" and *hwōtjan* "to threaten") and Old Saxon (cf. OS *hóti* "hostile") but not in Old English, although the latter does record, for instance, OE *hwæt* "quick, swift, nimble, brave," which derives from the by-form PGmc **hwat-*, while OE **ahwætan* "to drive away, expel with a curse" might represent PGmc **hwēt-* (see, e.g., De Vries 1961, s.vv. *hót*, *hóta*, *hvatr*, and *hœta*; Heidermanns 1993, 316; Orel 2003, s.vv. **xwataz*, **xwētanan*, **xwōtō*, and **xwōtjanan*; Bjorvand and Lindeman 2007, s.v *hote*; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. **hwata-*, **hwētan-*, and **hwōtjan-*). Other scholars, while acknowledging the problematic nature of its etymology (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *hutenn*), prefer to interpret it as imitative or onomatopoeic, representing a sound similar to the hooting of owls or the tooting of pipes (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *hoot*, v.; and *MED*, s.v. *houten*; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Dance 2003, in spite of the presence of ME *houtinge* in *Þe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene*).

Category: DD1c

<ka**ḡ̄errleʒ̄c**> (ME *kaggerleʒc* "love?; wantonness?"; ll. 2187 and 11655)

Discussion: The etymology of the root of this derivative is highly problematic (on its suffix, see Appendix 1). In the glossary to his edition, Holt (1878, s.v. *kaggerrleʒʒc*) suggests that the term means "love" and that it might be associated with OIc. *kærleikr* "love, charity," cf. OIc. *kærr* "dear," a French-derived loan-word based ultimately on L *carus* id., which shares the same root as OE *hōre* (see <forrhorenn>, pp. 41–42; see De Vries 1961, s.v. *kærr*; Tarsi 2022, 250–52). This etymological explanation has, however, often been problematized by later scholars: it is difficult to see the phonological connection between Orrm's term and the suggested etymon (unless we assume an *ad hoc* case of epenthesis of the velar consonant as part of the word's transmission) and the suitability of the meaning "love" for the two *Ormulum* contexts, the only attestations of the term. Instead, the noun is commonly translated as "wantonness" (cf. Johannesson and Cooper 2023, *kaḡ̄errleʒ̄c*) and other Norse etyma are presented as more likely alternatives: Brate (1885, 46–47) suggests that it might be associated with OIc. *koorgurr* "a quilt with fringe, bedcover" (cf. OIc. *koorgurbarn* "swaddlebarn, bantling, infant," a term of abuse; cf.

Egge 1887, 84–85), but Björkman (1900–1902, 17–18 and 243) points out that there is a significant semantic gap between the terms and prefers to associate it with dial. Swe. *kägg* "wanton, lustful," a suggestion followed by *MED* (s.v. *kaggerleȝc*). The latter is itself of uncertain etymology, although Björkman (1900–1902, 18n2) hypothesizes that it might be related to ME *kigge* "cheerful, pleasant, merry," a term only attested in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (see *MED*, s.v. *kigge*). ME *kigge* might be connected to PDE *kedge* "brisk, lively" and *cadgy* "wanton, lustful; cheerful," on which see *OED* (s.vv. *kedge*, adj., and *cadgy*), but this is not clear. In that respect, lack of initial and medial palatalization would point towards the Norse-derived origin of the term (cf. <ḡætelæs>, pp. 17–18); the presence of *-er-* might suggest an unattested underlying form **kaggr*, which Björkman (1900–1902, 18n2) gives as a possible by-form of Swe. *kägg* and, possibly, *kagg* "castrated bull."

Category: D2c

<lefftenn> (ME *leften*, *liften* "to exalt, treat with honour"; ll. V272, 2488, 2662, etc.)

Discussion: Various explanations have been put forward to account for Orrm's forms. Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *lefftenn*) hypothesize that this verb, only attested in the Early Middle English period in the *Ormulum* and texts from the South-West Midlands (see *MED*, s.v. *leften*; see also Dance 2003, 365n248), is a new-formation on the basis of OE **lēft*, which they interpret in turn as a loan-word based on the Norse term represented by OIc. *leyfð* "praise" (cf. OIc. *leyfða* "to permit, allow"). De Vries (1961, s.v. *leyfð*) derives the Norse noun from PGmc **laubiþo-* and associates it with ablauting variants in various West Germanic languages: OHG *gilubida*, *gelubeda*, MLG *gelövede*, MDu. *geloofde*, *gelovede* "vow." While there are no cognates of this extended form in Old English, the latter does record forms from the base root PGmc **laub-* (e.g., OE *lēaf* "leave, permission" and *gelīefan* "to believe; allow, grant"; cf. Lehmann 1986, s.v. *ga-laubjan*; and Orel 2003, s.vv. **lauƀjanan* and **lauƀo*). The Norse term exhibits the reflex of the *i*-umlaut of PGmc **/au/*; such terms tend to retain diphthongal forms in English, although we also encounter some cases with monophthongization (cf. <maȝȝ>, p. 26; and <skeȝȝrenn>, pp. 30–31; see also Pons-Sanz 2013, 37–38; and Dance 2019, 1:87–88). Indeed, the presence of the Norse reflex of the *i*-umlauted diphthong is generally taken as strong phonological evidence in favour of Norse derivation; however, we can-

not do the same in this case because <e> is the normal spelling for the *i*-umlauted diphthong in non-West-Saxon dialects of Old English (cf. Campbell 1959, §200; and Hogg 1992, §5.82).

MED (s.vv. *leften* and *liften*) includes the attestations of the verb under consideration in two different entries: an entry for *leften*, where only Orrm's forms and forms with <eo> from the South-West Midland text *St Juliana* are given (cf. Dance 2003, 365n248), and where the verb is presented as a possible reflex of OE *lyffetan* "to flatter" but with likely influence from OE *lēof* "love, beloved, dear"; and the entry for ME *liften*. *OED* (s.v. *lift*, v.) rejects the association with OE *lyffetan* without further explanation. Indeed, influence from OE *lēof* could explain the spelling in *St Juliana* (Dance 2003 does not discuss this term) but it might be more difficult to account for Orrm's forms because it might give rise to a long vowel (cf. *OED*, s.v. *lief*). Nonetheless, this is not fully certain, given the somewhat unpredictable nature of folk etymology. *OED* also rejects the association of Orrm's forms with ME *liften*, which was already suggested by Egge (1887, 95–96) and Skeat (1888, s.v. *lift*, 1), in terms of both their form and their meaning, again without much further explanation. However, neither form nor meaning seems to pose strong problems: *MED* (s.v. *liften*) records a significant amount of forms with <e> for ME *liften*, particularly in eastern texts (East Midlands, East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, etc.) and shows that it is attested in a wide range of texts with the meaning "to elevate in rank or dignity, exalt" (see sense 4). On the likely Norse origin of ME *liften* (cf. OIc. *lyfta* "to raise, lift"), see Dance (2019, 2:122); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lyfte*). They classify the verb as C1ac.

Category: D1

<littnenn> (ME *littenen* "to look at, to?; rely on, trust in?"; l. 6115)

Discussion: The etymology of this verb, which is only recorded in the *Ormulum*, *Cursor Mundi* and, possibly, the *Lambeth Homilies* (London, Lambeth Palace, MS 487), is unclear. In the *Ormulum*, it might render L *respicio* "to look, look for; look at, consider; respect" (Holt 1878, s.v. *littnenn*); accordingly, Holt (1878, s.v. *littnenn*), Björkman (1900–1902, 178–79), Egge (1887, 96–97), and *OED* (s.v. *litten*, v.1) consider it to be a new-formation with the derivational suffix -*n*- on the basis of a loan-word based on the Norse verb represented by OIc. *líta* "to look (to), behold." This association would suggest that we are dealing with a Category A

verb, as the form would exhibit the typically North Germanic loss of the velar semivowel in front of /l/ (cf. OE *wlītan* "to look, gaze"; cf. <epenn>, p. 16). *MED* (s.v. *littenen*, v.1), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *littnenn*) analyze it instead as a new-formation on the basis of ME *līten* "to rely, trust in; delay, wait," which is generally considered to be Norse-derived because an equivalent verb is not attested in Old English, there are no known non-Scandinavian cognates of the verb that is commonly given as its etymon (cf. OIc. *hlíta* "to rely on, trust" < PGmc **hlītan*-), and its medieval and modern attestations are in the main associated with the Scandinavianized areas; accordingly, Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *littid*) classify it as B1c. Brate (1885, 49) prefers to consider ME *littenen* as a new-formation on the basis of OE *hlȳt* "lot, portion" but it is difficult to see how this form is semantically appropriate.

Category: D2c

<minenn> (ME *minnen* "to remember"; ll. 1817, 9343, and 19497)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *minna* "to remind" and *minnask* "to remember." See Dance (2019, 2:292–94); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *mynne*).

Category: D1c

<oferrḡarrt> (ME *overgart* "excessive pride, arrogance"; ll. 8163 and 15770)

Discussion: Scholars are divided in terms of the etymology of this term: *MED* (s.v. *overgart*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *oferrḡarrt*) interpret the second component as being linked to AN *-garde*, *-gart* as in *angarde* "outpost," while Egge (1887, 101), Brett (1913, 162), *OED* (s.v. *overgart*, n.), and Dance (2003, 370) prefer to interpret it as the past participle of the Norse verb represented by OIc. *gera*, *gør(v)a* "to make, do" (cf. Dance 2019, 2:10; Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *gareʒ*), which would associate it with the same word-field as ME *forgāren* "to forfeit" (see <forrḡarenn>, p. 17). *OED* suggests that the noun, only attested in a few contexts, including both texts from Scandinavianized (*Ormulum* and *Cursor Mundi*) and non-Scandinavianized areas (*Þe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Margarete*), might be a zero-derivation from the adjective ME *overgart* "excessive, given to excess," which is only attested twice in Middle English, in texts from non-Scandinavianized areas. *MED* (s.v. *overgart*, adj.) prefers to interpret the adjective as the derivative

term. The French and Norse word-fields have also been brought forward, amongst other options (e.g., cf. OIc. *ágjart*, neuter form of *ágjarn* "avaricious, ambitious, dauntless, fierce"), to account for the noun and adjective ME *angard* "forwardness, arrogance" and "arrogant, proud," whose attestations are mainly associated with the Scandinavianized areas; and the noun and adjective ME *augard*, of similar meaning and dialectal distribution (for a detailed discussion, where ME *angard* is interpreted as a French loan with unlikely Norse semantic influence, i.e., FCCC3c, see Dance 2019, 2:189–91; Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *angardez*). Given that one can easily see an association between excessive and extravagant behaviour, and pride, it might seem appropriate to associate ME *overgart* with the same word-field as ME *forgāren*, although its broader history and use are likely to have been influenced by the various other words discussed here.

Category: D1

<scorrcnenn> (ME *scorcnen* "to dry out, parch"; ll. 1474 and 8626)

Discussion: Although there have been some attempts to associate this verb, only recorded in the *Ormulum* and a late Middle English manuscript from Northamptonshire (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432), with AN *escorcher* "to strip of (bark), deprive" (e.g., Kluge 1896, 181), the presence of the *-n-* formative has been taken as an indication that the verb might be better explained as a Norse-derived loan. It is often associated with OIc. *skorpna* "to be shrivelled" (< PGmc **skerp-*; cf. OE *sceorfan, sceorpan, screpan* "to scratch, bite, vex," with the same Germanic root plus different labial consonants, and partial metathesis; see Kroonen 2013, s.vv. **skerban-*, **skerpan-*, and **skrepan-*). Nonetheless, this association is often presented as tentative because the form under consideration has a velar rather than a labial consonant (e.g., Egge 1887, 108; Björkman 1900–1902, 129–30; *OED*, s.v. *scorken*; *MED*, s.v. *scorcnen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *scorrcnenn*). However, Zupitza (1896, 19) explains that /p/ > /k/ can be seen as well in other Scandinavian words, including dial. Swe. *skorkn*, a by-form of *skorpna*.

Category: D1c

<strennkenn> (ME *strenken* "to sprinkle"; ll. 1099, 1771, and 1789)

Discussion: The origin of this verb, which is only attested in the *Ormulum* and a Norfolk manuscript of the Middle English text *The Pricking of Love* (Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.3.8), is unclear (cf. *OED*, s.v. *strenk*, v.). While *MED* (s.v. *strenken*) suggests possible influence from MLG *strenc*, *strenk*, which are variants of MLG *stranc* "stream," Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *strennkenn*) prefer the possibility that the verb might represent the blending of OE *stregdan* "to strew, spread" and ODa. *stænkæ* "to scatter." Egge (1887, 114) had already suggested a possible association of the latter, as well as OSwe. *stänka* "to splash," with the Middle English word-field, referring to an ad-hoc addition of /r/ to explain the Middle English forms, or an ad-hoc loss of /r/ to explain the Scandinavian forms.

Category: DD1c

Related terms: <u>bistrennkenn</u> ("to besprinkle"; l. V378): this verb can only be found in van Vliet's transcription and, as such, it is not recorded in *OED* or *MED*.

<strennkell> (ME *strenkel* "an instrument for sprinkling holy water"; ll. 1095 and 1707): this noun, whose attestations are associated mainly with the Scandinavianized areas (see also *MED*, s.v. *strenkelen*), is generally suggested to be related to ME *strenken*, perhaps with the influence of ME *sprenklen* "to sprinkle, scatter" (first attested in the late fourteenth century), which also attributed Middle Low German influence (see *OED*, s.v. *strinkle*, n. and v.; and *MED*, s.v. *strenkel*).

<suhhᵸȝenn> (ME *swouen* "to sigh, lament"; l. 7924)

Discussion: The etymology of this verb remains unclear. *OED* (s.v. *sugh*) considers it to be an onomatopoeic term and compares it with PDE *sough* "to sigh deeply" (< ME *swouen* < OE *swōgan* "to make a sound, move with a noise; roar"), while *MED* (s.v. *swouen*) brings all the forms together under the reflex of the Old English verb. Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *suhhᵸȝenn*) hypothesize that the verb might represent a fusion of the Old English verb and ODa. *suckæ* "to sigh." There is, however, no clear evidence to invoke Norse influence. The forms that *OED* gives for this verb are not strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas.

Category: DD1

\<tobollenn\> (ME *tŏbellen* "to swell up extremely"; l. 8080)

Discussion: The etymology of this past participle is not clear. Dance (2003, 342 and 379) suggests that it was formed on ME *(i)bollen*, which can be interpreted as a new-formation on the basis of ME *bōle* "tree-trunk," possibly with the influence of ME *swollen* "swollen" and *bolgen* "enraged." ME *bōle* is sometimes considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *bolr* "trunk, body"), although this explanation is not beyond doubt (the term is classified as BB2ac by Dance 2019, 2:66–67; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *bole*). It is, however, more common to associate Orrm's past participle with ME *bolnen* "to swell, become distended" (cf. *MED*, s.vv. *bellen*, v.1, *bolnen*, and *tōbellen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *tobollen*; cf. Björkman 1900–1902, 205), a verb that is often considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *bolgna* "to swell, bulge"). Nonetheless, this explanation is, again, problematic (the verb is classified as CC1c by Dance 2019, 2:97–98; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.vv. *bolled* and *bolne*). In this case, lack of the nasal consonant is similarly accounted for by analogy with *swollen* or as an example of back-formation following the alternation between transitive verbs without the nasal and intransitive verbs (often Norse-derived) with the nasal (see Björkman 1900–1902, 16). Neither Orrm's form nor the simplex without the prefix *tŏ-* is strongly associated with the Scandinavianized areas.

Category: D1

\<war\> (ME *wāre* "suppurated matter, pus"; l. 4782)

Discussion: This noun, whose attestations are limited to the Middle English period, particularly (albeit not exclusively) in texts from the Scandinavianized areas, is often considered to be Norse-derived (cf. Rynell 1948, 61), although it has been associated with different etyma. Some scholars (e.g., Brate 1885, 64–65; Egge 1887, 125; *OED*, s.vv. *ware*, n.6, and *waribreed*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *war*) cite OIc. *var* "rheum," OSwe. *var* "mucus, rheum, pus," and *vari* "liquid; the watery substance in the blood", and give the first component in OE *wearhbrǣde* "ulcer, eruption" and OHG *warah* "puss" as cognates. They derive these forms from PGmc **warha-* (cf. Kroonen 2013, s.v. **warha-*), an etymology that would suggest Norse derivation for the noun under consideration because of the absence of the velar fricative (cf. Dance 2019, 1:61 and 107–8). However, Bjorvand and Lindeman (2007, s.v. *var³*) prefer to associate the Scandinavian forms with PGmc **wara-*, the root for a number of terms referring to watery substances (e.g., OE *wær* "sea"; cf. Orel

2003, s.vv. *warōn and *waraz), a possibility that De Vries (1961, s.vv. *vari 2*, and *vári 2*) also acknowledges; and the West Germanic forms with PGmc *warka-/warki- (cf. OE *wærc*, *wræc* "ache, pain," OIc. *verkr* id., etc.). Björkman (1900–1902, 104–6) questions the association of Orrm's noun with OIc. *var*, *vari* on the basis that Orrm's spelling could be taken to suggest that we are dealing with a long root vowel but the Scandinavian forms are only attested with a short root vowel. If this is the case, and leaving aside the concerns discussed in pp. 124–27 regarding the use of Orrm's spellings as a consistent indicator of vocalic length, this difficulty could be overcome by the existence of two formally and semantically close nouns (cf. OIc. *vari* and *vári*). However, Björkman suggests instead that we are dealing with a native noun and associates it with OE *wārig* "stained with seaweed; dirty" > ME *wōrī* "dirty, turbid (of water); stained" (cf. OE *wār* "seaweed" < PGmc *waiza-; cf. *OED*, s.v. *wōry* adj., vs. *MED*, s.v. *wōrī*, adj.1), which can be said to be by-forms of OE *wāse* "slime, mud, ooze" (cf. Kroonen 2013, s.v. *waiza-), although this association is not always accepted (see *OED*, s.v. *ooze*, n.1). Brate mentions these terms but rejects them because of the association with seaweed. However, Björkman puts forward some *comparanda* (including PDE *gore*; see *OED*, s.v. *gore*, n.1) to account for the semantic shift from "slime" and "dirty" into "humour, pus."

Category: D1c

<u>wælinnḡ</u>> (ME *wæling* "wanton, shameless"; l. 2192)

Discussion: The meaning of this hapax legomenon is inferred on the basis that Orrm seems to use it as a near-synonym of ME *untheuful* "unseemingly, improper" (l. 2191), both as premodifiers of *word* "words." Sachse (1881, §83) suggests that it should probably be interpreted as a Norse-derived loan and brings forward OIc. *véla*, *væla* "to trick, defraud" as a relevant *comparandum* (< PGmc *wihla-; cf. PGmc *wīha- > Go. *weihs* "holy," OHG *wīh* id., OE *wīg* "idol, sacred image," OIc. *vé* "temple," OS *wīh* id., etc.; see Karsten 1915, 186 and 254; De Vries 1961, s.vv. *vé 1* and *véla 2*; Lehmann 1986, s.v. *1 weihs*; Orel 2003, s.vv. *wīxan* and *wīxaz*; and Kroonen 2013, s.vv. *wīha- 1* and *wīha- 2*). Sachse rejects the possibility of its association with OE *wǣlan* "to vex, torment, afflict" on the basis that its meaning would not be suitable. This argument is echoed by Brate (1885, 63; cf. Egge 1887, 123–24), and this is also the etymological explanation suggested in *OED* (s.v. *wæling*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *wælinnḡ*). The OIc. *vél* "wile, device, trick" word-field, of uncer-

tain etymology, has also been tentatively associated with ME *wīle* "act of deception, trick" (e.g., Karsten 1915, 55; see Dance 2019, 2:334–38; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *wyles*; cf. <wile> below) and with medieval spellings of the river Welland, which runs through the East Midlands, including Lincolnshire (see Coates 2005, 318–20). *MED* (s.v. *wæling*), where the possibility of Norse derivation is not recorded, does not reject the association with OE *wǣlan*, but also suggests a possible connection with the OE *wealh* "Britton; foreigner; slave" word-field, because a number of its members developed an association with wantonness and improper behaviour (cf. OE *wealian* "to be impudent, bold, wanton" and *wealhword* "wanton word"; see Faull 1975, 34; and Robson 2008, 74–75). OE *wealh* could account for the root in Orrm's term given that *OED* (s.v. *Welsh*, adj. and n.) notes that the loss of final velar seems to have caused compensatory lengthening of the previous syllable in some forms and that ME /ɛː/, whether from OE /æː/ or /æːɑ/, is commonly represented by <æ> in the text (cf. <bærn>, p. 54).

Category: D1c

<wile> (ME *wile* "act of deceit, deception"; ll. V348, 3913, 5459, etc.)

Discussion: Cf. OIc. *vél* "wile, device, trick." See Dance (2019, 2:334–38); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wyles*).

Category: DD1c

Rejected Items on the Basis of Problematic Claims for Norse Input

Most of the words discussed in this section are associated with Brate's (1885, 4–14, §§6–13) reliance on vocalic length, as suggested by Orrm's spelling, as a good criterion for the identification of Norse input. Brate explains that in those cases when we would have expected a long vowel before a homorganic consonant cluster but Orrm's spelling hints at a short vowel, we are entitled to consider that the word has been borrowed from or influenced by its Norse cognate. Thus, the claim relies on two related issues, namely vocalic lengthening before homorganic clusters and Orrm's spelling system:

1. During the Old English period, short stressed syllables followed by a liquid or nasal consonant + a homorganic voiced consonant seem to have been lengthened, so long as the homorganic cluster was not followed by another consonant or a nominal suffix like *-er(e)*, the vowel did not bear

a weak stress (grammatical terms), and the word did not have three or more syllables (cf. Campbell 1959, §§282–84; Hogg 1992, §§5.202–4; Fulk 1999; and Goering, forthcoming). Because of the use of some dia-critic marks by Late West Saxon scribes to indicate vocalic length, this change has been dated to the latter part of the ninth century (Luick 1914–1940, §268, Anm. 3). This means that most of the Norse-derived terms would not have been affected by this change, as they would have entered the language too late, often following a shift to the use of Old English by the Scandinavian newcomers and their descendants (see, however, below; see also Dance and Pons-Sanz, forthcoming; and Goering, forthcoming, who notes that the vowel in the French-derived <skarn> seems to have undergone lengthening).

2. Orrm's frequent use of reduplicated consonant graphemes has tradi-tionally been seen as an attempt to mark the preceding vowel as short, which has turned this text into "a 'Rosetta Stone' of English histori-cal phonology" (Mokrowiecki 2012, 55), as it has been used to estab-lish vocalic length not only in relation to homorganic clusters but also in connection with the beginnings of Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (see Goering, forthcoming).

However, Brate's suggestion is problematic on various accounts. On the one hand, scholars have shown that lengthening before homorganic clusters was a very complex process, because one needs to consider a number of issues, such as

1. The actual consonant cluster at work: Hogg (1992, §5.202) provides the following list of clusters triggering lengthening: [ld, rd, rl, rn, rð, rs, mb, nd, ng]. However, it has been shown that their effects differed sig-nificantly: [nd] and [ld] were the most consistent triggers of lengthen-ing while the others might have only done so sporadically (see Minkova and Stockwell 1992; Minkova 2014, 165–70). After all, we also need to remember that, while the Neogrammarians might have seen sound change as affecting all the words that could have been affected by a par-ticular process of phonological change, modern sociolinguistic work has shown that this is not always the case (cf. Dance, forthcoming a), and, indeed, there are some indications that point towards lexical and dialectal variation in the impact of this change already in Old English (Hogg 1992, §5.203; see as well Jordan 1974, §22 for variation in Middle English).

2. The nature of the vowel: as explained by Ritt (1994, 87–88), "[n]asal clusters seem to have favoured lengthening of high vowels and disfa-

voured that of low vowels, while /ld/ clusters seem to have behaved
exactly the other way round."

Other factors also contribute to making the application of the effects of homor-
ganic lengthening on etymological decisions problematic. Firstly, it has become
clear that Orrm's spelling practices are not as consistent as initially suggested
(although some of the inconsistencies can be explained as a result of a better
understanding of the complexity of the process at hand or as errors of tran-
scription in Holt's 1878 edition; see Fulk 1999; Cooper and Åberg, forthcom-
ing; Goering, forthcoming). Perhaps more importantly, the purpose of his spell-
ing system has also been challenged. Besides marking vocalic length, scholars
have also suggested other reasons to account for Orrm's spelling system: focus
on syllabification (see Fulk 1996 and 1999) and various issues associated with
consonants rather than vowels, such as English geminated consonants (see
Anderson and Britton 1997 and 1999) and guidance for the French-speaking
priests who were supposed to preach from his text so that they did not attempt
to pronounce syllable- and word-final consonants under the influence of con-
temporary changes in French varieties (e.g., loss of final syllable, vocaliza-
tion of syllable-final /l/, etc.; see Worley 2019, 24). As such, the presence of
a single consonant might not (or not always) say much about vocalic length.[26]
Secondly, studies on heritage languages have shown that pronunciation pat-
terns in a heritage language might be affected by those of the local language
(e.g., Polinsky 2018, chap. 4) and, accordingly, we do not know whether vow-
els in Norse cognate words might also have been affected to some extent by
changes in the English pronunciation,[27] particularly given that even mono-
lingual speakers of the two languages might have been able to work out cor-
respondences between such terms (see Townend 2002, 90–109) and that the
lack of systematicity in the application of this process is unlikely to have made
vocalic shortness before homorganic clusters a fully apparent feature of Norse
differentiation. This is important because, as noted by Polinsky (2018, 115),

26 See Mokrowiecki (2012) for an overview of the explanations that have been
given for Orrm's reduplicated consonant graphemes; see also Goering (forthcoming).

27 Rothman (2009, 156) defines heritage languages as follows: "[a] language
qualifies as a *heritage language* if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise
readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant
language of the larger (national) society." Investigations into heritage languages tend
to focus on contemporary sociolinguistic situations; however, Kinn and Walkden
(2023) have recently shown that this theoretical approach can also be fruitfully
applied to historical languages in general and varieties of Old Norse in the British
Isles in particular.

cross-linguistic dissimilation leads heritage speakers to emphasize the contrasts that are apparent (e.g., the contrast in vowel tenseness or in consonant gemination if only one of their languages has it) and to ignore contrasts that are weaker, do not play a distinctive role, or allow the two languages to converge without significant information loss.

This unconscious behaviour often leads heritage speakers to produce outputs that are "consistent to a degree with the patterns of both languages but not matching them exactly" (Polinsky 2018, 136).

Moreover, we do not have access to the sociolinguistic situation of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Lincolnshire. In his reassessment of the evidence that we have for the survival of Old Norse in England, Parsons (2001, 308) points out that, for the eleventh-century East Midlands,

there is only the equivocal evidence of Þorfastar's comb-case to support the (not improbable) hypothesis that Norse might have been heard in the thriving trading centre of Lincoln. Whether there were bilingual communities in the countryside who still, amongst themselves, spoke Norse, a language brought to the region by their great-grandparents, or whether the whole area had gone over into a single language, a form of English, albeit Norse-influenced, within a generation or two of the settlements, seems to me to remain uncertain.

Thus, we cannot easily reject the possibility that, following language shift, a number of loans might have made their way into the language early enough to be affected by the final effects of the lengthening processes taking place in Old English (e.g. Goering, forthcoming, mentions <wranḡ> as a possible candidate).

When all this evidence is put together, it is difficult to see how apparent lack of lengthening in itself can be taken as a significant factor in etymological discussions (cf. Egge 1887, 49; Dance 2019, 1:35n129). Thus, we can leave out of the discussion the following words, which Brate (1885) put forward as Norse-derived solely on the basis of vocalic length (although, notably, Goering, forthcoming, does not discount this possibility, except for the <hand> word-field):

<ḡannḡenn> (ME *gǎngen* "to go, walk"; ll. V244, 1076, 1228, etc.)

Cf. OE *gangan* "to go, walk" vs. OIc. *ganga* id.

Related terms: <oferrḡannḡenn> (ME *ofergangen* "to overpower"; l. 10228).

<unnderrḡannḡenn> (ME *undergangen* "to experience, undergo"; ll. 10661 and 17950).

<hannd> (ME *hŏnde* "hand"; ll. 3014, 3186, 3574, etc.)

Cf. OE *hand* "hand" vs. OIc. *hand*, *hǫnd* id. On this word-field, see further Goering (forthcoming).

Related terms: <hanndful> (ME *hŏndful* "handful"; l. 8648).

<hanndḡanḡ> (ME *hŏndgang* "the laying on of hands as a religious rite"; ll. 13254, 15992, 16100, etc.).

<hanndwhile> (ME *hŏndwhile* "short space of time, moment"; l. 12166).

<oferrhannd> (ME *ŏuerhŏnd(e* "mastery"; l. 5458, 5460, 11421, etc.).

<norrþ> (ME *north* "north; the North"; ll. 11258, 11491, 12125, etc.)

Cf. OE *norþ* "north" vs. OIc. *norðr* id.

Related terms: <norrþdale> (ME *north dōl* "the northern part"; l. 16412).

<senndenn> (ME *senden* "to dispatch, send"; ll. P341, 83, 97, etc.)

Cf. OE *sendan* "to send, dispatch" vs. OIc. *senda* id.

<stanndenn> (ME *stŏnden* "to stand, maintain a position"; ll. P403, 206, 315, etc.)

Cf. OE *standan* "to stand, continue" vs. OIc. *standa* id.

Related terms: <unnderrstanndenn> (ME *understŏnden* "to understand; have an enlightened knowledge of; interpret; imagine, conceive of"; ll. P48, P50, P344, etc.).

<wiþþstanndenn> (ME *wiþstŏnden* "to offer resistance; oppose; resist; ll. 6750, 7645, 11480, etc.).

<þorrn> (ME *thorn* "thorn"; ll. 9212 and 9664)

Cf. OE *þorn* "thorn" vs. OIc. *þorn* id.

A few other terms should also be discussed in this section, for different reasons:

<fullwaxenn> (ME *fulwaxen* "full-grown, full size; complete, perfect"; ll. 4762, 6079, 10884, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 76) would like to interpret this compound as Norse-derived on the basis that, while OE *fulweaxan* "to grow fully, mature" is not particularly common, the Norse equivalent (cf. OIc. *fullvaxinn* "full-grown") is. Similarly, Holt (1878, s.v. *fullwaxenn*) only gives the Scandinavian form as a *comparandum*. However, the Old English verb is actually relatively well-attested in Early and Late West Saxon texts (see *DOE*, s.v. *fulweaxan*) and the Middle English forms, albeit not very common, are fairly widespread. Indeed, most scholars see the Middle English form as a direct reflex of the Old English verb (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *full*, adj., n.2, and adv., sense C2.a.b; *MED*, s.v. *fulwaxen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *fullwaxenn*; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

<fus> (ME *fous* "eager"; ll. 9065 and 16997)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *fus*) interpret this adjective, whose attestations are very widespread during the Middle English period, as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *fúss* "willing, wishing for"). However, there is no obvious reason not to analyze it as a reflex of OE *fūs* "ready, eager, prompt," an adjective with cognates across the Germanic languages (cf., e.g., OS *fus* "ready" and OHG *funs* id. < PGmc *funsa-*), as most other scholars do (e.g., De Vries 1961, s.v. *fuss*; *OED*, s.v. *fous*; and *MED*, s.v. *fous*; cf. as well its absence from Brate 1885, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, Rynell 1948, and Dance 2003, in spite of its attestation in his corpus).

<ḡrafenn> (ME *grāven* "to carve"; l. V307)

Discussion: As with the previous word, Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *grafenn*) suggest that this widespread verb might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *grafa* "to carve, dig"), although they also mention the native cognate verb OE *grafan*, a strong class VI verb (< PGmc *graban-*). Given that the form attested in the *Ormulum* is the past participle <grafenn> and that it can be easily identified as a reflex of OE *grafen*, there is no obvious reason to consider Norse derivation (cf. *OED*, s.v. *graven*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *grāven*; cf. as well the absence of the form from Brate 1885, Egge 1887, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, and Rynell 1948).

<gyn> (ME *ginne* "inventive talent, ingenuity, cleverness, occult science"; l. 7087)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 81), following Holt (1878, s.v. *gyn*), translates the noun in the only context where it appears in the *Ormulum* as "device." Following Skeat (1876, s.v. *gin*; cf. 1888, s.v. *gin 2*), he notes that this meaning makes it difficult to associate the term with OE *gin* "gulf, abyss" and that it should instead be interpreted as a Norse-derived term (cf. OIc. *ginna* "to dupe, fool"). However, Skeat himself points out that, when the term means more generally "contrivance, piece of ingenuity," it is likely to be French-derived (cf. AN *gin*, *engin* "wit, intelligence; cunning, craft; tool"), and this explanation is further suggested by the presence of <g> for /dʒ/ (Anderson and Britton 1999, 307; chap. 2, n. 6; and Cooper and Åberg, forthcoming). Modern scholars (e.g., *OED*, s.v. *gin*, n.1, sense 1; *MED*, s.v. *gin(ne*, sense 2; Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *gyn*; Dance, forthcoming b; Skaffari, forthcoming) attribute a general sense to Orrm's term and consider it, in all its senses, which are attested fairly broadly since the Early Middle English period, to be a French loan-word.

<nŏte> ("industrious"; l. V538)

Discussion: Burchfield (1962, 101) suggests that the phrase "note men" can be translated as "men in (useful) employment" on the basis that that it can be said to render L *viri industrii* in Genesis 47:6. He gives as a *comparandum OIc. nytjamaðr* "a useful, worthy man." On the basis of their common notation, Johannesson and Copper (2022, s.v. *nŏte*) seem to suggest instead that the term represents a Norse loan. However, the adjective's root vowel does not support this etymological explanation, for there is no reason why, if we are prepared to make phonological allowances, this is a better explanation than a derivation from OE *nyt* "useful, advantageous, helpful" (on which see *OED*, s.v. *nut*, adj.1). It seems better to associate Orrm's phrase with those that *OED* (s.v. *note*, adj.) discusses in connection with the adjectival uses of ME *nōte* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Wars of Alexander*. The latter is explained as a by-form of the past participle of ME *nōten* "to signify, denote; make a note of" (see *MED*, s.v. *nōten*, v.2) or as an attributive use of ME *nōte* "note, sign" (see *MED*, s.v. *nōte*, n.3). Given the meaning of the adjective, it is surprising that there is no discussion regarding its possible connection with ME *nōte* "benefit, profit, advantage" and *nōten* "to make use of" (see *OED*, s.vv. *note*, n.1, and *note*, v.2; and *MED*, s.vv. *nōte*, n.2, and *nōten*, v.1). In any case, other than the circumstantial fact that the attestations of the form

in similar contexts are associated with texts from the Scandianvianized areas, there is no obvious reason to assume a Norse origin for the term.

<racche> (ME *racche* "a dog that hunts by smell"; l. 13505)

Discussion: The term has occasionally been analyzed as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *rakki* "dog"; see Knigge 1885, 88; and Egge 1887, 103; cf. as well *MED*, s.v. *racch(e*). However, as Dance (2019, 2:431 and 434) explains, this suggestion is clearly misguided because the presence of palatalization suggests that the noun can be straightforwardly derived from OE *ræcc* "a dog that hunts by scent" (cf. *OED*, s.v. *rache*, n.; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *racche*).

