

UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky

## **DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE**

**English verbal (pseudo)-compounds from a diachronic viewpoint**

Anglická slovesná kompozita v diachronní perspektivě

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Září 2008

Prohlašuji, že jsem svou diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a že jsem uvedla všechny použité prameny a literaturu.

V Praze, 29. srpna 2008

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Ráda bych na tomto místě poděkovala panu doc. PhDr. Janu Čermákovi, CSc. za vedení práce, osobní přístup a vstřícnost.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1. 1. Basic terminology

In order to avoid any confusion of terminology, let us, at the very beginning, clarify some basic terms which we will be using throughout this paper<sup>1</sup>:

A **compound** is a combination of “linguistic elements on the basis of a determinant / determinatum relationship called syntagma.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 11)

A **pseudo-compound verb** differs from prefixal and preparticle verbs of the kind *undo*, *overdo* in the respect that these verbs are analysable as determinant / determinatum groups, while verbs of the *spotlight* type are “essentially verbs with a zero determinatum, the determinant being the full underlying basis: *to spotlight* is ‘(to turn) the spotlights on’, *to stagemanage* is ‘(to act like a) stagemanager’ and so forth. In view of this we have to say that composite verbs other than preparticle verbs are actually derivatives from nominal composites.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 101)

We have “invented”<sup>2</sup> two terms which are not frequently used but which we will make use of in our analysis of verbal pseudo-compounds (in Old English):

An **immediate derivational base** is to be distinguished from an **absolute derivational base**<sup>3</sup>. Whereas an immediate derivational base is a form from which a word is derived directly<sup>4</sup>, an absolute derivational base is used only for distant derivation<sup>5</sup>.

## 1. 2. Problematic status of pseudo-compound verbs

Pseudo-compound verbs do not belong among topics which are frequently dealt with in historical linguistics<sup>6</sup>. Marchand<sup>7</sup> is one of the few who have at least attempted to analyze this phenomenon. Hence he offers at least some insight into the problematic status of verbal pseudo-compounds. He claims that “with the exception of verbs with preposed particles, verbal composition did not occur in Old English and does not seem to have existed in

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<sup>1</sup> Other terms will be defined later when they will be quintessential for the explanation of a particular problem.

<sup>2</sup> We did not encounter these terms in the secondary literature which we were using as a framework for this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Both terms will be used in connection with Old English pseudo-compound verbs.

<sup>4</sup> Affixes are attached to A in order to produce B, i.e. A + affix = B.

<sup>5</sup> Some kind of interstage C is required: Affixes are added to A in order to form C. C serves as the immediate derivational base for B, meaning that affixes are attached to C in order to create B. Then we can claim that B was distantly derived from A. Both kinds of derivational bases find reflexes in Old English. In short, A + affix = C and C + affix = B.

<sup>6</sup> And even if, not much space is reserved for them. (viz. e.g. Lass, Strang)

<sup>7</sup> Even though “the chief purpose if [his] book is synchronic.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 8)

Germanic at all.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 100) His statement is supported by Lass who suggests that “true verb compounds of the structural type [N + V] (ModE *carbon-date*<sup>8</sup>, *sky-dive*) or [Adj.+ V] (*fine-tune*, *double-book*) are doubtful for IE, and uncertain for PGmc.” (Lass: 1994, p. 198)

Although genuine compound verbs were not present in Old English, “derivation of verbs from compound substantives [was] old in the Germanic languages. Gothic as well as Old High German and Old English [knew] such derivatives, although the type is comparatively weak in all three.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 101)<sup>9</sup>

Our paper does not include the Early Modern English period. Therefore we have to rely on Marchand’s research: “Pseudo-compound verbs have been steadily increasing in Modern English, especially since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their growth, however, has been largely on the colloquial or slang level. This is one of the reasons why they are still not really established in literary usage, though even educated speakers use them in conversation. Many people are hesitant about them, consciously or unconsciously considering them to be ‘not good English’.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 106)<sup>10</sup>

The present status of pseudo-compound verbs is somewhat problematic because “at the present stage of the language, speakers who use a pseudo-compound verb are normally aware that they are deriving it from a nominal composite basis. [...] it does not seem that the existence of the several pseudo-compound verbs will bring about a genuine compound verb type.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 106) In other words, verbal pseudo-compounds do not need to be treated separately from other compounds because they are in fact either backformations or conversions from nouns. But the diachronic perspective will prove that they differ from other compounds<sup>11</sup>.

### **1. 3. Marchand’s classification**

Marchand’s classification has been used as a framework for this paper. Therefore it is necessary to draw clear boundaries between the individual categories in his treatment.

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<sup>8</sup> According to Lass, *to carbon-date* was produced from a compound noun *carbon-date* (which would be perceived as conversion in the traditional approach) and *double-book* from the participial adjective *double-booked* (which would suggest that it is a case of backformation). (Lass: 1994, p. 198) *To sky-dive* is not a genuine compound, but a backformation from *sky-diver*. (OED: 1989) And *to fine-tune* has been created as a back-formation from the gerund *fine-tuning*. (OED: 1989) Consequently, none of the his examples passes as a genuine compound.

<sup>9</sup> We will return to this statement in our conclusion.

<sup>10</sup> Again, this assumption will be discussed in a greater depth in the conclusion.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. the rise of genuine compound verbs in Middle English. The main problem is probably that Marchand adopts mainly the synchronic approach. Consequently, he does not mention such types of compounds which emerged in one period but did not pass into the next one.

Marchand distinguishes basically two main groups of pseudo-compound verbs. The first one is derived from a nominal compound (which is almost always a noun)<sup>12</sup>. He introduces two main types<sup>13</sup>, i.e. “to spotlight” and “to blacklist” (which can occur also as a syntactic group of the type “to cold shoulder”). (Marchand: 1969, p. 101)

## **GROUP I:**

### 1. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM A NOMINAL COMPOUND:

1. **spotlight** (sb/sb)
2. **blacklist** (adj/sb) / **cold shoulder** (syntactic group)

### 2. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM AN ADJECTIVAL COMPOUND:<sup>14</sup>

1. **waterproof**<sup>15</sup> (sb/adj)
2. **grey-blue**<sup>16</sup> (adj/adj)
3. **sweetheart** (Bahuvrihi-compound<sup>17</sup>: adj/sb)

Marchand defines the second group as being derived from a synthetic compound<sup>18</sup>. In his opinion, the word-formation process prevalent here is backformation<sup>19</sup>. “It is distinguished from the [first] group only by the dropping of the functional morpheme of the basis and by the morphologically important fact that the second element is verbal. But essentially we have

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<sup>12</sup> In our approach, this group is not restricted to nominal compounds because Old and Middle English records include also verbs which were derived from adjectival compounds.

<sup>13</sup> He mentions also three minor types which we excluded from this account due to the fact that they are not relevant for Old or Middle English.

<sup>14</sup> We decided to enrich Marchand’s classification with verbs derived from adjectival compounds. Although they are not very frequent in Old English (in Middle English even less so), they are interesting from the point of view that they are the first records of such compound types. (We will briefly comment on each of the type. Marchand mentions all of them but not in connection with pseudo-compound verbs.)

<sup>15</sup> This type was formed on the pattern “proof to water”. The underlying syntactic relation can be thus identified as Verb-Object. (Marchand: 1969, p. 84)

<sup>16</sup> This type belongs to additive (copulative) compounds. (Marchand: 1969, p. 88) Consequently, both elements apply at the same time.

<sup>17</sup> Marchand claims that bahuvrihi compounds are not compounds, but derivatives because they are not explicable as ‘B determined by A’ but rather as ‘someone or something marked by what is expressed in the composite determinant’. (Marchand: 1969, p. 13-14) Hence *sweetheart* is not some kind of *heart*, but ‘someone being sweet to heart’.

<sup>18</sup> “Synthetic compounds are combinations whose second elements are deverbal derivatives from verbs which form a direct syntagma with the determinant. [...] They are in reality nothing but derivations from a verbal nexus.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 17-18) Thus for example, *stage-manager* can be analyzed as ‘one who “manages” stage’, meaning that he is in charge “of the technical side of a production.” (OED:1989) The underlying relation would be Subject-Verb-Object.