<serrꙅe> (ME *sorwe* "sorrow"; ll. 4563, 4852, and 7967)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 109–10) hypothesizes that the presence of <e> in this word-field, instead of the expected <o> (cf. OE *sorh* "care, anxiety") could be explained by association with Old Norse forms, where we find *i*-umlauted forms (cf. OE *sorgian* "to care, be anxious" vs. OIc. *syrgja* "to sorrow, mourn, bewail"). However, while OE *sorgian* tends to be conjugated like a weak class 2 verb, by-forms attest to the fact that, like the Norse verb, it was originally a weak class 3 verb (cf. <soᶒrgᶒndi> in EpGl (Pheifer) 81; < PGmc *surgēna-*, according to Orel 2003, s.v. *surƺēnan*; cf. Go. *saurgan* "to worry, grieve, be sorrowful," OHG *sorgēn* id., and OS *sorgan* id.; see Campbell 1959, §764; and Hogg and Fulk 2011, §6.130). One can assume that such verbal forms could have influenced other members of the word-field and, therefore, no Norse influence is necessary to account for the forms under consideration (cf., e.g., *OED*, s.vv. *sorrow*, n. and adj., and *sorrow*, v.; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.vv. *serrꙅe* and *serrꙅenn*), whose attestation is fairly widespread (see *MED*, s.vv. *sorwe*, *sorwen*, and *sorweful*).

Related terms: <serrꙅenn> (ME *sorwen* "to feel sorrow, sad"; ll. 1278 and 8950).

<serrhfull> (ME *sorweful* "distressed, unhappy, sad"; ll. 4789, 4805, 7153, etc.).

<sexe> (ME *six* "six"; ll. 4166, 4305, 11265, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 110) posits that the presence of <e> instead of <i> in this numeral and related forms could be attributed to Norse influence. This is based on the fact that, while most Germanic languages, including Old Icelandic, record forms with the original <e> in the root (cf. OIc. *sex*, OFri. *sex*, OS *sehs*, OHG *sehs* < PGmc *sehs; see Orel 2003, s.v. *sexs; and Kroonen 2013, s.v. *sehs), in all dialects of Old English we commonly find forms with palatal umlaut (cf. OE *six*). However, as noted by Campbell (1959, §§304–11), and Hogg and Fulk (2011, §§5.113, n. 2, and 5.115), Old English texts from various dialectal areas also record forms without umlaut, thus <sex-> in the Anglian dialects. There is no need to assume any Scandinavian influence on this numeral and the related forms (cf., e.g., *OED*, s.v. *six*, *sixteen*, *sixth*, and *sixteen*; and *MED*, s.vv. *six*, *sixt(e, sixtēne*, and *sixtī*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.vv. *sexe*, *sexte*, *sextene*, and *sextiʒ*; cf. their absence from Björkman 1900–1902; Serjeantson 1935; Rynell 1948; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, even though they are attested in the *Gersum* corpus).

Related terms: <sexte> (ME *sixt(e* "sixth"; ll. P337, 1890, 4322, etc.).

<sextene> (ME *sixtēne* "sixteen"; ll. 565, 568, 572, etc.).

<sextiʒ> (ME *sixtī* "sixty"; ll. 7674 and 8600).

<unnride> (ME *unrīde* "severe, dreadful; excessive, great"; ll. 4779, 4784, and 12527)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 122 and 129) finds it difficult to make sense of the etymology of this term, which is fairly widely attested in Middle English, and tentatively suggests that its etymology could be clarified if we consider that it might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *ryðja* "to clear, empty," cognate with OE *(ge)ryddan* > PDE *rid*). Most scholars, however, take the root to be an aphetic reflex of OE *gerȳde*, an adjective that is only attested once, with the possible meaning "smooth, easy, pleasant" (cf. OE *ungerȳde* "rough, violent"; cf. *OED*, s.vv. *ride*, adj.2, *un-i-ride*, and *unride*; *MED*, s.v. *unrīde*, adj.; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *unnride*; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935, Rynell 1948, etc.). Indeed, were the term Norse-derived, it would be difficult to account for the presence of /d/ instead of the expected fricative.[28]

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28 Egge (1887, 122) discusses as well the form <unnriddliʒ>, which he translates as "with force" and explains by reference to Da. *uryddelig* "in disorder" and Norw.

<waccnenn> (ME *wākenen* "to become awake, awaken; appear, come into being"; ll. 5843, 5845, 11653, etc.)

Discussion: Egge (1887, 124) considers this verb, which is fairly widely attested from the Early Middle English period, to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *vakna* "to awake") because of the presence of the *-n-* suffix, commonly used in Old Norse to form inchoative verbs (see Björkman 1900–1902, 15–16). However, given the existence of OE *wæcnan*, *wæcnian*, *wacnian*, which is already attested with intransitive senses in Old English, there is no reason to invoke Norse influence (cf. *OED*, s.v. *waken*; *MED*, s.v. *wākenen*; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *waccnenn*; and its absence from relevant studies by Brate 1885; Björkman 1900–1902; Serjeantson 1935; Dance 2003; Kries 2003; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019).

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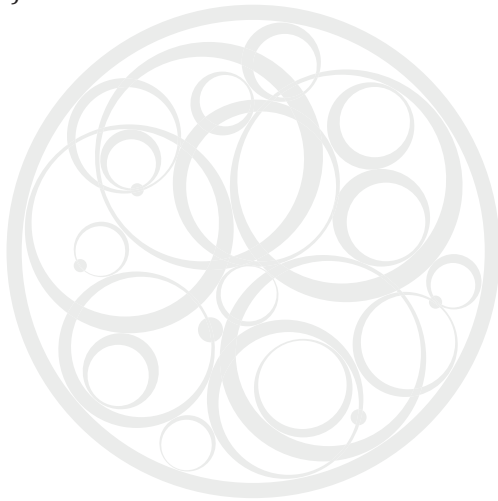
urydig "narrow, in disorder." However, this term is only attested in a line that was erased (see Holt 1878, 453; cf. *MED*, s.v. *unrīdelī*) and it is not included in either Holt's (1878), or Johannesson and Cooper's (2023) glossaries.

Overview

The discussion presented above has reviewed the merits of previous etymo-logical explanations provided for 442 terms, including fifty terms which are only attested in the *Ormulum*. Johannesson and Cooper (2023) include 2,533 entries in their glossary, 126 of which are proper nouns. Thus, if we leave the proper nouns aside, the numbers presented here suggest that about 18.4% (or around one in five words) of the text's lexicon has been analyzed as Norse-derived.[29] This is a very substantial proportion, but we need to remember that the strength of the evidence for and the level of scholarly agreement on their Norse derivation are not the same for all of them. The 442 terms have been classified as follows:[30]

Category A words: 103 (or 102 if <wanntsumm> is a Category C term)
Category B words: 52
   B: 43
   BB: 9
Category C words: 230 (or 229 if <wanntsumm> is a Category A term)
   C: 74 (or 73)
   CC: 79
   CCC: 77
Category D words: 28
   D: 16
   DD: 12
Rejected words: 30

Even if we only consider those words for which we have the strongest phono-logical and morphological evidence (A words) and those for which Norse influence is (very) likely or possible and has gathered support amongst (at least some) scholars (B, BB, C, CC, and D words), the proportion of terms still remains high: approx. 13.4% (N = 323 words), or around one in seven words.[31]

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29 These figures do not include the terms which are only discussed in Appendix 1 because claims for Norse derivation are just based on their derivational affixes: twenty-four derivatives with ME *-leik*, forty-eight derivatives with ME *-lī*, and one derivative with ME *wan-*. If these terms were included as well, the percentage rises to approx. 21.4%.

30 Secondary categories are not taken into consideration in this classification.

31 If we also take into account the relevant terms in Appendix 1, the percentage rises to approx. 16.4%, or about one in six words.

In his overview of Norse-derived terms in Early Middle English texts, based on the extracts included in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* and the etymological explanations presented by *OED* and *MED* (see Chapter 1), Skaffari (2009, 177–79) already provided some numeral data to establish that the *Ormulum* stands out amongst other near-contemporary compositions because of the significant presence and frequency of use of Norse-derived terms. The implementation of the *Gersum* classification allows us to provide more fine-grained comparisons, in spite of various difficulties:

1. Because of its recent development, the lexis of very few Middle English texts has been analyzed in terms of the *Gersum* classification. So far, that is the case only for the six texts that make up the corpus of the *Gersum* Project (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, *Pearl*, *St Erkenwald*, and *Wars of Alexander*; Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019) and the poetic account of the life of Christ known with the Anglo-Norman title *La estorie del evangelie* (Pons-Sanz 2021; see further Chapter 4).

2. It is not always easy to estimate the size of the lexicon of a particular text. For instance, Millward (1998) only provides a selective glossary in her edition of the various manuscripts of *La estorie del evangelie*, and, therefore, calculating the number of different lexical tokens in the text is not straightforward.

If we focus on the texts for which a fairly good comparison is possible, we can further contextualize the data from the *Ormulum* in relation to other Middle English texts: approx. 12% and 10% of the terms in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Wars of Alexander*, respectively, have been classified as A, B(B), C(C), or D.[32] If we only consider the words whose Norse derivation is certain or most likely, i.e., A, B, and C words, the figures are as fol-

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32 The *Gersum* database reports 323 and 425 terms which can be classified as, A, B(B), C(C), and D in these two texts, respectively. The size of their lexicon has been calculated by (1) counting the number of headwords in twenty-four full pages of the glossaries provided by Tolkien and Gordon (1967), and Duggan and Turville-Petre (1989). This has then been taken as the starting point for (2) calculating the average of headwords per page; (3) multiplying that average by the number of full pages in each glossary; and (4) adding the number of headwords in half-pages: Tolkien and Gordon (1967, 230), and Duggan and Turville-Petre (1989, 301 and 392). This process gives us the following figures: 2,663 words for *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (cf. Tolkien and Gordon 1967, 138, who say that the text's lexicon includes "approximately 2,650" words) and 4,282 words for *Wars of Alexander*. Given the comparative length of the texts, these figures further highlight the repetitive style of the *Ormulum* (see further pp. 230–32), while the alliterative texts are renowned for the wealth of their vocabulary (see, e.g., Turville-Petre 2018).

lows: approx. 9.1% for the *Ormulum*,[33] approx. 7.2% for *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and approx. 7% for *Wars of Alexander*. All these percentages as well as the breadth of semantic fields these terms are associated with (see Chapter 3) make clear why the *Ormulum* is one of the key texts that has attracted the attention of scholars interested in the lexical effects of early medieval Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact.

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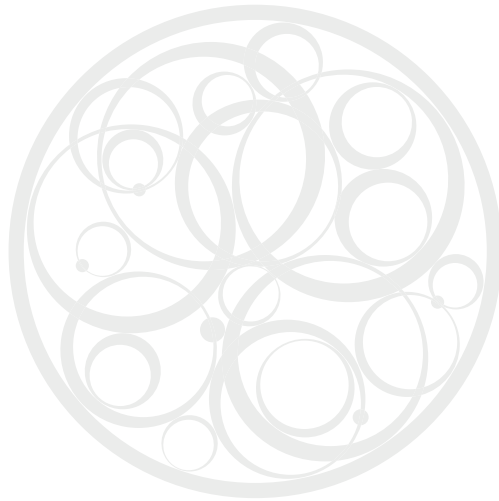
33 In keeping with the exclusion criteria in the *Gersum* Project, this figure does not include the terms that are only discussed in Appendix 1.

Chapter 3

SEMANTIC DISTRIBUTION OF
THE NORSE-DERIVED TERMS

THE IDENTIFICATION OF the terms that can be considered Norse-derived is only the first step in the study of the impact that Old Norse had on the vocabulary of the *Ormulum*. In order to fully understand such influence, we need to go beyond etymological discussions and analyze the semantic domains of the terms, and the semantic and stylistic relations they held with other members of their semantic fields. Thus, the semantic classification of the terms is another key step in this respect. This is the focus of the discussion presented here, which only engages with the terms that have been classified above as A, B(B), C(C), or D, i.e., those terms for which there is some consensus that Norse derivation is certain, (very) likely, or possible. Terms classified as A, B, or C are given in bold to highlight that Norse derivation is much more likely than in the case of words classified as BB, CC, or D; this also makes it easier to identify the words that are the focus of the exploration of the relationships between the Norse-derived terms and their (near-)synonyms presented in Chapter 4. The terms are assigned to a particular semantic field following the taxonomy of the *Historical Thesaurus of English* (hereafter *HTE*) so as to facilitate cross-study comparisons (e.g., Pons-Sanz 2015a; Pons-Sanz 2021; Pons-Sanz, forthcoming a), with the following exceptions:

1. Coverage

The classification excludes the following terms, which can be analyzed as function words:

> CONJUNCTIONS: **<occ>** (ME *ok* "and"), **<summ>** (ME *sum* "as, such as; soever"), **<till>** (ME *til*, ~ *that* "until"), **<þohh>** (ME *though* "(but) yet; although")

> PREPOSITIONS: **<fra>** (ME *from* "from"), **<frawarrd>** (ME *frōward* "(away) from"), **<inntill>** (ME *intil* "into"), **<onnḡæn>** (cf. ME *onyēn* "against"), **<till>** (ME *til* "onward, to, etc."), <ummbe> (ME *umbe* "concerning, about")

> INFINITIVE MARKER: **<att>** (ME *at* "to," infinitive marker)

PRONOUNS: <þeȝȝ> (ME *thei* "they"), **<þeȝȝm>** (ME *theim* "them"), **<þeȝȝre>** (ME *their(e* "their"), **<whasumm>** (ME *whōsum* "whoever")

AUXILIARY VERBS: <munenn> (ME *monen* "(aux.) will; would, may; must; be able to")

These terms are very helpful for the analysis of the interactions between speakers of Old English and Old Norse from a sociolinguistic perspective (cf. Dance and Pons-Sanz, forthcoming, with references), but they are less so when the focus lies on semantic matters. Nonetheless, it is important to note that some of these terms are so well integrated into the language of the text that they have taken part in word-formation processes, giving rise to other function words (<frawarrd>, <inntill>, <wha summ>) or adverbial particles (<þohhwheþþre>, ME *though whether* "nevertheless, moreover"; <tærtill>, ME *thērtil* "also, moreover"). They provide a formal alternative to native terms and, as he does with other forms, Orrm often exploits this for metrical purposes (see further Chapter 4). That is particularly the case as far as the forms of the 3rd p. pl. pronoun, ME *till* vs. ME *tō*, and ME *whōsum* vs. ME *whōsō*, are concerned, as their use depends, to a large extent, on whether the following word starts in a vowel or a consonant (see further Chapter 4).[1] This is, however, not the case for other terms; while in some cases the use of the Norse-derived form remains rather limited (e.g., <onnḡæn> is only attested once, while <onnȝæn> is attested over 140 times; <occ> is only attested as part of the phrase <aȝȝ occ aȝȝ> "for ever and ever," which might have been borrowed as a whole; see <aȝȝ> p. 12), in other cases the Norse form has (completely) taken over from the native form (e.g., ME *frā* vs. ME *from* (unrecorded), and ME *though* vs. ME *theigh*, which is only recorded in the adverbial phrase <þohh swa þehh> "nevertheless").

2. Semantic classification

2.a.   In some cases it is not possible to follow the semantic classification in *HTE* because *OED* does not include some of the terms which are only recorded in the *Ormulum*, and, accordingly, these words are not included in *HTE* either. In those cases, the category given follows the classification that *HTE* provides for a synonym: e.g., <stoffnenn> (ME *stofnen*

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1 See, however, Hille (2004) for a discussion on the semantic nuances that one can identify behind the presence of ME *tō* or *till* in the text, and Cole (forthcoming) for an exploration of the morphosyntactic contexts where the two paradigms of the 3rd p. pl. pronoun can be found.

"to produce, generate") has been classified as referring to 01.02.03 THE WORLD > LIFE AND DEATH > BIOLOGY, in keeping with the classification of the meaning that *OED* (s.v. *generate*, v.) gives for sense 1 of the verb *generate*, viz., "[t]o bring into being by procreation; *esp.* to engender or conceive (offspring)." The same course of action is taken when the term itself is attested but the specific meaning in the *Ormulum* is not recorded in *OED*. For instance, *MED* (s.v. *hēthing*, sense 2.c) gives "sacrilegious conduct; irreligious or grossly immoral act or behaviour" as the meaning for <hæþinnḡ> (ME *hēthing*) in l. 19702; since this meaning is not recorded in *OED* (s.v. *hething*), this sense is classified as 03.08.04 SOCIETY > FAITH > WORSHIP, which is the classification for the relevant sense of *sacrilege* (see *OED*, s.v. *sacrilege*, n.1, sense 1.a).

2.b. In those cases when a particular sense is associated with two or more semantic fields, all/both of them are included in the classification if relevant: e.g., <lasst> (ME *last*) in the *Ormulum* means "moral defect, vice, sin," and, accordingly, it is classified as both 02.03.05 THE MIND > GOODNESS AND BADNESS > WRONGDOING and 03.08.01 SOCIETY > FAITH > ASPECTS OF FAITH (cf. *OED*, s.v. *last*, n.3). If all the categories are not relevant, only the relevant fields are considered: e.g., *OED* (s.vv. *hethen*, *hethenward*, and *thethen*) and *HTE* associate *hethen*, *hethenward*, and *thethen* with both 01.12.06 THE WORLD > SPACE > DIRECTION and 01.14.05 THE WORLD > MOVEMENT > MOTION IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION. Given that in the *Ormulum* <heþenn> (ME *hēthen* "from this place, hence") and <þeþenn> (ME *thĕ̄then* "from there, thence") always collocate with verbs of movement, they are here associated with 01.14.05, while <heþennwarrd> (cf. ME *hēthenwărd* "hence, away") is associated with 01.12.06 becasue it always collocates with ME *lŏngen* "to wish oneself out of a particular place/life." In those cases when there is some lack of consistency in the classification of a sense, consistency has been sought through comparison with equivalent terms and (near-)synonyms. For instance, *OED* (s.v. *whethen*) and *HTE* (s.v. *whethenward*) associate *whethenward*, which is attested solely in the *Ormulum*, with 01.12.06; however, it collocates with a verb referring to MOVEMENT in all its occurrences (ME *comen*) and, in keeping with the classification of the other adverbs of MOVEMENT as well as *whence*, it is here classified as 01.14.05. Similarly, even though *OED* (s.v. *bleck*, n., sense 1) includes "ink" as part of the core meaning of *bleck*, the term is classified in connection with the colour black but not with ink itself, which is the meaning of the term in the *Ormulum*. Accordingly, the noun is given the same category as PDE *ink* when it means "[t]he coloured (usually black) fluid ordinarily employed

in writing with a pen on paper, parchment, etc." (*OED*, s.v. *ink*, n.1, sense a), viz., 03.09.07 SOCIETY > COMMUNICATION > WRITING.

2.c.   Even though the semantic taxonomy in *HTE* has many different sublevels, only the first three levels are considered here due to spatial limitations and so as to give a clearer overview of the semantic distribution of the Norse-derived term.

On the basis of these criteria, the certain, (very) likely, and possible Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* can be classified as follows:

01 THE WORLD

01.01 THE EARTH

01.01.04 LAND: **<bannke>** (ME *bank(e* "natural ridge, bank"), <dale> (ME *dāle* "valley)

01.01.10 THE UNIVERSE: **<sterrne>** (ME *sterne* "star")

01.02 LIFE AND DEATH

01.02.02 SOURCE / PRINCIPLE OF LIFE: **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to resurrect")

01.02.03 BIOLOGY: **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to bring into being, generate"), <stoffnenn> (ME *stofnen* "to produce, generate"), **<þrifenn>** (ME *thrīven* "to grow")

01.02.04 THE BODY: <afell> (ME *āvel* "strength"), <lesske> (ME *leske* "that part between the ribs and thighs, flank"), **<skinn>** (ME *skin* "skin"); <áfledd> (ME *āvelen* "to make an effort, strain; ppl. endowed (with strength)")

01.02.05 DEATH: **<kirrkeʒærd>** (cf. ME *chircheyĕrd*, *kirkegarth* "churchyard"); **<deʒenn>** (ME *dīen* "to die"), <slan> (ME *slān* "to strike, kill; bring to spiritual death")

01.03 HEALTH AND DISEASE

01.03.01 ILL HEALTH:[2] **<broþþfall>** (ME *broþþfall* "epileptic fit"), <micclelic> (ME *micclelic* "elephantiasis, leprosy"), <war> (ME *wāre* "suppurated matter, pus"); <tobollenn> (ME *tŏbellen* "to swell up extremely")

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2 The members of the <ille> (ME *il(le)*) word-field had not developed this meaning yet when Orrm was working. See Molencki (2009), Wełna (2010), and Sylwanowicz (2014, 85–86).

01.04 PEOPLE: **\<mennisscleȝȝc\>** (ME *menniscleȝc* "human nature, humanity"), **\<mennisscnesse\>** (cf. ME *mannishnes(se* "humanity"); **\<mennissk\>** (cf. ME *mannish* "human")

> 01.04.04 PERSON: **\<maȝȝ\>** (ME *mai* "virgin, maid")

01.05 ANIMALS

> 01.05.07 DOMESTIC ANIMALS: **\<mec\>** (ME *mēk* "tame")

> 01.05.09 FAMILY UNIT: \<make\> (ME *māke* "mate, partner, companion")

> 01.05.11 ANIMAL BODY: **\<wenḡe\>** (ME *wing(e* "wing")

> 01.05.12 INVERTEBRATES: \<ḡresshoppe\> (cf. ME *grashoppe* "locust")

> 01.05.15 FISH: \<fissc\> (ME *fish* "fish")

> 01.05.19 MAMMALS: **\<kide\>** (ME *kide* "kid, young of a goat"), **\<nowwt\>** (ME *nout(e* "ox, bull"), **\<sowwþ\>** (ME *south* "sheep")

01.06 PLANTS

> 01.06.06 BY GROWTH / DEVELOPMENT: \<ḡress\> (cf. ME *gras* "plant, herb"); **\<broddenn\>** (ME *brodden* "to sprout")

> 01.06.10 PART OF PLANT: **\<blome\>** (ME *blōm* "flower, blossom"), **\<brodd\>** (ME *brod* "shoot, sprout"), **\<rote\>** (ME *rōte* "root"), **\<wand\>** (ME *wōnde* "rod")

01.07 FOOD AND DRINK

> 01.07.01 FOOD: \<fasste\> (ME *faste(n* "voluntary abstinence from food and drink"), **\<sæte\>** (ME *sēte* "assembly at a banquet"); \<sleckenn\> (ME *slekken* "to quench (thirst)"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to consume, partake of")

> 01.07.03 FARMING: \<ploh\> (ME *plogh* "plough"); **\<clippenn\>** (ME *clippen* "to shear"), **\<ḡætenn\>** (ME *gēten* "to watch over, take care of")

> 01.07.04 HUNTING: \<fisskenn\> (ME *fishen* "to fish"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to catch or capture (an animal)")

01.09 PHYSICAL SENSATION

> 01.09.01 ABILITY TO BE PERCEIVED BY THE SENSES: **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to enter into the enjoyment of something")

> 01.09.02 SLEEPING AND WAKING: **\<reȝȝsenn\>** (ME *reisen* "to rouse")

> 01.09.06 TASTE / FLAVOUR: **\<beȝȝsc\>** (ME *baisk* "bitter, sour")

> 01.09.07 SMELL / ODOUR: **\<dowwnenn\>** (ME *dowwnen* "to smell")

01.09.08 SIGHT / VISION: <ḡowenn> (ME *gouen* "to look, gaze, stare"), <littnenn> (ME *littenen* "to look at, to?")

01.09.09 HEARING / NOISE: **<rowwst>** (ME *roust(e* "voice"); **<epenn>** (ME *ēpen* "to cry out")

01.10 MATTER

01.10.03 PROPERTIES OF MATERIALS: <asske> (ME *assh(e* "ash"), **<lо̥ǧe>** (ME *loue* "fire, flames"); **<brennenn>** (ME *brennen* "to burn"), <scorrcnenn> (ME *scorcnen* "to dry out, parch"), <sleckenn> (ME *slekken* "to extinguish (fire)")

01.10.05 LIQUID: <scorrcnenn> (ME *scorcnen* "to dry out, parch")

01.10.08 LIGHT: **<sterrnelem>** (ME *sternelēme* "ray of starlight")

01.11 EXISTENCE AND CAUSATION

01.11.02 CREATION: **<brennenn>** (ME *brennen* "to burn, destroy by burning"), **<clippenn>** (ME *clippen* "to cut off (sin)"), **<tobresstenn>** (ME *tŏbresten* "to break apart, burst open"), **<toskeʒʒrenn>** (ME *tŏskairen* "to break apart, smash")

01.11.03 CAUSATION: **<rote>** (ME *rōte* "source"); **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to bring into being, bring about"), <slan> (ME *slān* "to destroy, extinguish"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to derive")

01.12 SPACE

01.12.02 EXTENSION IN SPACE: **<lah>** (ME *loue* "low"), <miccle> (cf. ME *muchel* "large"); **<laǧenn>** (ME *louen* "to reduce in size or extent")

01.12.03 SHAPE: **<wranḡ>** (ME *wrong* "bent, crooked")

01.12.04 PLACE: **<flittenn>** (ME *flitten* "to carry, transfer, remove"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to remove, withdraw from")

01.12.05 RELATIVE POSITION: **<lofft>** (ME *loft, o ~* "high up, above, aloft"); <hennḡenn> (ME *hŏngen* "to suspend"), **<skeʒʒrenn>** (ME *skairen* "to scatter, disperse"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to comprise, include"), **<toskeʒʒrenn>** (ME *tŏskairen* "to scatter, disperse"), <þrennḡenn> (ME *threngen* "to move in a crowd, throng"); <ummbetrin> (ME *umbetrīn* "round about, around; set around, placed around?")

01.12.06 DIRECTION: **<heþennwarrd>** (cf. ME *hēthenwărd* "hence, away")

01.13 TIME

01.13.02 DURATION: <fresst> (ME *first* "time, period"); <drařenn> (ME *drauen* "to delay"), <dwellenn> (ME *dwellen* "to abide or continue for a while in a place")

01.13.04 PERIOD: <ȝol> (ME *yōl* "December"), <þurrsdaȝȝ> (ME *Thūresdai* "Thursday")

01.13.05 DAY AND NIGHT: <ar> (ME *ēr* "early")

01.13.08 RELATIVE TIME: **<skḗt>** (ME *skēt(e* "immediately"), **<þeþennforþ>** (ME *thĕthenforth* "from that time, thenceforth")

01.13.09 SUITABLE TIME, OPPORTUNITY: <dwellenn> (ME *dwellen* "to procrastinate, delay")

01.13.10 FREQUENCY: **<aȝȝ>** (ME *ai* "always, constantly")

01.13.11 CHANGE: **<flittenn>** (ME *flitten* "to change the condition or direction of, alter")

01.14 MOVEMENT: **<flittinnḡ>** (ME *flitting* "a going, movement")

01.14.04 RATE OF MOTION: **<skḗt>** (ME *skēt(e* "swiftly, quickly")

01.14.05 MOTION IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION: **<attrinnenn>** (ME *atrennen* "to run away"), **<flittenn>** (ME *flitten* "to go, direct one's course, depart"), **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to send forth"), **<rennenn>** (ME *rennen* "to run, flee"), **<skeȝȝrenn>** (ME *skairen* "to scatter, disperse"), **<toskeȝȝrenn>** (ME *tŏskairen* "to scatter, disperse"); **<heþenn>** (ME *hēthen* "from this place, hence"), **<þeþenn>** (ME *thĕthen* "from there, thence"), **<wheþennwarrd>** (ME *whĕthenward* "from that place, whence")

01.14.06 TRANSFERENCE: **<flittenn>** (ME *flitten* "to carry, transfer, remove")

01.14.09 ABSENCE OF MOVEMENT: **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to take, grasp, seize")

01.14.08 IMPACT: <slan> (ME *slān* "to strike, kill")

01.15 ACTION / OPERATION

01.15.02 DOING: **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven*, ~ *ende* "to make (one's) end, die"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to apply to a situation, exercise, exert")

01.15.03 UNDERTAKING: **<bun>** (ME *boun* "ready, prepared"); **<ḡreȝȝþenn>** (ME *greithen* "to prepare, furnish, complete (preparations)"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to undertake to carry out; begin or set out to do something; devote oneself to something or someone")

01.15.07 COMPLETING: <fulllnáþe?> ("fulfilment")

01.15.09 INACTION: <ro> (ME *rō* "peace, quiet, rest"); **<flittenn>** (ME *flitten* "to depart, deviate")

01.15.10 ENDEAVOUR: **<leʒʒtenn>** (ME *leiten* "to look for, try to find"), <sekenn> (ME *sēchen* "to seek, try to find")

01.15.11 DIFFICULTY: **<band>** (ME *bŏnd* "fetter, shackle"); <tor> (ME *tŏre* "difficult, hard")

01.15.12 EASINESS: **<skḗt>** (ME *skēt(e* "easily, readily")

01.15.13 AMENDING: **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to restore to a previous status")

01.15.14 ADVANTAGE: **<ḡaʒ̵enn>** (ME *gaʒhen* "advantage, benefit"); **<ḡeʒʒnenn>** (ME *geinen* "to avail, be useful or helpful")

01.15.15 SAFETY: **<ʒemsle>** (ME *yēmsle* "care, keeping"); **<attbresstenn>** (ME *atbresten* "to break away, escape"), **<ḡætenn>** (ME *gēten* "to watch over, take care of"), **<űtbresstenn>** (ME *outbresten* "to escape")

01.15.16 PROSPERITY: **<blomenn>** (ME *blōmen* "to bloom, flourish"), **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to exalt in dignity or power, promote to a higher rank"), **<þrifenn>** (ME *thrīven* "to prosper, thrive"), **<fullþrifenn>** (ME *fulthriven* "complete, perfect")

01.15.17 HARM / DETRIMENT: <ḡaʒ̵ennlæs> (ME *gaʒhenlǣs* "of no avail, profitless"), <werrse> (ME *werse* "more severe"); **<skaþenn>** (ME *scāthen* "to harm")

01.15.18 ADVERSITY: <anḡe> (ME *ănge* "trouble"), **<uselldom>** (ME *ūseldōm* "state characterized by deprivation, wretchedness"); **<usell>** (ME *ūsel* "wretched, miserable")

01.15.20 MANNER OF ACTION: **<ḡate>** (ME *găte* "manner, way"), **<ḡom>** (ME *gōme* "heed, attention, care"); **<ḡætelæs>** (ME *gætelæs* "heedless, careless"); <sleckenn> (ME *slekken* "to mitigate (sin)")

01.15.21 BEHAVIOUR: **<braþþe>** (ME *bratthe* "violence"), **<cosst>** (ME *cost* "behaviour, manners"), <ḡære> (ME *gēre* "behaviour, way of acting"), <hof> (ME *hŏf* "moderation, discretion"), **<laʒ̵e>** (ME *laue* "custom"), **<late>** (ME *lōte* "manners, (virtuous) behaviour"), **<lund>** (ME *lund* "disposition; mental or spiritual attitude"), **<mecleʒʒc>** (cf. ME *mēklāc* "gentleness"); **<braþ>** (ME *brōth* "fierce, violent"), **<mec>** (cf. ME *mēk* "gentle, quiet; benevolent, kind"), <sware> (ME *swēre* "oppressive, grievous"), **<unnmᶒc>**

(ME *unmēk(e* "unkind, harsh, fierce, cruel"), **\<unnskaþefull\>** (ME *unskātheful* "harmless, gentle"); **\<forrḡifenn\>** (cf. ME *foryēven* "to forgive, pardon"), **\<ḡifenn\>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to give (as a reward)"), **\<heʒʒlenn\>** (ME *heilen* "to greet"), **\<latenn\>** (ME *lēten* "to behave"), \<lætenn\> (ME *lēten* "to behave in a certain manner, act"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to adopt, follow"); **\<derrflike\>** (ME *derflī* "fiercely, sternly"), **\<laẖeliʒ\>** (ME *loulī* "kindly graciously"); **\<heʒʒl\>** (ME *heil* "hail!")

01.15.22 ABILITY: \<fére\> (ME *fēre* "power, sufficiency, ability"), **\<haẖerrleʒʒc\>** (ME *haʒherleʒc* "skill"); **\<haẖerr\>** (ME *hauer* "skilful"), **\<sleh\>** (ME *sleigh* "skilful, clever, dexterous"); **\<haẖerrlike, haẖelike, haẖeliʒ\>** (ME *hagherlīch* "skilfully"), **\<ille\>** (ME *il(le* "badly"), **\<unnhaẖerrliʒ\>** (ME *unhagherlī* "unskilfully")

01.16 RELATIVE PROPERTIES

01.16.01 RELATIONSHIP: **\<same\>** (ME *sām(e* "same, equal"), **\<ser\>** (ME *sēr(e* "separate, distinct"); **\<toskilenn\>** (ME *tŏskilen* "to distinguish"); **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to follow someone's example"); **\<immess\>** (ME *immess* "variously, differently"), **\<serlepess\>** (ME *sēr(elēpes* "separately")

01.16.03 ORDER: **\<skill\>** (ME *skil* "something that is reasonable or appropriate"); **\<ḡeʒʒnenn\>** (ME *geinen* "to be suitable"), **\<semenn\>** (ME *sēmen* "to be proper or seemly, suit"); **\<ḡeʒʒnlike\>** (cf. ME *geinlī* "suitably, fittingly")

01.16.04 NUMBER: **\<baþe\>** (ME *bōthe* "both"), **\<ehhtennde\>** (ME *eightend* "eighth"), **\<fa\>** (ME *fō* "few"), \<fiftende\> (ME *fĭftēnde* "fifteenth"), \<hallf ferþe\> (ME *fērthe half* "three and a half"), \<miccle\> (cf. ME *muchel* "many, large number"), \<niẖennde\> (cf. ME *nīnthe* "ninth"), \<tende\> (cf. ME *tenth(e* "tenth"), \<twinne\> (ME *twinne* "double, dual"), **\<þrinne\>** (ME *thrin* "three(fold)"), \<þrittende\> (cf. ME *thrĭtēnth(e* "thirteenth")

01.16.06 QUANTITY: \<hofelæs\> (ME *hōflēs* "immoderate, unreasonable", *att* ~ "excessively"), \<miccle\> (cf. ME *muchel* "great in amount or degree"); **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to take out, leave out"), \<wannsenn\> (ME *wansen* "to diminish; reduce"), \<werrsenn\> (ME *wersen* "to diminish"); \<miccle\> (cf. ME *muchel* "great in amount or degree; to a great extent"), **\<tærtill\>** (ME *thērtil* "also, moreover"), **\<þwerrtűt\>** (ME *thwertout* "wholly, utterly, throughout; very")

01.16.07 WHOLENESS: <sammtale> (ME *samtāle* "joined together"), <unntobrittnedd> (ME *untŏbritned* "undivided, indivisible"); <brittnenn> (ME *britnen* "to divide into parts"), **<skilen>** (ME *skillen* "to separate, distinguish"), <tobrittnenn> (ME *tŏbritnen* "to break up, divide"), <totwinnenn> (ME *tŏtwinnen* "to separate, divide")

01.17 THE SUPERNATURAL

01.17.04 DEITY: **<sæstẹrrne>** (cf. ME *sēsterre* "star of the sea"; epithet for the Virgin Mary"), **<sæte>** (ME *sēte* "seat of God in heaven")

02 THE MIND

02.01 MENTAL CAPACITY

02.01.04 DISPOSITION / CHARACTER: **<lund>** (ME *lund* "disposition; mental or spiritual attitude")

02.01.06 THOUGHT: **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to consider"), <umm-beþennkenn> (ME *umbethinken* "to think about, consider")

02.01.08 UNDERSTANDING: **<skill>** (ME *skil* "reason as a faculty of the mind; good sense, sound judgement; wisdom"); **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to understand, comprehend")

02.01.09 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING: **<skilllæs>** (ME *skillēs* "lacking the faculty of reason")

02.01.11 MEMORY: <minenn> (ME *minnen* "to remember")

02.01.12 KNOWLEDGE: <croc> (ME *crōk* "stratagem or trick"); <sekenn> (ME *sēchen* "to try to find out"); <unnawwnedd> (ME *unauned* "undisclosed, undeclared"), **<unnderrtakenn>** (ME *undertāken* "to entrap, take unawares"); **<wranḡ>** (ME *wronge* "mistakenly")

02.01.13 BELIEF: **<orraþnesse>** (ME *orrāthnesse* "doubt, perplexity"); **<orraþ>** (ME *orrāth* "perplexed, doubtful"); <witerr> (ME *witter* "clear, evident, manifest"); **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to accept something as true, believe"), **<littnenn>** (ME *littenen* "to rely on, trust in?"); <witerrliȝ> (ME *witterlī* "plainly, evidently, manifestly")

02.02 ATTENTION AND JUDGEMENT

02.02.01 ATTENTION: **<ḡom>** (ME *gōme* "heed, attention")

02.02.03 ENQUIRY: <þurrhsekenn> (ME *thurghsēchen* "to examine, scrutinize")

02.02.05 ANSWER: **\<sware\>** (ME *swāre* "answer, reply"); **\<swarenn\>** (ME *swāren* "to answer, reply")

02.02.06 TESTING: **\<sannenn\>** (ME *sannen* "to argue, dispute, maintain, prove"); \<þohh\> (ME *though* "nevertheless"), **\<þohhwheþþre\>** (ME *though whether* "nevertheless, moreover")

02.02.07 JUDGEMENT, DECISION: **\<raþ\>** (ME *rāth* "advice, counsel"); **\<raþenn\>** (ME *rōthen* "to advise")

02.02.09 ESTEEM: \<lefftenn\> (ME *leften*, *liften* "to exalt, treat with honour")

02.02.10 CONTEMPT: **\<hæþinnḡ\>** (ME *hēthing* "(object of) contempt, scorn; mockery, abuse"), **\<scald\>** (ME *scōlde* "worthless person?"), **\<uppbrixle\>** (ME *upbrixle* "object of reproach"), **\<wranḡ\>** (ME *wrong* "verbal injury, insult, calumny"); \<friȝȝenn\> (ME *frīen* "to find fault, taunt"), **\<hæþenn\>** (ME *hēthen* "to mock, scorn"), **\<skirrpenn\>** (ME *skirpen* "to behave contemptuously"); **\<hæþeliȝ\>** (ME *hēthelī(che* "scornfully")

02.02.16 BEAUTY: **\<ḡolike\>** (ME *gōlīke* "pretty, fine, splendid?"), \<scone\> (cf. ME *shēne* "beautiful, fair, pleasing")

02.02.18 BEAUTIFICATION: \<bihennḡenn\> (ME *bihōn*, *bihŏngen* "to attire, adorn")

02.03 GOODNESS AND BADNESS

02.03.01 QUALITY OF BEING GOOD: **\<skaþelæss\>** (ME *scāthlĕs* "scatheless, unharmed"); **\<ḡeþenn\>** ("to improve?")

02.03.02 BADNESS / EVIL: **\<ille\>** (ME *il(le* "bad, evil, wicked, immoral"), \<werre\> (ME *wer* "worse"), \<werrst\> (ME *werste* "in the worst manner"); \<werrsenn\> (ME *wersen* "to bring down morally or spiritually")

02.03.03 INFERIORITY / BASENESS: **\<uselldom\>** (ME *ūseldōm* "state characterized by deprivation, wretchedness"); **\<lah\>** (ME *loue* "inferior"), **\<usell\>** (ME *ūsel* "wretched, miserable"), \<werrse\> (ME *werse* "inferior in quality")

02.03.05 WRONGDOING: **\<lasst\>** (ME *last* "moral defect, vice")

02.03.06 HARMFULNESS: **\<unnmęc\>** (ME *unmēk(e* "unkind, harsh, fierce, cruel"); **\<skaþenn\>** (ME *scāthen* "to harm")

02.04 EMOTION

02.04.01 ASPECTS OF EMOTION: **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to experience")

02.04.06 PASSION: **\<kinndlenn\>** (ME *kindelen* "to kindle, arouse, give rise to")

02.04.10 PLEASURE: **\<ḡolike\>** (ME *gōlīke* "gay, joyful?")

02.04.11 SUFFERING: \<anḡe\> (ME *ănge* "affliction, vexation"), **\<sǐt\>** (ME *sīte* "anguish, grief"), **\<waʒʒ\>** (ME *wei* "misery, trouble, woe"), **\<wanndraþ\>** (ME *wandreth* "woe, misery, wretchedness"); \<apperr\> ("bitter?"), **\<beʒʒsc\>** (ME *baisk* "bitter, grievous"); **\<annḡrenn\>** (ME *angren* "to distress, trouble"), **\<beʒʒtenn\>** (ME *baiten* "to harass, torment"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to suffer, undergo")

02.04.12 ANGER: **\<braþþe\>** (ME *bratthe* "anger, wrath"); \<apperr\> ("irritable?"), **\<braþ\>** (ME *brōth* "angry")

02.04.13 LOVE: \<kaḡḡerrleʒc\> (ME *kagerleʒc* "love?")

02.04.14 HATRED: **\<unnsahhtnesse\>** (ME *unsaughtnesse* "discord, strife, hostility"); **\<unnsahhte\>** (ME *unsaught(e* "hostile"); **\<ille\>** (ME *il(le* "with displeasure")

02.04.19 PRIDE: \<oferrḡarrt\> (ME *overgart* "excessive pride, arrogance"), **\<ros\>** (ME *rōs* "boast, bragging"), **\<rosinnḡ\>** (ME *rōsinge* "boasting, pride"); **\<rosenn\>** (ME *rōsen* "to brag, boast")

02.04.20 HUMILITY: **\<mecleʒc\>** (cf. ME *mēklāc* "humility"), **\<mecnesse\>** (ME *mēknesse* "humility"); **\<mec\>** (ME *mēk* "humble"); **\<laꝪenn\>** (ME *louen* "to humble (oneself)"), **\<mekenn\>** (ME *mēken* "to make humble, soft; be humble, deferential"); **\<mẹcliʒ\>** (ME *mēklī* "humbly"), **\<laꝪeliʒ\>** (ME *loulī* "meekly, humbly")

02.04.21 FEAR: **\<aꝪe\>** (ME *aue* "fear, terror"); **\<aꝪefull\>** (ME *aueful* "awe-inspiring, terrible"), \<forrḡloppnenn\> (ME *forgloped* "disturbed with fear, badly frightened"), **\<radd\>** (ME *rade* "afraid"); **\<skerrenn\>** (ME *skerren* "to frighten")

02.04.22 COURAGE: **\<derrf\>** (ME *derf* "bold, daring"); **\<derrflike\>** (ME *derflī* "boldly, fearlessly; sternly")

02.05 WILL

02.05.01 FREE WILL: **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to pick, choose")

02.05.02 NECESSITY: \<þurrfe\> (ME *thurfe* "needed, needful")

02.05.03 WISH / INCLINATION: **\<ḡolike\>** (ME *gōlīke* "lustful?")

02.05.04 INTENTION: **<reȝȝsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to arrange, establish"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to form in the mind and exercise in action")

02.05.05 DECISION: <anwherrfeddleȝȝc> (ME *ānwherrfeddleȝȝe* "single-mindedness"); **<orraþ>** (ME *orrāth* "irresolute")

02.05.06 MOTIVATION: **<eḡḡinnḡ>** (ME *egging* "urging, incitement, encouragement"); **<eḡḡenn>** (ME *eggen* "to egg, urge on, incite"), **<reȝȝsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to stir, incite")

02.06 POSSESSION

02.06.04 NON-POSSESSION: **<wannt>** (ME want "lacking, missing"); <þarrnenn> (ME tharnen "to be without, lack"), <wanntenn> (ME wanten "to be without, lack")[3]

02.06.06 POVERTY: **<uselldom>** (ME *ūseldōm* "state characterized by deprivation, wretchedness"); **<usell>** (ME *ūsel* "deprived"), **<wanntsumm>** (ME *wantsum* "poor, in want")

02.06.08 ACQUISITION: **<addlinnḡ>** (ME *adling* "earning, that which one deserves"); **<addlenn>** (ME *adlen* "to earn"), **<biḡetenn>** (cf. ME *biyēten* "to acquire"), **<ḡetenn>** (ME *gĕten* "to obtain"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to receive, accept")

02.06.09 LOSS: **<forrḡarenn>** (ME *forgāren* "to forfeit," past part. "lost, condemned"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to deprive, take away")

02.06.11 RELINQUISHING: **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to sacrifice, give up")

02.06.12 GIVING: **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to give (as a gift, payment), offer, impart, endow (with power), restore"), **<ȝatenn>** (ME *yēten* "to grant, concede, acknowledge")

02.06.13 TAKING: **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to gain, take possession of; assume, adopt")

02.07 LANGUAGE

02.07.01 A LANGUAGE: **<mal>** (ME *māl*, *mōl* "language")

02.07.03 SPEECH: **<bone>** (ME *bōn* "boon, prayer"); **<unnbonedd>** (ME *unbōned* "unasked, unbidden"); **<bonenn>** (ME *bōnen* "to pray for something"), **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to make (a reply,

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3 On the semantic evolution of this verb in English, see Bertschinger (1941).

answer)"), <mælenn> (ME *mēlen* "to speak, talk; proceed (with a narrative)"), <sekenn> (ME *sēchen* "to ask for, request")

02.07.05 NAMING: **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to utter or use (a person's name) in a particular way")

02.07.06 STATEMENT: **<ȝatenn>** (ME *yēten* "to grant, concede, acknowledge"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to accept"); **<naȝȝ>** (ME *nai* "no")

03 SOCIETY

03.01 SOCIETY AND THE COMMUNITY

03.01.01 KINSHIP / RELATIONSHIP: <breþre> (ME *brōther* "brother); **<ḡifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to give a woman in marriage"), <hanndfessten> (ME *hŏndfesten* "to betroth"), **<takenn>** (ME *tāken* "to accept as husband or wife, marry")

03.01.03 CUSTOMS / VALUES / CIVILIZATION: **<laˢ̌ȝe>** (ME *laue* "custom")

03.01.04 SOCIAL RELATIONS: <ḡenḡe> (ME *ginge* "gathering of people, company")

03.01.06 SOCIAL CLASS: <ẹrl> (ME *ĕrl* "any noble ranking below emperor, king, prince, or duke"), **<laˢ̌ȝefollc>** (ME *louefolk* "common people"), **<laˢ̌ȝelẹd>** (ME *loue lēde* "common people"); **<lah>** (ME *loue* "low (in rank or social status)"); **<laˢ̌ȝenn>** (ME *louen* "to reduce in power or status"), **<reȝȝsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to exalt in dignity or power, promote to a higher rank"), <wannsenn> (ME *wansen* "to diminish in importance, honour")

03.01.07 DISSENT: **<ḡriþþ>** (ME *grith* "peace (of a nation or society); amity, friendship"), **<sahhtnesse>** (ME *saughtnesse* "settlement, concord, reconciliation"), **<unnsahhtnesse>** (ME *unsaughtnesse* "discord, strife, hostility"); **<sahhte>** (ME *saught* "reconciled, in agreement"), <sammtale> (ME *samtāle* "reconciled, agreed")**,** **<unnsahhte>** (ME *unsaught(e* "hostile"); **<sahhtlenn>** (ME *saughtelen* "to reconcile")

03.02 INHABITING / DWELLING: **<biḡḡenn>** (ME *biggen* "to dwell")

03.02.07 INHABITED PLACE: <bennk> (ME *benk* "bench"), <bennkinnḡe> (ME *benking* "row of benches"), **<ḡessthus>** (ME *gesthous* "guesthouse"), **<sæte>** (ME *sēte* "something onto which one seats"); <bennkedd> (ME *benked* "furnished with benches"), **<unnbiḡḡedd>** (ME *unbigged* "uninhabited, not dwelt in")

03.03 ARMED HOSTILITY

03.03.02 ARMED ENCOUNTER: **\<orresst\>** (ME *orest(e* "battle, struggle")

03.03.12 ARMED FORCES: \<ḡenḡe\> (ME *ginge* "army")

03.03.19 PEACE: **\<ḡriþþ\>** (ME *grith* "peace (of a nation or society)")

03.04 AUTHORITY

03.04.01 POWER: \<efennric\> (ME *ēvenrike* "equally powerful")

03.04.06 RULE / GOVERNMENT: **\<keʒʒsere\>** (ME *caiser* "Roman emperor, Caesar")

03.04.08 EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY: **\<ḡreʒʒfe\>** (ME *greive* "steward, headman of town")

03.04.09 SUBJECTION: **\<ammbohht\>** (ME *amboht* "handmaid, servant woman"), **\<band\>** (ME *bŏnd* "fetter, shackle"), \<ḡenḡe\> (ME *ginge* "body of retainers"), **\<leǥemenn\>** (ME *leieman* "hired man, manservant"), **\<leǥesweʒʒn\>** (ME *leieswein* "hired servant"), **\<mecleʒʒc\>** (cf. ME *mēklāc* "submissiveness"); **\<laǥenn\>** (ME *louen* "to be subservient or obedient"), **\<mekenn\>** (ME *mēken* "to submit"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to seize and hold (a person) as a prisoner"); **\<mᶒcliʒ\>** (ME *mēklī* "submissively, obediently")

03.05 LAW

03.05.01 WRITTEN LAWS: **\<laǥeboc\>** (ME *lauebōk* "law-book")

03.05.09 RULE OF LAW: **\<unnlaǥe\>** (ME *unlaue* "wrongdoing, injustice"); **\<laǥeliʒ\>** (ME *lauelīche* "lawfully, legally, in accordance with the law"), **\<unnlaǥeliʒ\>** (ME *unlaulīche* "sinfully, immorally, in violation of divine or religious law, in an inappropriate manner")

03.05.15 LEGAL RIGHT: **\<arrfname\>** (cf. ME *ervenāme* "heir")

03.06 MORALITY

03.06.01 DUTY / OBLIGATION: **\<triḡḡ\>** (ME *trig* "trustworthy, trusty"); **\<forrḡifenn\>** (cf. ME *foryēven* "to forgive, pardon")

03.06.02 DUENESS / PROPRIETY: **\<unnskill\>** (ME *unskil*, *with* ~ "wrongly, improperly"); **\<wranḡ\>** (ME *wronge* "improperly, unduly")

03.06.03 RIGHTNESS / JUSTICE: **\<laǥe\>** (ME *laue* "what is right, justice"); **\<wranḡ\>** (ME *wrong* "contrary to what is right"); **\<wranḡ\>** (ME *wronge* "wrong, falsely")

03.06.04 VIRTUE: **<skir>** (ME *skīr(e* "free from blemish, pure"), **<sac-clæs>** (ME *săklĕsse* "innocent, guiltless"); **<reʒʒsenn>** (ME *reisen* "to elevate to a higher moral condition")

03.06.05 MORAL EVIL: <horedom> (ME *hōredōm* "fornication, adultery"), <kaʒ̄ʒerrleʒʒc> (ME *kagerleʒc* "wantonness?"); **<ille>** (ME *il(le* "bad, evil, wicked, immoral"), <wælinnʒ̄> (ME *wæling* "wanton, shameless"); <forrhorenn> (ME *forhōren* "to make a whore of someone, to seduce"); **<unnlaʒ̈eliʒ>** (ME *unlaulīche* "sinfully, immorally, in violation of divine or religious law, in an inappropriate manner")

03.08 FAITH

03.08.01 ASPECTS OF FAITH: **<laʒ̈e>** (ME *laue* "(moral, Mosaic) law, rule; Commandments"), **<laʒ̈eboc>** (ME *lauebōk* "Jewish law-book, specifically the Pentateuch"), **<lasst>** (ME *last* "sin"), <náþe?> (ME *nāþe* "grace")

03.08.02 SECT: **<kirrke>** (cf. ME *chirche* "entire community of Christians")

03.08.03 CHURCH GOVERNMENT: <bisscopp> (ME *bishop* "bishop"), <kanunnk> (ME *cānunk* "clergyman living under the rule of canons, canon")

03.08.04 WORSHIP: **<bone>** (ME *bōn* "boon, prayer"), <ʒoldaʒʒ> (ME *yōldai* "Christmas day, 25th December"), **<hæþinnʒ̄>** (ME *hēthing* "sacrilegious conduct"); **<bonenn>** (ME *bōnen* "to pray for something"), **<clippenn>** (ME *clippen* "to circumcise"), **<ummbeclippenn>** (ME *umbeclippen* "to circumcise"), <ummbesherenn> (ME *umbeshēren* "to circumcise")

03.08.05 ARTIFACTS: **<kirrke>** (cf. ME *chirche* "church, temple"), **<kirrkedure>** (cf. ME *chirchedōre* "church-door"), **<kirrkeflor>** (cf. ME *chircheflor* "floor or pavement in a church")

03.09 COMMUNICATION

03.09.02 MANIFESTATION: <awwnenn> (ME *aunen* "to show (oneself); point"), **<ʒ̄ifenn>** (cf. ME *yēven* "to show, demonstrate, present or set forth an example"), **<unnhilenn>** (ME *unhilen* "to reveal, disclose")

03.09.04 INDICATION: <merrke> (ME *marke* "seal, confirmation; indicator, symbol")

03.09.05 INFORMATION: \<sandermann\> (cf. ME *sŏndesman* "messenger"), **\<tiþennde\>** (ME *tīding(e* "announcement, message")

03.09.07 WRITING: **\<blecc\>** (ME *blĕk* "ink")

03.10 TRAVEL AND TRAVELLING: \<sekenn\> (ME *sēchen* "to go")

03.10.01 ASPECTS OF TRAVEL: **\<flittenn\>** (ME *flitten* "to go, direct one's course, depart"), **\<takenn\>** (ME *tāken* "to conduct, lead, guide")

03.10.03 MEANS OF TRAVEL: **\<ḡate\>** (ME *gǎte* "path, way"), \<karrte\> (ME *cart* "cart, chariot"), **\<sloþ\>** (ME *sloth* "path, trail"); **\<ḡatelæs\>** (ME *gātelēs* "without a path, pathless")

03.11 OCCUPATION AND WORK

03.11.06 INDUSTRY: **\<reʒʒsenn\>** (ME *reisen* "to raise, build")

03.11.11 EQUIPMENT: \<bulaxe\> (ME *bōlax(e* "ax for cutting or splitting wood"), \<cnif\> (ME *knīf* "knife")

03.12 TRADE AND FINANCE

03.12.13 TRADING PLACE: **\<boþe\>** (ME *bōth* "booth, stall"), **\<chepinnḡboþe\>** (ME *chepingbōthe* "market stall or booth")

03.12.15 MONEY: \<sillferr\> (ME *silver* "silver, money")

03.12.19 FEES AND TAXES: **\<leᶋe\>** (ME *leie* "wages, hire, pay"), **\<mále\>** (ME *mōl* "tribute, tax")

03.13 LEISURE

03.13.01 ENTERTAINMENT: **\<leʒʒkess\>** (ME *leik* "game, play"), **\<skemmtinnḡ\>** (ME *scenting(e* "play, entertainment, amusement"); **\<leʒʒkenn\>** (ME *leiken* "to trifle, play, jest")

03.13.02 SOCIAL EVENT: \<sekenn\> (ME *sēchen* "to visit")

03.13.03 THE ARTS: **\<scald\>** (ME *scōlde* "minstrel, poet?")

Figure 1. Semantic distribution of the certain/ most likely Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum*
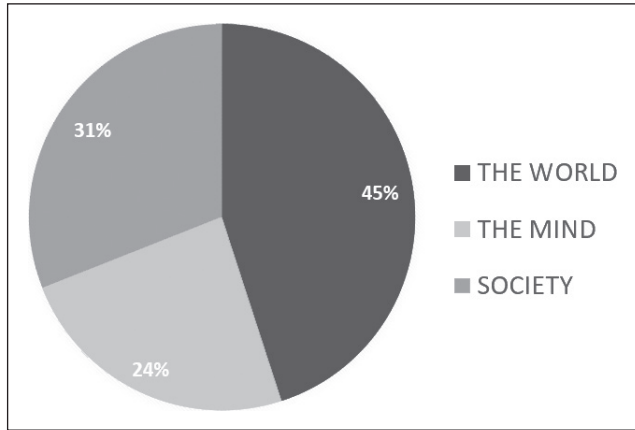
This classification shows the wide range of concepts that are expressed through Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* and showcases the type of painstaking work that is necessary at the moment in order to gain a thorough understanding of the impact that these terms had on English.[4] Indeed, the use of the *HTE* makes it possible to explore this impact in ways that were not easily available to previous scholars. For instance, on the one hand, we can compare *for the first time* the semantic distribution of these terms against the overall make-up of the Middle English lexicon. Admittedly, such comparison has to take into account the aforementioned difficulties associated with drawing a clear line between Norse-derived and native terms. However, it is very interesting to see that the distribution of the certain/most likely terms, i.e., those classified as A, B, or C (no doubling or tripling of either consonant; see Figure 1), is very similar to that of the Middle English lexis (see Figure 2), and this offers much more robust evidence in favour of the fact that this linguistic variety can be taken to reflect an adstratal relationship between Norse and English than previous studies have been able to provide.[5]

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4 This work will be further facilitated if/when the *HTE* includes etymological information from the *OED*.

5 For a more detailed comparison of the semantic distribution of the A, B, and C Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* and the Middle English lexis, as well as the A, B, and C Norse-derived terms included in the *Gersum* database, see Pons-Sanz (forthcoming b). For a discussion of the sociolinguistic relations between English and Norse, see Pons-Sanz (2013, chap. 5), and Dance and Pons-Sanz (forthcoming), with references.

Figure 2. Semantic distribution of the Middle English vocabulary
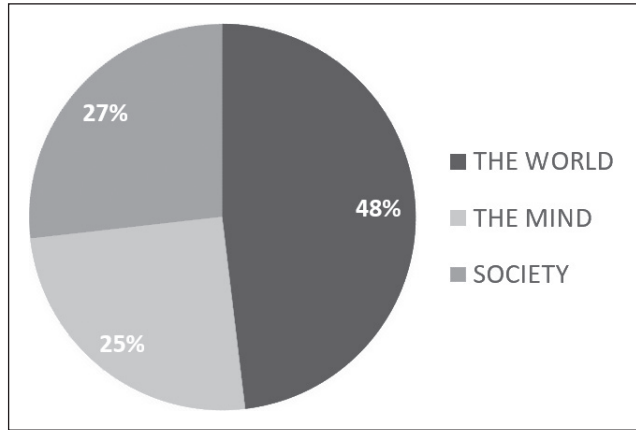
On the other hand, *HTE* also makes it easier to establish how the loans functioned within their semantic fields because it facilitates the identification of the terms, native or otherwise, with which the Norse-derived words established semantic relationships. This is the focus of the exploration in the next chapter, where Orrm's lexical choices are also discussed in their dialectal context.
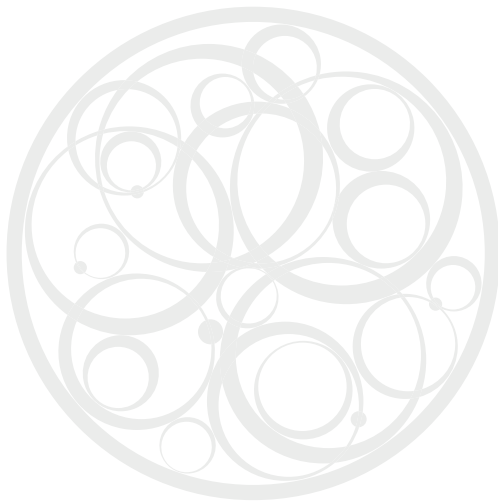
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE NORSE-DERIVED TERMS AND THEIR (NEAR-)SYNONYMS

ONCE THE NORSE-DERIVED terms recorded in the *Ormulum* have been identified and classified, both etymologically and semantically, the next step in the investigation into their impact on Orrm's dialect/idiolect is gaining an understanding of their relations with other members of their semantic field. That is the aim of the remining part of this work, with a focus on the interaction between those terms whose Norse derivation can be identified as secure or very likely (i.e., terms classified as A, B, or C terms, with no doubling or tripling of the consonant) and their closest (near-)synonyms. The semantic overview presented in the previous chapter shows that, even when these narrow parameters are applied (i.e., terms marked in bold), we are still dealing with over 200 meanings which are expressed by Norse-derived terms. This large number requires a pragmatic approach that can render informative results. As such, the interaction between the Norse-derived terms and their direct alternatives is investigated mainly in terms of their prevalence in the text as well as the semantic and stylistic factors that have facilitated their use.[1]

So as to assess the extent to which Orrm's lexical choices might be as distinctive as other aspects of his work (e.g., its spelling system), it is also important to place the interaction between Norse- and non-Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* within its suggested chronological and dialectal context: late-twelfth-century South Lincolnshire (see Chapter 1). The etymological discussion presented in Chapter 2 and in Appendix 1 highlights the existence of a significant number of terms—many of them derivatives—not attested elsewhere in English; even when we take into account the well-known arguments about the problematic nature of medieval textual attestation, this could be interpreted as an indication of some degree of lexical cre-

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1 The analysis of the whole of the semantic field where these terms are integrated from a structuralist (e.g., identification of synonyms, hypernyms, antonyms, etc.; see Lyons 1977, vol. 1, chaps. 8 and 9) and a cognitive perspective (e.g., identification of the terms that are used to refer to basic categories as opposed to superordinate or hyponymic categories; see Roch et al. 1976; and, for an application to the lexical effects of language contact, e.g., Sylvester 2020) lies beyond the remit of the present work.

ativity on his behalf (cf. Dance, forthcoming b). However, going beyond this initial point is a difficult task because of the dearth of near-contemporary texts from Lincolnshire. In this respect, it is important to cast the net some-what wider in order to establish helpful *comparanda* in terms of the text's place and date of composition. The following texts are particularly relevant for this purpose:

1. Final Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (Irvine 2004; here-after, *FCPC*): This set of annals, comprising the entries from 1132 to 1154, is generally considered to have been written in one go ca. 1154 in Peterborough, which is around twenty miles (or thirty-two kilometres) to the south of Bourne (Laing and Lass 2006, 419; *LAEME*, # 149, petch-ront.tag).

2. *Havelok the Dane* (Smithers 1987; hereafter *Havelok*): This romance is generally dated to the late thirteenth century and its author is said to originate from Lincolnshire (probably Lincoln; see Smithers 1987, lxviv–lxxiii and lxxxix), while its only extant manuscript, viz., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 108, is normally dated ca. 1300–1325 and is localized in West Norfolk (*LAEME*, # 285, havelokt.tag).

3. *La estorie del evangelie* (Millward 1998; hereafter, *Estorie*): The exact date and place of composition of this metrical life of Christ remain unknown, although its origin is generally placed in late-thirteenth-century North-West Norfolk / North-East Cambridgeshire / South Lincolnshire because of the date of its earliest witness (viz., Dulwich College, MS XXII, which *LAEME*, # 182, dulwicht.tag, dates ca. 1300 and localizes in South Lincolnshire) and the linguistic features shared by the various manuscripts (Millward 1998, 56–64).

4. *Genesis and Exodus* (Arngart 1968; hereafter *Genesis*): This metrical version of some extracts from the Old Testament was composed in an East Midlands dialect at some point before the first quarter of the four-teenth century, the date of the only manuscript where it is recorded: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 444. The latter is generally attributed to West Norfolk (see *LAEME*, # 155, genexodt.tag).

5. Robert Mannyng's works (*Handlyng Synne*, Sullens 1983; *Chronicle*, Sullens 1996): Mannyng worked at the beginning of the fourteenth century; if Orrm's association with South Lincolnshire is accepted (cf. chap. 1, n. 2), Mannyng's works offer very good dialectal *comparanda* for the *Ormulum* because there is strong evidence to associate him with Bourne (see Hanna 2019, with references). However, one also needs to consider the significant chronological gap between the two authors.

The latter is exacerbated by the fact that the best witness of Mannyng's language, which is one of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, viz., London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 511.7, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century (see Sullens 1983, xviii–xxxv; Sullens 1996, 22–51; and the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England*, hereafter *eLALME*, LP 38, where the manuscript is localized in Lincolnshire).

Given the chronological and dialectal relevance of these texts, they have been investigated to determine whether the Norse-derived terms and/or their (near-)synonyms are attested and, if so, whether any term appears to be more dominant on the basis of its number of attestations. There are, however, a number of caveats that have to be taken into account:

1. *Estorie* and Mannyng's works are attested in a number of manuscripts, most of which originate from a dialectal area different from their original place of composition. Nonetheless, one can take various approaches to get an insight into the vocabulary of the original. The Petyt manuscript is taken here as the main source for Mannyng's vocabulary (a task that is facilitated by the glossary which Sullens includes at the end of her 1996 edition). The situation for *Estorie* is more complex because of the fragmentary nature of its extant witnesses and because it is clear that the non-Lincolnshire manuscripts, as they stand, include a number of substitutions (see Millward 1997; Pons-Sanz 2021; Cole and Pons-Sanz 2023). As such, the vocabulary of the text has been analyzed here on the basis of the following methodological decisions: (a) when the text (whether it represents the original composition or later interpolations, e.g., ll. 69–144, 151–78, 269–82, and 443–54) is recorded in the Dulwich manuscript (MS D), this manuscript's lexical choices are taken into account; and (b) when the text is not recorded in the Dulwich manuscript, the lexical choices are only taken into account when they appear in rhyming position or when they are shared by manuscripts belonging to different branches in the stemma, i.e., when they are not just recorded in the Worcestershire manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Poet a.1 (a.k.a. Vernon manuscript; MS V), London, University of London Library, MS V 17 (a.k.a. Clopton manuscript; MS S), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional C 38 (MS B); or in London, British Library, MS Royal 17 C xvii (MS R) and London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 388 (MS L). It is particularly helpful when Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 655 (MS P), which does not have any clear connection with the other manuscripts, also shares a reading (on the relationships between the various manuscripts, see further Millward 1988, 43–49).

2. The issues associated with the aforementioned texts are also relevant, to some extent, for *Havelok* and *Genesis* because, even though in this case there is a single witness, each manuscript is likely to originate from a dialectal area different from that of the original composition, and scribal substitutions are particularly common when cognates or other formally close terms are involved (cf. Pons-Sanz 2021).

In spite of these caveats, these texts offer an interesting point of comparison for the *Ormulum*, as suggested by the tables presented below. These tables help contextualize Orrm's lexical choices and, in doing so, overlap, to some extent, with the information provided by Rynell (1948, 59–100), although there are also very important differences in relation to various issues:

1. The terms covered: Given the breadth of Rynell's analysis, his work is based on a general list of terms that is applicable to the various texts; as such it is not as comprehensive or as focused on the *Ormulum* itself as the present analysis.

2. The texts that are analyzed: While Rynell covers a much wider range of texts than the present study, the main difference for our purposes is the fact that his account of Mannyng's language is based on two manuscripts of *Handlyng Synne* copied outside the areas of heavy Scandinavian influence: London, British Library, MS Harley 1701 (ca. 1380, Buckinghamshire; *eLALME* LP 6630) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 415 (early fifteenth century, Hertfordshire; *eLALME* LP 6620).

Cases Where the Norse-Derived Terms and Their Near-Synonyms Are Closely Related

The tables in this section and the next one present the level of use of the Norse-derived terms classified as A, B, or C in relation to their (near-)synonyms in the *Ormulum* and the textual *comparanda* listed above. The number of attestations of the relevant terms is given only in those cases where both Norse- and non-Norse-derived terms are recorded. Tables 1–8 record prominence in attestation as follows: +: dominant term; -: minor term; =: the Norse-derived and other terms are equally prominent; 0: unattested term; ?: attestation is problematic. The terms are attributed an equal sign on the basis of various factors:

1. The number of attestations: In those cases where the terms are attested fewer than five times each (e.g., 5× for ME *hēthen* and 3× for ME *henne* in *Havelok*; see Table 1) or, for those terms with higher attestations, where

the difference is less than double as this makes the numbers rather close (e.g., 9× for <brennenn> and 13× for <bærnenn> in the *Ormulum*; see Table 3);

2. The shape of the word-field (see below): In those cases where participation in word-formation processes is indicative of integration into the semantic field. This applies only to the relationship between the <bone> and <bene> word-fields in the *Ormulum*: the Norse-derived field includes not only a noun but also two verbs, ME *bōnen* and *unbōnen* (represented by the past participle ME *unbōned*), while in the text and Middle English as a whole the native field only includes the cognate noun ME *bēne* (see Table 3).

Given that the existence (or, rather, awareness of the existence) of similar words in one's language seems to facilitate the transfer and use of terms from another language (see Rogers, Webb, and Nakata 2015; Otwinowska 2016; Elter 2023; Elter, forthcoming; see also the overall scores in Tables 9–12, and Tables 14–17 in Appendix 2), and that speakers of Old English appear to have been able to work out phonological correspondences between Old English and Old Norse (Townend 2002, chaps. 3–4), the Norse loans whose closest (near-)synonym is a related term, either because they are cognates (i.e., Category A terms with an asterisk) or because they share the same or a closely related root, such as a root with a different ablaut grade (i.e., Category C and some Category B terms), are discussed separately in Tables 1–4.

Tables 1–4 take into account not only the terms recorded in the *Ormulum* but also other members of their word-field so as to provide a more comprehensive comparison: e.g., although Orrm's ME *atbresten* and *tŏbresten* are not recorded in *Estorie*, ME *upbresten* "to breach, destroy" is, and, accordingly, Table 1 takes it into account when giving the Norse-derived word-field as dominant. As the tables focus on terms that can alternate in the same context, they exclude words with clear semantic differences (e.g., <ammbohht>, ME *amboht* "handmaid, female servant", vs. OE *ambiht*, *embiht* "servant, disciple; service"; and <epenn>, ME *ēpen* "to cry out," vs. <wepenn>, ME *wēpen* "to weep, cry"); these Norse-derived terms are addressed in Tables 5–8. Cases where the two cognates have different functions in the *Ormulum* (the negative adverb <naʒʒ>, used to express negation or dissent in direct or reported speech, vs. <na> (ME *nō*); and <heʒʒl>, an interjection used to greet someone, vs. the adjective <hal>, ME *hōl(e* "healthy"; see further below, 5.4.1) are addressed in Table 1 because the Norse-derived word is the only one that carries out that particular function in the text.