<sup>19</sup> In the synchronic point of view, little objection can be raised against this statement. But diachrony has to distinguish between backformation and desuffixation. In backformation, verbs are created by the removing of nominal suffixes. In desuffixation, on the other hand, nominal suffixes are dropped only to be replaced by the verbal suffix.

derivation from a composite basis in both groups, and it therefore matters very little that in some cases we cannot tell exactly what the basis is<sup>20</sup>.“ (Marchand: 1969, p. 101)

## **GROUP II:**

1. **stage-manage** from stage-manager (agent noun)
2. **playact** from playacting (action noun)
3. **spoonfeed** from spoonfed, **new-create** from new-created (participial adjective)

## **1. 4. Problems with ample attestation of pseudo-compound verbs**

### **1.4.1. Literature**

The problem with Old English literature is that we cannot determine how many texts have survived. Moreover, those that have usually exist in only one manuscript. Nevertheless the number of preserved texts is fairly large when we consider all the enemies of preservation: fire, damp, vermin, negligence, the Viking invasions<sup>21</sup> and the Norman Conquest, the dissolution of monasteries, the zeal of reformers and other political and religious upheaval. Not only the preservation of manuscripts, but also the compilation of new books or reproduction of an existing manuscript had to face obstacles: First, chances that a text would be written at all were very small because literacy was confined primarily to the clergy. Second, there was a little chance that the text would be written in English because Latin had been long considered the only appropriate language for serious literature. When we consider these facts, we have to admit that it was rather a miracle that so much literature survived from the Old English period. (Millward: 1996, p. 134)

The situation in Middle English was quite different. Compared with the situation in Old English, the quantity of surviving Middle English texts is large (especially after 1250). The invention of the printing press towards the end of the Middle English period contributed considerably to the preservation of texts. Much of the Middle English literature consists of translations, primarily from French<sup>22</sup> and Latin<sup>23</sup>. Those authors who did write in English used their own dialects. Towards the end of the Middle English period, London dialect became

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<sup>20</sup> Viz. Middle English *bak-biten* and *bat-foulen*.

<sup>21</sup> The Viking invasions accelerated the decline of Latin scholarship, which, on the other hand, meant that more texts had to be written in English. Furthermore, Latin works began to be translated into English.

<sup>22</sup> French was the language of nobility.

<sup>23</sup> Latin was also in Middle English the only respectable language for serious literature and the only language for an international audience. Another reason for writing in Latin was the awareness that English was continually changing. So if authors wanted their works to be “eternal“, they had to write in Latin.



a kind of standard, authors began to use it even when it was not their native dialect in order to reach a national audience. (Millward: 1996, p. 216-217)

#### **1.4.2. Dictionaries**

This research is completely dependent on the reliability of dictionaries. We were making use of three Old English (DOE, *Bosworth-Toller* and *Clark-Hall*), one Middle English (MED) and one English dictionary based on historical principles (OED).

*Bosworth-Toller* (BT) was used as the basis for this paper. Apart from the usual grammatical information (e.g. inflected forms, morphological labels), it provides different meanings of individual words, each of which is illustrated by a couple of examples. Every meaning is translated into Latin. At the end of most entries, we can find cross-reference to other words and cognates in other languages.

*Dictionary of English* (DOE) is the best Old English dictionary ever compiled because it has been based on the Old English Corpus. The only problem is that it has not been finished yet<sup>24</sup>. Not only does it contain far more words than BT, but the word entries are also more elaborate. They contain all occurrences in cases of less frequently represented verbs. If words do appear many times, all attested spellings are listed (which helps to search the Corpus). Moreover, the texts in which the individual words occur are attributed clearly to one of the main categories (i.e. poetry, prose, glosses or glossaries<sup>25</sup>). At the end of the entry, Middle English and Modern English forms of the word in question are mentioned (if attested).

In comparison with the two previous dictionaries, *Clark-Hall* (CH) is rather simple. Apart from grammatical information (which is in many cases absent), only different meanings and one or two abbreviations of texts in which the individual words occur are introduced.

The only dictionary which was used to look up Middle English pseudo-compound verbs was MED (*Middle English Dictionary*). It resembles DOE in the respect that it lists all word forms of verbs which can be found in Middle English texts. Furthermore, every single meaning of a polysemous verb is accompanied by examples from the Corpus<sup>26</sup>. The last relevant information included in MED is the origin of verbs and sometimes also the date of borrowing<sup>27</sup>.

The last dictionary which contributed to the research is OED (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In our opinion, it is not necessary to comment on word entries in OED because this dictionary

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<sup>24</sup> Only the letters A-F are finished by now.

<sup>25</sup> Viz. Chapter on Old English.

<sup>26</sup> Unlike DOE, MED offers all corpus examples even if there are hundreds of them.

<sup>27</sup> This information is essential due to the fact that Middle English borrowed extensively from other languages.

has been used almost exclusively for information about etymology and the development from Middle to Modern English, since our research does not go beyond Middle English.

### **1.4.3. Corpora**

Corpora are quintessential for our research because they validate information found in the dictionaries. In some cases (which will be mentioned below), a particular verb does occur in Old English dictionaries<sup>28</sup> but cannot be found in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOE Corpus). This Corpus contains 3037 texts (i.e. all texts which have been preserved from the Old English period). On the other hand, only 146 texts are currently available in the *Corpus of Middle English Verse and Prose* (CME). But it nevertheless offers (at least some) insight into the nature of texts which were written at that time.

### **1.4.4. Spelling and dialectal variety<sup>29</sup>**

At any given point in time, the language spoken in England varied from place to place. It can be stated that towards the end of the Old English period, the West-Saxon dialect had enjoyed a position as a written standard. But the Middle English period is characterized by a complete lack of a standard variety<sup>30</sup>. This lack of a written standard is a natural consequence of the low status of English during this period. After the Norman Conquest in 1066, the ruling classes spoke (Norman) French, while English became the language of the lower classes. As a result, each writer simply used his own variety of the language.

The differences among dialects could have been of four types: phonological, spelling, morphological and lexical. We were concerned mainly with the first two. Accordingly, not only were words pronounced differently in the individual dialects, but they varied also in spelling (even if some speech sounds were pronounced in the same way, they might have been written differently because dialects did not dispose of the same inventory of graphemes). Moreover, some writers attempted to mirror sound changes in their spelling. (Millward: 1996, p. 132-133, 211-216)

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<sup>28</sup> This statement applies solely to Old English dictionaries because MED is based on CME.

<sup>29</sup> During the Old English period two major dialect groups can be recognized (even though dialectal boundaries are not sharp): Southern in the South (West-Saxon and Kentish) and Anglian in the North (Mercian and Northumbrian) (Millward: 1996, p. 132). The number of dialectal areas further increased during Middle English: Southern, Kentish, East Midlands, West Midlands and Northern (Millward: 1996, p. 212).

<sup>30</sup> The middle class dialect of London has not been regarded as a new standard until towards the end of the Middle English period.

## **1. 5. Methodology**

The main aim of this diploma thesis is to present the development of pseudo-compound verbs<sup>31</sup> from Old to Middle English<sup>32</sup>. Consequently, we have to employ not only the diachronic, but also the synchronic method. The diachronic perspective will illustrate how the system of pseudo-compound verbs changed during the time. The synchronic perspective, on the other hand, will characterize the system of verbal pseudo-compounds as a whole in the two periods.

Let us now briefly describe some methodological problems connected with Old English. We always have to bear in mind that the Old English texts available to the modern reader may be no more than a fraction of the actual amount of texts compiled at that time. As was mentioned above, there were many factors which contributed to the loss of Old English texts. Moreover, the compilation of new texts and the translation of Latin texts was reserved for clergymen, which would explain why the overwhelming majority of texts was religious in nature. Unlike common people, clergymen used a more refined language. Consequently, we cannot assume that this research reflects the actual state of pseudo-compound verbs in Old English.

Another problem arises with the fact that it is almost impossible to date Old English texts. Therefore we simply adopted the viewpoint of the DOE Corpus compilers who ordered the texts according to whether they belonged to poetry, prose, glosses or glossaries<sup>33</sup>. We made use of these four main categories when we had to decide whether a verb or a noun / adjective (derivational bases) were primary<sup>34</sup>.

The situation changed in Middle English. Although religious texts were still predominant, the number of secular and literary texts was increasing considerably. This resulted in the use of simpler language. Furthermore, all Middle English texts can be dated (at least approximately). As a result, we can follow exactly when new pseudo-compound verbs emerged and when they went out of use. The problem as to whether a verb is primary or not has been solved by the MED compilers. Consequently, the results of this research are much more accurate for Middle English.

In our research, we proceeded as follows:

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<sup>31</sup> This group subsumes not only the “Marchandean“ pseudo-compound verbs, but also other types of verbs (i.e. prefixed and suffixed verbs, genuine compounds, deverbial and deadjectival verbs).

<sup>32</sup> The Early Modern English period is excluded from this paper.

<sup>33</sup> Poetry belongs to the earliest Old English records, glossaries to the latest. Within the categories, texts are ordered in a relative chronology.

<sup>34</sup> If a word appeared in poetry, it was definitely primary. In other cases, we made use of the relative chronology of texts in the individual categories.

1. We determined which verbs were primary and which were derived from different derivational bases.
2. We classified verbal pseudo-compounds according to Marchand.
3. We divided compound verbs into groups according to various kinds of frequency.
4. The individual parts in the chapter on Middle English were always compared with the situation in Old English.
5. Changes in the development of pseudo-compound verbs were viewed in the light of language typology.

Some verbs did not fulfill the criteria imposed on pseudo-compound verbs. We have divided them into five groups. The first two groups are restricted to Old English, the third and fourth group to Middle English and the last group is concerned with both Old and Middle English:

### 1. ONLY THE DERIVATIONAL BASE IS ATTESTED IN THE CORPUS:

Although all verbs in this subcategory can be found in at least one Old English Dictionary, they are not attested in the DOE Corpus. The dictionary compilers might have assumed that the existence of a derivational base is a sufficient proof for the existence of a verb (which is not the case). Some examples are as follows:

<b>palmtwigian</b> <sup>35</sup>	“to deck with palm-branches“
<b>blód-hráecan</b> <sup>36</sup>	“to retch or spit blood“
<b>blód-láetan</b> <sup>37</sup>	“to let blood, bleed“
<b>blód-geótan</b> <sup>38</sup>	“to pour out or shed blood“
<b>bismer-sprecan</b> <sup>39</sup>	“to speak blasphemy, blaspheme“

<sup>35</sup> The verb *palmtwigian* was allegedly derived from the noun *palmtwig* (viz. CH). But only the noun is listed in BT. Not surprisingly, this verb does not occur in the Corpus.

<sup>36</sup> The verb *blód-hráecan* was supposedly derived from the noun *blód-hráece* (viz. BT) or *blód-hráecung* (viz. DOE). The verb as such does not appear in Old English (viz. BT, DOE). But also the noun *blód-hráece*, which should have been the derivational base for the verb, is not illustrated by an example from the Corpus. (viz. BT) It is surprising that Bosworth (in many cases) lists verbs even when he could not find any records of them.

<sup>37</sup> According to BT, the verb *blód-láetan* was derived from the noun *blód-láete*. Although the noun appears also in DOE (and thus also in the Corpus), the verb is not part of this dictionary. What might be puzzling is the fact that BT claims that the verb actually occurs in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

<sup>38</sup> The verb *blód-geótan* could have been derived either from the noun *blód-gyte* (viz. BT, DOE) or the present participle *blód-geótende* (viz. BT, DOE). But none of them served as the derivational base for the verb because the verb as such is not attested (viz. DOE). Although Bosworth included this verb into his word list, he could not find any illustrations in the Corpus.

<b>cwic-lifian</b> <sup>40</sup>	“to live“
<b>flæsc-hamian</b> <sup>41</sup>	“to become incarnate“
<b>gist-lípian</b> <sup>42</sup>	“to be hospitable“

## 2. THE VERB IS NOT ATTESTED IN THE CORPUS:

This subgroup differs from the previous one in that not even derivational bases are attested. In other words, the verbs do occur in at least one Old English dictionary but they cannot be found in the Corpus. Some typical examples are the following:

<b>basu-reáðian</b> <sup>43</sup>	“to make a reddish purple“
<b>blód-forlætán</b> <sup>44</sup>	“to let blood, bleed“
<b>blód-wanian</b> <sup>45</sup>	“to diminish blood“
<b>ege-healdan</b> <sup>46</sup>	“to hold in fear, correct“
<b>feax-geráðian</b> <sup>47</sup>	“to dress or trim the hair“
<b>hám-bringan</b> <sup>48</sup>	“to bring a wife home, marry“
<b>hás-hrímian</b> <sup>49</sup>	“to cry hoarsely“
<b>mæg-gildan</b> <sup>50</sup>	“to pay part of the wergild for a homicide committed by a kinsman“

<sup>39</sup> The verb *bismer-sprecan* was supposedly derived from the noun *bismer-spræc* (viz. BT). But neither CH, nor DOE list this verb. Thus it does not appear in the Corpus. And even Bosworth offers no examples of its actual occurrence in the Corpus.

<sup>40</sup> Although Bosworth assumed the existence of the verb *cwic-lifian*, he does not present any derivational base. DOE and CH, on the other hand, include only the present participle *cwic-lifiende* in their word lists. (So the verb cannot be found in the Corpus either. BT, however, suggests that the verb appears in Genesis.)

<sup>41</sup> The verb *flæsc-hamian* was allegedly derived from the noun *flæsc-hama* (viz. BT). Even though the noun is attested in several Old English texts (viz. BT, DOE), the verb does not occur at all (viz. BT, DOE).

<sup>42</sup> According to BT, the verb *gistlípian* was derived from the adjective *gistlíp*e (viz. BT). But the verb does not appear in the Corpus. Even CH excluded this verb from his list.

<sup>43</sup> This verb is contained only in BT. This dictionary suggests that the verb occurs also in the Corpus, which is dismissed by the fact that DOE does not mention *basu-reáðian*.

<sup>44</sup> Bosworth is also in this case the only one who lists *blód-forlætán*. He claims that the verb occurs in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. But DOE does not support this statement.

<sup>45</sup> The case of *blód-wanian* is very similar to the previous one because Bosworth (unlike CH and DOE) assumes the existence of this verb which he illustrates by an example from the Corpus. (Bosworth seems to have mistakenly presumed the existence of a handful of compound verbs with *blód* in the determinant position. He might have been confused by a case of analogy (if there was any such case) in which verbs with the same determinant were derived serially from various derivational bases.)

<sup>46</sup> Bosworth is again the only one who suggests that the verb occurs in a psalter.

<sup>47</sup> According to Bosworth, this verb existed but he does not exemplify it.

<sup>48</sup> *Hám-bringan* is in Bosworth’s opinion attested in the Corpus.

<sup>49</sup> This verb differs from the previous ones in that it occurs not only in BT, but also in CH. It is falsely suggested that *hás-hrímian* appears in the Corpus.

<b>plasterplatian</b> <sup>51</sup>	“to cover with metal plates“
<b>rihtgehátan</b> <sup>52</sup>	“to pledge oneself, swear“
<b>weá-cwánian</b> <sup>53</sup>	“to lament, wail“

### 3. FOREIGN VERBS:

Apart from foreign words mentioned in the chapter on Middle English, two other loanwords deserve special attention. Although they have been perceived as compounds in their mother languages, they have lost their transparency during the transition to Middle English. Hence unlike *maledighen* or *primseinen*<sup>54</sup>, they were conceived of as simple verbs in Middle English.

<b>mainténen</b> <sup>55</sup>	“to keep in good condition, preserve, cherish, foster; to support, back, help; to assure public recognition; evince the dignity of (one's rank, status) by one's expenditures; spend money, keep up; to defend, protect; to vindicate, make manifest, assert; exhibit; to persist, continue”
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<b>ransaken</b> <sup>56</sup>	“to pursue an inquiry, determine; examine; question (a witness); investigate, look into; scrutinize; search; study; fig. clear (ground), weed; to plunder; ransack; rob (sb.), steal (sth.); to seek after; to seek (sb.) out, ?hunt down; to treat (sb.) roughly, mistreat”
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### 4. RHYMING COMBINATIONS<sup>57</sup>:

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<sup>50</sup> This case is very similar to *hás-hrímian* because BT and CH mistakenly assumed that *mæg-gildan* can be found in the Corpus.

<sup>51</sup> Unlike any of the previous verbs, *plasterplatian* is contained only in CH (but with no corpus evidence).

<sup>52</sup> *Rihtgehátan* is listed also only in CH. Even though CH suggests that this verb appears in the Corpus, there is no proof of it.

<sup>53</sup> The last example bears resemblance to *hás-hrímian* and *mæg-gildan* because both BT and CH claim that *weá-cwánian* is attested in the Corpus, which is not the case.

<sup>54</sup> Viz. Chapter on Middle English.

<sup>55</sup> *Mainténen* was borrowed from Latin (via Old French). It is a combination of the classical Latin noun *manú*, (ablative singular of *manus* hand) and verb *tenére* hold. (OED: 2008)

<sup>56</sup> *Ransaken* was borrowed from the Old Norse word *rannsaka* (from *rann* house + *-saka*, ablaut-variation of *sékja* to seek). (OED: 2008)

<sup>57</sup> Viz. also Chapter on Middle English.