Table 1. Cases where the *Ormulum* only records the Norse-derived cognate (N+, E0)[2]

Norse terms	English terms	*FCPC*
<band> (ME *bŏnd* "fetter, shackle")	ME *bĕnd(e* (OE *bend*)	N0, E0
<blecc> (ME *blĕk* "ink, black substance")	ME *blacche* (OE *blæce*), *blăk* (OE *blæc*)	N0, E0
<bresstenn> word-field: <attbresstenn> (ME *atbresten* "to break away, escape") <tobresstenn> (ME *tŏbresten* "to break apart, burst open") <űtbresstenn> (ME *outbresten* "to escape")	ME *bersten* (OE *berstan*")	N0, E0
<brodd> word-field: <brodd> (ME *brod* "sprout") <broddenn> (ME *brodden* "to sprout")	OE *brord*	N0, E0
<ehhtennde> (ME *eightend* "eighth")	ME *eightethe* (OE *eahteoþa*)	N0, E0
<ḡesst> word-field: <ḡessthus> (ME *gesthous* "guest-house")	ME *gest* (OE *gyst*, *gest*)	N+ (ME *gest* "guest"), E0
<ʒemsle> (ME *yēmsle* "care, keeping")	ME *yēming* (OE *gȳming*)	N0, E0
<ḡreʒʒfe> (ME *greive* "steward, headman of town")	ME *rēve* (OE *gerēfa*)	N0, E0

2 N: Norse-derived term(s); E: English term(s).

3 In the only context where London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 131 records the Norse-derived form <blek>, viz., Ch1 l. 11158, the Petyt manuscript records an error (<nek>).

4 Arngart (1968, 220, s.v. *brod*) identifies <brod> in l. 3712 with the Norse-derived term, but Lindström (1995, 76) prefers to interpret it as a form of ME *brōd* "broad" and *MED* (s.v. *brōd*, n.2, sense 2.b) as a form of the native noun ME *brōd* "descendent; type of person or thing."

5 <g> in this this manuscript could refer to both the velar and the palatal sound (see Arngart 1968, 16–17) and, as such, <gest> could represent the native or the Norse-derived noun; it is associated here with the Norse-derived noun because ME *gestning(e* is likely to be Norse-derived on the basis of its suffix (see Pons-Sanz 2013, 67–69, with references).

Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N+, E0	N0, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E0	N?,[3] E+
N0, E0	N+ (ME *up-bresten*), E0	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N?,[4] E0	N0, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N+, E0	N0, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N+ (ME *gest* "guest" and *gestning(e* "feast, entertainment"),[5] E0	N+(ME *gest* "guest" and *gesten* "to provide with lodging, food, etc."), E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E0

N=, E=
ME *greive* (3×)
ME *rēve* word-field:
  ME *rēve* (1×)
  ME *shĭrrēve* "shire-reeve" (2×)
	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E+ (ME *shĭrrēve*)

Norse terms	English terms	*FCPC*
<heʒʒl> (ME *heil* "hail!") Cf. <heʒʒlenn> (ME *heilen* "to greet")	ME *hōl(e* (OE *hāl*), ME *hēl* (OE *hǣl*)	N0, E0
<heþenn> word-field: <heþenn> (ME *hēthen* "from this place, hence") <heþennwarrd> (ME *hēthenwǎrd* "hence, away")	ME *henne* (OE *heonan*)	N0, E0
<kirrke> word-field: <kirrke> (cf. ME *chirche* "church, temple; entire community of Christians") <kirrkedure> (cf. ME *chirchedōre* "church-door") <kirrkeflor> (cf. ME *chircheflor* "floor or pavement in a church") <kirrkeʒærd> (cf. ME *chircheyěrd*, *kirkegarth* "churchyard")	ME *chirche* (OE *cyrice*)	N0, E+
<naʒʒ> (ME *nai* "no")	<na> (ME *nō*)	N0, E0
<name> word-field: <arrfname> (cf. ME *ervenāme* "heir")	ME *nume*	N0, E0
<nowwt> (ME *nout(e*)	ME *nēt*	N0, E0
<reʒʒsenn> (ME *reisen* "to raise, build, resurrect, etc.")	ME *rēren* (OE *rǣran*)[9]	N0, E0

6 L. 229D records a monophthongal form for the adjective (ME *hēl*), while a diphthongal form can be found in l. 229BSV.

7 While the other texts use native terms to refer to HEALTH, *Genesis* records ME *heilnesse* "health, well-being."

8 The text records ME *nome* "prisoner" once (l. 2268); the etymology of the latter is uncertain, for it might be a variant of ME *nāme* (possibly influenced by the vowel in the past forms of ME *niman*), or a direct descendant of ME *nome(n)*, for this vowel is also found occasionally in the past participle forms of the verb (e.g., l. 3039; see *OED*, s.v. *nome*, n.1; and *MED*, s.v. *nome*, n.1).

9 While speakers might not have been aware of the fact that these two transitive verbs are cognates, the similarity of the Norse-derived term with the etymologically related OE *rīsan* / ME *rīsen*, an intransitive verb, is likely to have facilitated the integration of the Norse-derived term into English.

10 ME *arēren* is only attested in S; other manuscripts use different verbs, including in rhyming position (see l. 1772P).

Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, E0	N0, E+[6]	N0, E0[7]	N+ (ME *drink heil* "toast salutation," *wes heil* "toast salutation"), E0
N=, E= ME *hēthen* (5×) ME *henne* (3×)	N0, E+	N+, E0	N+, E0
N+, E0	N0, E0	N0, E+	N+, E0
N=, E= ME *nai* (2×) ME *nō* (1×)	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N?,[8] E0	N0, E0
N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E+
N0, E0	N0, E?[10]	N0, E0	N+, E0

Norse terms	English terms	*FCPC*
<skaþenn> word-field: <skaþenn> (ME *scāthen*) <skaþelæss> (ME *scāthlĕs* "scatheless, unharmed") <unnskaþefull> (ME *unskātheful* "harmless, innocent")	ME *shāthien* (OE *sceaþian*)	N0, E0
<sterrne> word-field: <sterrne> (ME *sterne* "star") <sæsterrne> (cf. ME *sēsterre* "star of the sea") <sterrnelem> (ME *sternelēme* "ray of starlight")	ME *sterre* (OE *steorra*, *stiorra*)	N0, E+
<þeþenn> word-field: <þeþenn> (ME *thĕ̆then* "from there, thence") <þeþennforþ> (ME *thĕ̆thenforth* "from that time, thenceforth")	ME *thenne* (OE *þanon*)	N0, E0
<tiþennde> (cf. ME *tīding(e* "announcement, message")	ME *tīding(e* (OE *tīdung*)	N0, E0
<wheþenn> word-field: <wheþennwarrd> (ME *whĕ̆thenward* "from that place, whence")	ME *whenne* (OE *hwanon*)	N0, E0

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11 The Norse-derived term is recorded in rhyming position in l. 641B, while l. 641S records the native term instead and thus does not maintain the rhyme. In all the other contexts, references to stars appear in non-rhyming position and they are only recorded in the Worcester manuscripts (MSS B, S, and V), which makes it very difficult to know what might have been the original poet's preferred term.

12 L. 2010LR records ME *thenne(s)* in rhyming position, while l. 2010B records ME *hennes*.

13 The rhyming pattern in ll. 559–60 suggests that the Norse-derived term was part of the original composition (cf. <tiþinge> in l. 507B). Given the disparity between the different manuscripts that record this text in terms of their treatment of this word (e.g., cf. forms with <þ> in ll. 560S, 611S, 738S, 1367S, and 1973S vs. forms with <d> in ll. 506B, 611B, 738B, and 1973L), it is not possible either to establish whether the native term was also part of the author's original choices and what the relationship between the Norse-derived term and its native cognate was.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
N+ (ME *skāth(e* "harm"), E0	N0, E0	N0, E0	N+ (ME *skāth(e* "harm"), E0
N+, E0	N?, E?[11]	N0, E+	N+, E0
N=, E= ME *thĕthen* (2×) ME *thenne* (2×)	N0, E?[12]	N+ (also ME *thĕthen-ward* "from that place"), E0	N-, E+ ME *thĕthen* (1×) ME *thenne* (13×)
N=, E= ME <tithande> (1×) ME *tīding(e* (1×)	N?, E?[13]	N0, E+	N+, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N+ (ME *whēthen* "whence"), E0	N+ (ME *whēthen* "whence"), E0

Table 2. Cases where the Norse-derived terms are more prevalent than their native cognates in the *Ormulum* (N+, E-)

Norse terms	English terms	
<aʒʒ> (ME *ai* "always, constantly") (305×)	<a> (ME *ō*) (45×)[14]	
<baþe> (ME *bōthe* "both") (162×)	<ba> (13×), <beʒʒenn> (1×) (ME *bō*)	
<ʒom> (ME *gōme* "heed, attention, care") (27×)	ME *yēme* word-field: <ʒemelæste> (ME *yēmelēst* "carelessness, neglect") (2×)[16]	
<mennissk> word-field: <mennissk> (cf. ME *mannish* "human") (1×) <mennisscleʒʒc> (ME *mennisclęʒc* "human nature, humanity") (3×) <mennisscnesse> (cf. ME *mannishnes(se* "humanity") (36×)	<mennissh> (ME *mannish*) (1×)	
<þohhwheþþre> (ME *though whether* "nevertheless, moreover") (17×) Cf. <þohh> (ME *though*) (125×)	Cf. <þohh swa þehh> (29×)	
<þwerrtűt> (ME *þwertout* "wholly, utterly, throughout, very") (127×)	<þurrhűtlike> (ME *thurghoutlī*) (3×)	

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14 On the common collocations of the Norse-derived and native cognates in the *Ormulum*, see Rynell (1948, 59n5, and 59n6); see also <aʒʒ>, p. 14.

15 Rynell (1948, 77n63) notes the presence of ME *bō* (<beye>) in Ch1 l. 540; however, the form recorded in the Petyt manuscript is <tweye> (ME *twein*).

16 Cf. as well <ʒemsle> (ME *yēmsle* "care, keeping"), on which see Table 1.

17 On the possibility that ME *though* might have been part of the original composition, see Pons-Sanz (2021, 485).

18 The adverb is recorded in *Havelok*, but with the meaning "searchingly, piercingly," associated with its root, not as an intensifier, as is the case in the *Ormulum* (see *MED*, s.v. *thurgh-outlī*, sense 1.a).

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E- ME *ai* (8×) ME *ō* (2×)	N+, E0
N=, E= ME *bōthe* (1×) ME *bō* (1×)	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0[15]
N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+
N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0
N+, E0	N=, E= ME *though* (9×) ME <þei> (5×)	N?, E?[17]	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0[18]	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0

Table 3. Cases where the Norse-derived and their native cognates are equally prevalent in the *Ormulum* (N=, E=)

Norse terms	English terms
<arrf> word-field: <arrfname> (cf. ME *ervenāme* "heir") (3×)	<errfe> word-field: <errfe> (ME *erve* "cattle") (1×) <errfeblod> (ME *erveblōd* "blood of a sacrificial animal") (1×)
<blome> (ME *blōm*) word-field: <blome> (ME *blōm* "flower, blossom") (1×) <blomenn> (ME *blōmen* "to bloom, flourish") (2×)	<blosstme> (ME *blosme*) "blossom, flower" (3×)[19]
<bone> word-field: <bone> (ME *bōn* "boon, prayer") (4×) <bonenn> (ME *bōnen* "to pray for something") (3×) <unnbonedd> (ME *unbōned* "unasked, unbidden") (1×)	<bene> (ME *bēne*) (13×)[20]
<brennenn> (ME *brennen* "to burn") (9×)[21]	<bærnenn> (cf. ME *brennen*) (13×)
<ḡetenn> word-field: <ḡetenn> (ME *gĕten* "to obtain") (1×) <biḡetenn> (cf. ME *biyēten* "to acquire") (1×)	<ʒetenn> word-field: <biʒæte> (ME *biyēte* "profit, gain") (2×) <forrʒetenn> (ME *foryĕten* "to forget") (1×)

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19 It is not clear whether the Norse root should be associated with OE *blōwan*, *blōs(t)mian*, or both (see <blome>, pp. 56–57); the term is discussed here because the surface forms are closer to those of the reflexes of OE *blōs(t)mian*.

20 On the interaction between the Norse-derived and native forms, see further p. 161.

21 On the difference between the two cognates in terms of lability, see Elter (forthcoming).

22 Given the spelling practices in the text (see chap. 4, n. 5), it is not possible to establish the presence or absence of the Norse-derived and native cognates.

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, E+ (ME *ervward* "heir")	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E+ (ME *erewardriche* "inheritance," *ervekin* "cattle," *erve* and *ervward*)	N0, E0
N0, E0	N+, E0	N0, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0	N=, E= ME *bōn* (1×) ME *bēne* (3×)	N+, E0
N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0	N+, E- ME *brennen* (77×) ME <birn-> (1×)

N+, E0	N+, E-
	<g> forms:
	  cf. ME *foryĕten* (2×)
	  ME *gĕten* (12×)
	
	<y> forms:
	  ME *foryĕten* (1×)
		N+, E0	N?, E?[22]	N+ (cf. ME *foryĕten*), E0

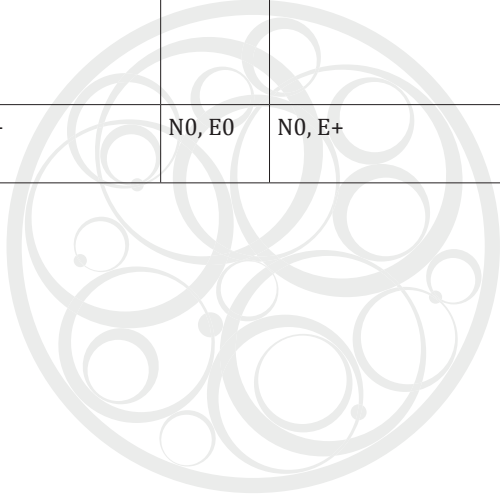| Norse terms	English terms
<maʒʒ> (ME *mai* "virgin, maid") (1×)	<meˢᵍe> (ME *mei*) (5×)
<raþ> word-field: <raþ> (ME *rāth* "advice, counsel") (17×) <raþenn> (ME *rōthen* "to advise") (2×) Cf. <orraþ> (ME *orrāth* "perplexed, doubtful") (4×) <orraþnesse> (ME *orrāthnesse* "doubt, perplexity") (1×)	<ræd> word-field: <ræd> (ME *rēd*) (9×) <rædenn> (ME *rēden*) (3×)
<skir> (ME *skīr(e* "pure, free from moral blemish") (3×)	<shir> (ME *shīr(e*) (4×)
<sware> word-field: <sware> (ME *swāre* "answer, reply") (22×) <swarenn> (ME *swāren* "to answer, reply") (1×)	<anndswere> word-field: <anndswere> (ME *answēre*) (31×) <anndswerenn> (ME *answēren*) (3×)
<triḡḡ> (ME *trig* "trustworthy, trusty") (3×)	<trowwe> (ME *treu(e*) (4×) Cf.[25] <orrtrowwe> (ME *ortroue* "distrustful") (1×)

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23 Both *Estorie* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* record <may> but in these cases it is not clear whether the term being represented is the Norse-derived noun or a reflex of OE *mǣg* (cf. Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *may*; <maʒʒ>, p. 26).

24 See Smithers (1987, 206, s.vv. *rath*, *rathe*, *red*, and *rede(n)*, and the associated notes) for a discussion of the likely process of substitution of native forms for their Norse-derived cognates in the manuscript.

25 On the limited set of contexts where the Norse-derived adjective appears in the *Ormulum*, see p. 229 and Dance (forthcoming b). The native word-field in the text includes as well the verb <trowwenn> (ME *trowen* "to have trust, be trustful"), but only nouns (cf. OIc. *tryggð* "faith, trustiness") and adjectives are considered here.

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, E0	N0, E0	N?, E?	N0, E0	N?, E?[23]

N0, E+	N-, E+[24]
	
	ME *rāth* word-field:
	    ME *rāth* (3×)
	    ME *rōthen* (5×)
	
	ME *rēd* word-field:
	    ME *rēd* (12×)
	    ME *rēden* (7×)
		N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+

N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E+
N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+
N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E+

Table 4. Cases where the native terms are more prevalent than their Norse-derived cognates in the *Ormulum* (N-, E+)

Norse terms	English terms	*FCPC*
<aᵹe> word-field: <aᵸᵹe> (ME *aue* "fear, terror") (1×) <aᵸᵹefull> (ME *aueful* "awe-inspiring, terrible") (1×)	<eᵹᵹe> word-field: <eᵹᵹe> (ME *eie*) (9×) <eᵹᵹelæs> (ME *eielēs* "fearless") (1×)	N0, E+
<fa> (ME *fō* "few") (1×)	<fæwe> word-field: <fæwe> (ME *feue*) (8×) <unnfæwe> (ME *unfeue* "many") (4×)	N0, E+
<ḡeþenn> ("to improve?") (1×)	<ḡodenn> (ME *goden*) (6×)	N0, E+

<ḡifenn> word-field:
  <forrḡifenn> (cf. ME *foryēven* "to forgive") (1×)
  <ḡifenn> (cf. ME *yēven* "to give (up)") (41×)
	<ᵹifenn> word-field:
	  <forrᵹivenn> (ME *foryēven*) (13×)
	  <forrᵹifenesse> (ME *foryēvenes(se* "forgiveness") (5×)
	  <ᵹife> (ME *yēve* "gift") (35×)
	  <ᵹifenn> (ME *yēven*) (220×)
		N-, E+
		<g> forms:
		  cf. ME *yēven* (2×)
		
		<y> forms:
		  ME *ayēven* (1×)
		  ME *yēven* (10×)

ME *hilen* word-field: <unnhilenn> (ME *unhilen* "to reveal, disclose") (1×)	ME *helen* word-field: <forrhelen> (ME *forhēlen* "to conceal, hide") (7×)	N0, E+
<keᵹᵹsere> (ME *caiser* "Roman emperor, Caesar") (1×)	<kaserr> word-field:[28] <kaserr> (ME *cāsere*) (5×) <kaserrking> (ME *cāserking* "emperor") (12×)	N0, E0
<lofft> (ME *loft*, *o* ~ "high up, above, aloft") (3×)	<lifft> (ME *lift*) (15×)	N0, E0
<waᵹᵹ> (ME *wei* "misery, trouble, woe") (1×)	<wa> (ME *wō*) (22×)	N0, E0

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26 While it is likely that the original composition included the Norse-derived forms, their interaction with the native forms is less clear; see Pons-Sanz (2021, 475).

27 Given the spelling practices in the text (see chap. 4, n. 5), it is not possible to establish the presence or absence of the Norse-derived and native cognates.

28 On the interaction between the Norse-derived and native forms, see also Burchfield (1956, 74), with references.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
N+, E0	N0, E+	N=, E= ME *aue* (5×) ME *eie* (2×)	N=, E= ME *aue* (14×) ME *eie* (8×)
N0, E0	N0, E0	N+, E0	N+, E0
N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0	N0, E0

N-, E+
<g> forms:
  cf. ME *foryēven* (1×)
  cf. ME *yēve* "gift, offering" (2×)
  cf. ME *yēven* (8×)
 	
<y> forms:
  ME *yēven* (24×)
  ME *yift(e* "gift, offering" (1×)
	N?, E?[26]	N?, E?[27]	N+, E0

N0, E0	N0, E0	N-, E+
		ME *hilen* word-field:
		  ME *hilen* "to cover, hide" (2×)
		  ME *unhilen* (2×)
		
		ME *helen* word-field:
		  ME *forhēlen* (8×)
		  ME *hēlen* "to cover, hide" (2×)
			N=, E=
			ME *hilen* word-field:
			  ME *hilen* (1×)
			
			ME *helen* word-field:
			  ME *forhēlen* (2×)

N+, E0	N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E0
N0, E0	N0, E+	N0, E0	N0, E0
N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+	N0, E+

Cases Where the Norse-Derived Terms and Their Near-Synonyms Are Not Related

Tables 5–8 focus on the interaction between the Norse-derived terms and their closest (near-)synonyms in those cases where the terms are not formally related/similar. A number of methodological decisions lie behind the way in which they present the information:

1. Some terms are discussed both in this section and the previous section because Orrm had at his disposal more than one (near-)synonym.[29] Tables 5–8 classify the terms in connection with the interaction between the Norse-derived terms and the terms that are not formally closely related to them: e.g., Table 1 notes that <tiþennde> has completely replaced its cognate ME *tīding(e* in the *Ormulum*, while Table 7 captures the fact Orrm uses it on a similar basis to ME *ĕrend(e*. The closely related terms (ME *tīding(e* in this case) are given within square brackets and not taken into consideration here or in Tables 11–12 (or Tables 16–17 in Appendix 2).

2. The terms are organized according to the sense that they express and, as such, whether the term(s) is/are attested or not, and the number of attestations refer to the specific meaning under consideration. In some cases various senses are discussed together because we are dealing with semantic nuances that are not always easy to tease apart: e.g., both *OED* (*skeet*, adv. and adj., sense A.1) and *MED* (s.v. *skēt(e*, adv., sense 1.a) discuss the meanings "immediately" (01.13.08) and "swiftly, quickly" (01.14.04) for Orrm's <skḗt> together and, while *OED* exemplifies this broad meaning with l. 1960 in *Havelok*, *MED* uses this same context to exemplify sense 1.d instead: "readily, easily" (01.15.13). Moreover, in some cases, the term's closest (near-)synonym(s) also has/have a very

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29 Whether the term was at Orrm's disposal is based on whether it was already attested in Old English or, for those terms that are first attested in Middle English, whether it is attested in some of the earliest extant Middle English texts; for instance, <ḡom> (ME *gōme* "attention, heed") is only addressed in Table 1 because, while the various later *comparanda* record other (near-)synonyms such as ME *kēp* and *hēd*, these terms are not attested with this meaning until the fourteenth century (see *MED*, s.vv. *hēd*, n.2, sense 1; and *kēp*, sense 1) and, accordingly, the alternative form Orrm would have was the native ME *yēme*. Similarly, the interaction between <blome> and its (near-)synonyms is only presented in Table 3 because, while ME *flour* is attested from the thirteenth century onwards, it is not clear whether it could have been part of Orrm's lexis.

similar semantic range, which leads to the overlap of the same terms across a number of meanings (e.g., see *MED*, s.vv. *nimen* and *tāken*).

3. The (near-)synonyms have been identified with the help of *HTE*, *MED*, Johannesson and Cooper's (2023) glossary, and the glossaries at the end of the aforementioned editions of the various texts.

   There are some occasions when one of Orrm's non-Norse-derived terms (O = other) might, *prima facie*, seem to be synonymous with one of his Norse-derived choices, but closer analysis suggests that this is not the case and, as such, they are not presented as possible alternatives. For instance, even though <hæwenn> (ME *heuen*) is recorded on six occasions, it is not given as an alternative to <clippenn> to express the meaning "to cut off" (01.11.12; see further below) because Orrm uses the native term only to refer to the felling of a tree and direct metaphorical interpretations, while ME <clippenn> is used in contexts referring to cutting off evil from one's life as part of the symbolism of circumcision (ll. 4142 and 4248; cf. 03.08.03).

4. When the *Ormulum* does not record a (near-)synonym, possible alternatives (attested in near-contemporary Early Middle English texts), are listed; at times, they are also recorded in one or more of the other texts explored in these tables (e.g., *Genesis*, *Havelok*, and Mannyng's texts record ME *shēren* in the sense "to cut (off)," 01.11.02) but other times the other texts record different terms (e.g., Mannyng uses the French-derived ME *sē*, which is first recorded in the fourteenth century, to refer to a seat, 03.02.08, instead of the native ME *setle*). The alternatives in the other texts are only named when at least some of the key terms do not match those in the *Ormulum*.

5. On some occasions, the other texts record one or more (certainly/likely/possibly) Norse-derived terms which are not attested in the *Ormulum*: e.g., ME *goulen* (cf. OIc. *gaula* "to cry out, yell") and ME *routen* (cf. OIc. *rauta* "to roar") to express the meaning "to cry out" (01.09.09) in *Havelok*, instead of Orrm's ME *ēpen* (see chap. 4, n. 36); or ME *abaiten* (cf. OIc. *beita*; cf. <beȝȝtenn>, p. 14) besides ME *eggen* as a verb to mean "to egg, urge on, incite, stir" (02.05.06) in Mannyng's *Chronicle* (see chap. 4, n. 48). In those cases, the sign (0, +, -, =) associated with the Norse-derived term (N) refers to the use of the Norse-derived terms recorded in the *Ormulum*, not its Norse-derived (near-)synonyms, which are mentioned in a footnote.

Table 5. Meanings solely expressed by (a) Norse-derived term(s)
in the *Ormulum* (N+, O0)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	
01.01.04 "natural ridge, bank"	<bannke> (ME *bank(e)*	E.g., ME *balk(e*	
01.03.01 "epileptic fit"	<broþþfall> (ME *broþþfall*)	E.g., ME *falling disēse / ivel*	
01.05.11 "wing"	<wenḡe> (ME *wing(e)*	E.g., ME *fether*	
01.05.19 "kid, young of a goat"	<kide> (ME *kide*)	E.g., ME *tichen*	
01.06.10 "sprout"	<brodd> (ME *brod*)	E.g., ME *chīth*, *spring*, *spronke*, *sprōte*	
01.06.10 "root"	<rote> (ME *rōte*)	E.g., ME *mōr(e*, *wortrume*	
01.07.01 "assembly at a banquet, feast"	<sæte> (ME *sēte*)	E.g., ME *mĕte*	
01.07.03 "to shear"	<clippenn> (ME *clippen*)	E.g., ME *shēren*	
01.09.09 "to cry out"	<epenn> (ME *ēpen*)	E.g., ME *grēden*, *rōren*	
01.11.02 "to cut off"	<clippenn> (ME *clippen*)	E.g., ME *kerven*, *shēren*	
01.15.18 + 02.03.03 + 02.06.06 "state characterized by deprivation, wretchedness"	<uselldom> (ME *ūseldōm*) (1×)	E.g., ME *wrecchehēde*	

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30 The text records ME *cōmb*, but the latter seems to refer to the crest of a ridge or hill, rather than an area of elevated ground.

31 ME *bank(e* has a slightly different meaning here: "hill, river bank." Orrm's terms for "hill" are <dun> (ME *doun(e)*), <hill> (ME *hil(le)*), and <lawe> (ME *loue*), while he tends to use <strand> (ME *strŏnd(e)* for "shore, (river) bank."

32 See above, chap. 4, n. 4.

33 Cf. also ME *rōtefast* "firmly established."

34 But cf. ME *gestning(e* "feast, entertaining"; see Table 1.

35 But cf. ME *clipping tīme* "shearing time."

36 But cf. (1) ME *callen* (cf. OIc. *kalla* "to call, shout, cry"). It is classified as C1a by Dance (2019, 2:100–1); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *calle*). (2) ME *goulen* (cf. OIc. *gaula* "to low, bellow, howl"; see *OED*, s.v. *gowl*, v.1; *MED*, s.v. *goulen*). It is classified as BB2ac by Dance (2019, 2:72); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ȝaule*). And (3) ME *routen* (cf. OIc. *rauta* "to roar"; see *OED*, s.v. *rout*, v.4; and *MED*, s.v. *routen*, v.1). On the latter, see also Dance (2019, 2:391–94); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rout*). They discuss the verb as part of the etymological explanation of the problematic attestation of the noun ME *rout* in l. 457 of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

37 Cf. ME *shēren* in l. 599B vs. ME *kerven* in l. 599S.

38 But cf. ME *clipper* "clipper of coins."

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0[30]	N0, O0[31]
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+, O0
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+, O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *sprōte*)	N0, O0	N?,[32] O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+,[33] O0
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *fēste*)	N0, O0	N0,[34] O+ (ME *fēste*)	N0, O+ (ME *fēste*)
N0, O0	N0, O+	N+, O0	N0,[35] O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0,[36] O+ (ME *grēden*)	N0, O+ (ME *crīen*, *grēden*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *crīen*, *yellen*, *yelpen*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *cutten*)	N0, O?[37]	N0, O+	N0,[38] O+ (ME *clēven*, *kerven*)
N0, O+ (ME *wrecchehēde*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	
01.15.20 "heedless, careless"	<ġætelæs> (ME *gǣtelæs*) (1×)	<reckelæs> (ME *rěchelěs*) (2×)[39]	
01.15.22 "skilfully"	<haǧerrlike, haǧelike, haǧeliġ> (ME *hagherlīch* "skilfully") (6×) Cf. <unnhaǧerrliġ> (ME *unhagherlī* "unskilfully") (1×)	E.g., ME *gleulīche*, *wīselī*	
01.16.01 "separate, various"	<ser> (ME *sēre*)	E.g., ME *sondrī*	
01.16.01 "separately, variously"	<immess> (ME *immess*) < serlepess> (ME *sērelēpes*)	E.g., ME *sondrīlēpes*	
01.16.03 "to be proper or seemly, suit, be suitable"	<ġeġġnenn> (ME *geinen*) <semenn> (ME *sēmen*)	E.g., ME *bicomen*, *bihōven*	
01.17.04 "seat of God in heaven" + 03.02.08 "something onto which one seats"	<sæte> (ME *sēte*) Cf. <kinesæte> (ME *kinesēte* "throne")	E.g., ME *setle*	
02.01.12 "mistakenly, erroneously" + 03.06.02 "improperly, unduly" + 03.06.03 "falsely, wrong"	<wranġ> (ME *wronge*) <unnskill> (ME *unskil*, *with* ~)	E.g., ME *adwōle*, *mis*	
02.02.06 "to argue, dispute, maintain, prove"	<sannenn> (ME *sannen*)	E.g., ME *mōten*, *strouten*	

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39 Cf. <ʒemelæste> (ME *yēmelēst* "carelessness, neglect") (2×).

40 But cf. ME *foryětelship* "carelessness, negligence" in Mannyng's *Chronicle* and ME *rěchelěsship(e* "heedlessness, carelessness" in his *Handlyng Synne*.

41 L. 2197BR records the Norse-derived adjective *sēre*. In l. 2194, L (no term), B (ME *alle maněre*), and R (ME *sēre*) have different ways to refer to this concept. L. 2207L records ME *dǐvers(e*; however, this might represent a later substitution.

42 It is not always clear whether the term refers to a seat (that one can travel on) or a chariot. The text records other terms that could also refer to a seat, but they are used with a range of metaphorical senses: e.g., ME *benk* "court of law," *sē* "(arch)bishop's see," *sēde* "capital," and *sēge* "encampment to besiege a city."

43 Cf. also ME *amis* (cf. OIc. *(á) miss* "so as to miss"). See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *omys*), where the adverb is classified as C4.

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0[40]
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *wīselī*)	N0, O+ (ME *queintlī*, *wīselī*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N+, O?[41]	N0, O+ (ME *sōndrī*)	N=, O= ME *sēre* (25×) ME *dĭvers(e* (13×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O	N0, O+ (ME *sondrī*)	N0, O+ (ME *dĭverselī*)
N0, O0	N=, O= ME *sēmen* (2×) ME *fallen* (2×)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *sēmen* (2×) ME *bicomen* (1×)
N0, O+	N0, O+ (ME *trōne*)	N+, O0	N+, O0	N-, O+ ME *sēte* (1×) ME *chaier(e* (6×)[42]
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *lēs*)	N+,[43] O- ME *with wrong* (15×) ME *unskilfullī* (1×) ME *mis* (2×) ME *unhĕnd(e* (1×)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *strouten*)	N0, O+ (ME *plēden*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *dispūten*, *mōten*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	
02.02.10 "worthless person"?	\<scald\> (ME *scōlde*)	E.g., ME *frăkel*, *gŏr(*e	
02.02.10 "(verbal) injury, insult, calumny"	\<wranḡ\> (ME *wrong*)	E.g., ME *ēdwit*, *harm*, *missaue*	
02.04.06 "to kindle, arouse, give rise to"	\<kinndlenn\> (ME *kindelen*)	E.g., ME *aquikien*, *arēren*, *fīren*, *wecchen*	
02.05.06 "to egg, urge on, incite, stir"	\<eḡḡenn\> (ME *eggen*) Cf. \<eḡḡinnḡ\> (ME *egging* "urging, incitement, encouragement") \<reʒʒsenn\> (ME *reisen*)	E.g., ME *spōren*	
02.06.04 "lacking, missing"	\<wannt\> (ME *want* "lacking, missing")	E.g., *wāne*	
02.06.04 "to be without, lack"?[49]	\<wanntenn\> (ME *wanten*) Cf. \<þarrnenn\> (ME *tharnen*)	E.g., ME *lakken*	

44 But cf. ME *fīle* (cf. OIc. *fýla* "dirty, paltry person"; see *OED*, s.v. *file* n.4; and *MED*, s.v. *fīle*, n.2), both in *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle*.

45 *MED* (s.v. *gŏr(e*, n.3, sense 1.b) suggests that this is the meaning for ME *gŏr(e*, a native term commonly meaning "dung, filth; mud" (< OE *gor*), in l. 2497, but this meaning is not recorded in *OED* (s.v. *gore*, n.1; cf. Herzman, Drake, and Salisbury 1999, where the term is translated as "gory"). Smithers (1987, 189, s.v. *gore*) prefers to translate it as "fit of passion or rage" and identifies it as a borrowing from Middle Dutch.

46 The Norse-derived verb is recoded both in *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* with the literal meaning "to kindle a fire" (*MED*, s.v. *kindelen*, v.1, sense 1.a), but not with the metaphorical meaning.

47 But cf. ME *scrīthen* (cf. OIc. *skríða* "to crawl; glide"; see *OED*, s.v. *scrithe*; and *MED*, s.v. *scrīthen*).

48 Cf. also ME *abaiten* (cf. OIc. *beita* "to graze, feed; cause to bite; set on, chase"; see \<beʒʒtenn\>, p. 14).

49 The uncertainty surrounding these terms stems from the problematic etymology of ME *tharnen* (see \<þarrnenn\>, p. 99).