Rhyming combinations do not meet the criteria of compounds: “Whenever a word is not analysable as consisting of meaningful signs, in other words, when it is unmotivated by content, it is not relevant to grammatical word-formation. The question therefore arises whether rime and ablaut reduplications which (at least in principle) are not made up of two real signs, are relevant to word-formation at all.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 436)

**hoker-moker**<sup>58</sup> “to hoard (things), ?collect stealthily”

**piter-pateren**<sup>59</sup> “to whisper, babble softly; ?babble prayers”

### 5. -LĒCAN (OE) / -LĒCHEN (ME):

*-Lēc(an)* is a verbal suffix which forms deadjectival verbs with the meaning “be, become, make“ and denominal verbs with the meaning “produce, grow, become“. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 391) According to Schrack, there are two main reasons why verbs with this suffix do not belong to pseudo-compound verbs. First, in becoming the second part of a compound, the autosemantic verb *lēcān* has given up its original meaning<sup>60</sup> and acquired the character of a suffix. Consequently, it has become some kind of a “verb categorizer“<sup>61</sup> (like *-en*, *-ify*, *-ize* in Modern English), denoting simply that the whole compound is a verb. The second reason concerns formal criteria. When we compare the suffix *-lēc(an)* with other suffixes, like *-full(ian)* and *-fæst(an)*, we can expect *-lēc(an)* to have its counterpart in an adjectival suffix, similar to *-full* and *-fæst*. But no such suffix as *-lēc* is attested. The suffix *-lác* is nominal and rather rare. The adjectival suffix *-líc*, however, was very productive in Old English. As a result, Schrack claims that the suffix *-lēc(an)* was originally used to derive verbs from adjectives which ended in *-líc* in Old English times. But gradually, its meaning was merging with that of the autosemantic verb *lēcān* and that of the suffix *-lác*. The suffix *-lícian* took over the place of *-lēc(an)* in the sense that it was used to derive verbs from adjectives terminating in *-líc* in the Old English period. (Schrack: 1966, p. 66-67)

### OLD ENGLISH:

<sup>58</sup> “An early form [...] was *hucker-mucker* (*hoker-moker*), the second element of which may have been the Middle English verb *mokeren*. [...] Whether *hucker* had an independent existence, or was merely a riming variation, cannot at present be determined.” (OED: 2008)

<sup>59</sup> *Piter-pateren* is a “reduplication (with vowel variation) of PATTER n.” (OED: 2008)

<sup>60</sup> i.e. *To move quickly, spring, leap [as flame]*. (BT: 2007)

<sup>61</sup> Viz. Marchand, p. 372-373, 377.

<b>áfen-láecan</b>	<i>“to grow towards evening“</i>
<b>(ge)-cneordláecan</b>	<i>“to be diligent, study“</i>
<b>(ge)-cúpláecan</b>	<i>“to become known to, make oneself known to“</i>
<b>(ge)-cyrtenláecan</b>	<i>“to make lovely, to beautify“</i>
<b>(ge)-cýpláecan</b>	<i>“to become known“</i>
<b>ge-dreógláecan</b>	<i>“to make seemly, set in order“</i>
<b>(ge)-dyrst-láecan</b>	<i>“to dare“</i>
<b>efen-láecan</b>	<i>“to be equal, like, to imitate“</i>
<b>fæ-láecan</b>	<i>“to be at deadly enmity, to be at feud“</i>
<b>gefér-láecan</b>	<i>“to keep company or fellowship, accompany, associate“</i>
<b>fremed-láecan</b>	<i>“to alienate, estrange“</i>
<b>ge-hīwláecan</b>	<i>“to form, fashion, shape“</i>
<b>gelimpláecan</b>	<i>“to become fitted“</i>
<b>lof-láecan</b>	<i>“to praise“</i>
<b>(ge)-lómláecan</b>	<i>“to frequent, to use often“</i>
<b>ge-metláecan</b>	<i>“to moderate“</i>
<b>ge-neáláecan</b>	<i>“to approach, draw near, adhere“</i>
<b>geong-láecan</b>	<i>“to grow up, become adult“</i>
<b>(ge)-riht-láecan</b>	<i>“to justify, correct, direct, rectify, reprove“</i>
<b>sumer-láecan</b>	<i>“to draw near to summer“</i>
<b>(ge)-swáesláecan</b>	<i>“to flatter“</i>
<b>swæð-láecan</b>	<i>“to search out, visit“</i>
<b>swét-láecan</b>	<i>“to batten“</i>
<b>ge-syntláecan</b>	<i>“to prosper“</i>
<b>ge-þeódláecan</b>	<i>“to adhere, cleave to“</i>
<b>(ge)-þrístláecan</b>	<i>“to dare, presume, excite“</i>
<b>(ge)-þwær-láecan</b>	<i>“to agree, assent to“</i>
<b>ge-wærláecan</b>	<i>“to remind, admonish“</i>
<b>(ge)-weorodláecan</b>	<i>“to sweeten“</i>



<b>winter-láecan</b>	“to draw near to winter“
<b>(ge)-wistláecan</b>	“to feast, banquet“
<b>ge-wundorláecan</b>	“to make wonderful“

### MIDDLE ENGLISH:<sup>62</sup>

<b>cúð-léchen</b>	“To become become friends with; to receive with kindness” [OE cúþ-láecan, cýþ-láecan]
<b>durstléchen</b>	“to dare” [OE dyrstláecan]
<b>even-léchen</b>	“to try to be like (someone), imitate dare” [OE ge-)efenláecan]
<b>(i)knouléchen</b> <sup>63</sup>	“to find out about (sth.), discover” [From <b>knouen</b> v. & <b>-léchen</b> suffix]
<b>(i)neighléchen</b>	“to approach, come close to, draw near to” [OE ge)néoláecan]
<b>(i)right-léchen</b>	“to correct, make right, rectify” [OE rihtláecan]
<b>somer-láecan</b>	“to draw near to summer“ [OE sumerláecan]
<b>thriste-léchen</b>	“to dare, be audacious” [OE þrist-láecan]
<b>ithwærléchen</b>	“to be in harmony or concord with sth.” [OE geþwærláecan]

<sup>62</sup> Middle English did not witness any spectacular rise of other –léchen verbs. Most verbs attested in Middle English survived from Old English, the only exception being *iknouléchen*.

<sup>63</sup> This verb seems to be the only one which was formed with the help of –léchen in Middle English. (MED: 2006)

## 2. OLD ENGLISH

### **2. 1. Classification according to word-formation process applied**

This chapter is concerned with the classification of pseudo-compound verbs according to the word-formation processes from which they resulted. The individual verbs are listed with their meanings and immediate derivational bases (if present). In cases when the verbs are primary, not only their meanings but also their secondary derivatives (in brackets) or probable absolute derivational bases<sup>64</sup> are introduced.

A considerable problem arises with the spelling because it was not fixed in the Old English period<sup>65</sup>. Thus, theoretically, any scribe could have employed his own variants. For space-saving purposes, we list only one or two of the possible forms. But more variants (all of which are listed in OED) are presented in other chapters in order to illustrate the range of spelling variation.

#### **A. NON-DERIVED VERBS**

Verbs in this subgroup can be conceived of as primary, i.e. they were not derived from any available derivational base. Moreover, they are morphologically isolated because they have no word-formation family<sup>66</sup>. Even though absolute derivational bases cannot be perceived as word-formation families, they can be exploited as a criterion for the categorization of non-derived verbs. Thus we have divided non-derived verbs according to the presence or absence of an absolute derivational base. Further grouping is based on the word class of the respective absolute derivational base (if present). For example, *efen-blissian* is a primary verb because it was not formed from any available derivational base. We would most probably regard this verb as deverbal, assuming that the prefix *efen-* was appended to the verbal base. But the

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<sup>64</sup> Absolute derivational bases are used for a distant derivation: If A + affix = C and C + affix = B, then A is the absolute derivational base of C. Let us demonstrate it on an example: *Ful-endian* is definitely a primary verb because its immediate derivational base is not attested. Consequently, we would assume that it belongs to the class of deverbal verbs, being derived from the verb *endian*. In this case, we would label *endian* an immediate derivational base. But our research has proved that the verb has been formed from the noun *ende*. Thus we have to adopt the viewpoint that *ende* serves as the absolute derivational base for *ful-endian*.