50 But cf. ME *want* "something missing" (1×) vs. ME *dēfaut(e* "lack" (7×) and *faute* id. (2×).

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N0,[44] O?[45]	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *rascaile*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *dĕspīt*)
N0, O0	N0,[46] O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *wāken*)	N0, O+ (ME *mēven*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N+, O0	N0,[47] O0	N+,[48] O− ME *abaiten* (1×) ME *araisen* (1×) ME *eggen* (2×) ME *reisen* (9×) ME *cacchen* (1×) ME *ēgren* (1×) ME *stiren* (2×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *wāne*)	N=, O= ME *want* (1×) ME *wāne* (2×)
N? (ME *tharnen*), O0?	N? (ME *tharnen, wanten*), O0? ME *tharnen* (2×) ME *wanten* (2×)	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *wanten* (5×) ME *lakken* (1×)	N0, O0[50]

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	
02.02.10 "scornfully"	<hæþeliʒ> (ME *hēthelī(che* "scornfully") (5×)	E.g., ME *hŏ̆kerlī(che*	
03.01.17 "settlement, concord, reconciliation"	<sahhtnesse> (ME *saughtnesse* "settlement, concord, reconciliation")	E.g., ME *sōme*	
03.03.02 "combat, battle"	<orresst> (ME *orest(e*)	E.g., ME *fight, wer(re, wī*	
03.04.09 "handmaid, servant woman"	<ammbohht> (ME *amboht*)	E.g., ME *maid(e, therne, thīnen, thuften*	
03.04.09 "hired man, servant"	<leǧemenn> (ME *leieman*) <leǧesweʒʒn> (ME *leieswein*)	E.g., ME *hīne, hīreman, knāpe*	
03.05.09 "lawfully, legally"	<laǧeliʒ> (ME *lauelīche*)	E.g., ME *rightlī*	
03.12.13 "booth, stall"	<boþe> (ME *bōth* "booth, stall") Cf. <chepinnʒboþe> (ME *chepingbōthe* "market stall or booth")	E.g., ME *shǎmel?, stal(le?*[53]	
03.12.19 "wages, hire, pay"	<leǧe> (ME *leie*) <addlinnʒ> (ME *adling* "earning, that which one deserves")	E.g., ME *hīr(e, shipe*	
03.13.01 "to triffle, play, jest"	<leʒʒkenn> (ME *leiken* "to trifle, play, jest") (2×)	E.g., ME *gāmen, spilen*	
03.13.03 "minstrel, poet"?	<scald> (ME *scōlde*)	E.g., ME *glēman, scop*	

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51 But cf. ME *hŏ̆ndmaide* in *Handlyng Synne*.

52 On the possibility that ME *ladde* might be Norse-derived, see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *ladde*), who classify the noun as D1c.

53 These terms, both attested already in Old English, are not recorded as a reference to a trading place until the thirteenth century.

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0
N+ (ME *saught(e)*), O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+ (ME *saughteling(e* "reconciliation"), O0
N0, O+ (ME *wer(re)*)	N0, O+ (ME *fight*, *strout*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *fight*, *wer(re*, *wī*)	N0, O+ (ME *fight*, *stour(e*, *wer(re*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hŏndmaide*)	N0, O0	N0, O0[51]
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hīne*, *knāve*, *ladde*)[52]	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hīnefolk*, *hīnekin*, *knāpe*)	N0, O+ (ME e.g., *knāve*, *pāge*, *servaunt*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+ (ME *in laue*), O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hīr(e)*)	N0, O+ (ME *pai(e)*)	N0, O+ (ME *hīr(e)*)	N0, O+ (ME *wage*)
N0, O0	N+, O- ME *leiken* (6×) ME *pleien* (2×)	N0, O+ (ME *gāmen*, *pleien*)	N0, O+ (ME *pleien*, *spilen*)	N0, O+ (ME *gāmen*, *pleien*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *glēman*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *bourdour*, *dīsour*, *gĕstour*, *glēman*, *jŏgelour*, *minstral*)

Table 6. Meanings predominantly expressed by (a) Norse-derived term(s)
in the *Ormulum* (N+, O-)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.07.01 "to consume, partake of" + 01.07.04 "to catch, capture an animal" + 01.09.01 "to enter into enjoyment of something," etc.	ME *tāken* word-field: \<takenn> (ME *tāken* "to take, grasp; receive; suffer, etc.") (351×) \<unnderrtakenn> (ME *undertāken* "to entrap, take unawares") (1×)	ME *nimen* word-field: \<binimenn> (ME *binimen* "to deprive, take away") (1×) \<nimenn> (ME *nimen* "to take (heed)") (25×)	N=, O= ME *tāken* (5×) ME *nimen* word-field: ME *binimen* (1×) ME *nimen* (9×)	
01.12.02 "low (in size)" + 02.03.03 "inferior" + 03.01.06 "low (in rank or social status)"	\<lah> (ME *loue*) (19×) Cf. \<laȝefollc> (ME *louefolk* "common people") (1×) \<laȝeleọd> (ME *loue lēde* "common people") (2×)	\<litell> (ME *litel*) (4×)	N0, O0	
01.13.06 "always, constantly"	\<aȝȝ> (ME *ai* "always, constantly") (305×)	[\<a> (ME *ō*) (45×)] \<æfre> (ME *ĕver*) (77×)	N0, O+ (ME *ĕver*)	

Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng

N+, O-
ME *tāken* word-field:
  ME *bitāken* (1×)
  ME *overtāken* "to overtake, encounter" (3×)
  ME *undertāken* "to proceed; take care of" (2×)
  ME *tāken* (35×)
 	
ME *nimen* word-field:
  ME *fŏrthnimen* "to set out" (1×)
  ME *nimen* (13×)
	N+, O-
	ME *taken* (24×)
	ME *nimen* word-field:
	  ME *nimen* (3×)
	  ME *binimen* (2×)
		N-, O+
		ME *tāken* word-field:
		  ME *tāken* (50×)
		  ME *overtāken* "to overtake, encounter" (3×)
		  ME *uptāken* "to perform, pursue" (1×)
		
		ME *nimen* word-field:
		  ME *binimen* "to take hold of; take (revenge)" (7×)
		  ME *fornimen* "to take away" (1×)
		  ME *fŏrthnimen* "to set out" (3×)
		  ME *misnimen* "to err, do wrong" (1×)
		  ME *nimen* (108×)
		  ME *undernimen* "to perceive; take unawares, etc." (4×)
		  ME *upnimen* "to take up" (1×)
			N=, O=
			ME *tāken* word-field:
			  ME *mistāken* "to transgress" (1×)
			  ME *overtāken* "to overtake, encounter" (9×)
			  ME *tāken* (58×)
			  ME *undertāken* "to accept, receive" (9×)
			
			ME *nimen* word-field:
			  ME *binimen* (1×)
			  ME *misnimen* "to commit an offence" (1×)
			  ME *nīmen* (41×)
			  ME *upnimen* "to take up" (1×)

N=, O= ME *loue* (6×) ME *litel* (4×)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N+, O- ME *loue* (15×) ME *lĕs(se / lĕst(e* (5×) ME *mēne* (5×)
N-, O+ ME *ai* (9×) ME *ĕver* (33×) ME *ĕvermō(r* (5×)	N=, O= ME *ai* (3×)[54] ME *ĕver* (1×)	N=, E= ME *ai* (8×) [ME *ō* (2×)] ME *ĕver* (6×) ME *ĕvermō(r* (4×)	N+, O- ME *ai* (45×) ME *ĕver* (20×) ME *ĕvermō(r* (11×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.15.21 "gentleness" + 02.04.20 "humility" + 03.04.09 "sub-missiveness"	\<mecleʒʒc\> (cf. ME *mēklāc*) (9×)[55] \<mecnesse\> (ME *mēknesse*) (46×)	\<æddmodnesse\> (*ĕdmōdnesse*) (9×) \<æddmodleʒʒc\> (cf. ME *edmōdlege*) (1×) \<metleʒʒc\>? (ME *mētleʒc*) (1×)[56]	N0, O0	
03.01.17 + 03.03.19 "peace (of a nation or society); amity, friendship"	\<ḡriþþ\> (ME *grith*) (22×)	\<friþþ\> (ME *frith*) (7×)	N0, O+ (ME *sib(be, pĕs*)	
03.01.17 "to reconcile"	\<sahhte\> (ME *saughten*) (1×) \<sahhtlenn\> (ME *saughtelen*) (11×) Cf. \<sammtale\> (ME *samtāle* "reconciled, agreed") (4×)[58]	\<þingenn\> (ME *thingen*) (2×)	N+, O0	
03.05 "law" + 01.15.21 + 03.01.03 "custom" + 03.06.03 "what is right, justice" + 03.08.01 "(moral, Mosaic) law, rule; Commandments")"	\<laˣe\> (ME *laue*) (75×) Cf. \<laˣeboc\> (ME *lauebōk* "law-book, specifically the Pentateuch") (20×)	\<æ\> (ME *ē*) (3×) \<rihht\> (ME *right*) (13×) Cf. \<rihhtwisleʒʒc\> (cf. ME *rightwīslāc* "righteousness, justice") (2×) \<rihhtwisnesse\> (ME *rightwīsnes(se* "righteousness, justice") (36×) \<settnesse\> (ME *setnes(se* "rule; law") (3×)	N0, O+ (ME *justĭce*)	

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55 On the possibility that one of these attestations represents \<metleʒʒc\> (ME *mētleʒc* "humility, modesty, meekness") instead, see \<-leʒʒc\>, p. 249.

56 See the previous note.

57 Cf. also ME *lounes(se*; see \<lah\>, pp. 22–23.

58 On the possibility that this term might be Norse-derived, see \<sammtale\>, pp. 89–90.

59 Cf. also ME *unsaught(e* "unreconciled, hostile."

60 The French term is attested in rhyming position, while the Norse-derived (near-) synonym is recorded in both rhyming and non-rhyming position.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N+, O0	N0, O0	N+,[57] O0
N+, O0	N0, O+ (ME *pĕ̆s*)	N=, O= ME *grith* (1×) ME *frith* (3×) ME *pĕ̆s* (2×)	N=, O= ME *grith* (12×) ME *frith* (1×) ME *pĕ̆s* (14×)
N0, O0	N+, O0	N0, O0	N-,[59] O+ ME *sahten* (2×) ME *pĕ̆sen* (6×)
N-, O+ ME *laue* (4×) ME *right* (12×)	N=, O= ME *laue* (10×) ME *lei* (5×)[60] ME *wone* (4×)	N+, O- ME *laue* (12×) ME *lei* (2×)	N+, O- ME *laue* (104×) ME *custŭm(e* (8×) ME *hĕ̆st(e* (2×) ME *justĭce* (8×) ME *lei* (13×)

Table 7. Meanings expressed by (a) Norse-derived term(s) and (an)other term(s) on a fairly similar basis in the *Ormulum* (N=, O=)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
01.02.04 "skin"	\<skinn\> (ME *skin*) (2×)	\<fell\> (ME *fel*) (3×)
01.05.07 "tame" + 01.15.21 "gentle, benevolent, kind," + 02.04.20 "humble"	\<mec\> (ME *mēk*) (22×) \<unnskaþefull\> (ME *unskātheful* "harmless, gentle") (3×)	\<ædmod\> (*ĕ̆dmọ̄d*) (8×) \<bliþe\> (ME *blīthe*) (5×) \<daffte\> (ME *dafte*) (3×) \<liþe\> (ME *līth(e)*) (7×) \<milde\> (ME *mīlde*) (38×) \<nesshe\> (ME *nĕ̆she*) (4×) \<sofft\> (ME *soft*) (19×) \<stille\> (ME *stille*) (10×)
01.05.19 "ox, bull"	\<nowwt\> (ME *nout(e)*) (8×)	\<oxe\> (ME *oxe*) (6×) Cf. \<bule\> (ME *bōle*) (3×)[62]
01.06.10 "rod, stick"	\<wand\> (ME *wōnde*) (1×)	\<stikke\> (ME *stik*) (1×) \<ʒerrde\> (ME *yĕ̆rde*) (2×) Cf. \<kinneʒerrde\> (ME *kineyerde* "sceptre") (1×)
01.09.02 "to wake up, rouse"	\<reʒʒsenn\> (ME *reisen*) (1×)	\<waccnenn\> (ME *wākenen*) (4×)
01.09.06 "bitter, sour" + 02.04.11 "bitter, grievous"	\<beʒʒsc\> (ME *baisk* "bitter, sour") (5×)	\<bitterr, bitter\> (ME *bitter* "bitter") (4×)

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61 As noted in Pons-Sanz (2021, 248), it is not clear whether OE *mīlde* was part of the original composition of the text because of the variation that we find between the various manuscripts.

62 On the unlikely possibility that this term might be Norse-derived, see \<bule\>, p. 59.

63 ME *oxe* is recorded in l. 551BSV.

64 This text and *Havelok* also record ME *bōle*, with \<o\> rather than \<u\> as in the *Ormulum*. On the possible etymological significance of this vocalic difference, see Dance (2019, 2:243–44); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bullez*).

65 But cf. ME *sour(e* "bitterly."

66 ME *bitter* is attested in l. 1134, which can only be found in MS S.

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hīde*)	N=, O= ME *skin* (2×) ME *hīde* (2×)	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *skin* (2×) ME *hīde* (3×)
N0, O+ (ME *mīlde*, *soft*)	N+, O0	N=, O=[61] ME *mēk* (2×) ME *debonaire* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *mīlde*, soft, *tāme*)	N+, O- ME *mēk* (17×) ME *mēklī* (1×) ME *mīlde* (1×) ME *soft* (2×)
N0, O0	N0, O0 [ME *nēt*]	N0, O?[63]	N0, 0+ (ME [*nēt*], *orf*)	N0, O?[64] [ME *nēt*]
N0, O+ (ME *yĕrde*)	N0, O+ (ME *stik*)	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *wōnde* (8×) ME *yĕrde* (4×)	N0, O+ (ME *stik*, *staf*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *wākenen*)	N0, O+ (ME *wāken*)	N0, O+ (ME *(up)* *wāken*)	N0, O+ (ME *wāken*(*en*))
N0, O0	N0, O0[65]	N0, O?[66]	N0, O+ (ME *bitter*, *drēf*)	N0, O+ (ME *bitter*, *sour*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
01.11.02 "to break apart, smash"	\<tobresstenn\> (ME *tŏbresten*) (1×) \<toskeȝȝrenn\> (ME *tŏskairen*) (1×) Cf. \<brittnenn\> word-field: 　\<brittnenn\> (ME *britnen*) (4×)[67] 　\<tobrittnenn\> (ME *tŏbritnen*) (1×) 　Cf. \<unntobrittnedd\> (ME *untŏbritned* "undivided, indivisible") (1×)	\<tobrissen\> (ME *tŏbrīsen*) (1×)
01.12.02 "to bring down; reduce in size or extent (lit and fig.)"	\<laȝenn\> (ME *louen*) (2×)	\<niþþrenn\> (ME *netheren*) (4×) \<wannsenn\> (ME *wansen*) (5×)
01.12.03 "bent, crooked"	\<wranȝ\> (ME *wrong*) (2×)	\<crumb\> (ME *croumb*) (2×)
01.12.05 "to scatter, disperse"	\<skeȝȝrenn\> (ME *skairen*) (1×)	\<todrifenn\> (ME *tŏdrīven*) (3×) \<towerrpenn\> (ME *tŏwerpen*) (1×)
01.14 "going, movement"	\<flittinnȝ\> (ME *flitting*) (3×)[70]	\<ȝanȝ\> (ME *gǎng*) (1×)
01.15.03 "ready, prepared"	\<bun\> (ME *boun*) (8×)	\<rædiȝ\> (ME *rēdī*) (15×)

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67 On the possibility that this word-field might be Norse-derived, see \<brittnenn\>, p. 59.

68 ME *tŏbresten* is recorded in l. 1318S (cf. ME *brēken* in l. 1318B).

69 The text also records ME *crōked*, which is sometimes considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *krókr* "hook, something crooked"). See Dance (2019, 2:50–51); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *croked*).

70 In all its attestations in the *Ormulum*, the noun is presented as a rendering of Galilee, which Aldred, in his glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels, commonly translates as OE *geleornes* "going, removing, departure" (see Pons-Sanz 2001, 175–76) and Ælfric as OE *oferfæreld* "going across, transit, passage."

71 Cf. ME *boun* used as a noun meaning "preparation, condition."

72 The text also records the Norse-derived adjective ME *gein* (cf. OIc. *gegn* "straight, direct; ready; kindly"). It is classified as A1*bc by Dance (2019, 2:8–9); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gayn*). See also the discussion of the word-field on p. 18.

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**

N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *tŏdrauen*, *tŏfrushen*)	N? (ME *upbresten*), O?[68]	N0, O+ (ME *tŏdrauen*)	N+, O-
				
				 ME *bresten* word-field:
				    ME *bresten* (11×)
				    ME *tŏbresten* (4×)
				
				 ME *frushen* word-field:
				    ME *frushen* (4×)
				    ME *ŏfrushen* (1×)

N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *littenen*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N-, O+ ME *louen* (1×) ME *(a)bāten* (21×) ME *avālen* (2×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0,[69] O0
N0, O+ (ME *scateren*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *sparplen*, *streuen*, *tŏdrīven*)
N0, O+ (ME *fāre*)	N0, O+ (ME *fāre*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *fāre*, *went(e*)	N0, O+ (ME *fāre* *wending(e*
N0, O+ (ME *yāre*)	N0,[71] O+ (ME *yāre*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *rād(e, rēdī, rēken, yāre*)	N-,[72] O+ ME *boun* (25×) ME *prest* (13×) ME *rēdī* (89×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
01.15.13 "to restore to a previous status" + 01.15.16 + 03.01.06 "to exalt in dignity or power, promote to a higher rank" + 02.05.04 "to raise, arrange, establish" + 03.06.04 "to elevate to a higher moral condition"	<reȝȝsenn> (ME *reisen*) (8×)	<hefenn> (ME *hēven*) (13×) Cf. <upphefenn> (ME *uphēven*) (2×) <heǧenn> (ME *heien*) (8×)
01.15.14 "advantage, benefit"	<ḡaǧenn> (ME *gaȝhen*) (1×) Cf. <ḡaǧennlæs> (ME *gaȝhenlǣs* "of no avail, profitless") (2×)	<frame> (ME *frāme*) (4×) <god> (ME *gōd*) (3×) <winn> (ME *win*) (1×)
01.15.16 "complete, perfect"	<fullþrifenn> (ME *fulþrīven* "complete, perfect") (1×)	<fullwaxenn> (ME *fulwaxen*) (1×)
01.15.21 "to greet"	<heȝȝlenn> (ME *heilen*) (1×) Cf. <heȝȝl> (ME *heil* "hail!") (1×)	<ḡretenn> (ME *grēten*) (1×)
01.15.21 "fiercely, sternly" + 02.04.22 "boldly, fearlessly"	<derrflike> (ME *derflī*) (2×)	<baldeliȝ> (ME *bōldlī*) (2×)
01.15.22 "skill"	<haǧerrleȝȝc> (ME *haȝherleȝc* "skill") (1×)	<ȝæpleȝȝc> (ME *yēpleik* "skill") (2×)
01.15.22 "skilful, clever, dexterous"	<haǧerr> (ME *hauer*) (3×) <sleh> (ME *sleigh*) (1×)	<ȝæp> (ME *yēp(e)*) (4×)
01.15.22 "badly"	<ille> (ME *il(le)*) (1×)	<forrwurrþennlike> (ME *forworthenlīke*) (1×)
01.16.03 "suitably, fittingly"	<ḡeȝȝnlike> (cf. ME *geinlī*) (1×)	<faȝȝre> (ME *fair(e)*) (4×)
01.16.04 "few"	<fa> (ME *fō* "few") (1×)	[<fæwe> (ME *feue*) (8×)] <lyt> (ME *līt(e)*) (1×)

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73 *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* record ME *(up)liften* (cf. OIc. *lyfta* "to lift, raise"). It is classified as C1ac by Dance (2019, 2:122); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *lyfte*).

74 The text also records the Norse-derived noun ME *sleight* (cf. OIc. *slægð* "slyness, cunning"). On its root, see <sleh>, p. 94. See also Dance (2019, 2:132–33); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *sleȝt*).

75 The text also records ME *witter*, on which see <witerr>, p. 108.

76 Cf. ME *sēmelī* (on which see also chap. 2, n. 23) in *Estorie* and *Genesis*.

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N0,[73] O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N-, O+ ME *reisen* (2×) ME *avauncen* (13×)
N0, O+ (ME *gōd*)	N0, O+ (ME *gōd*)	N0, O+ (ME *win*)	N0, O+ (ME *frāme, gōd*)	N0, O+ (ME *frāme, prou*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *plein(e*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *grēten*)	N0, O+ (ME *grēten*)	N0, O+ (ME *grēten*)	N0, O+ (ME *grēten*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *bōldlī, hardīlī*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *craft*)	N0,[74] O+ (ME *art, gin(ne, queintisse*)
N0, O0	N=, O= ME *sleigh* (2×) ME *hĕnde* (2×)	N0, O0	N0,[75] O+ (ME *wāle*)	N-, O+ ME *sleigh* (6×) ME *queint(e* (14×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0,[76] O+ (ME *fair(e*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *avenaunt*)
[N0, O+ (ME *feue*)]	N0, O0	[N0, O+ (ME *feue*)]	N+, O0	N+, O0

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
02.01.09 "lacking the faculty of reason"	\<skilllæs> (ME *skillēs*) (1×)	\<dill> (ME *dil*) (1×) \<stunnt> (ME *stunt*) (2×) \<witllæs> (ME *witlĕs* "witless, foolish") (2×)
02.01.13 "doubt, perplexity"	\<orraþnesse> (ME *orrāthnesse* "doubt, perplexity") (1×)	\<orrtrowwþe> (ME *ortrouthe* "uncertainty, doubt") (1×)
02.01.13 "perplexed, doubtful" + 02.05.05 "irresolute"	\<orraþ> (ME *orrāth*) (4×)	\<orrtrowwe> (ME *ortroue*) (1×) \<unnsikerr> (ME *unsiker*) (2×)
02.02.07 "advice, counsel"	\<raþ> (ME *rāth*) (17×)	[\<ræd> (ME *rēd*) (9×)] \<run> (ME *rune*) (11×)
02.02.10 "(object of) contempt, scorn; mockery, abuse") + 03.08.04 "sacrilegious conduct (scorn towards God)"	\<hæþinnḡ> (ME *hēthing*) (5×) \<uppbrixle> (ME *upbrixle*) (1×)	\<skarn> (ME *scŏrn*) (2×)
02.02.10 "to behave contemptuously; hold in contempt"	\<hæþenn> (ME *hēthen*) (1×) \<skirrpenn> (ME *skirpen*) (2×)	\<skarnenn> (ME *scŏrnen*) (1×)
02.02.16 "pretty, fine, splendid?"	\<ḡolike> (ME *gōlīke*) (2×) Cf. \<scone> (cf. ME *shēne*) [80] (4×)	\<faȝȝerr> (ME *fair(e*) (3×) \<shene> (ME *shēne*) (2×) \<smikerr> (ME *smiker*) (1×)
02.03.01 "scatheless, unharmed"	\<skaþelæss> (ME *scāthlĕs*) (2×)	\<unnwemmedd> (ME *unwemed(e*) (1×)

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77 The text does record ME *sotlī* "foolishly."

78 *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* also record the Norse-derived adjective ME *wil* (cf. OIc. *villr* "wild; bewildered, erring, astray"). See Dance (2019, 2:40); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *wylle*). They classify the adjective as A1*c.

79 Cf. ll. 1694S and 2206B.

80 On the problematic etymology of this adjective, see \<scone>, p. 91.

81 But cf. ME *fair(e* "finely."

82 But cf. ME *fair(e* "finely" in l. 2389LR and ME *fairhĕde* in l. 1604S.

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0[77]	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *sot*)	N0, O+ (ME *fōlī, nīce, unwīs(e)*
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *dout(e)*	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *dout(e)*
N0, O0	N0,[78] O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *twĭrēd*)	N0, O+ (ME *uncertain*)
[N0, O+ (ME *rēd*)]	[N0, O+ (ME *rēd*)]	[N0, O+ (ME *rēd*)]	N0, O+ (ME *counseil*, [*rēd*])	N0, O+ (ME *counseil*, [*rēd*])
N0, O0	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *hēthing* (1×) ME *bĭsmār(e* (1×)[79] ME *upbreid* (1×)	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *hēthing* (1×) ME *scŏrn* (4×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *upbreiden*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *scŏrnen*)
N0, O0[81]	N0, O+ (ME *fair(e*)	N0, O0[82]	N0, O+ (ME *bright, fair(e*)	N0, O+ (ME *fair(e, shēne*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *sauf*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hōl*)	N0, O+ (ME *sound(e)*

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
02.04.11 "anguish, grief"	\<sı̆t\> (ME *sīt(e)* (2×)	\<care\> (*cāre*) ME (2×) \<serr̄ǥe\> (ME *sorwe*)[83] (3×)
02.04.14 + 03.01.17 "discord, hostility, strife"	\<unnḡriþþ\> (ME *ungrith*) (1×) \<unnsahhtnesse\> (ME *unsaughtnesse*) (1×)	\<chæst\> (ME *chēst*) (1×) \<sake\> (ME *sāke*) (3×)
02.04.14 + 03.01.17 "hostile"	\<unnsahhte\> (ME *unsaught(e)*) (1×)	\<wiþerr\> (ME *wither*) (3×) \<wiþerrwarrd\> (ME *witherward*) (1×)
02.04.14 "with displeasure"	\<likenn\> + \<ille\> (ME *līken il(le* "to be displeased at, dislike") (1×)	\<misslikenn\> (ME *mislīken*) (1×) \<oferrþinnkenn\> (ME *overthinken*) (2×)
02.04.20 "to humble, abase" + 03.01.06 "to reduce in power, status, esteem"	\<laǥenn\> (ME *louen*) (16×) \<mekenn\> (ME *mēken*) (7×)	\<niþþrenn\> (ME *netheren*) (12×) \<wannsenn\> (ME *wansen*) (4×)
02.04.20 + 03.04.09 "humbly; submissively, obediently"	\<mȩcliʒ\> (ME *mēklī*) (2×) \<laǥeliʒ\> (ME *louelī*) (3×?)[86]	\<ædmodliʒ\> (ME *ĕdmǭdlīch(e)* (3×)

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83 On the etymology of this term, see p. 131.

84 *Genesis* also records ME *grēme*, which might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *gremi* "wrath, anger"). See Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *greme*), where the noun is classified as CC1ac.

85 Mannyng's *Chronicle* also records ME *reuth(e*, which is sometimes derived from Old Norse (cf. OIc. *hryggð* "affliction, grief, sorrow"). The noun is classified as CCC1c by Dance (2019, 2:128–29); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *rawþe*).

86 On the presence of the question mark here, see above, pp. 23 and 79.

87 But cf. ME *buxum* "obedient" in l. 158D.

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *sōr(e, sorwe*)	N0, O+ (ME *sorwe*)	N0,[84] O+ (ME *sōr(e, sorwe*)	N-,[85] O+ ME *sīt(e* (6×) ME *cāre* (5×) ME *grēte* (3×) ME *sorwe* (64×)
N0, O+ (ME *unfrith*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *strīf(e, win*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *chēst, strīf(e*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *witherward*)	N=, O= ME *unsaught(e* (1×) ME *feloun* (3×)
N0, O0	N=, O= ME *līken il(le* (1×) ME *līken ifel* (1×)	N=, O= ME *līken il(le* (1×) ME *mislīken* (1×)	N=, O= ME *līken il(le* (1×) ME *mislīken* (3×)	N=, O= ME *līken il(le* (2×) ME *mislīken* (2×) ME *mispaien* (2×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *mēken* (5×) ME *abaishen* (5×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0[87]	N0, O+ (ME *mīldelī*)	N=, O= ME *mēklī* (1×) ME *mīldelī* (1×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
02.04.21 "fear, terror"[88]	<aӡe> (ME *aue* "fear, terror") (1×)	<drædunnӡ> (ME *drēding*) (2×) [<eӡӡe> (ME *eie*) (9×)]
02.04.21 "awe-inspiring, terrible"	<aӡefull> (ME *aueful*) (1×)	<niþ> (ME *nīth*) (1×)
02.04.22 "bold, daring"	<derrf> (ME *derf*) (2×)	<bald> (ME *bōld*) (1×)
02.05.04 "lustful?"	<ӡolike> (ME *gōlīke*") (2×)	<ӡal> (ME *gōl*) (1×)
02.06.12 + 02.07.06 "to grant, concede, acknowledge"	<ӡatenn> (ME *yēten*) (6×)	<lenenn> (ME *lēnen*) (9×) <tiþenn> (ME *tīthen*) (1×) <unnenn> (ME *unnen*) (3×)
02.07.03 "unasked, unbidden"	<unnbonedd> (ME *unbōned*) (1×)	<unnbedenn> (ME *unbiden*) (1×)
03.02.19 "tribute, tax"	<mále> (ME *mōl*) (2×)	<ӡeld> (ME *yēld*) (1×)
03.09.02 "to reveal, disclose"	<unnhilenn> (ME *unhilen*) (1×)	<oppnenn> (ME *ŏpenen*) (2×)

88 On the expression of FEAR in the *Ormulum*, see further Pons-Sanz (2015a, 583–85).

89 The text also records ME *ugging(e* (cf. OIc. *ugga* "to fear"). On the Norse origin of this root, see Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *vgly*).

90 Cf. ME *bōld* in l. 1108BS.

91 *Havelok* records ME *grēne* "lust, sexual desire," which might be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *girna* "to desire"). See *OED* (s.v. *green*, v.2); and *MED* (s.vv. *grēne*, n.2, and *grēnen*, v.2).

92 *Genesis* does record ME *gōlhēd* "lust, sexual intercourse."

93 See, however, *MED* (s.v. *yēten*, v.2) on the possibility that ME *yēten* might be present in the text after all.

94 ME *hilen* "to hide, conceal" is recorded twice in the text. When the text does not record the Norse-derived verb under discussion to express the meaning "to reveal, close," it does record ME *reiven*. It is identified as a likely Norse loan (cf. OIc. *reifa* "to rip up, disclose") by both *OED* (s.v. *reyve*) and *MED* (s.v. *reiven*).

FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O0 ([ME *eie*])	N-, O+ ME *aue* (1×) ME *dout(e* (1×) ME *drēd(e* (6×)	N0, O+ (ME *dout(e*, [*eie*])	N-,[89] O+ ME *aue* (5×) ME *drēd(e* (11×) [ME *eie* (2×)] ME *frightīhēde* (2×)	N-, O+ ME *aue* (14×) ME *dout(e* (55×) ME *drēd(e* (96×) [ME *eie* (8×)]
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *drēdeful*, *frightī*)	N0, O+ (ME *drēdeful*, *hidous*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *bōld*, *kēne*)	N0, O?[90]	N0, O+ (ME *bōld*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *bōld*, *kēne*, *hardī*)
N0, O0	N0,[91] O0	N0, O0	N0,[92] O0	N0, O0
N0, O+ (ME *unnen*)	N0,[93] O+ (ME *graunten*, *lēven*)	N0, O+ (ME *graunten*)	N=, O= ME *yēten* (5×) ME *graunten* (2×) ME *lēven* (2×) ME *unnen* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *graunten*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0
N0, O+ (ME *yēld*)	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *gǎvel*)	N0, O+ (ME *taillāge*, *tax(e)*, *treuāge*)
N0, O+	N0, O+ (ME *sheuen*)	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *unhilen* (2×) ME *bāren* (1×) ME *unstēken* (2×)	N0,[94] O+ (ME *sheuen*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)
03.05.09 "wrongdoing, injustice"	\<unnlaᵇǥe\> (ME *unlaue*) (1×)	\<unnrihht\> (ME *unright*) (1×)
03.06.01 "trustworthy, trusty"	\<triǥǥ\> (ME *trig*) (3×)	[\<trowwe\> (ME *treue(e)* (4×)] \<hold\> (ME *hōld*) (3×) \<unnfakell\> (1×) \<unnfakenn\> (ME *unfāken*) (4×)
03.06.05 "sinfully, immorally, in violation of divine or religious law, in an inappropriate manner"	\<unnlaᵇǥeliǥ\> (ME *unlaulīche*) (2×)	\<sinnfullike\> (ME *sinfullī*) (1×)
03.09.05 "announcement, message"	\<tiþennde\> (cf. ME *tīding(e)* (2×)	\<errnde\> (ME *ĕrend(e)* (3×)
03.13.01 "game, play, entertainment, amusement"	\<leǥǥkess\> (ME *leik*) (4×) \<skemmtinnǥ\> (ME *skentinge*) (1×)	\<æǥede\> (ME *ēgēde* (4×) \<esste\> (ME *ēste*) (1×)

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95 While the Norse-derived derivative is not recorded in this text, *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle*, these texts do record the near-synonym ME *wrong*, which in the *Ormulum* has a slightly different meaning (see p. 109 and Table 5).

96 On the possibility that ME *unlaue* (l. 1653B) might have been part of the initial composition, see Pons-Sanz (2021, 477–78).

97 Mannyng's *Chronicle* records as well the Norse-derived adjective ME *traist(e* (cf. OIc. *treysta* "to make trusty," past part. *treystr*, and *traustr* "trusty, sure"). See Dance (2019, 2:35); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *trayst*). They classify the term as A1c.

98 The text does record ME *sinful* "sinful."

99 The relationship between the Norse-derived noun and its native cognate in this text is already discussed in Table 3, so it is not counted in Tables 11–12 (or Tables 16–17 in Appendix 2).

100 The rhyming pattern in ll. 559–60 suggests that the Norse-derived term was part of the original composition (cf. \<tiþinge\> in l. 507B). Given the disparity between the different manuscripts that record this text in terms of their treatment of this word (e.g., cf. forms with \<þ\> in ll. 560S, 611S, 738S, 1367S, and 1973S vs. forms with \<d\> in ll. 506B, 611B, 738B, and 1973L), it is not possible either to establish whether ME *tīding(e* was also part of the author's original choices and what the relationship between the Norse-derived term and its native cognate was.

FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0,[95] O0	N0, O+	N?,[96] O0	N+, O0	N0, O+
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *hōld*, [*treu(e)*])	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *lēfful*, [*treu(e)*])	N0,[97] O+ (ME *feithful*, *lēl*, [*treu(e)*])
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0[98]	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *foul(e, mis, sinfullī*)
N0, O0	N+, O0 ([ME *tīding(e)*]) [99]	N?, O?[100]	N0, O+ (ME *bōd*, *ĕrend(e,* [*tīding(e)*])	N+, O- ME <tiþing> (41×) ME *bōd* (17×) ME *bōdeword* (6×) ME *messāge* (10×) ME *sŏnd(e* (17×)
N0, O0	N-, O+ ME *leik* (3×) ME *gāme* (8×) ME *glē* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *gāme*, *plei(e)*	N0, O+ (ME *gāme*, *plei(e, spĭle*)	N0, O+ (ME *disport*, *gāme*, *glē*, *plei(e sŏlăs*)

Table 8. Meanings predominantly expressed by (a) term(s) that is/are not Norse-derived in the *Ormulum* (N-, O+)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.02.03 + 01.11.03 "to bring into being, generate"	<reʒʒsenn> (ME *reisen*) (3×) Cf. <stoffnenn> (ME *stofnen*)[101] (1×)	<shapenn> (ME *shāpen*) (28×)	N0, O+ (ME *māken*)	
01.02.03 "to grow" + 01.15.16 "to prosper, thrive"	<þrifenn> (ME *thriven*) (5×) <blomenn> (ME *blōmen*) (2×)	<waxenn> (ME *waxen*) (36×)	N0, O+	
01.15.17 + 02.03.06 "to harm"	<skaþenn> (ME *scāthen*) (3×)	ME *werden* (8×)	N0, O0	
01.02.04 "to die"[104]	<deʒenn> (ME *dīen* "to die") (11×)	<swelltenn> (ME *swelten*) (24×)	N0, O+ (ME *fŏrth-fāren*, *worthen dēd*)	
01.04.04 "virgin, maid"	<maʒʒ> (ME *mai* "virgin, maid") (1×)	<maʒʒdenn> (ME *maiden*) (22×) <maʒʒdennmann> (ME *maidenman* "virgin") (5×)	N0, O0	

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101 On the possibility that this might be a Norse-derived verb, see <stoffnenn>, pp. 95–96.