<sup>65</sup> The spelling varied not only from region to region, but also from scribe to scribe. (This variation did not disappear until Modern English.) Furthermore, many scribes attempted to mirror sound changes in their spellings. Given the fact that Old English dialects did not dispose of the same number of graphemes, one and the same sound change could have had different spelling reflexes across the dialects.

<sup>66</sup> The existence of a word-formation family is connected not only with the presence of a derivational base, but also with that of other derivatives. So even though a verb is primary, it could have served as a derivational base for other derivatives (e.g. nouns or adjectives), creating thus a word-formation family.

corpus evidence suggests that *blissian* was derived from the noun *bliss*. Consequently, we have to acknowledge that *bliss* served as an absolute derivational base for *efen-blissian*<sup>67</sup>.

### 1. DEVERBAL VERBS

<b>(ge)-atolhíwian</b>	<i>to make hideous, horrible</i>
<b>(ge)-blindfellian</b>	<i>to blindfold, cover the face or eyes</i>
<b>(ge)-borhfæstan</b>	<i>to determine or fasten by a surety</i>
<b>dyrn-licgan</b>	<i>to lie secretly, to fornicate</i>
<b>efen-āmetan</b>	<i>to compare</i>
<b>efen-gedálan</b>	<i>to share alike</i>
<b>efen-etan</b>	<i>to eat as much as any one</i>
<b>efen-metan</b>	<i>to make equal, to compare</i>
<b>efen-gemetgian</b>	<i>to temper, make equally moderate, curb</i>
<b>efen-weaxan</b>	<i>to grow together</i>
<b>efen-wrītan</b>	<i>to set down, present, state (something in writing)</i>
<b>efne-ācunnian</b>	<i>to prove, demonstrate</i>
<b>efne-āwendan</b>	<i>to turn, turn around</i>

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<sup>67</sup> The whole word-formation process could be summarized as follows: *bliss* + *-ian* = *blissian* and *efen-* + *blissian* = *efen-blissian*.

<b>efne-ætwenden</b> <sup>68</sup>	<i>to turn, turn around</i>
<b>efne-beþeccan</b>	<i>to clothe</i>
<b>efne-gebrengan</b>	<i>to hire, employ</i>
<b>efne-gebūgan</b>	<i>to lay (someone) down</i>
<b>efne-(ge)cīgan</b>	<i>to call together, summon (people)</i>
<b>efne-gecunnian</b>	<i>to prove, demonstrate</i>
<b>efne-gecweccan</b>	<i>to be crushed, shattered</i>
<b>efne-forcuman</b>	<i>to be overcome in argument, confuted</i>
<b>efne-forniman</b>	<i>to enclose</i>
<b>efne-gefrignan</b>	<i>to question together</i>
<b>efne-gegadrian</b>	<i>to join together</i>
<b>efne-gehýran</b>	<i>to guard</i>
<b>efne-geláedan</b>	<i>to hire; to compare</i>
<b>efne-genēahwian</b>	<i>to consent, agree, comply</i>

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<sup>68</sup> This verb is peculiar in the sense that it was a scribal error either for \*efne-edwenden or efne-āwenden. The verb ætwendan as such did not exist at all. (DOE: 2003)

<b>efne-gerácan</b>	<i>to catch hold of, seize (someone)</i>
<b>efne-sceawian</b>	<i>to contemplate, take into account</i>
<b>efne-gesēcan</b>	<i>to seek out, get together</i>
<b>efne-gesettan</b>	<i>(of persons) stationed, standing (in a place); (of someone) subject (to authority); to compose (a literary work)</i>
<b>efne-sittan</b>	<i>to sit beside or together</i>
<b>efne-gestyrian</b>	<i>to confound, dismay</i>
<b>efne-gesweltan</b>	<i>to die with (someone)</i>
<b>efne-getrymman</b>	<i>to confirm</i>
<b>efne-geweorpan</b>	<i>to collect, put together</i>
<b>efne-(ge)yrnan</b>	<i>to run together, flock, gather</i>
<b>ellen-campian</b>	<i>to contend vigorously</i>
<b>firen-ligerian</b>	<i>to commit fornication</i>
<b>ful-berstan</b>	<i>to burst fully or thoroughly</i>
<b>full-(ge)-bétan</b>	<i>to make full amends, give satisfaction</i>
<b>full-cwēman</b>	<i>to satisfy, gratify (something)</i>

<b>ful-dón</b>	<i>to do fully, satisfy</i>
<b>full-faran</b>	<i>to make a journey, travel</i>
<b>ful-fealdan</b>	<i>to explain</i>
<b>ful-fleón</b>	<i>to flee fully or completely, flee away</i>
<b>full-fyl(i)g(i)an</b>	<i>to follow, obey (a teacher, teaching); to pursue</i>
<b>ful-(ge)gán</b>	<i>to fulfil, perform, carry out, follow, accomplish</i>
<b>ful-gangan</b>	<i>to fulfil, perfect, follow, accomplish, finish</i>
<b>full-grōwan</b>	<i>to grow to maturity, become full-grown</i>
<b>full-singan</b>	<i>to sing (a canticle) in full / to the end</i>
<b>full-trymman</b>	<i>to confirm, corroborate</i>
<b>full-weaxan</b>	<i>to grow fully, to mature</i>
<b>full-wunian</b>	<i>to continue to be, remain</i>
<b>full-wyrcan</b>	<i>to do fully, commit, accomplish, complete</i>
<b>gagulswillan</b>	<i>to gargle</i>
<b>hand-bæftian</b>	<i>to beat with the hands as an expression of grief[?], to lament</i>
<b>(ge)-incfullian</b>	<i>to offend, scandalize</i>

<b>líc-lætan</b>	<i>to liken, compare</i>
<b>morgen-wacian</b>	<i>to get up early in the morning</i>
<b>ród-fæstnian</b>	<i>to crucify</i>
<b>ge-sceatwyrpan</b>	<i>to betroth</i>
<b>(ge)-spédsumian</b>	<i>to prosper, succeed</i>
<b>wed-fæstan</b>	<i>to pledge</i>
<b>wíd-herian</b>	<i>to celebrate, spread abroad the praise of a person</i>
<b>wín-reáfetian</b>	<i>to take grapes</i>
<b>wínreopan</b>	<i>to gather grapes</i>
<b>yfel-wilnian</b>	<i>to desire evil</i>

## **2. DENOMINAL VERBS**

<b>efen-blissian</b>	<i>to rejoice with, to rejoice equally</i> FROM: bliss (n.)
<b>efen-cuman / efne-cuman</b>	<i>to come together, convene, assemble together, agree</i> FROM: cuma (n.)
<b>efen-gefeón</b>	<i>to rejoice together</i> FROM: geféa (n.)

<b>efen-frēfran /</b>	<i>to console</i>
<b>efne-frēfran</b>	FROM: frófor (n.)
<b>efen-stālian</b> <sup>69</sup>	<i>to bring together; to accomplish, complete</i>
	FROM: stapel (n.)
<b>efne-ārīsan</b>	<i>to rise (against someone)</i>
	FROM: árist (n.)
<b>efne-gebīgan</b>	<i>to enclose, entrap (in a net)</i>
	FROM: byge (n.)
<b>efne-gecyrran</b>	<i>to turn, turn around; to live together; to confute</i>
	FROM: cyrr (n.)
<b>efne-geheaporian</b>	<i>to constrict; constrain</i>
	FROM: heapor (n.)
<b>efne-secgan</b>	<i>to agree, be in agreement</i>
	FROM: secga (n.)
<b>efne-gepittan</b>	<i>to spit upon (someone)</i>
	FROM: spitu (n.)
<b>efne-geþancian</b>	<i>to rejoice (with someone)</i>
	FROM: þanc (n.)
<b>efne-geþeahtian</b>	<i>to consent, agree</i>
	FROM: þeaht (n.)

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<sup>69</sup> *Efen-stālian* is a reduced form of the verb *\*efenstapelian*. Therefore it was most probably derived from the noun *stapel*. (DOE: 2003)



<b>efne-geþencan</b>	<i>to agree, accord</i> FROM: ðeaht (n.)
<b>full-cuman</b>	<i>to reach, attain, achieve (glory)</i> FROM: cuma (n.)
<b>ful-endian</b>	<i>to end fully, complete</i> FROM: ende (n.)
<b>full-secgan</b>	<i>to relate fully / give a full account of</i> FROM: secga (n.)
<b>full-slēan</b>	<i>to kill outright, to slay</i> FROM: slaga (n.)
<b>ful-trúwian</b>	<i>to trust fully in, confide in</i> FROM: trúwa (n.)

### **3. DEADJECTIVAL VERBS**

<b>efne-gefæstnian</b>	<i>to conclude, close, end (a parable)</i> FROM: fæst (adj.)
<b>full-gearwian</b>	<i>to complete, finish (something); to equip, prepare (someone / something) fully</i> FROM: gearo (adj.)
<b>full-fæstnian</b>	<i>to confirm / ratify (a document) fully / completely</i> FROM: fæst (adj.)
<b>ful-fyllan</b>	<i>to fulfil, accomplish</i> FROM: full (adj.)

#### **4. DEADVERBIAL VERB**

**full-forþian** *to carry out, perform, complete*

FROM: forþ (adv.)

#### **B. NON-DERIVED VERBS (WITH DERIVATIVES)**

This subcategory also contains primary, i.e. non-derived, verbs. But it is distinct from the previous one in that the verbs are not morphologically isolated. Their word-formation families consist of derivatives (all of which were formed from the verbal base). In some cases, the derivation process was quite extensive, resulting in a number of derivatives. But for space-saving purposes, usually only the simplest, i.e. non-suffixed, one is presented. (The categorization principle according to the absolute derivational bases is maintained here.) For example, *ge-fullwiht(i)an* can be labelled a primary verb because of the absence of an immediate derivational base. But it was not left isolated because it gave rise to the noun *fullwiht*. What is interesting is the fact that the verb *ge-fullwiht(i)an* has been distantly derived from the noun *wiht*, which functions as the determinatum of *fullwiht*. In other words, the noun *wiht* has been part of the Old English language long before the verb *wiht(i)an* emerged. Thus it seems peculiar that the noun *wiht* did not form the noun *fullwiht* first. Instead, it served as an absolute derivational base for *ge-fullwiht(i)an*, which then created *fullwiht* by way of desuffixation.

#### **1. DEVERBAL VERBS**

**efen-hérian** *to praise together*

(**efen-hérenis**, -niss (n.))

**efen-prówian** *to suffer together, to compassionate, commiserate*

(**efen-prówung** (n.))

**efne-unrōtsian** *to sadden, grieve, distress*

(**efen-unrōtnes** (n.))

<b>efne-gewyrcean</b>	<i>to compose (a literary work); to collect, put together; to cooperate, work together</i> ( <b>efen-wyrhta</b> (n.), <b>efen-wyrcend</b> (n.))
<b>friþsumian</b>	<i>to make peaceable, reconcile</i> ( <b>friþ-sum</b> (adj.))
<b>ful-brecan</b>	<i>to break entirely, violate</i> ( <b>ful-brice</b> , -bryce (n.))
<b>ful-fremman</b>	<i>to fulfil, perfect, practise</i> ( <b>ful-fremed</b> , full-fremed (adj.))
<b>(ge)-fulláestan</b>	<i>to help, aid, support</i> ( <b>ful-láest</b> , -lést, -láste (n.))
<b>gristbátian / gristbitian</b>	<i>to gnash or grind the teeth</i> ( <b>gristbátung</b> (n.), <b>gristbitung</b> (n.), <b>gristbite</b> (n.))
<b>ge-grundstapelian</b>	<i>to found, build on a firm foundation</i> ( <b>grundstapelung / grundstapeling</b> (n.))
<b>leás-óleccan</b>	<i>to flatter</i> ( <b>leás-ólecung</b> (n.))
<b>leás-tyhtan</b>	<i>to wheedle, flatter</i> ( <b>leás-tyhtung</b> (n.))
<b>níd-niman</b>	<i>to take by force, ravish</i> ( <b>níd-nima</b> (n.), <b>níd-nimu</b> (n.))

<b>ge-rihtreccan</b>	<i>to direct</i> <b>(riht-racu (n.))</b>
<b>sám-wyrcan</b>	<i>to do a thing incompletely</i> <b>(samworht (adj.))</b>
<b>sóþ-secgan</b> <sup>70</sup>	<i>to say truly, declare</i> ?FROM: <b>sóþ-sægen, -segen (n.)</b>
<b>ge-staðolfæstnian</b>	<i>to make firm</i> <b>(stapolfæstnung (n.))</b>
<b>geþanc-metian</b>	<i>to deliberate, consider</i> <b>(þanc-metung (n.))</b>
<b>(ge)-yfelsacian</b>	<i>to calumniate</i> <b>(yfel-sacung (n.))</b>

## 2. DENOMINAL VERBS

<b>efen-hlēoþrian</b>	<i>to speak or sing in unison</i> <b>(efen-hlēoþor (n.))</b> FROM: hlēoþor (n.)
<b>efne-(ge)sprecan</b>	<i>to converse, hold a conversation</i> <b>(efen-spræc (n.))</b>

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<sup>70</sup> Unlike all other verbs in this subcategory, *sóþ-secgan* can be claimed to have been derived from a noun. (The corpus evidence proves the primary status of the noun). But it is hardly imaginable that we could arrive from *sóþ-sægen* to the verbal compound. When we compare the derivational bases of *sóþ-secgan* and *ærend-secgan*, we can clearly see the difference. Whereas *ærend-secgan* was regularly derived from *ærend-secg* by simply attaching the verbal suffix to the noun, no such process can be employed in the case of *sóþ-secgan*. Therefore we adopted the viewpoint that the noun and the verb resulted from different word-formation processes. The verb can be labelled as a verbal nexus compound. It means that the verbal compound is in fact a reduced sentence: S (the subject position is left empty) – V (*secgan*) – O (*sóþ*). Hence the verb *sóþ-secgan* came to existence when the object of the reduced sentence was transposed into the first element of the compound. (Marchand: 1969, p. 31)

FROM: sprāc (n.)

**ge-fullwiht(i)an** / *to baptize*

**fulluht(i)an** (fullwiht (n.))

FROM: wiht (n.)

### **3. DEADJECTIVAL VERB**

**full-cýþan** *to utter completely, declare in full*

(full-cūþ (adj.))

FROM: cūþ (adj.)

## **C. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM AN ADJECTIVE**

Generally speaking, verbs in this category have been derived by attaching a verbal suffix to an adjectival base. But in some cases, this process was far from being as straightforward as the previous sentence suggests. Therefore we have divided deadjectival verbs into five subcategories according to various criteria<sup>71</sup>.

The derivation of verbs in the first subgroup causes no problems because the adjectives which serve as derivational bases are not suffixed. (The final *-e* in e.g. *mann-þwære* and *wid-mære* is part of the stem, not a suffix.) As a result, no desuffixation preceded the adding of *-(i)an* to the adjectival base. For example, *seonuwealtian* came to existence when the verbal suffix *-ian* was appended to the adjectival base *seonu-wealt*.

Verbs in the second subcategory are derived from suffixed adjectives. The adjective has to shed the adjectival suffix<sup>72</sup> in order to obtain another suffix - the verbal one. For example, the adjective *unriht-hémed* was deprived of the suffix *-ed* before the verbal suffix *-an* was added to the stem to form the verb *unriht-héman*. Two adjectival suffixes, i.e. *-ol* and *-lic*, stand out as they did not undergo the process of desuffixation before *-ian* was attached to the adjectival base. For example, *ge-hīwcūþlician* was formed by appending the verbal suffix to the adjectival base *hīw-cūþlic*.

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<sup>71</sup> Adjectival bases are divided into groups according to whether they were suffixed or not, whether they were attested or not, whether they were rivalled by another derivational base and finally, whether their roots were altered during the word-formation process.

<sup>72</sup> The individual adjectival suffixes will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The third subgroup is remarkable in the respect that the process of deriving verbs from non-suffixed adjectives<sup>73</sup> is accompanied by i-umlaut<sup>74</sup>, which can be defined as vowel alternation in the root<sup>75</sup>. This process was conditioned by /i/ or /j/ occurring in the next syllable. As a result, back vowels were fronted (e.g. /ó/ in *eád-mód* was fronted to /é/ in *(ge)-eád-médan*) and diphthongs were raised (e.g. /ea/ in *þic-feald* was raised to /y/ in *(ge)-þicfyldan*<sup>76</sup>) (Millward: 1996, p. 86-87.)