102 *Havelok* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* do record the noun from this word-field, viz., ME *skāth(e* "harm" (cf. OIc. *skaði* "harm, damage"). See Dance (2019, 2:28); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *scaþe*). They classify the noun as A*1c.

103 This term also records the verb ME *wrongen* "to do harm," formed on the basis of ME *wrong*, on which see <wranḡ>, p. 109. See *OED* (s.v. *wrong*, v.) and *MED* (s.v. *wrongen*).

104 On the expression of this meaning in Early Middle English, see Kłos (2011); on the *Ormulum* and other texts from the East Midlands, see Pons-Sanz (2021, 473).

105 <sterres> in l. 1770P is likely to represent ME *sterven*, while l. 1770S records ME *dīen* instead. As such, it is not clear what might have been the original verb in this context; see Pons-Sanz (2021, 473).

106 Both *Estorie* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* record <may> but in these cases it is not clear whether the term being represented is the Norse-derived noun or a reflex of OE *mǣg*; see chap. 4, n. 23.

107 Cf. also l. 2174B vs. l. 2174LR.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O+ (ME *shāpen*)	N0, O+ (ME *werken*)	N0, O+ (ME *bēren*, *werken*)	N0, O+ (ME *māken*)
N=, O= ME *thriven* (2×) ME *waxen* (3×)	N=, O= ME *thriven* (2×) ME *waxen* (2×)	N0, O+ (ME *thēn*)	N-, O+ ME *thriven* (6×) ME *multiplīen* (2×) ME *waxen* (36×)
N0,[102] O+ (ME *dēren*)	N0, O+ (ME *dēren*)	N0, 0+ (ME *dēren*)	N0,[103] O+ (ME *apeiren*, *dēren*, *peiren*)
N+, O0	N+, O?[105] ME *dīen* (11×)	N-, O+ ME *dīen* (2×) ME *sterven* (10×)	N+, O- ME *dīen* (170×) ME *perishen* (1×) ME *sterven* (2×)
N0, O+ (ME *maiden*)	N?,[106] O+ ME *mai* (1×)[107] ME *maiden* (22×)	N0, O+ (ME *maiden*)	N?, O+ ME *mai* (15×) ME *maiden* (47×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.05.19 "sheep"	\<sowwþ\> (ME *south*) (2×)	\<shep\> (ME *shēp*) (28×)	N0, O0	

01.06.06 "to sprout (lit. and fig.)"	\<broddenn\> (ME *brodden*) (1×)	ME *springen* word-field:
		  \<springenn\> (ME *springen*) (6×)
		  \<útspringenn\> (ME *outspringen*) (1×)
		  \<uppspringenn\> (ME *upspringen*) (1×)
			N0, O0	

01.07.02 + 01.15.15 "to watch over, take care of"	\<ḡætenn\> (ME *gēten*) (14×)	\<ʒemenn\> (ME *yēmen*) (37×)
		ME *wāken* word-field:
		  \<wakenn\> (ME *wāken*) (3×)
		  \<biwakenn\> (ME *biwāken*) (1×)
			N0, O0	

01.09.07 "to smell"	\<dowwnenn\> (ME *dowwnen*) (2×)	\<stinnkenn\> (ME *stinken*) (7×)	N0, O0	
01.09.09 "voice"	\<rowwst\> (ME *roust(e)*) (3×)	\<rerd\> (ME *rērd(e)*) (6×) \<steffne\> (ME *steven(e)*) (4×)	N0, O0	
01.10.03 "fire, flames"	\<lože\> (ME *loue*) (1×)	\<fir\> (ME *fīr*) (35×) Cf. \<hellefir\> (ME *hellefīr* "hell-fire") (4×)	N0, O0	
01.12.04 + 01.14.06 "to carry, transfer, remove"	\<flittenn\> (ME *flitten*) (9×)	\<berenn\> (ME *bēren*) (18×) \<waʒʒnenn\> (ME *wainen*) (3×)	N0, O+ (ME *bēren*)	
01.12.05 "high up, above, aloft"	\<lofft\> (ME *loft, o ~*) (3×)	\<heže\> (ME *heighe*) (6×)	N0, O0	

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108 Cf. ME *shēp* in ll. 558BSV, 1105BS, and 1609S.

109 The text also records ME *undertāken* once with this meaning.

110 Cf. ME *kēpen* in ll. 1886L and 1894L vs. ME *yēmen* in ll. 1886BS and 1894S.

111 Even though ME *stinken* is attested in Mannyng's *Chronicle* (as well as *Genesis and Exodus*), it means "to stink, smell badly" rather than the neutral meaning in the *Ormulum*.

112 *Havelok* also records ME *tāken* with this meaning.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	Mannyng
N0, O+ (ME *shēp*)	N0, O? (ME *shēp*)[108]	N0, O+ (ME *shēp*)	N0, O+ (ME *shēp*)
N0, O+ (ME *growen*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *springen*, *upspringen*)	N0, O+ (ME *springen*)
N-,[109] O+ ME *gēten* (2×) ME *kēpen* (1×) ME *wāken* (1×) ME *yēmen* (17×)	N=, O= ME *gēten* (1×) ME *kēpen* (2×)[110]	N0, O+ (ME *kēpen, lōken, wāken*)	N-, O+ ME *gēten* (6×) ME *yēmen* (19×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *smǎken*)	N0, O0[111]
N0, O+ (ME *steven(e , voice*)	N0, O+ (ME *steven(e)*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *steven(e)*)
N0, O+ (ME *fīr*)	N0, O+ (ME *fīr*)	N-, O+ ME *loue* (1×) ME *fīr* (21×)	N-, O+ ME *loue* (3×) ME *fīr* (31×)
N0,[112] O+ (ME *bēren*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *bēren, undōn*)	N0, O+ (ME *bēren*)
N0, O+ (ME *heighe*)	N0, O+ (ME *on heigh*)	N0, O+ (ME *heighe*)	N-, O+ ME *aloft(e* (3×) ME *above(n* (25×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*
01.13.08 "immediately" + 01.14.04 "swiftly, quickly" + 01.15.13 "readily, easily"	<skét> (ME *skēt(e*) (19×)[113]	Main near-synonym: <sone (anan)> (ME *sōne*) (117×) Partial near-synonyms: - "Quickly, immediately": <forrt> (1×) <forrþrihht> (ME *fõrthright*) (40×) <raþe> (ME *rāth(e*) (5×) <whattlike> (ME *whatlī*) (3×) - "Easily, readily": <æþe> (ME *ēth(e*) (1×) <æþeliჳ> (ME *ēthelich*) (1×) <rædilike> (ME *rēdīlī*) (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *sōne*)
01.13.11 "to change the condition or direction of, alter"	<flittenn> (ME *flitten*) (1×)	<wendenn> (ME *wenden*) (1×) <wharrfenn> (ME *wharven*) (25×)	N0, O+ (ME *wenden*)
01.14.05 + 03.10.01 "to go, direct one's course away / to, depart" + 01.15.09 "to depart, deviate"	<flittenn> (ME *flitten*) (10×)	<farenn> (ME *fāren*) (54×) <ferrsenn> (ME *firsen*) (5×) <wendenn> (ME *wenden*) (12×) <witenn> (ME *wīten*) (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *fāren*, *gōn*)
01.14.05 "to run away, flee"	<rennenn> (ME *rennen*) (1×) <attrinnenn> (ME *atrennen*) (1×)	<flen> (ME *flēn*) (10×)	N0, O+ (ME *flēn*)

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113 On the alternation between the Norse-derived adverb and its near-synonyms, see also Dance (forthcoming b). On the etymology of <forrt>, see p. 69.

114 While Mannyng's *Chronicle* does not record ME *skēt(e*, it does record the Norse-derived adverb ME *tīt(e* "immediately; quickly" (cf. OIc. *tíðr* "frequent, usual, customary"). See Dance (2019, 2:49); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *tite*). They classify it as A3*c.

115 The *Chronicle* does record ME *flitten* with this meaning.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N-, O+ ME *skēt(e* (8×) ME *rāth(e* (5×) ME *sōne* (74×)	N0, O+ (ME *blīve, sōne*)	N0, O+ (ME *blīve, rāth(e, rēdī, sōne*)	N0,[114] O+ (ME *blīve, rāth(e, rēdīlī, sōne*)
N0, O+ (ME *wenden*)	N0, O+ (ME *wenden*)	N0, O+ (ME *wenden*)	N0, O+ (ME *wenden*)
N0, O+ (ME *fāren, gōn, wenden*)	N0, O+ (ME *fāren, wenden*)	N-, O+ ME *flitten* (1×) ME *fāren* (24×) ME *ūtfāren* (4×) ME *ūtgōn* (5×)	N-, O+ ME *flitten* (2×) ME *fāren* (92×) ME *rīmen* (3×) ME *wenden* (475×)
N0, O+ (ME *flēn*)	N0, O+ (ME *flēn*)	N0, O+ (ME *flēn*)	N0,[115] O+ (ME *flēn*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.15.03 "to prepare, get ready"	\<ḡreȝȝþenn\> (ME *greithen*) (9×)	\<ȝarrkenn\> (ME *yarken*) (38×) \<tawwenn\> (ME *tauen*) (2×)	N0, O0	
01.15.10 "to look for, try to find"	\<leȝȝtenn\> (ME *leiten*) (1×)	\<sekenn\> (ME *sēchen*) (66×)	N0, O0	
01.15.14 "to avail, be useful or helpful"	\<ḡeȝȝnenn\> (ME *geinen*) (3×) Cf. \<ḡenḡenn\> (ME *gēngen*)?[118] (11×)	\<firrþrenn\> (ME *furtheren*) (4×) \<helpenn\> (ME *helpen*) (35×)	N0, O+ (ME *forstŏnden*)	
01.15.15 "to escape"	\<attbresstenn\> (ME *atbresten*) (2×) \< űtbresstenn\> (ME *outbresten*) (1×)	\<attflen\> (ME *atflēn*) (2×) \<attwindenn\> (ME *atwīnden*) (1×) \<forrbuȝˢennn\> (ME *forbouen*) (7×)	N0, O0	
01.15.18 + 02.03.03 "wretched, miserable" + 02.06.06 "poor, deprived, in want"	\<usell\> (ME *ūsel*) (7×) \<wanntsumm\> (ME *wantsum*) (1×)	\<wædle\> (ME *wēdle*) (6×) \<wrecche\> (ME *wrecche*) (17×)	N0, O+ (ME *wrecche*)	

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116 The text records a number of forms that could represent the Norse-derived term ME *gēren* (see chap. 4, n. 117) or a reflex of OE *gearwian*, as \<g\> in the text could represent a velar or a palatal sound.

117 Mannyng's *Chronicle* does record the Norse-derived verb ME *gēren* (cf. OIc. *gera* "to make, do"). It is classified as A1*c by Dance (2019, 2:10–11); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *gere*).

118 On the etymology of this verb, see \<ḡenḡe\>, p. 72.

119 The text also records ME *skippen*, which is commonly considered to be Norse-derived (cf. MSwe. *skuppa* "to spring, leap"). See *OED* (s.v. *skip*, v.1).

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	Mannyng
N=, O= ME *greithen* (5×) ME *yāren* (1×)	N=, O= ME *greithen* (2×) ME *dighten* (3×)	N=, O=[116] ME *greithen* (1×) ME *yarken* (2×) ME *yarknen* (1×)	N0,[117] O+ (e.g., ME *dighten*, *rēdien*, *yāren*)
N=, O= ME *leiten* (1×) ME *sēchen* (3×)	N0, O+ (ME *sēchen*)	N0, O+ (ME *sēchen*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *sēchen*)
N0, O+ (ME *helpen*)	N0, O+ (ME *helpen*)	N0, O+ (ME *frāmen*, *helpen*)	N-, O+ ME *geinen* (1×) ME *availen* (21×) ME *frāmen* (1×) ME *helpen* (119×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0,[119] O+ (ME e.g., *escapen*, *outwinnen*)
N=, O= ME *wantsum* (1×) ME *nēdful* (2×) ME *povre* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *povre*)	N0, O+ (ME *povre*, *wrecche*)	N0, O+ (ME *provre*, *wrecche*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.15.20 "way, manner")	\<ḡate> (ME *gǎte*) (16×)	\<wise> (ME *wīs(e)* (173×)	N0, O0	
01.15.21 "behaviour, manners"	\<cosst> (ME *cost*) (1×) \<ḡære> (ME *gēre*) (2×) \<late> (ME *lōte*) (3×) \<lund> (ME *lund*) (4×)	\<þæw> (ME *theu*) (47×)	N0, O0	
01.15.21 "to behave"	\<latenn> (ME *lēten*) (3×)	ME *fāren* (1×) ME *lēden* (19×)	N0, O0 (ME *dōn, fāren*)	
01.15.21 "violence" + 02.04.12 "anger, wrath"	\<braþþe> (ME *bratthe*) (7×)[122]	\<ḡrammcunndenesse> (ME *gramcundnesse*) (3×) \<ḡrammcunndleȝȝc> (1×) \<wraþþe> (ME *wratthe*) (22×)	N0, O0	
01.15.21 "fierce, cruel, violent" + 02.04.12 "angry"	\<braþ> (ME *brōth*) (2×) \<unnmęc> (ME *unmēk(e)* (1×)	\<ḡramm> (ME *gram*) (6×) \<ḡrammcunnd> (ME *gramcund*) (1×) \<ḡrill> (ME *gril(le)* (7×) \<unnmilde> (ME *unmīld(e* "harsh, stern") (1×) \<wraþ> (ME *wrōth*) (8×)	N0, O0	
01.16.01 "same, equal"	\<same> (ME *sāme*) (1×)	\<illke> (ME *ĭlke*) (142×)	N0, O+ (ME *ĭlke*)	

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120 Only l. 1922R, which differs significantly from l. 1922BLS, records ME *thusgāte* "in the following manner."

121 Mannyng's *Chronicle* also records ME *cost* (see \<cosst>, p. 60) with this meaning.

122 On the relationship between the Norse-derived word-field and other terms in the *Ormulum* referring to ANGER, see Pons-Sanz (2015a, 575–79).

123 *Genesis* also records ME *anger* (cf. OIc. *angr* "sorrow, distress; resentment"). See Dance (2019, 2:92); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *anger*). They classify the noun as C1; cf. \<annḡrenn>, p. 51.

124 The text also records ME *angrilī* "fiercely, wrathfully."

125 ME *sāme* appears in non-rhyming position in l. 1272BS, while ME *ĭlke* was used in the original at least four times.

Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
N0, O+ (ME *wīs(e*)	N0,[120] O+ (ME *manĕr(e, wīs(e*)	N0, O+ (ME *wīs(e*)	N-,[121] O+ ME *gǎte* (18×) ME *manĕr(e* (66×) ME *wei* (60×) ME *wīs(e* (38×)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N=, O= ME *cost* (1×) ME *gēre* (1×) ME *bering* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *manĕr(e, tight*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *lēden*)	N0, O+ (ME *lēden*)	N0, O+ (ME *fāren*)
N0, O+ (ME *wratthe*)	N0, O0	N0,[123] O+ (ME *wrēthe*)	N0, O+ (ME *īre*)
N0, O+ (ME *gram, grim, wrōth*)	N0, O+ (ME *kēne, wrōth*)	N0, O+ (ME *gram*)	N-,[124] O+ ME *brōth* (3×) ME *brōtheful* (1×) ME *gril(le* (1×) ME *wrōth* (20×)
N0, O+ (ME *ĭlke*)	N?,[125] O? (ME *ĭlke*)	N0, O+ (ME *ĭlke*)	N+, O- ME *sāme* (59×) ME *līk* (13×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
01.16.01 "to distinguish" + 01.16.07 "to separate"	\<skilen> (ME *skilen*) (1×) \<toskilenn> (ME *tŏskilen*) (1×) cf. \<totwinnenn> (ME *tŏtwinnen*) (1×)	\<shædenn> (ME *shēden*) (37×) \<toshædenn> (ME *tŏshēden*) (2×) \<todælen> (ME *tŏdēlen*) (11×)	N0, O+ (ME *tŏdēlen*)	
01.16.03 "something that is reasonable or appropriate" + 02.01.08 "reason as a faculty of the mind; good sense, sound judgement; wisdom, knowledge"	\<skill> (ME *skil*) (40×)	\<innsihht> (ME *insight*) (16×) \<shæd> (ME *shēde*) (9×) \<witt> (ME *wit*) (137×)	N0, O0	
01.16.04 "three(fold)"	\<þrinne> (ME *thrinne*) (32×)	\<þre> (ME *thrē*) (71×) \<þrefald> (ME *thrēfŏld(e)* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *thrē*)	
01.16.06 "wholly, utterly, throughout; very"	\<þwerrtŭt> (ME *thwertout*) (127×)	\<all> (ME *al*) (647×) \<full> (ME *ful*) (277×)[127] \<swiþe> (ME *swīth(e)* (115×) [\<þurrhŭtlike> (ME *thurghoutlī*) (3×)]	N0, O+	
01.16.06 "also, moreover"	\<tærtill> (ME *thērtil*) (2×)	\<ec> (ME *ēk*) (309×) \<þær tekenn> (ME *thĕr-tēken*) (7×) \<wiþþ alle> (ME *with-al*) (over 31×)	N0, O+ (ME *alsō*)	

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126 The text records as well ME *skil* "intelligent, prudent" and *unskil* "lack of sound judgement; disregard for what is proper."

127 On Orrm's intensifiers, see further Méndez Naya (2019 and forthcoming); cf. pp. 11 and 227.

128 But cf. ME *ok* (on which see \<occ>, p. 86) in *Havelok* and *Genesis*.

129 Cf. ME *ēk* in ll. 800B, 1509B, 1712S, 1957S, etc.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	Mannyng
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *shēden*, *sonderen*)	N0, O+ (ME *dēlen*, *shēden*, *sonderen*)
N0, O0	N=, O= ME *skil* (3×) ME *insight* (4×) ME *mōd* (1×)	N+, O0	N=,[126] O= ME *skil* (23×) ME *inwit* (3×) ME *rĕsoun* (18×) ME *wit* (13×)
N=, O= ME *thrinne* (4×) ME *thrē* (6×)	N0, O+ (ME *thrē*)	N0, O+ (ME *thrē*)	N-, O+ (ME ME *thrinne* (2×) ME *thrē* (79×)
N0, O+ (ME *bidēne*)	N0, O+ (ME *fullī, swīth(e*)	N0, O+ (ME *al, ful*)	N0, O+ (ME *bidēne, ful, quĭt(e(lī*))
N0,[128] O+ (ME *ēk*)	N0, O0[129]	N0, O+ (ME *alsō*)	N0, O+ (ME *alsō, ēk*)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
02.03.02 + 03.06.05 "bad, evil, wicked, immoral" + 03.06.03 "contrary to what is right"	<ille> (ME *il(le)*) (10×) <wranḡ> (ME *wrong*) (1×)	<ifell> (ME *ivel*) (41×) <unnfæle> (ME *unfēle*) (12×) <wikke> (ME *wik(ke)*) (6×)	N0, O+ (ME *ivel*)	
02.03.05 "moral defect, vice" + 03.08.01 "sin"	<lasst> (ME *last*) (8×)	<plihht> (ME *plight*) (2×) <sake> (ME *sāke*) (7×) <sinne> (ME *sinne*) (323×)	N0, O+ (ME *sinne*)	
02.04.10 "gay, joyful?"	<ḡolike> (ME *gōlīke*) (2×)	<bliþe> (ME *blīthe*) (23×) <ḡladd> (ME *glăd*) (7×)	N0, O0	
02.04.11 "misery, trouble, woe"	[<waʒʒ> (ME *wei*) (1×)] <wanndraþ> (ME *wandreth*) (2×)	<wa> (ME *wō*) (22×)	N0, O0	
02.04.11 "to distress, trouble; harass, torment"	<annḡrenn> (ME *angren*) (2×) <beʒʒtenn> (ME *baiten*) (1×)	<drefenn> (ME *drēven*) (6×) <eʒʒlenn> (ME *eilen* 1×) <swennkenn> (ME *swinken*) (1×) <swennchenn> (ME *swenchen*) (4×)	N0, O+ (ME *swenchen*)	
02.04.19 "boast, bragging"	<ros> (ME *rōs* "boast, bragging") (1×) <rosinnḡ> (ME *rōsinge* "boasting, pride") (3×)	<(idell) ʒellp> (ME *yelp*) (16×)	N0, O0	
02.04.19 "to boast"	<rosenn> (ME *rōsen* "to brag, boast") (1×)	<ʒellpen> (ME *yelpen* "to boast") (6×)	N0, O0	

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130 Although *Havelok* and *Estorie* do not record the adjective, they record the noun and the adverb in the ME *il(le)* word-field.

131 The text does record ME *il(le)* and *wrong* as nouns, but not as adjectives.

132 The interjection ME *weilăwei*, which expresses woe, sorrow, etc., is attested in *Handlyng Synne*.

133 ME *baiten* is recorded in *Havelok* with the literal meaning "to bait an animal with a dog" (*MED*, s.v. *baiten*, sense 1.a).

134 While *Genesis* does not record the verb, it does record the noun ME *anger* "distress" (cf. OIc. *angr* "sorrow, distress; resentment"). It is classified as C1 by Dance (2019, 2:92); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *anger*).

135 But cf. ME *rōs* (see <ros>, p. 88) in *Handlyng Synne*.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	Mannyng
N0,[130] O+ (ME *wik(ke*)	N0, O+ (ME *wik(ke*)	N=, O= ME *il(le* (6×) ME *fēble* (1×) ME *ivel* (11×)	N0,[131] O+ (ME *wikked(e*)
N0, O+ (ME *plight, sinne*)	N0, O+ (ME *sinne*)	N0, O+ (ME *sinne*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *plight, sinne, vīce*)
N0, O+ (ME *blīthe, glăd*)	N0, O+ (ME *blisful, sĕlī*)	N0, O+ (ME *blīthe, sĕlī*)	N0, O+ (ME *blīthe, glăd, joiful*)
[N0, O+ (ME *wō*)]	[N0, O+ (ME *wō*)]	N0, O+ (ME *bāle*, [*wō*])	N0,[132] O+ (ME *affliccioun, angwisshe, cāre*)
N0,[133] O+ (ME *pīnen*)	N0, O+ (ME *drēven, pīnen*)	N0,[134] O+ (ME *drēven*)	N0, O+ (ME *agrēven, angwisshen, encombren, noien, poinen, travailen*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0,[135] O+ (e.g., ME *avauntement, avaunterīe*)
N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0	N0, O0

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
02.04.21 "to frighten" / "frightened"	<skerrenn> (ME *skerren*) (2×) Cf. <radd> (ME *rade* "afraid, frightened") (1×)	<forrdred> (ME *fordred*) (16×) Cf. <offdredd> (ME *ofdred* "afraid, frightened") (6×) <færenn> (ME *fēren*) (3×) Cf. <forrfæredd> (ME *forfēred* "afraid, frightened") (5×)	N0, O+ (ME *ofdrēden*)	
02.06.08 "to earn; acquire, obtain"	<addlenn> (ME *adlen*) (21×) Cf. <addlinnḡ> (ME *adling* "earning, that which one deserves") (1×) [<biḡetenn> (ME *bigĕten*) (1×) <ḡetenn> (ME *gĕten*) (1×)]	<winnenn> (ME *winnen*) (156×)	N0[136] ([ME *gĕten*]), O0	
02.06.09 "to forfeit, lose"	<forrḡarenn> (ME *forgāren*) (2×)	<forrlesenn> (ME *forlōsen*) (14×)	N0, O+ (ME *forlōsen*)	
02.07.01 "language"	<mal> (ME *māl*, *mōl*) (1×)	<spæche> (ME *spēche*) (89×)	N0, O0	
02.07.03 + 03.08.04 "boon, prayer"	<bone> (ME *bōn* "boon, prayer") (4×)	<bede> (ME *bēd(e*) (24×) Cf. <bedesanḡ> (ME *bēd(esong* "chanting of prayers") (5×) [<bene> (ME *bēne*) (13×)]	N0, O0	

136 Here and in the other texts, N0 indicates that ME *addlen* is not attested, as ME *gĕten* has been addressed in Table 3.

137 On the presence or absence of the Norse-derived ME *gĕten* and native cognates in the text, see Table 3.

138 *Havelok*, *Genesis* and Mannyng's *Chronicle* also record ME *tīnen* (cf. OIc. *týna* "to lose, destroy"), which Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *tyne*) classify as C3. That is also the classification that they (2019, s.v. *mysse*) give for ME *missen* (cf. OIc. *missa* "to miss, lose") in this sense, which is recorded in *Genesis*.

139 Cf. also ME *wanmōl* "ineloquent."

140 Cf. ME *bēd(e* in ll. 732BS and 2174B (vs. ME *preiēr(e* in l. 2174L); cf. ME *orisoun* in l. 1122BS.

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	**Mannyng**
N0, O+ (ME *(a)drēden*)	N0, O+ (ME *adrēden*)	N0, O+ (ME *frighten*)	N0, O+ (ME *abaishen*, *drēden*, *fraien*, *frighten*)
N0 ([ME *gĕten*]), O+ (ME *winnen*)	N0 ([ME *gĕten*]), O+ (ME *winnen*)	N0 ([ME *gĕten*]?),[137] O+ (ME *serven*)	N0 ([ME *gĕten*]), O+ (ME *serven*, *winnen*)
N0,[138] O+ (ME *forlōsen*)	N0, O+ (ME *(for)lōsen*)	N0, O+ (ME *lēten*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *forgōn*, *lēsen*)
N0, O+ (ME *spēche*)	N0, O+ (ME *spēche*)	N-,[139] O+ ME *mōl* (1×) ME *spēche* (9×) ME *tunge* (1×)	N0, O+ (ME *lange*, *spēche*)
N=, O= ME *bōn* (1×) ME *bēd(e* (1×)	N=, O= ME *bōn* (2×) ME *bēd(e* (4×) ME *preiēr(e* (1×)[140]	N-, O+ ME *bōn* (1×) ME *bēd(e* (7×) [ME *bēne* (3×)]	N+, O- ME *bōn* (8×) ME *bēd(e* (3×)

Meaning	Norse-derived term	Other term(s)	*FCPC*	
02.07.03 + 03.08.04 "to ask, pray for something"	\<bonenn\> (ME *bōnen* "to pray for some-thing") (3×)	\<bidden\> / \<bedenn\> (ME *bidden* / *bēden*)[141] (50×)	N0, O+ (ME *asken*)	
03.06.04 "innocent, guiltless"	\<sacclæs\> (ME *săklĕs(se)*) (3×)	\<ḡilltelæs\> (ME *giltlēs*) (13×) \<unnshaþiʒ\> (ME *unshathī*) (3×)	N0, O0	
03.06.04 "free from moral blemish, pure"	\<skir\> (ME *skīr(e)*) (3×)	[\<shir\> (ME *shīr(e)* (2×)] \<bilewhit\> (ME *bilewhīt*) (1×) \<clene\> (ME *clēne*) (112×)	N0, O0	
03.08.03 "to circumcise"	\<clippenn\> (ME *clippen*) (1×) \<ummbeclippenn\> (ME *umbeclippen*) (1×)	\<ummbesherenn\> (ME *umbeshēren*) (13×)[143]	N0, O0	
03.10.03 "path, way"	\<ḡate\> (ME *găte*) (6×) Cf. \<ḡatelæs\> (ME *gātelēs* "without a path, pathless") (1×)	\<stih\> (ME *stīe*) (7×) \<weʒʒe\> (ME *wei*) (58×)	N0, O0	
	\<sloþ\> (ME *slōth*) (21×)			
03.11.06 "to raise, build"	\<reʒʒsenn\> (ME *reisen*) (6×)	\<timmbrenn\> (ME *timbren*) (13×)	N0, O+ (ME *māken*)	

141 It is not always easy do differentiate between ME *bēden* and *bidden* when the form is a past participle (\<bedenn\>).

142 ME *săklĕs(se)* is attested in *Genesis*, but it means "undisputed, uncontested" (*MED*, s.v. *săklĕs(se)*, sense 2.b).

143 This verb is placed here because the head is a native term, viz., ME *shēren*, and because of the uncertainty surrounding the first element of the compound (see \<ummbe\>, p. 103).

144 Cf. ME *arēren* in ll. 1251S and 1772S vs. ME *māken* in ll. 1251B and 1772P.

145 The text also records the Norse-derived verb ME *biggen* (cf. OIc. *byggja*, *byggva* "to settle, inhabit"). It is classified as A1*bc by Dance (2019, 2:4–5); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *bigge*).

Havelok	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	Mannyng
N0, O+ (ME *asken*, *bidden*, *preien*)	N0, O0 (ME *bidden*)	N0, O+ (ME *bidden*, *bisēchen*)	N0, O+ (e.g., ME *bidden*, *bisēchen*, *preien*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *quǐte*)	N0,[142] O0	N+, O0
N0, O+ (ME *clēne*)	N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *clēne*, [*shīr(e)*])	N0, O+ (ME *clēne*, *clēr*)
N0, O0	N0, O+ (ME *circumcīden*)	N0, O+ (ME *circumcīsen*)	N0, O0
N=, O= ME *gǎte* (3×) ME *pǎth* (3×) ME *stīe* (2×) ME *wei* (2×)	N0, O+ (ME *wei*)	N-, O+ ME *gǎte* (1×) ME *stīe* (1×) ME *wei* (30×)	N-, O+ ME *gǎte* (20×) ME *wei* (134×) ME *stīe* (10×)
N0, O+ (ME *māken*)	N0, O?[144]	N0, O0	N=,[145] O= ME *reisen* (15×) ME *upreisen* (2×) ME *timbren* (2×) ME *upwrighten* (1×) ME *wrighten* (13×)

Discussion

Lexical Choices in the *Ormulum*

The tables above make clear that there is much variation in the apparent level of integration of the Norse-derived terms in Orrm's lexicon:

1. Some terms seem to have been his preferred/sole term to refer to a concept (be it in comparison with a formally related/similar (near-)synonym or (an) unrelated term(s)), and this is often further suggested by the loan's participation in word-formation processes, which can give rise to a fairly extended word-field (e.g., <kirrke>, <lah>, <mec>, <sahhte>, <skaþenn>, and <stęrrne> word-fields). This predominance can sometimes be found as well in the other texts which seem to originate from a dialectal area close to that of the *Ormulum*; this is especially the case as far as the terms discussed in Tables 1 and 2 are concerned (e.g., <band>, <baþe>, <bresstenn>, <ğest>, <rennenn>, and <skaþenn>), which could be taken as an indication of the relative ease with which these Norse-derived terms would have become integrated into English. From a slightly different perspective, one could argue that the predominance of Norse-derived terms is particularly interesting in those cases where the term is only attested in the *Ormulum* (e.g., <ammbohht>, <epenn>) because this makes clearer this text's centrality as a key source for the study of Norse-derived terms in English; in those cases where the term is attested elsewhere in the Middle English corpus but not in texts originating from the South-East Midlands/East Anglia (e.g., <leͪğe>, which is otherwise only recorded in texts that originate from a more northerly area; see *MED*, s.v. *leie*, n.4), this serves as a reminder of the patchiness of our sources and/or the fact that the localization of the text, while widely accepted, still requires further discussion (see chap. 1, n. 2).

2. On other occasions, the Norse-derived term and its closest (near-)synonym(s) appear to be used on a similar basis, with neither being predominant. Particularly interesting in this respect are two kinds of contexts:

   (a) The Norse-derived term and its cognate perform different functions: <naʒʒ> (ME *nai* "no") and <heʒʒl> (ME *heil* "hail!") are used as interjections and hence are only recorded in representations of direct speech, whereas <na> is used as an adverb negating another adverb or an adjective, and <hal> as an adjective. While the distinction between ME *nai* and *nō* is common across Middle English texts, the same is not the case for ME *heil*

and *hōl(e*, for the Norse-derived term is recorded in other Early Middle English texts as an adjective synonymous with ME *hōl(e* (see *MED*, s.v. *heil*, adj.; cf. ME *heilnesse* "health, well-being" in *Genesis*; see chap. 4, n. 7).

(b) The Norse-derived term has become so integrated that it seems to have ousted one of the members of the cognate native word-field: e.g., the ME *yēme* word-field is represented by the verbs <ʒemenn> and <forrʒemenn>, while the only trace of the noun can be seen in the derivative <ʒemelæste>. Instead, the Norse-derived <ḡom> has established itself as the core noun and, as such, appears in collocations with <nimenn> and, less frequently, <takenn> (see further p. 230). Given the categorical use of <ḡom> in the text, it is interesting that it is not attested in the *Ormulum*'s closest *comparanda* (in fact, this noun's attestations seem to be associated mainly with the (South-)West (Midlands)). The pair <bone>/<bene> offer a notable contrast in this respect. Only the Norse-derived term is part of an extended word-field in this text (cf. <bonenn> and <unnbonedd>, p. 57; cf. ME *bensien*, a very uncommon verb; see *MED*, s.v. *bensien*); however, while the two nouns alternate up to l. 7605, Orrm settled for the native cognate afterwards (see Burchfield 1954, 76).

3. Some Norse-derived terms are used less frequently than their (near-)synonym(s). They comprise terms which remained fairly peripheral in their semantic field (e.g., <arrfname>, <sowwþ>, and <triḡḡ>), including terms only attested in this text (e.g., <broddenn>, <dowwnenn>, and <ḡeþenn>); terms which seem to have enjoyed some widespread use during the Middle English period, at least in the Scandinavianized areas (e.g., <addlenn>, <aʒʒ>, <bun>, <ḡætenn>, <loꝁe>, <maʒʒ>, and <skḗt>); and terms which went on to become the core member of their semantic field, either with the same meaning as in the *Ormulum* or with a slightly different meaning (e.g., <aꝁe>, <deʒenn>, <lofft>, and <þrifenn>; see further pp. 225 and 232).