What complicates matters in the fourth subcategory is the fact that the verbs could have been derived either from an adjective or a noun because they show a strong tendency to occur side by side in the corpus (usually in the same text only a few lines apart from each other). For example, the adjective *riht-wís* and the noun *rihtwísness* appear both in the same poetic texts. (The verb *(ge)-riht-wísian* is indubitably secondary as it cannot be found in poetry.) Thus the criterion for the determination of a derivational base<sup>77</sup> does not apply here. But we can assume that the adjective was used to form the verb because all nouns carry the nominal suffix *-nes*, *-nys* and are therefore derivatives themselves. The adjectives, on the other hand, have simpler non-suffixed forms. When we use the above mentioned example, we can suggest that the noun *rihtwísness* was formed from *riht-wís* by adding the nominal suffix *-ness* to the adjectival base. (*Cum-líðe* can be considered the only exception because of the final *-e*, which could be regarded a suffix.) Consequently, we might suggest that the adjective served as a derivational base first for the noun and later the verb. Although the adjective and noun co-occur in many texts, it is highly probable that other texts, in which only the adjective was present, have been lost.

The last subgroup is peculiar in the sense that even though the derivational bases seem to have been lost before the first written records were compiled in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the viewpoint has been adopted that these verbs can nevertheless be regarded as derivatives because of analogous word-formations patterns. For example, the verb *(ge)-máensumian* was most probably derived from *(ge)máensum*. Although this adjective is not attested, we can suggest

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<sup>73</sup> The third group resembles the first one in that the verbal suffix was attached to the adjectival stem without prior desuffixation.

<sup>74</sup> I-umlaut is not restricted to inflectional morphology, but can be perceived also as a derivational means.

<sup>75</sup> In the language typology, i-umlaut is regarded as introflexion.

<sup>76</sup> /ea/ mutated first to /ie/ (i.e. *(ge)-þicfyldan*) before it ultimately changed to /y/ (i.e. *(ge)-þicfyldan*).

<sup>77</sup> This criterion was mentioned already in the introduction. In short, if an adjective (or a noun) appeared in poetry (and a verb in prose, glosses or glossaries), it was definitely primary. Thus it served as a derivational base for the respective verb. If verbs occurred in poetry, they could almost certainly be labelled as primary. But if both a noun and an adjective (and sometimes also a verb) appeared in the same texts, it was impossible to determine which of them was used as a derivational base.

that it actually existed because of an analogous word-formation pattern which produced adjectives with the suffix *-sum* in the determinatum position.

### 1. A NON-SUFFIXED ADJECTIVE

<b>ge-ācolmōdian</b>	<i>to terrify, cow</i> FROM: <b>acol-mōd</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-angsumian</b>	<i>to trouble, distress, make anxious, afflict (physically or spiritually)</i> FROM: <b>ang-sum</b> (adj.)
<b>ār-fæstian</b>	<i>to look mercifully upon, forgive, pardon (a sin)</i> FROM: <b>ār-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>ár-weorþian /</b> <b>ár-wurþian /</b> <b>ár-wyrþian</b>	<i>to hold worthy of honour, to give honour to, to honour, reverence, worship</i> FROM: <b>ár-weorþ / ár-wurþ / ár-wyrþ</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-collenferhtan</b>	<i>to make void</i> FROM: <b>collen-ferhþ</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-eáþmōdian /</b> <b>(ge)-eádmōdian</b>	<i>to humble</i> FROM: <b>eád-mōd, eáþ-mōd</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-efen-līcian</b>	<i>to be pleasing, agreeable; to be pleased (with / in something)</i> FROM: <b>(ge)-efenlic, emnlic / efen-ge-līc</b> (adj.)
<b>gýmeleásian</b>	<i>to neglect, be careless, despise</i> FROM: <b>gýmeleás</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-hiérsumian /</b>	<i>to make obedient</i>

<b>(ge)-hýrsumian</b>	FROM: <b>ge-hiérsum/ hýrsum</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-læstfullian</b>	<i>to prove by witness</i> FROM: <b>ge-lástfull</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-liþewácian</b>	<i>to render gentle, soften a person; to mitigate, soften the rigour of misery, pain</i> FROM: <b>liþe-wác / leoþu-wác</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-líffæstan / ge-líffæstnian</b>	<i>to give life, quicken, vivify</i> FROM: <b>líf-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>lóm-lícian</b>	<i>to become frequent</i> FROM: <b>lóm-líc</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-lustfullian</b>	<i>to be delighted, be pleased, rejoice; to delight, please</i> FROM: <b>lustful</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festian</b>	<i>to compare</i> FROM: <b>ge-met-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-mannþwáerian</b>	<i>to make gentle</i> FROM: <b>mann-þwáere</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-nihtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian</b>	<i>to abound, suffice</i> FROM: <b>ge-nihtsum, -nyhtsum</b> (adj.)
<b>réceleásian</b>	<i>to be negligent or careless</i> FROM: <b>réceleás</b> (adj.)
<b>seonuwealtian</b>	<i>to reel, not to stand firmly</i> FROM: <b>seonu-wealt</b> (adj.)



<b>sibsumian</b>	<i>to make peaceable, reconcile</i> FROM: <b>sibsum</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian</b>	<i>to triumph</i> FROM: <b>sige-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>singallícian</b>	<i>to continue</i> FROM: <b>singallíc</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-sópfæstian</b>	<i>to justify</i> FROM: <b>sóþ-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-staðel-fæstan</b>	<i>to found, establish</i> FROM: <b>staðel-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-stapolfæstan</b>	<i>to establish, secure from disturbance</i> FROM: <b>stapol-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-sundfullian</b>	<i>to be made prosperous, to be successful</i> FROM: <b>ge-sund-ful, -full</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-þrýþfullian</b>	<i>to exalt, elevate</i> FROM: <b>þrýþ-full</b> (adj.)
<b>ge-treówfæstnian</b>	<i>to be faithful, firm, strong</i> FROM: <b>treów-fæst</b> (adj.)
<b>wanhálian</b>	<i>to weaken, impair the health or soundness of something</i> FROM: <b>wanhál</b> (adj.)

**(ge)-wídmáeran** *to spread the fame of, celebrate; to spread the knowledge of a circumstance, report widely*  
FROM: **wíd-máere** (adj.)

**(ge)-wídmársian** *to publish, spread abroad, divulge, celebrate*  
FROM: **wíd-máere** (adj.)

**(ge)-wistfullian** *to feast*  
FROM: **wistful** (adj.)

**(ge)-wuldorfullian** *to glorify*  
FROM: **wuldor-full** (adj.)

**(ge)-wynsumian** *to be glad, to exult, rejoice; to make pleasing; to make glad, to rejoice*  
FROM: **wyn-sum** (adj.)

## 2. A SUFFIXED ADJECTIVE

**efen-rīcsian** *to be co-regnant with (God)*  
FROM: **efen-rīce** (adj.)

**efen-sārgian** *to sympathize, commiserate*  
FROM: **efen-sārig, emn-sārig** (adj.)

**hearm-cwedelian** *to speak ill of, calumniate*  
FROM: **hearm-cwedol** (adj)

**hearm-cweðan**<sup>78</sup> *to revile, speak ill of*

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<sup>78</sup> The status of the verbs *hearm-cweðan*, *wearg-cweþan* and *yfel-cweþan* is not entirely clear because they were derived from present participles. Although participles can be regarded as verbal adjectives, they still belong to verb paradigms. Consequently, we could consider the derivational base to be either a verb or an adjective. The matter is further complicated by the fact that all three verbs are calques from Latin. Therefore the verbs and the present participles in the adjectival function entered Old English at the same time (in order to find an appropriate

	FROM: <b>hearm-cweðend</b> (part.)
<b>ge-hīwcūþlician</b> /	<i>to make familiar to</i>
<b>ge-hīwcāþlician</b>	FROM: <b>hīw-cūþlic</b> (adj.)
<b>unriht-háeman</b>	<i>to cohabit unlawfully, to commit adultery or fornication</i> FROM: <b>unriht-háemed</b> (adj.)
<b>(ge)-wæstmbærian</b>	<i>to be fruitful</i> FROM: <b>wæstm-bære</b> (adj.)
<b>wanhælan</b>	<i>to weaken</i> FROM: <b>wanhæle</b> (adj.)
<b>wearg-cwedolian</b>	<i>to curse, speak evil</i> FROM: <b>wearg-cwedol</b> , -cwidol (adj.)
<b>wearg-cweþan</b>	<i>to curse</i> FROM: <b>wearg-cweðend</b> (part.) <i>viz. hearm-cweðan</i>
<b>wís-wyrdan</b>	<i>to be wise in speech</i> FROM: <b>wís-wyrde</b> (adj.)
<b>yfel-cweþan</b>	<i>to speak evil</i> FROM: <b>yfelcweðend</b> (part.) <i>viz. hearm-cweðan</i>

### **3. THE DERIVATION PROCESS ACCOMPANIED BY I-UMLAUT**

**(ge)-eád-médan** / *to humble*

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equivalent for the Latin word *maledicere*). It is questionable whether the participles in fact gave rise to the verbs or vice versa.