We can identify a number of factors that influenced Orrm's lexical choices cutting across these three groups of words:

1. Semantics: The Norse-derived terms enable Orrm to express semantic nuances in a number of ways, and this often makes them his preferred/sole option. For instance, he uses terms that do not appear to have been particularly common in his dialectal area but which help him to establish valuable distinctions, even though a native (near-)synonym could have been used instead: e.g., Orrm differentiates between <þeww> (ME *theu*), which is recorded multiple times to refer to the servants/followers of Christ or the devil (cf. OE *Godes/deofles þēow*),[146] and <leᵹ̊emenn>/<leᵹ̊esweᵹᵹn>, which refer to those servants working in a household for a fee (cf. ME *hīreman*), a financial aspect that is inappropriate for the contexts where <þeww> appears. This distinction is particularly significant because, as Ashe (2019, 37) explains, Orrm's was "profoundly concerned with the structures of society and community, and precociously focused on needs and difficulties of laypeople" (see also Ashe 2019, 41–42).[147]

   The Norse-derived terms can also offer a helpful alternative to disambiguate native terms, and their usefulness might have been determinant for their quick integration into their respective semantic fields: e.g., OE *fiþere* "wing" merged with OE *feþer* "feather" in the polysemous ME *fether*; ME *wing(e*, a term already widely attested in Early Middle English, helps to retain the distinction between different parts of a bird's anatomy. On other occasions, a Norse loan seems to have filled a lexical gap: e.g., in Old English there were a number of terms that meant "hut, hovel, temporary building" (*HTE*: 03.02.07.02.06.04, n.). However, Orrm's <boþe> and <chepinn̄gboþe> are the earliest terms associated with the meaning "trading stall/booth" recorded in *HTE* (03.12.13.03, n.). OE *cēapsetl* and *cēapsceamol* are attested but they seem to have

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146 It is interesting that Orrm does not use ME *thral* (cf. OIc. *þræll* "slave") to refer to the devil's followers, as this was a well-established usage by the end of the Old English period thanks to Wulfstan's texts; see Pons-Sanz 2007a and 2007b; and *MED*, s.v. *thral*, sense 2.b), and it is, in fact, recorded in *Evangelie* (see Pons-Sanz 2021, 482). On Orrm's (indirect) familiarity with Wulfstan's works, see Morrison (1995). See also p. 229.

147 On Orrm's "vernacular theology," see also McMullen (2014), who, quoting Gillespie (2007, 403), suggests the *Ormulum* can be seen as a "potential threat to the authority and power of the clerical institution with [its] espousal of 'lewed clergie'" (McMullen 2014, 261).

been ad-hoc formations, as they are only recorded in the Old English Gospels (see *DOE*, s.vv. *cēapsceamol* and *cēapsetl*).

While these choices are associated with semantic precision, a wish to exploit polysemy might lie at the heart of other lexical decisions, as <lofft> exemplifies. In its earliest attestations, OE/ME *loft* seems to have been a (near-)synonym of OE *lyft*/ME *lift* "air, atmosphere," although its uses are in the main restricted to a prepositional phrase with OE *on* (cf. OIc. *á lopt* "aloft, into the air"). In the *Ormulum* <lofft> maintains its association with prepositional phrases but it refers not—or not only— to "air, atmosphere" per se but (also) to a high position or place (physical or metaphorical); the latter meaning became much more common during the Middle English period (see Hug 1987, 353–54; *OED*, s.v. *aloft*; Di Sciacca 2009; Di Sciacca 2012; *MED*, s.v. *loft*). The three attestations of the term in the *Ormulum* are associated with the discussion of Christ's temptations in the wilderness after his baptism (cf. Matthew 5:5–8). L. 11823, where the term is first recorded, can be taken to represent the type of context that might have facilitated this semantic change because it can be said to bring together a number of meanings: Christ was taken up in the air, to a high place (the roof of the temple in Jerusalem and/or the top of a mountain) to be offered a position of high prestige. The latter is the main meaning of the term in its next attestation (l. 11849), while in its third attestation (l. 11961) it might refer to a high place, as it seems to be presented as a near-synonym of ME *rōf* "roof" (l. 11559), or it might again bring the various meanings together.

The members of the <mec> word-field offer an example of the interplay between semantic breadth and specificity (as well as between semantics and stylistics; see below). As Tables 6–7 show, the adjectives and nouns in this word-field overlap mainly with those of the <ædmod> and <milde> word-fields. These terms enable Orrm to explore the close connection between KINDNESS / GENTLENESS and HUMILITY (and MERCY / COMPASSION in the case of the native terms). This is particularly the case with the adjectives, for they often co-occur in contexts where these various meanings would be appropriate (cf. *MED*, s.v. *mīlde*, senses 1 and 3–5; and *OED*, s.v. *meek*, adj. and n., sense A.2.a). However, when it comes to the nouns, the members of the <milde> word-field (viz., <mildherrtleȝȝc>, ME *mildhertleȝc*; and <mildherrtnesse>, ME *mildhertnes(se)* are Orrm's preferred terms to refer to "mercy, compassion," while he clearly favours the members of the <mec> word-field (<mecleȝȝc> and <mecnesse>) to refer to "humility." The members of the <ædmod> word-field (<æddmodnesse> and <æddmodleȝȝc>) can have either meaning, but their refer-

ence to "humility" tends to be associated with the use of <æddmodnesse> at the end of a hemistisch when <mecleȝȝc> appears at the end of the previous one (see ll. 1546–47 and 19223–24), and it is, therefore, a way of ensuring synonymy while avoiding the repetition of the same word. As such, the <mec> word-field as a whole can be said to be Orrm's preferred terms for the expression of HUMILITY (cf. as well <mekenn>; see Table 7; Pons-Sanz 2015a, 581–83).

2. Metrical constraints: As noted in Chapter 1, Orrm's lines are very regular, to the extent that he has been called a "merciless syllable-counter" (Dickins and Wilson 1961, 81): fifteen syllables in seven-foot iambs, with no final rhyme or alliteration,[148] but with consistently feminine endings and a long syllable in the final lift of the line (Solopova 1996; Zonneveld 2000, 33–38; Yakovlev 2008, 213–14). Syllabic count is closely linked to stress patterns, as it can help to maintain the stress alternation in the iambs that form a hemistich as well as the alternation between masculine and feminine hemistich endings that we see in the text. As such, Orrm himself identifies metrical demands as a determining factor in his lexical choices (ll. P41–44).[149] The effects of metrical constraints can be seen at the level of derivational morphology (cf. <-leȝȝc> vs. <-nesse>, and <-liȝ> vs. <-like>; see Appendix 1) as well as in connection with various grammatical (see Burchfield 1956, 78; Johannesson 1995; Hille 2004) and lexical terms (see further Putter, forthcoming). (Near-)synonyms with different syllabic and stress patterns help him to fulfil metrical requirements, and this alternation can, at times, provide an explanation for the use of a minority word, whatever its etymology. Here are some examples:

   (a) Alternation within a hemistich:

      – <sware> vs. <anndswere> word-fields: Goering (forthcoming) explains that, in trisyllabic words like <anndswere>, metrical ictus regularly falls in the medial syllable, even though it is clear that the term had initial stress in Old English poetry (cf. PDE *answer*). The lack of the initial syllable in the Norse-derived field and, accordingly, the fact that it can be used after an unstressed syllable is likely to have been one of the factors

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148 See, however, Lehnert (1953, 182–85) for Orrm's occasional reliance on rhyme and alliteration. Cf. as well Olszewska (1962).

149 For an interpretation of this passage that goes beyond the mere significance of metrical patterns, see Cannon (2004, 96–97).

that boosted its presence in the *Ormulum*, as its members are not attested in the various *comparanda*.[150]

– <þwerrtűt> vs. <all> and <full>: These terms are Orrm's preferred maximizers (see Table 8). As noted by Méndez Naya (2019, 107, 118, and 120), the alternation between the Norse-derived compound and the native adverbs is likely to have been influenced, at least in some contexts, by the difference in their syllabic count.

– <wha summ> vs. <whase>: <whase/wha se> is Orrm's preferred form to express the meaning "whoever"; however, in contexts where he needs to avoid elision in order to maintain the appropriate number of syllables, <wha summ> is chosen instead (it is always followed by the pronoun <it>; cf. ll. 6082 and 10217; cf. <to> vs. <til>, on which see Hille 2004).[151]

(b) Alternation at the end of the hemistich, with at least a member in each pair (either the monosyllabic term, which appears before the caesura; or the disyllabic term, with stress in the first syllable, which appears at the end of the second hemistich) being recorded only in hemistich final position:

– <hæþinnḡ> vs. <skarn>: The French loan is only attested at the end of the first hemistich.

– <laẖȝe> vs. <æ>: The native noun, which, by the end of the Old English period, was already being ousted by the Norse loan as the main term to refer to a "law," regardless of whether it was secular or religious (Pons-Sanz 2013, 157–59), is only retained in the text because the Norse loan cannot appear at the end of the first hemistich (see further Dance 2012, 166–68).

– <lasst> vs. <sinne>: All the attestations of the Norse-derived noun are restricted to the end of the first hemistich, and, in this respect, it fully overlaps with the native noun <plihht>, although the latter is recorded only in two fairly repetitive lines, where it refers to a mortal sin (ll. 4738 and 10213).

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150 It might be tempting to associate the alternation between <loẖȝe> and <fir> with syllabic count as well; however, the Norse-derived noun is followed by the conjunction <&> (ME *and*; l. 16185), and ellision is necessary for the hemistich to have seven lines. Accordingly, the native noun could have been used instead.

151 On the rules for elision in the *Ormulum*, see Johannesson (1995, 173) and Putter (forthcoming).

- <mal> vs. <spæche>: The sole use of <mal>, a term equally uncommon in the various other *comparanda*, can be attributed to the fact that it can fill the last syllable before the caesura.

- <mále> vs. <ʒeld>: The native noun is only recorded once, within the first hemistich of a line, while the Norse-derived term only appears at the end of the second hemistich in its two attestations.

- <sweʒʒn> vs. <mann>: The plural form of the Norse-derived noun is disyllabic (cf. <leǧesweʒʒnes>; l. V362) rather than monosyllabic (cf. <leǧemenn>; l. 6222), and, as such, it can appear at the end of the second hemistich.

- <wand> vs. <ʒerrde>: These two nouns are only recorded at the end of a hemistich, <wand> at the end of the first and <ʒerrde> at the end of the second one.

(c) Alternation within and at the end of the hemistich:

- <baþe> vs. <ba>: These pronouns alternate within and at the end of a hemistich, according to the number of syllables or stress pattern needed.

- <bun> vs. <rædiʒ>: The two adjectives alternate in the middle of a hemistich, but only <bun> is found at the end of a hemistich.

- <haǧerr> vs. <ʒæp>: While only the native adjective, as a simplex or as the determinatum in the compound <hinnderʒæp>, appears at the end of a hemistich, its monosyllabic character makes it difficult for it to appear as a premodifying adjective in a noun phrase when the noun does not have any prefixes, unless the noun is in the plural and, accordingly, the plural form of the adjective, viz., <ʒæpe>, is needed. The disyllabic nature of the Norse-derived adjective helps to sort out this metrical constraint, and it is this adjective that collocates with <hunnte> (ME *hunte* "hunter"; ll. 13471, 13477, and 13499).

- <skḗt> vs. <sone>: <sone> is only attested inside a hemistich, while <skḗt> appears both within and at the end of a hemistich.

- <sloþ> vs. <weʒʒe>: While both terms appear within the hemistich, most of their attestations can be found at the end, according to whether a masculine (<sloþ>) or a feminine (<weʒʒe>) ending is needed. In this respect, they both alternate with <stih>, which has a monosyllabic form in the singular and a disyllabic form in the plural (<stiǧess>).

- – <þrinne> vs. <þre>: <þrinne> is only attested inside a hemi-stich, while <þre> can appear within or at the end of a hemistich.

3. Orrm was familiar with a wide range of collocations/formulas of diverse origin; as is the case with metrical constraints, at times they clearly boost the presence of a minority form. These structures have different origins:

   (a) The etymological discussion presented above has already mentioned a number of formulas which are likely to have been borrowed from Old Norse; they often take the form of pairs of (near-)synonyms (see <beȝȝsc>, p. 14; <bonenn>, p. 57; <flittenn>, p. 68; <laȝenn>, pp. 22–23; <mec>, p. 45; <rowwst>, p. 28; <sĭt>, p. 30; <triȝ̄ȝ̄>, p. 34; <þrifenn>, p. 49), but we also find full lexical repetition (see <aȝȝ>, p. 12). The existence of a native cognate for one of the members of the collocation might have facilitated the use of the other member in the text.[152] Indeed, the following terms are only attested in such collocations: <sĭt> (+ <serrȝe>; cf. OWN *sorg ok sút*), <triȝ̄ȝ̄> (+ <trowwe>; cf. OIc. *tryggr ok trúr*), ME <þrifenn> (+ <waxen>; cf. OSwe. *trifvas and växa*), <unnbonedd> (+ <unnbedenn>; cf. OWN *biðja ok bœna*). Given the alliterative character of the common association of the <brodd> and <blome> word-fields, and the assonance in the pair <sowwþ> and <nowwt>, one might wonder whether the co-occurrence of these terms also goes back to either Scandinavian or local lexical practices, rather than Orrm's own idiolect.

   (b) Morrison (1984, 1995, and 2003) has shown that Orrm's phraseology is also, to a large extent, indebted, either directly or indirectly, to the corpus of Old English homiletic and didactic works (see further Dance, forthcoming b). It is not surprising then that set English phrases can similarly account for the presence of native terms whose use has otherwise become more reduced at the expense of a Norse (near-)synonym. For instance, Old English texts (particularly Wulfstan's compositions and derivative texts, as well as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; see Pons-Sanz 2007a, chap. 4; Pons-Sanz 2013, 115) often bring together members of the OE *griþ* and *friþ* word-fields to refer to a situation of peace. This trend continues during the Middle English period (see *MED*, s.v. *frith*,

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152 On the significance of binomials in the history of English, see Kopaczyk and Sauer (2017).

n.1, sense 1.b), probably facilitated by the rhyming character of the phrases. As such, the binominal <ḡriþþ & friþþ> is key for the use of the native term in the *Ormulum*, as it is not recorded outside this collocation. Similarly, <þehh> appears only in the fixed construction <þohh swa þehh>, where the Norse-derived adverb has been added to the well-established Old English construction *swā þēah* "nevertheless" (see *MED*, s.v. *though*, sense 2). In a similar vein, the presence of <a> can often—albeit not always—be attributed to its use in the collocation <a/á butenn ennde> "forever without end," which has a clear homiletic ring to it (Morrison 1984, 56–57). There are other English phrases that appear to have developed in Middle rather than Old English. That might be the case for ME *nimen yēme* "to take heed" (*MED*, s.vv. *nimen*, n.4, and *yēme*), for OE *gȳme* collocates with OE *dōn* "to do" much more frequently than OE *niman* (see *DOE*, s.v. *gȳme*, ?*gȳm*). In any case, this is clearly the basis for Orrm's preferred use of this native verb (instead of the otherwise dominant <takenn>) when <ḡom> is the direct object; this collocation accounts for most of the attestations of <nimenn> in the *Ormulum* (cf. Rynell 1948, 61–69).[153]

4. The impact of these different trends is further enhanced by the repetitive nature of the *Ormulum*, an aspect of its style that has often been criticized by scholars for limiting the literary quality of the text (e.g., Bennett and Smithers 1968, 174; Pearsall 1977, 12; and Bennett 1986, 32). However, it is important to look beyond the tediousness that arises from the frequent repetition of the same structures throughout the text to establish possible functions. For instance, Cannon (2004, 90–91 and 98–99) explains that, at least to some extent, repetition should be attributed to Orrm's awareness of the significance of specific terms/structures to transmit the homiletic message and, at the same time, his doubt that they might have actually "worked as they ought to have done" because of they reflect the limitations of human understanding (cf. Ashe 2023, 24; Dance, forthcoming b). Besides these exegetical effects, repetition also has important implications for the current study because it helps to boost the presence of specific terms, whatever their etymology. This goes beyond the use of well-established formulas to the appearance of the same words in the same syntactic structure time and

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153 Notably, OE *niman bȳsen* was well established in homiletic compositions; yet, on this occasion, Orrm prefers <takenn> to <nimenn> (8× vs. 1×). For an overview of the use of these verbs in Early Middle English, see also Wełna (2005).

time again, and this can be seen with terms that show different levels of dominance in their semantic field:

(a) Sole or dominant terms: e.g., twenty-one of the twenty-six attestations of the simplex <sæte> and all the cases where the term means "wedding feast" refer to the wedding celebration at Cana, where Christ turned water into wine. The same structure re-occurs in almost every context: "Att/Till tatt/þatt bridaless sæte." The frequent appearance of the phrase is a testament to the significance of the event, as this is the first of Christ's miracles described in John's Gospel (John 2:1–11). Similarly, three of the nine attestations of <rote> appear in Orrm's interpretation of Matthew 3:10: "Forr nuȝȝu iss bulaxe sett. / Rihht to þe trewwess rote" (ll. 9281–82, cf. ll. 9935–36 and 10084; cf. "Jam enim securis ad radicem arborum posita est," "For now the axe is laid to the root of the trees").

(b) Terms which are neither dominant nor peripheral: e.g., while <fell> is attested in three different contexts, <skinn> is recorded in two lines which present an identical reference to John the Baptist's clothes, a clear indication of his life in the wilderness: "his ḡirrdell wass off shepess skinn" (ll. 3210 and 9229).

(c) Peripheral terms: e.g., <sowwþ> can only be found as part of the phrase <nowwt & sowwþess>; its two attestations appear in identical contexts, where John 2:15 is first translated and then repeated as part of the interpretation (cf. Dance, forthcoming b):

> … crist himm wrohhte an swepe þær;
> All alls itt wære off wiþþess.
> & draf hemm alle samenn ut;
> & nowwt. & sowwþess alle.
> & all he warrp ut i þe flor;
> Þe bordess. & te sillferr (ll. 15562–67 and 158802–7)

> (cf. "Et cum fecisset quasi flagellum de funiculis, omnes ejecit de templo, oves quoque, et boves, et numulariorum effudit aes, et mensas subvertit," "And when he had made, as it were, a scourge of little cords, he drove them all out of the temple, the sheep also and the oxen, and the money of the changers he poured out, and the tables he overthrew").[154]

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154 Albeit not identical, the two contexts where <skerrenn> is recorded are also very similar. See Pons-Sanz (2015a, 584–85).

Similarly, in all the contexts where it means "reason as a faculty of the mind," <shæd> appears together with <skill>, a collocation which, unlike others (e.g., <ḡriþþ & friþþ>), does not have a fixed order and does not seem to have been particularly common outside the *Ormulum* (see *MED*, s.vv. *shēd(e* and *skil*).

The *Ormulum* in Its Dialectal Context

When we place Orrm's lexical choices in their dialectal context, we can see that, while there is much disparity regarding the attestation of the terms across the various texts, it is again possible to see some trends in the data:

1. On many occasions we find similar patterns of attestation across all/ various texts. They involve cases where the Norse-derived term is the only or the dominant form attested (e.g., <band>, <baþe>, <mecnesse> and the <bresstenn>, <ḡesst->, <heþenn>, <laᵹ̊e>, <sahhte>, <takenn>, and <wheþenn> word-fields), cases where the Norse-derived term and its native cognate alternate on a fairly equal basis (e.g., the <bone> word-field), and cases where the Norse-derived term is less common than its native near-synonym (e.g., <ḡætenn>, <ḡate>, <lofft>, <loᵹ̊e>, and <waᵹᵹ>).

2. There is also a notable number of cases where the *Ormulum* deviates from what we find in all or most of the *comparanda*. We see this divergence in connection with Norse-derived terms that are well-attested in the *Ormulum* (e.g., <ḡom> is the dominant cognate there but it is not attested in the other texts; cf. <ammbohht>, <clippenn>, <sannenn>, and the <leᵹ̊e> and <sware> word-fields) as well as with terms that are less frequent than their native cognates. This refers to terms which are much more prominent in the other texts (e.g., <deᵹenn> and the <ḡetenn> word-field tend to dominate in the other texts), as well as terms which are even less prominent elsewhere. <flittenn> is an interesting example in this respect: its polysemy suggests that it was fairly well-integrated into Orrm's dialect/idiolect, and this contrasts with its rather limited attestation in the various *comparanda* (once in *Genesis* and twice in the Petyt manuscript).

3. We can also see clear differences between the various texts, and the attestations in the *Ormulum* are in keeping with just one or some of the *comparanda*; cf., e.g., *Genesis* for <cosst>, <ehhtennde>, <ḡære>, <ᵹatenn>, <kide>, and <wand>; *Havelok* for the <ḡifenn>, <leᵹᵹkess>, and <raþ> word-fields; *Estorie* for <ser>;[155] and Mannyng's Petyt manu-

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155 Cf. also <skinn>: As noted above, p. 231, the two contexts where the Norse-

script for the terms in Table 1: if they are recorded, more often than not the manuscript only has the Norse-derived cognate (cf. as well <wenġe>, <laꝣenn>, <sacclæs>, and <sı̋t>).

With so much diversity it can be somewhat difficult to see more general patterns of lexical similarities and differences beyond those mentioned above. However, we can adopt a quantitative approach based on the level of use of the Norse-derived terms discussed in Tables 1–8 to see the overall similarity between the *Ormulum* and the various *comparanda*. The number of attestations is taken here as a proxy for the level of integration into the dialect/idiolect of the texts' authors and/or the scribes of their manuscripts.[156] When deciding on the best way to address this, one needs to balance precision and accuracy. Representing level of use of a term as the result of dividing the number of times a term is used by the number of overall times it could have been used represents a more precise way. However, while I have also used this method (see the results in Appendix 2), I have decided to present in the main body of the study the results obtained through a less precise method for a number of reasons:

1. As the previous sections in this chapter have made clear, there are many different factors that contribute to lexical choices in a given text, and, accordingly, the number of attestations cannot be taken as a direct representation of level of integration.

2. So as to facilitate searches, I created electronic versions of the various *comparanda* when they were not available, but their accuracy was hindered by the limitations of optical character recognition and the impracticality of correcting every text in its entirety. This and the general difficulty of finding in a (long) text every single attestation of a Middle English term with a specific meaning and all the (near-)synonyms that have that same meaning suggests that, while highly indicative, the numbers presented in Tables 1–8 might not be completely precise.

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derived term is recorded share the same wording, whereas there is more variation in terms of the wording of the extracts where <fell> appears. This is in keeping with the fact that the Norse-derived term is only attested in rhyming position in *Estorie*, while the native term can be found in non-rhyming position (Pons-Sanz 2021, 486–87): both texts might indicate that, while the Norse-derived term was well-integrated into its semantic field, the native term was still the core noun to express this concept at the time of the texts' composition (cf. Mannyng's Petyt manuscript, which only includes <skinn>).

156 For a different approach to the study of integration of Norse-derived verbs in the *Ormulum*, see Elter (forthcoming).

Accordingly, in an attempt to prioritize accuracy over precision, I have cal-
culated the results presented in Tables 9–13 on the basis of the following
numerical categories:

N0, E/O+ (the Norse-derived term(s) do(es) not feature in the expression of
the meaning; this category does not apply to the *Ormulum* itself) → 0

N-, E/O+ (the non-Norse-derived term(s) is/are more common than the
Norse term(s)) →1

N=, E/O= (the Norse- and non-Norse-derived terms are equally common) → 2

N+, E/O- (the Norse-derived term(s) is/are more common than the non-
Norse-derived term(s)) → 3

N+, E/O0 (no non-Norse-derived term(s) is/are attested) → 4

No numerical category is given if the terms/meanings are not attested in a
particular text (viz., N0, E/O0) or if there is uncertainty about the meaning/
distribution of the terms, as suggested by the presence of a question mark.

Notably, Tables 9–12 cannot be taken to reflect the overall level of Norse
influence in the *Ormulum* or the other texts because Tables 1–8 only refer
to category A, B, and C words (i.e., those terms for which evidence of Norse
derivation is strongest) and, therefore, some loans might have been left out.
Moreover, as far as the various *comparanda* are concerned, footnotes to
Tables 5–8 record the fact that these texts also attest Norse-derived terms
that are not included in the *Ormulum*, but the above calculation only refers
to the terms these texts share with the *Ormulum* because the aim of this
approach is to explore the *Ormulum* in its dialectal context. A thorough anal-
ysis of every (certainly/likely/possibly) Norse-derived term attested in the
other texts lies beyond the scope of the present analysis.

Table 9. Overall scores for Tables 1–4 ((near-)synonyms which are cognates or formally very close)[157]

		Ormulum	FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
Table 1	Average	4	1.33	2.363	2	2.461	3.312
	Stand.Dev.	0	2.309	1.501	2.309	2.025	1.493
Table 2	Average	3	3	3.33	2.66	2.75	3
	Stand.Dev.	0	1.414	1.154	2.309	1.892	2
Table 3	Average	2	2	2	2.4	1.25	1.875
	Stand.Dev.	0	2.309	1.927	2.190	1.832	2.031
Table 4	Average	1	0.2	2.25	0	1.75	2.4
	Stand.Dev.	0	0.447	2.061	0	1.707	1.673
Tables 1–4	Average	**2.863**	**1.357**	**2.346**	**1.75**	**2.068**	**2.787**
	Stand.Dev.	1.192	1.823	1.647	2.049	1.907	1.745

Tables 9 and 11 give the overall scores for the *Ormulum*; however, as Tables 1–8 make very clear, the number of actual points of comparison across the texts varies significantly, to a large extent because *FCPC* and *Estorie* do not record many of the terms/meanings under consideration. Accordingly, Tables 10 and 12 provide a comparison of overall scores where the *Ormulum* data only takes into consideration scores for attested terms (Norse-derived or otherwise) in each of the other texts: e.g., when calculating the scores for Table 1 in relation to the *FCPC* only Orrm's scores for the <ḡesst>, <kirrke>, and <stẹrrne> word-fields have been taken into account because these are the only sets of words that the annals provide data for, while the scores for *Estorie* reflect Orrm's choices in connection with <heȝȝl>, <naȝȝ>, and the <bresstenn> and <heþenn> word-fields because these are the sets of words for which *Estorie* can provide some data.

Table 10. Individualized comparison of scores for Tables 1–4 for the *Ormulum* and its textual *comparanda*

	FCPC	Havelok	Estorie	Genesis	Mannyng
Text's overall score (cf. Table 9)	1.357	2.346	1.75	2.068	2.787
Comparable overall score in the *Ormulum*	2.214	2.807	2.437	2.896	2.939

157 Numbers in Tables 9–18 are given up to the third decimal point.

Table 11. Overall scores for Tables 5–8 ((near-)synonyms which are not cognates or formally very close)

		Ormulum	*FCPC*	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Table 5	Average	4	1	0.416	1.5	0.875	1.05
	Stand.Dev.	0	2	0.996	2.070	1.627	1.468
Table 6	Average	3	1.2	2.2	2.5	2	2.571
	Stand.Dev.	0	1.788	1.303	1.516	0.816	0.975
Table 7	Average	2	0	0.476	0.615	0.531	0.704
	Stand.Dev.	0	0	1.03	0.960	1.135	1.09
Table 8	Average	1	0	0.5	0.303	0.363	0.574
	Stand.Dev.	0	0	0.960	0.728	0.809	0.994
Tables 5–8	Average	**2.172**	**0.243**	**0.589**	**0.75**	**0.572**	**0.822**
	Stand.Dev.	1.160	0.915	1.074	1.296	1.130	1.202

Table 12: Individualized comparison of scores for Tables 5–8 for the *Ormulum* and its textual *comparanda*

	FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Text's overall score (cf. Table 11)	0.243	0.589	0.75	0.572	0.822
Comparable overall score in the *Ormulum*	1.804	1.858	1.833	1.927	2.008

Tables 9–12 make clear that, overall, the terms under analysis appear to be more dominant in the *Ormulum* than in the other texts (cf. Skaffari 2009, where Orrm's Norse-derived terms are also shown to stand out in relation to near-contemporary compositions; and Elter, forthcoming, with references, on the level of morphosyntactic integration of Orrm's Norse-derived verbs). Given that the text's dialectal localization is based, at least partially, on language external factors (see Cole and Golding, forthcoming; see also Pons-Sanz, forthcoming), the similarity between the *Ormulum* and the Petyt manuscript of Mannyng's *Chronicle* is notable (albeit expected on the basis of the current assumptions about Orrm's origin). Their similarity is particularly clear as far as the distribution of formally close terms is concerned (Tables 9–10): these two texts have the highest values for the integration of Norse-derived terms and the difference between them in Table 10 is smaller than the difference between the *Ormulum* and every other text (cf. Tables 14–15 in Appendix 2). Table 12 also points at the closeness between the two texts but does not support the assumption that the

Ormulum is closest to the text in the Petyt manuscript, because the score for *Estorie* is closer to the score for the *Ormulum* than the score in the Petyt manuscript for its particular set of overlapping words (cf. Tables 16–17 in Appendix 2). The lower level of use of Norse-derived terms whose (near-) synonyms are not cognates/formally similar (Tables 11–12) in the Petyt manuscript could be partially associated with the significant presence of French-derived terms in the text, a feature in keeping with its date. The later date of composition and manuscript production might also be one of the reasons why various *comparanda* have higher average figures than the *Ormulum* for the terms presented Tables 1–4 (most clearly in Table 4; see Table 9).

Table 13 presents the level of predominance of the Norse-derived terms in Tables 5–8 in connection with the three main semantic domains identified by *HTE*, with the exception of the <takenn> word-field; because of the large number of attestations and meanings involved, the whole semantic range of that word-field and its interaction with all its (near-)synonyms have not been explored (see Table 6). For the other terms, the scores have been awarded for each semantic field associated with that score (e.g., Orrm's score for <uselldom> in Table 5, viz., 4, has been counted three times, one for each meaning under consideration). As is the case with the *Ormulum*, the scores for each of the *comparanda* only take into account those meanings which are expressed by a Norse-derived term (i.e., a score of 0 is not an option).

Table 13. Level of predominance of the Norse-derived terms across the three semantic domains identified by *HTE*

	Ormulum	*FCPC*	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
WORLD	1.976	—	2	2.428	2.5	1.941
MIND	2.037	—	2.142	2.571	1.888	2.176
SOCIETY	2.404	4	2.4	2.571	2.416	2.318

By the two accounts (cf. Table 18 in Appendix 2), the averages for the three semantic domains in each text are fairly close to one another, although the terms referring to SOCIETY *tend* to exhibit the highest level of use/integration, commonly followed by those referring to THE MIND. While it is important not to overemphasize the significance of these results because of the somewhat reduced number of terms that have been considered (viz., only those included in Tables 5–8), the possibility that terms referring to SOCIETY appear to be more integrated is intriguing, for this result is in keeping with

Matras's (2009, 169) "proximity constraint," which posits that, when it comes to borrowing, there is

> greater stability of concepts pertaining to the immediate surroundings: orientation in space, time and quantity, the private domain of mental and physical activity, and the nearest human environment (body and close kin). Concepts that involve negotiation of activity with others are, by contrast, more prone to borrowing.

This needs to be explored further once the Norse-derived terms in other Middle English compositions have been fully classified, both etymologically and semantically.

Chapter 5
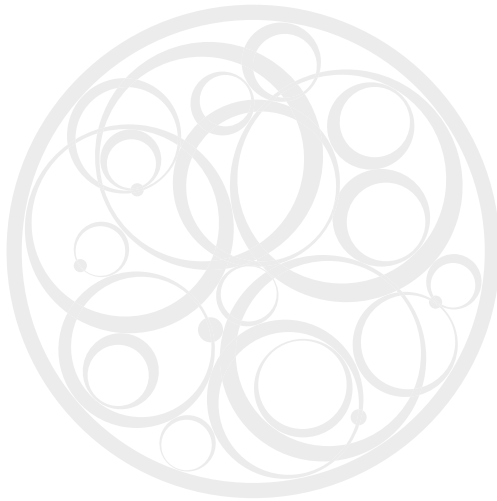
CONCLUSION

THIS STUDY HAS explored the terms in the *Ormulum* that have been identified as Norse-derived since the text was catapulted to centre-stage in discussions on the lexical effects of Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contacts following the publication of Brate's (1885) foundational work. While the Scandinavian component of Orrm's lexis has attracted much scholarly attention since the late nineteenth century because of its significance for our understanding of the impact that Old Norse had on the evolution of the English language, the analysis presented here has departed from previous works in significant ways:

1. Accuracy of the edition: This study has been facilitated by the availability of a new, much more accurate edition of the *Ormulum* by Johannesson and Cooper (2023); this edition has been shown to have important implications for etymological decisions (see, e.g., <apperr>, p. 109). Similarly, it has already encouraged further lexical work in connection with the text's native and French-derived terms (see Dance, forthcoming b; Skaffari, forthcoming) and Orrm's Latin (Honkapohja, forthcoming).

2. Systematicity and comparability, facilitated by recent methodological advances and new resources: The evidence that one can rely on for the identification of Norse-derived terms and the significance that scholars place on the different types of evidence (particularly when phonology and/or inflectional morphology are not involved) vary considerably. The *Gersum* taxonomy (Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019) has provided a way to move the debate forward by allowing for unprecedented systematicity in the classification of the terms, even if scholars then disagree on where to place the cut-off point regarding the terms that they are happy to consider Norse-derived. This etymological systematicity and its semantic counterpart in *HTE* enable comparisons across studies in ways that were simply not possible before because of the difficulties involved in the replicability of the analysis. As a result, the use of the *Gersum* taxonomy in the etymological backbone of this study has made clear that, while a very large proportion of the lexicon in the *Ormulum* (i.e., approx. 19%) has been suggested to be Norse-derived,

there is great disparity in the reliability of the evidence that we have for such etymological arguments, with securely, (very) likely or possibly Norse-derived terms (i.e., category A, B(B), C(C), and D terms) accounting for approx. 13% of the vocabulary, and those for which the level of reliability is highest for 9%. These are still fairly high figures, and the opportunity for cross-textual comparisons that the *Gersum* classification offers makes it possible to show that, while the Norse component in the text's vocabulary is not unusually high for a text composed in a Scandinavianized area, it is still slightly higher than in texts renowned for their lexical richness (see pp. 135–36). In this respect, this work offers further nuance to Skaffari's (2009) analysis of the lexis of Early Middle English texts, where the *Ormulum* is a clear outlier in terms of the significant presence of Norse-derived vocabulary. Similarly, *HTE* has facilitated not only the semantic classification of the Norse-derived terms recorded in the *Ormulum* but also the comparison of their distribution with that in other texts and, very helpfully, the semantic make-up of the Middle English lexicon.

The fact that the Norse-derived terms pattern similarly to the whole of the Middle English lexicon can be taken as new important evidence in favour of the suggestion that Old English and Old Norse are likely to have co-existed, generally speaking, in an adstratal relationship, even if we allow for the likely variation in the specific status of the speakers of the two languages across time and space (see pp. 154–55). Discussions on the adstratal relationship between Old English and Old Norse in previous studies tend to refer to the general, non-technical character of the Norse-derived terms. This linguistic effect of language contact—together with the transfer of various morphosyntactic features—is generally presented as the result of language shift by the speakers of Old Norse following a period of mixing and co-existence with the speakers of Old English. However, the work presented here (see also Pons-Sanz, forthcoming a) provides a much more detailed account of the semantic distribution of the Norse-derived terms. In this respect, it would be interesting to see how French-derived terms which were borrowed during the Middle English period pattern, as the relationship between French and Middle English is generally presented as superstratal instead.[1]

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[1] For an overview of the sociolinguistic relationships that English established with other languages during the Middle Ages and their manifestations through different

3. Breadth of coverage: This refers to both the number of terms under investigation and the lexicological aspects that have been explored. In terms of the former, while it might be the case that this study does not mention *every* single term in the text that has been analyzed as Norse-derived in *any* scholarly work, the extent of its coverage is unparalleled, as every effort has been made to deal with *all* the terms discussed in key sources from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, including the two most relevant dictionaries, viz., *OED* and *MED*. As such, and because the analysis has focused on the whole text rather than extracts, this work has engaged with more than 500 words (including the 442 terms analyzed in the main body and the words in Appendix 1, over eighty in number; cf. approx. 300 words in the main part of Brate's discussion. See Brate 1885, 30–66).

While the number of terms in this study is an important point of departure from previous works, the various lexicological aspects that have received close attention constitute an equally—if not more—significant innovation. The most comprehensive studies on the Norse-derived terms recorded in the text (e.g., Brate 1885, Egge 1887; cf. Johannesson and Copper's 2023 glossary) tend to restrict their remit to the etymological analysis of the terms. In this study, etymological exploration is a fundamental component but not an end in itself; instead, it is conceived of as the necessary starting point for the investigation of the impact that Norse-derived terms had on Orrm's lexis. The painstaking approach followed here has involved various steps, leading to much greater breadth and depth in lexical investigation than any other work on the text's vocabulary (cf. Rynell 1948; Skaffari 2009; Pons-Sanz 2015a). Specifically, (1) the identification of the secure/most likely Norse-derived terms (viz., category A, B, and C words, with no doubling or tripling of either consonant) makes the semantic work that follows more manageable, even though we are still dealing with over 200 words (see pp. 134–37); (2) the semantic classification of these terms constitutes the basis for the examination of the semantic and stylistic relationships that they establish with their (near-)synonyms; (3) this, together with the number of attestations of each term, is taken as indicative of Orrm's lexical preferences and the level of integration of the Norse-derived terms into their respective semantic fields in his idiolect/dialect. This work, in turn, allows for the contextualization of Orrm's lexical

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types of linguistic influence, see Lavidas and Bergs (2020); and Walkden, Klemola, and Rainsford (2023).

practices in connection with (near-)contemporary, dialectally appropriate *comparanda* to establish to what extent Orrm's use of Norse-derived terms is as distinctive as other aspects of his work. With this comprehensive approach, this work has thrown further light on the close connection between Orrm's lexical choices and the metrical constraints of his work, as well as the impact that his repetitive style is likely to have had on the text's "Norseness" alongside lexical choices that might have been somewhat old-fashioned at the time of writing (e.g., the use of ME *ē* instead of ME *laue* to refer to a law or a Commandment; see p. 227).

Moreover, bringing an innovative quantitative analysis together with the qualitative discussion of the terms has led to other interesting conclusions. Some of them are relevant mainly to our understanding of the Norse-derived terms in the text: e.g., the *Ormulum* exhibits higher overall scores than any of its *comparanda* for the integration of the secure/most likely Norse-derived terms in connection with both cognates/formally similar terms and unrelated terms (see Tables 9–12; cf. Tables 14–17 in Appendix 2). These scores further complement Skaffari's (2009) results in terms of the text's high use of Norse-derived words in comparison with other Early Middle English texts and are in keeping with Elter's (forthcoming) findings regarding the morphosyntactic integration of Orrm's verbs. Together with the terms that are only attested in the *Ormulum*, these scores are also indicative of some level of lexical idiosyncrasy, even if the results do not stand out as clearly as Orrm's innovative spelling practices. After all, we need to remember that, as noted above, the percentages of Norse-derived terms in the text are only slightly higher than those for other texts from heavily Scandinavianized areas, and that the exploration of the Norse impact on the lexicon of the various *comparanda* has focused only on the terms that Orrm uses as well and has not attempted to provide an account of the overall impact of Norse influence on the vocabulary of these other texts.

Some of the conclusions have a much wider remit than the analysis of a subset of vocabulary in a specific text:

(a) The in-depth lexicological study presented above has put forward further evidence relevant for the localization of the text, even if this evidence is not fully conclusive. Importantly, one particular *comparandum* offers lexical choices that are very close to the *Ormulum* overall, in terms of the level of use of Norse-derived terms and other (near-)synonyms (Tables 9–12; cf. Tables 14–17 in Appendix 2), and the level of use across different semantic domains (see (b) below). This is the text of the *Chronicle* by Robert

Mannyng (who had close connections with Bourne), as recorded in the Petyt manuscript, which has been localized in Lincolnshire. It is notable that the level of similarity is closest for the relationship between (near-)synonyms that are cognates/formally close terms, while the much higher presence of French-derived terms in the *Chronicle*, a sign of its later date, is likely to be one of the factors that accounts for the lower scores in the Petyt text for those cases when the (near-)synonyms are not formally close. The alignment of the *Ormulum* with a text associated with South Lincolnshire provides a different perspective to the findings in Pons-Sanz (forthcoming b), which suggest that a more northerly place of composition cannot be discounted (see chap. 1, n. 2). However, the two sets of findings might not be contradictory; we need to see how the figures presented here compare with those for texts composed further north (e.g., *Cursor Mundi*).

(b) The investigation into the level of integration of the terms across different semantic domains has produced intriguing results and has opened up further ways to look at the impact that Norse had on the vocabulary of different dialects of Middle English. Even though the existing data suggest that most of the secure/most likely Norse-derived terms in English tend to refer to meanings associated with *HTE*'s 01 THE WORLD, with terms referring to 02 THE MIND and 03 SOCIETY following in this order (see Figures 1–2 and Pons-Sanz, forthcoming b), the analysis of their use presented above suggests that their level of integration is different, with terms referring to SOCIETY seemingly being more dominant in their semantic fields than terms referring to the other two semantic domains, possibly as a manifestation of Matras's (2009) "proximity constraint" (see Table 13, and Table 18 in Appendix 2). These results need to be tested further with the exploration of a larger corpus.

Given the benefits of the approach taken in this study and the wider implications of some of its findings, this reappraisal of Orrm's Norse-derived terms offers a robust model and foundation for the work that still needs to be carried out in order to gain a full understanding of the impact that early medieval Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contacts had on the lexicon of (medieval) English.
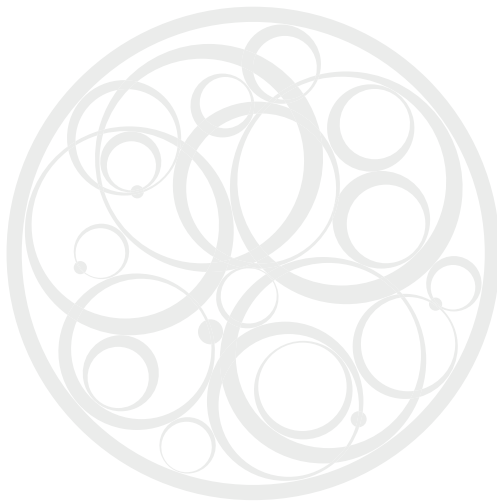
ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PROPER NAMES AND DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

BECAUSE OF THE exclusion criteria outlined on p. 12, the main body of this work does not discuss the possible Norse influence on either proper names or terms whose possible Norse derivation lies only on the fact that they have been coined with a productive Norse-derived affix. For the sake of completion, they are discussed in this appendix instead.

Various proper names recorded in the text have been attributed Norse influence, including the author's name and the text's title:

<orrm(in)> (ll. P158, P430, and P431)

Discussion: The absence of the initial semivowel (cf. <epenn>, p. 16) suggests that we are dealing with a Scandinavian personal name (cf. OE *wyrm* "snake, serpent" vs. OIc. *ormr* id., which is commonly used as a personal name: OWN *Ormr*, OSwe. *Ormber*, ODa. *Orm* < PGmc **wurmi-* and **wurma-*, respectively; see Björkman 1900–1902, 179). On the association of the personal name with the Scandinavianized areas and its use as a place-name formative, see Björkman (1910, 105–6) and the Key to the English Place-Names database (s.v. *orm*). On the unlikely association of the suffix *-in* with the Norse postponed definite article (cf. OIc. *-inn*), see Gollancz (1895, 254) and Björkman (1910, 105).

Category: A1*b

Related terms: <orrmulum> (the name given for the text; ll. P157 and P250).

<ḡrickess> (ME *Grēk* "member of the Greek people"; l. 17566)[1]

Discussion: The presence of <i> instead of <e> has at times been taken as suggestive of Norse origin (cf. OIc. *grikkir* "Greeks" vs. OE *grēcas*, *crēcas* id.; cf. ODa. *greker* id., Go *krēkos* id., OFri. *Crēcland* "Greece," MDu. *Grieks*

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[1] Although the status of ethnonyms and demonyms as proper nouns is still a matter of debate, I associate them with this nominal category and hence exclude them from the main body of this work. This decision is in keeping with Dance (2003); and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019). Cf. as well Coates (2021).

"Greek," where <ie> represents the reflex of */e:/, according to Donaldson 1983, 138–19; cf. Brate 1885, 44; Egge 1887, 80; and Johannesson and Cooper 2023, s.v. *ḡrickess*) but this interpretation is not always deemed necessary (see *OED*, s.v. *Greek*, n., an entry that has not been thoroughly revised yet as part of the online edition; and *MED*, s.v. *Grēk*, n.; cf. its absence from Björkman 1900–1902 and Serjeantson 1935). These terms are generally associated with L *graecī* < Gr. Γραικοί, although the presence of /k/ instead of /g/ in some of the Germanic languages and the adaptation of L /æ/ as /e:/ is somewhat problematic (but cf. L *grēci*). Transmission through various other languages (e.g., Illyrian, Etruscan, etc.; Lehman 1986, s.v. *Kreks*) or the fact that the voiced Proto-Germanic velar was [ɣ] rather than [g] in initial position when the term was borrowed and, therefore, /k/ would have been a closer *comparandum* to L /g/ (*OED*, s.v. *Greek*, n.) have been put forward to account for the presence of initial /k/ in various Germanic languages. The Germanic forms would have later been refashioned after the Latin term. Transmission through OESl. грькъ (*grĭkŭ*) or PSl. **grьkъ* is sometimes presented as the explanation for the different root vowel in Norse. The latter cannot be explained, at least partially, as a result of the fact that the Norse term was a *ja*-stem noun (Noreen 1923, §308; and Bandle 1956, §130) while the Old English term was an *a*-stem noun, as *i*-mutation in Norse does not tend to cause */e(:)/ > /i(:)/ (see Fulk 2018, §4.7).

<i> spellings in this term and others in its word-field are not particularly common during the Middle English period, their presence is not only associated with the Scandinavianized areas for they can also be found in Early Middle English texts from the South-West Midlands (see *MED*, s.vv. *Grēk* and *Grēkish*; cf. *DOE*, s.v. *grēcisc*, where this spelling is identified in a manuscript of Ælfric's grammar from the thirteenth century attributed to the scribe known as the Tremulous Hand of Worcester: Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 174; see *LAEME*, #173, worcthgrglt.tag). In fact, they appear in Dance's (2003) corpus (e.g., in *Laȝamon's Brut*; see *LAEME*, #277, layamonAat.tag; and *LAEME*, #280, layamonBOt.tag), but he does not discuss them because he does not include proper names in his study. Rather than identifying Norse influence, Stenbrenden (2016a, 108) lists <i> spellings in this word-field as indicative of the fact that the change /e:/ > /i:/, which is normally associated with the Great Vowel Shift and dated much later, was already starting to take place ca. 1200. Given that the presence of a double consonant in the *Ormulum* is normally interpreted as signalling that the preceding vowel is short, Norse influence

might be limited to vocalic length, although there was also some variation in this respect in Old Norse (cf. OIc. *Gríkland* "Greece"; see below), and, as indicated above (pp. 124–27), the exact phonological implications of Orrm's double consonants are still somewhat unclear.[2]

Category: CC2

Related terms: <ḡriccland> (cf. ME *Grēce* "Greece"; l. 16423): cf. OIc. *Gríkland*.

<ḡrickisshe> (ME *Grēkish* "of the Greek (language)"; ll. 4270, 4304, 4307, etc.).

Some derivational affixes have also been identified as Norse-derived. They include a couple of highly productive suffixes which are interesting from both an etymological and a stylistic perspective because they play an important role in Orrm's trend to choose specific alternatives according to his metrical needs (cf. pp. 226–29):

<-leȝȝc> (ME *-leik*, nominal suffix)

Discussion: The vocalism of this suffix (cf. <beȝȝsc>, p. 14) indicates that we are dealing with a Norse-derived form (cf. OIc. *-leikr* < PGmc *-laik* vs. <-lac> for OE *lāc* in the *Ormulum*, e.g., <weddlac> in ll. 2499, 2510, etc.; cf., e.g., Brate 1885, 48–49; Egge 1887, 94–95; Björkman 1900–1902, 63; De Vries 1961, s.v. *-leikr* 1; *OED*, s.v. *-laik*; Durkin 2014, 218; *MED*, s.v. *-lāc*; and Dance 2019, 1:66–67) although *OED* (s.v. *-lock*) points out that in northern Middle English texts forms associated with OE *-lāc* are commonly represented by <ai, ay>; as such, in those dialects the reflexes of the two forms became homonymous. They were, however, distinguished by the fact that the native suffix was used to form nouns on the basis of another noun, while the Norse-derived form was appended to adjectives, even though its etymon could be appended to both adjectives and nouns (see further McIntosh 1989). Orrm relied very heavily on the Norse-derived suffix as an alternative to ME *-nesse* for metrical purposes (i.e., depending on whether he needed a term at the end of a hemistich with a (secondary) stress on the final or the penultimate syllable, respectively).[3]

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2 Kristensson (1967, 61–62) identifies some examples of /eː/ > /e/ > /ɪ/ in Early Middle English texts, including some from Lincolnshire, although the phonological contexts seem rather limited (e.g., /n/ + consonant) and some forms could be explained through analogy.

3 On the interaction between <-leȝȝc> and <-niss>, and Orrm's preference for the former, see Burchfield (1956, 72–73).

The productivity of this suffix in Orrm's idiolect/dialect is suggested by the fact that all the derivatives with the suffix (possibly) bar two are only attested in this text (see also Pons-Sanz 2015a, 555–56), even though the use of this suffix was already well established outside the Scandinavianized areas from the Early Middle English period (see Dance 2003, 429–32).

Category: A1*

Related terms: <u>andrunnkennleʒʒc</u>> (ME *andrunkenleik* "intoxication"; l. 14408).

<anwherrfeddleʒʒc> (ME *ānwherrfeddleʒʒe* "single-mindedness"; ll. 11124, 14130, 14334, etc.): see also the entry for this term on pp. 51–52.

<æddmodleʒʒc> (cf. ME *edmōdlege* "humility"; l. 19302).

<ædiʒleʒʒc> (cf. ME *ēdīleg(e* "blessing, one of the virtues blessed in the Beatitudes"; ll. 5706 and 5724).

<<u>clænleʒʒc</u>> (ME *clǣnleʒʒc* "purity, chastity"; ll. V338, 2523, 2539, etc.).

<<u>dafftteleʒʒc</u>> (ME *dafteleik* "modesty, humility"; l. 2188).

<<u>duhhtiʒleʒʒc</u>> (ME *duhhtiʒleʒʒc* "virtuous conduct, worth, excellence"; l. 4904).

<<u>forrswundennleʒʒc</u>> (ME *forswoundenleik* "indolence, apathy"; ll. 2623, 4562, and 4746).

<g̅oddcunndleʒʒc> (ME *godcundleik* "divine nature"; l. 1388).

<g̅odleʒʒc> (ME *gōdleic* "kindness, mercy; benefits, gifts"; ll. P373, P407, and 1768): the term might represent a new-formation in English or a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *góðleikr* "goodness"); see Dance (2003, 429–32) on the possibility that the forms attested in his corpus might include the native cognate of the suffix instead.

<g̅rammcunndleʒʒc> (l. 4706): Holt (1878) read <grimmcunndleʒʒc> (cf. ME *grimmcunndleʒʒc* "sternness, harshness, cruelty") instead, which is likely to be the reason why the latter is included in *MED* but not the term recorded in Johannesson and Cooper's (2023) edition.

<g̅rediʒleʒʒc> (ME *grēdīleik* "greediness, gluttony"; ll. 3994, 4560, and 4648).

<g̅rimmeleʒʒc> (ME *grimmeleʒʒc* "cruelty"; ll. 4561, 4719, and 4726): the term might be a new-formation or a loan-blend (cf. OIc. *grimmleikr*

"savageness, cruelty"); see *MED* (s.v. *grimmeleȝȝc*), and Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *ḡrimmeleȝȝc*).

<ȝæpleȝȝc> (ME *yēpleik* "mental acuity, astuteness"; ll. 2523 and 2551).

<haǧerrleȝȝc> (ME *haȝherleȝc* "skill"; l. 4906): cf. OIc. *hagleikr* "skill in handicraft"; on the Norse origin of the root, see <haǧerr>, p. 21.

<herrsummleȝȝc> (ME *hērsumleic* "obedience"; l. 2521).

<idelleȝȝc> (ME *īdelleic* "vanity; worthless talk or activities; idleness"; ll. 2165, 4738, and 7847).

<kaǧǧerrleȝȝc> (ME *kaggerleȝc* "wantonness"; ll. 2187 and 11655): on the etymology of the root, see pp. 16–17.

<mennisscleȝȝc> (ME *menniscleȝc* "human nature, humanity"; ll. 85, 1380, and 1883): on the Norse origin of the base word, see <mennissk>, p. 84.

<mecleȝȝc> (cf. ME *mēklāc* "gentleness; humility; submissiveness"; ll. 1170, 1189, 1546, etc.): given its meaning, this derivative might represent a new-formation rather than a direct loan-word (cf. OIc. *mjúkleikr* "nimbleness, agility"). On the Norse origin of the root, see <mec>, pp. 45–46. Holt (1878) reads <metleȝȝc> (ME *mētleȝc* "humility, modesty, meekness") in l. 2663 instead.

<mildherrtleȝȝc> (ME *mīldhertleȝc* "mercy, compassion"; ll. 1142 and 1476).

<modiȝleȝȝc> (ME *mōdiȝleȝc* "pride, arrogance"; ll. 73, V339, 1544, etc.).

<rihhtwisleȝȝc> (cf. ME *rightwīslāc* "righteousness, justice"; ll. 2521 and 2531).

<þessterrleȝȝc> (cf. ME *thĕsterlāc* "darkness, lack of spiritual illumination"; l. 2964).

<unnclænleȝȝc> (ME *unclēnleic* "sinfulness, impurity"; l. 4628).

<wharrfeddleȝȝc> (cf. ME *wharvedlī* "wrongheadedness, perversity"; ll. 9825 and 18774).[4]

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4 Van Vliet also included <wæmodleȝȝc> (cf. ME *wēmōd* "angry, irascible") on fol. 50r of London, Lambeth Palace, MS 783 as part of his word-list based on the *Ormulum* (see Burchfield 1962, 104).

<-liʒ> (ME *-līi*, adjectival and adverbial suffixes)

Discussion: The adjective- and adverb-forming suffixes ME *-lī* could simply be derived from OE *-līc(e)* (< PGmc *-līko-*). The reflexes of the latter in Middle English tend to be <-lich(e)> and <-lik(e)> (particularly in the northern and eastern dialects; see Dance 2019, 2:164; and Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn 2019, s.v. *lyke*, adj., n.). The latter alternates with Orrm's <-liʒ> according to metrical needs (e.g., the forms with the velar tend to appear in front of vowels; see *OED*, s.v. *-ly*, suffix1; and Putter, forthcoming). <-liʒ> (ME *-lī*) can be accounted for by native means as we have parallels for the loss of the final consonant in a similar environment (cf. PDE *I* < OE *īc*). However, it is not uncommon to find scholars who suggest derivation or, at the very least, some influence from the Viking Age Norse cognate suffixes represented by OIc. *-ligr* and *-liga* (cf., e.g., Björkman 1900–1902, 158–59n1, who attributes an increase in the form to Norse influence because the form was particularly prevalent in the East Midlands for most of the Middle English period; *OED*, s.vv. *-ly*, suffix1, and *-ly*, suffix2; Durkin 2014, 218; and *MED*, s.v. *-lī*; see also Dance 2019, 1:66–67).

Category: CC5c

Related terms: <aldeliʒ> (ME *ōld(e)lī* "gravely, solemnly"; l. 2553).

<ædmodliʒ> (ME *ĕdmōdlīch(e* "humbly, meekly; graciously, with kindness"; ll. 1108, 1582, 9843, etc.).

<æþeliʒ> (ME *ēthelich* "easily"; l. 12534).

<baldeliʒ> (ME *bōldelīche* "boldly"; ll. 10263 and 10269).

<bitterrliʒ> (ME *bit(t)erlī* "sharply, sternly"; l. 9726).

<bliþeliʒ> (ME *blīth(e)lī* "eagerly, readily"; ll. P130, P413, 942, etc.).

<cuþliʒ> (ME *couthlī(che* "in a friendly manner, politely"; l. 2204).

<daʒʒwhammliʒ> (ME *daiwhamlīche* "daily"; ll. 7949, 13650, and 13776).

<dærneliʒ> (ME *dĕrnelī(che* "privately, confidentially, secretly"; ll. 385, V226, V233, etc.).

<u>dirrstiʒliʒ</u>> (ME *dirsti(ʒ)liʒ* "boldly, daringly"; ll. 16214, 19990, and 19996).

<enndeliʒ> (ME *ĕndelī* "finally"; l. 19999): this is a reconstructed from (see Johannesson and Cooper 2023, note to l. 19999).

<erþliʒ> (ME *ĕrth(e)lī* "worldly, mortal, mundane"; ll. P350, 403, V409, etc.).

<flæshliʒ> (ME *flĕshlī(ch* "pertaining to the human body; worldly, temporal"; ll. 4852, 14286, 14294, etc.).

<flæshliʒ> (ME *flĕshlī(che* "in a worldly manner"; ll. 13163).

<forrþerrliʒ> (ME *furtherlī* "far"; l. 14812).

<ḡastliʒ> (ME *gōstlī* "spiritual"; ll. P238, V122, 5896, etc.).

<ḡladdliʒ> (ME *gladlī* "gladly, willingly"; ll. V315, 12384, 15017, etc.).

<ḡrediʒliʒ> (ME *grēdīlī* "greedily"; l. 12280).

<ḡrimmeliʒ> (ME *grimlī* "sorely, severely"; l. 4494): cf. OIc. *grimmliga* "grimly, fiercely, sternly."

<ḡrisliʒ, grissliʒ> (ME *grislī* "terrible, hideous"; l. 3842).

<ha͜ʒeliʒ> (ME *hagherlīch* "skilfully"; l. 1228): see further <ha͜ʒerrlike, ha͜ʒelike, ha͜ʒeliʒ>, p. 21.

<haliliʒ> (ME *hōlīlī(che* "devoutly, piously"; l. 15920).

<hæþeliʒ> (ME *hēthelī(che* "scornfully, contemptuously"; ll. P79, V527, 7408, etc): see <hæþenn>, p. 44.

<hefiʒliʒ> (ME *hĕvīlī* "intensely, severely"; ll. 6241, 6246, and 13851).

<innwarrdliʒ> (ME *inwărdlī* "earnestly, fervently"; ll. P431, 697, 1346, etc.).

<kiþþeliʒ> (ME *kitthelī* "familiarly"; l. 16532).

<la͜ʒeliʒ> (ME *lauelīche* "lawfully, legally, in accordance with the law"; ll. 1965, 11128, 16572, etc.): cf. OIc. *lǫgliga* "lawfully"; see further <la͜ʒeliʒ>, p. 79.

<la͜ʒeliʒ> (ME *loulī* "kindly, graciously; meekly, humbly"; ll. V361, 16650): cf. OIc. *lágliga* "lowly"; see further <la͜ʒeliʒ>, p. 23.

<lefliʒ> (ME *lēflī* "lovingly, affectionately; willingly, eagerly"; ll. 3181, 4950, and 14197).

<lihhtliʒ> (ME *lightlī* "lightly"; ll. 16517 and 16577).

<mecliʒ> (ME *mēklī* "submissively, obediently"; l. 1189): on the Norse origin of the root, see <mec>, pp. 45–46.

<modiliʒ> (ME *mōdīlī* "proudly ; impudently"; ll. 1296, 2041, 5670, etc.).

<opennliʒ> (ME *openlī* "plainly, clearly"; ll. P211, 281, V368, etc.).

<seliliʒ> (ME *sēlĭlī* "blessedly"; l. 17318).

<shorrtliȝ> (ME *shortlī* "briefly"; ll. 13013, 13021, 13027, etc.).

<sikerrliȝ> (ME *sikerlī* "with certainty, assuredly"; ll. 5322, 5754, 7294, etc.).

<staffliȝ> (ME *stafī* (sic.) "literal"; ll. 14438, 14497, 14516, etc.).

<stallwurrþliȝ> (ME *stalworthlī* "resolutely, steadfastly"; ll. 5520 and 11947).

<stilleliȝ> (ME *stillī* "privately, quietly"; ll. 2922, 3118, 6912, etc.).

<þildiliȝ> (ME *thīldĭlī* "patiently"; l. 1186).

<unncuþliȝ> (ME *uncouthlī* "in the manner of a stranger, in an unfriendly matter"; l. 14341).

<unnhaȝerrliȝ> (ME *unhagherlī* "unskilfully"; l. 425): on the root, see <haȝerr>, p. 21.

<unnlaȝeliȝ> (ME *unlaulīche* "sinfully, immorally, in violation of divine or religious law"; l. 16154): on the root, see <laȝe>, p. 79.

<unnorneliȝ> (ME *unornelī* "simply, humbly, in lowly fashion"; ll. 3750, 4858, 4886, etc.).[5]

<unnseȝȝenndliȝ> (ME *unseȝȝenndlīc* "indescribable, inexpressible"; ll. 3613, 11177, 14945, etc.).

<unnseȝȝenndliȝ> (ME *unseȝȝenndlīke* "indescribably, inexpressibly"; ll. 8868 and 10121).

<unnseȝennliȝ> (ME *unsēnelī* "invisibly"; l. 19474).

<útnumennliȝ> (ME *outnumenlī* "exceptionally, very"; ll. 2288, 2599, 12283, etc.).

<wisliȝ> (ME *wiselī* "wisely, with spiritual insight"; ll. 2199 and 2291).

<wissliȝ> (ME *wislī* "clearly, plainly; certainly"; ll. 928, 11290, and 16691).

<witerrliȝ> (ME *witterlī* "plainly, evidently, manifestly"; ll. V199, V382, 2173, etc.): cf. OIc. *vitrliga* "wisely, with wisdom." See Dance (2019, 2:141–43); Dance, Pons-Sanz, and Schorn (2019, s.v. *weterly*); and <witerr>, p. 108.

<wraþeliȝ> (ME *wrōthlī* "angrily, wrathfully"; l. 15832).

<wreccheliȝ> (ME *wrecchelī* "wretchedly, miserably"; l. 3326).

<wunnderrliȝ> (ME *wonderlī* "great, amazing"; l.15645).

<wunnderrliȝ> (ME *wonderlī* "very much"; ll. 3730, 16156, and 16157).
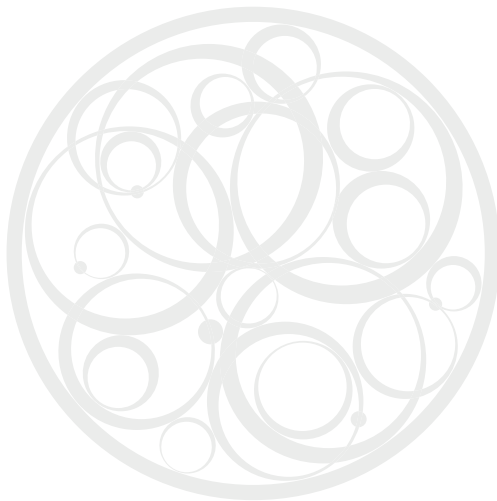
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5 On <unnriddliȝ>, see chap. 2, n. 28.

<wanntrowwþe> (ME *wantreuth* "lack of belief"; l. 3148)

Discussion: Johannesson and Cooper (2023, s.v. *wanntrowwþe*) would like to associate this term, which is only recorded in the *Ormulum* and the *Northern Homily Cycle*, with the Norse prefix represented by OIc. *van-*. Most other scholars are, however, happier to associate it with the native cognate OE/ME *wan-* (cf., e.g., *OED*, s.v. *wantruth;* and *MED*, *wantreuth*; and the absence of the term from Brate 1885, Egge 1887, Björkman 1900–1902, Serjeantson 1935 and Rynell 1948). *OED* (s.v. *wan-*) notes that the native prefix was fairly productive during the Old English period and later on became particularly productive in the northern dialects and in Scottish. In that respect, it might be the case that Norse influence simply contributed to increase its frequency.

Category: CCC5c
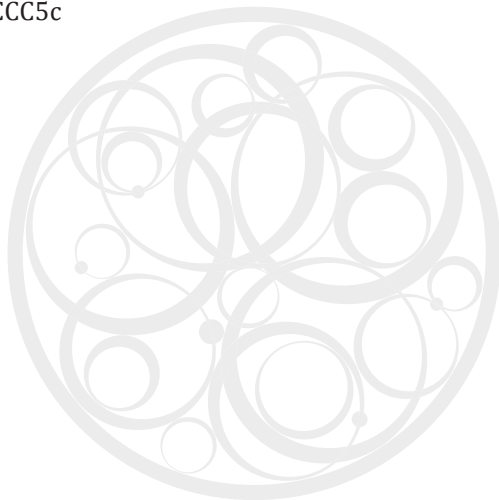
ALTERNATIVE QUANTITATIVE RESULTS FOR THE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION OF THE NORSE-DERIVED TERMS IN THE *ORMULUM* AND ITS *COMPARANDA*

AS NOTED IN Chapter 4, the discussion around the level of integration of the most certain/likely Norse-derived terms in the *Ormulum* (category A, B, and C terms) presented in the main body of the text has relied on a less precise quantitative approach to the data because of the possible problems associated with counting every single occurrence of a term with a specific meaning and its (near-)synonyms in a given Middle English text. This appendix presents the equivalent results for Tables 9–13 calculated by dividing the number of attestations of the Norse-derived terms by the overall number of occurrences of the sets of cognates/formally close terms for Tables 1–4, and references to the concept for Tables 5–8. As with the less precise approach to the data, when a term is explored in relation to both its cognate/a formally close term and (a) term(s) that is/are not formally related, the attestations of the cognate/formally close term have not been taken into account in the second calculation: for instance, the score for <aȝȝ> (ME *ai*) in the *Ormulum* in Table 2 is 0.871 (= 305/350, as the Norse-derived term is attested 305 times and its cognate, ME *ō*, 45 times), while its score in Table 6 is 0.798 (=305/382, as ME *ěver* is attested 77 times).[1] No score has been given if the terms/meanings are not attested in a particular text (viz., N0, E/O0 in Tables 1–8) or if there is uncertainty about the meaning/distribution of the terms, as suggested by the presence of a question mark.

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1 As with Tables 8–13, the scores are given up to the third decimal point.

Table 14. Overall scores for Tables 1–4 ((near-)synonyms which are cognates or formally very close) calculated on the basis of the specific number of occurrences

		Ormulum	*FCPC*	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Table 1	Average	1	0.333	0.617	0.5	0.615	0.804
	Stand.Dev.	0	0.577	0.373	0.577	0.506	0.404
Table 2	Average	0.918	0.75	0.88	0.666	0.7	0.918
	Stand.Dev.	0.055	0.353	0.206	0.577	0.476	0.055
Table 3	Average	0.438	0.5	0.461	0.5	0.285	0.426
	Stand.Dev.	0.143	0.577	0.494	0.577	0.487	0.532
Table 4	Average	0.203	0.03	0.661	0.2	0.449	0.661
	Stand.Dev.	0.219	0.068	0.476	0.447	0.4	0.421
Tables 1–4	Average	**0.717**	**0.332**	**0.614**	**0.437**	**0.601**	**0.688**
	Stand.Dev.	0.355	0.458	0.411	0.512	0.467	0.451

Table 15. Individualized comparison of scores for Tables 1–4 for the *Ormulum* and its textual *comparanda* calculated on the basis of the specific number of occurrences

	FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Text's overall score (cf. Table 9)	0.332	0.614	0.437	0.601	0.688
Comparable overall score in the *Ormulum*	0.576	0.67	0.579	0.781	0.725

Table 16. Overall scores for Tables 5–8 ((near-)synonyms which are not cognates or formally very close) calculated on the basis of the specific number of occurrences

|		*Ormulum*	*FCPC*	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Table 5	Average	1	0.25	0.104	0.375	0.2	0.304
	Stand.Dev.	0	0.5	0.249	0.517	0.414	0.409
Table 6	Average	0.806	0.3	0.557	0.683	0.442	0.631
	Stand.Dev.	0.095	0.447	0.339	0.378	0.299	0.243
Table 7	Average	0.43	0	0.103	0.153	0.123	0.148
	Stand.Dev.	0.177	0	0.246	0.248	0.273	0.252
Table 8	Average	0.145	0	0.105	0.0591	0.062	0.119
	Stand.Dev.	0.094	0	0.232	0.142	0.186	0.262
Tables 5–8	Average	**0.478**	**0.06**	**0.133**	**0.189**	**0.12**	**0.194**
	Stand.Dev.	0.355	0.228	0.265	0.33	0.275	0.314

Table 17. Individualized comparison of scores for Tables 5–8 for the *Ormulum* and its textual *comparanda* calculated on the basis of the specific number of occurrences

	FCPC	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
Text's overall score (cf. Table 11)	0.06	0.133	0.189	0.12	0.194
Comparable overall score in the *Ormulum*	0.353	0.383	0.378	0.393	0.443

Table 18. Level of predominance of the Norse-derived terms across the three semantic domains identified by *HTE* calculated on the basis of the specific number of occurrences

	Ormulum	*FCPC*	*Havelok*	*Estorie*	*Genesis*	*Mannyng*
WORLD	0.409	—	0.39	0.609	0.579	0.435
MIND	0.454	—	0.46	0.584	0.573	0.453
SOCIETY	0.548	1	0.56	0.709	0.51	0.531
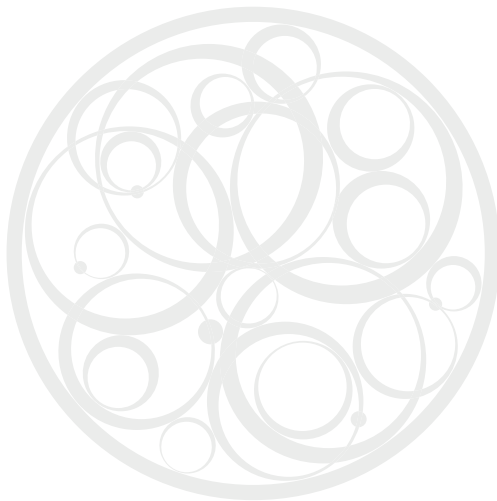
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