**(ge)-eáþ-médan** FROM: eád-mód, eáþ-mód (adj.)

**ge-háthyrtan /** *to become angry*

**hát-hirtan** FROM: hátheort (adj.)

**leoþuwácan /** *to become or to make soft, or pliant, to grow calm, to*

**ge-liðewácan** *assuage, soften*

FROM: leoþu-wác (adj.)

**manigfildan /** *to multiply*

**ge-mænigfealdian** FROM: manig-feald (adj.)

**(ge)-þicfyldan /** *to make thick*

**þicfildan** FROM: þic-feald (adj.)

**ge-þylmédan** *to make patient, bring down*

FROM: ge-þyldmód (adj.)

#### 4. AN ADJECTIVE OR A NOUN

**cum-líðian** *to lodge, to receive as a guest*

FROM: cum-líðe (adj.)

OR cum-líþness / cum-líðnys, -nyss (n.)

**ge-cwelmbæran** *to be tortured*

FROM: cwelm-bærnys, -nyss (n.) / cwealm-bærnes, -ness (n.)

OR cwealm-bære / cwealm-bære, cwylm-bære (adj.)

**ge-módsumian** *to agree*

FROM: ge-módsum (adj.)

OR ge-módsumnes (n.)

**(ge)-riht-wísian**            *to justify; to direct aright, rule*  
FROM: **riht-wís** (adj.)  
OR **rihtwísness** (n.)

## 5. A LOST ADJECTIVE

**(ge)-máensumian /**        *to have the companionship of a person, to marry; to*  
**mansumian**<sup>79</sup>                *share with another, to communicate*  
FROM: \***máensum, gemáensum** (adj.)

**yfel-cwedolian**<sup>80</sup>        *to speak ill of, curse*  
FROM: \***yfelcwedol** (adj.)

## **D. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM A NOUN**

This category bears resemblance to the previous one in that generally, verbs are formed by adding a verbal suffix to a nominal base. But in some cases, this process was further complicated by several obstacles. Hence we have divided deadjectival verbs into three subgroups according to two different criteria<sup>81</sup>.

The nominal bases in the first subgroup carry no suffix, which makes the derivation process easier because they simply acquire the verbal suffix *-(i)an* (without prior desuffixation). For example, the verb *godspellian* was formed from *god-spell* by simply appending the verbal suffix *-ian* to the nominal base.

Verbs in the second subgroup are formed from suffixed nouns. As in the case of suffixed adjectives, the derivation of verbs has to be preceded by desuffixation. The nominal suffix<sup>82</sup> is separated from the stem in order to be replaced by the verbal suffix *-(i)an*. For example, the noun *leás-licettung* was disposed of its nominal suffix *-ung* before the verbal suffix *-an* was appended to the stem in order to produce the verb *leás-licettan*.

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<sup>79</sup> Although there is no evidence that *(ge)máensum* had actually existed, it can be analogically modelled on similar adjectives with the suffix *-sum*. Moreover, verbs with *-sumian* as their second element were without exception derived from adjectives.

<sup>80</sup> The verb *yfelcwedolian* was almost certainly derived from the adjective \**yfelcwedol* which had been lost very early in the Old English period (or possibly even before). The existence of *hearm-cwedelian* and *wearg-cwedolian* (which were both derived from adjectives) proves that *yfelcwedolian* was not a deverbal verb (as the corpus evidence would suggest) but a deadjectival one.

<sup>81</sup> Nominal bases are classified according to whether they were suffixed or not and whether their roots were altered during the word-formation process.

<sup>82</sup> The nominal suffixes will be more fully discussed in the next chapter.

The derivation of pseudo-compound verbs in the last subgroup is accompanied by three different kinds of introflexion. First, as in the case of deadjectival verbs, i-umlaut was responsible for the fronting of back vowels (e.g. /ó/ in *dáed-bót* was fronted to /é/ in *dáed-bétan*) and for the raising of diphthongs (e.g. /eó/ in *frum-leóht* was raised to /y/ in *frum-lyhtan*<sup>83</sup>) (Millward: 1996, p. 86-87.) Second, ablaut can be defined as vowel alternation in the root caused by the shifting of accent in Indo-European<sup>84</sup>. It indicated not only changes of morphological categories (e.g. tense or number), but also those of word classes<sup>85</sup>. (Millward: 1996, p. 66.) For example, the respective vowels in the second roots of the verb *mán-swērian*<sup>86</sup> and the noun *mán-swara* indicate that these two words belong to different word classes. Third, *mansléan* was created by way of contraction. The preterital (p. *man-slóh*, *-slóg*, *-slógh*, pl. *-slógon*) and participial forms (pp. *man-slagen*, *-slægen*, *-slegen*) prove this assumption (because they preserve the consonant *-g-* of the stem).

### 1. A NON-SUFFIXED NOUN

**áfen-gereordian**            *to sup or take supper*  
FROM: **áfen-gereord** (n.)

**árend-secgan**            *to deliver a message*  
FROM: **árend-secg** (n.)

**(ge)-cynehelmian**        *to crown*  
FROM: **cyne-helm** (n.)

**(ge)-eárplættan /**        *to strike on the ear, to box the ear*  
**ēar-plættian**            FROM: **eár-plætt** (n.)

**ellen-wóðian**            *to strive with zeal, emulate*  
FROM: **ellen-wóð** (n.)

<sup>83</sup> As in the case of *(ge)-þicfyldan*, /eó/ mutated first to /ie/ (i.e. *frum-liehtan*) before it finally changed to /y/ (i.e. *frum-lyhtan*).

<sup>84</sup> “The particular vowel that appeared in a given form originally depended upon the location of the accent on the word.” (Millward: 1996, p. 66.)

<sup>85</sup> Thus it was used in inflectional and derivational morphology.

<sup>86</sup> This verb belongs to the 6<sup>th</sup> ablaut series.

<b>(ge)-ende-byrdan / ge-endebred(n)ian</b>	<i>to set in order, adjust, dispose</i> FROM: <b>ende-byrd</b> (n.)
<b>ge-erfeweardian / ge-yrfeweardian</b>	<i>to inherit</i> FROM: <b>erfe-weard / yrfe-weard / irfe-weard</b> (n.)
<b>firen-tácnian</b>	<i>to pollute with sin</i> FROM: <b>firen-tácn</b> (n.)
<b>godspellian</b>	<i>to declare the gospel</i> FROM: <b>god-spell</b> (n.)
<b>gold-hordian</b>	<i>to hoard, lay up treasure</i> FROM: <b>gold-hord</b> (n.)
<b>ge-grundweallian</b>	<i>to found</i> FROM: <b>grund-weall</b> (n.)
<b>hæftniedan</b>	<i>to make captive, seize</i> FROM: <b>hæftnied</b> (n.)
<b>hámsíðian</b>	<i>to return home</i> FROM: <b>hámsíð</b> (n.)
<b>herebeorgian</b>	<i>to take up one's quarters, lodge</i> FROM: <b>here-beorg</b> (n.)
<b>(ge)-mundbyrdan</b>	<i>to protect, defend, patronize</i> FROM: <b>mund-byrd</b> (n.)

<b>níd-náeman</b>	<i>to take by force, to force a woman, to ravish</i> FROM: <b>níd-náem</b> (n.)
<b>níd-þeówian</b>	<i>to reduce to servitude, to compel service from</i> FROM: <b>níd-þeów</b> (n.)
<b>ge-racent[t]eágian / ge-racodteágian</b>	<i>to chain, put in chains</i> FROM: <b>racent-teáh</b> ; gen. -teáge (n.)
<b>sealm-lofian</b>	<i>to sing psalms</i> FROM: <b>sealm-lof</b> (n.)
<b>tintregian</b>	<i>to torment, torture, afflict</i> FROM: <b>tintreg</b> (n.)
<b>wræc-lástian</b>	<i>to be in exile or banishment</i> FROM: <b>wræc-lást</b> (n.)
<b>wræc-síþian</b>	<i>to be or travel in a foreign country, to be in exile</i> FROM: <b>wræc-síþ</b> (n.)
<b>(ge)-wuldorbeágian</b>	<i>to crown</i> FROM: <b>wuldor-beáh</b> (n.)

## 2. A SUFFIXED NOUN

<b>árend-wreccan</b>	<i>to deliver a message</i> FROM: <b>árend-wreca, árend-raca</b> (n.)
<b>dáel-niman</b>	<i>to take part, to participate</i> FROM: <b>dáel-nimend, -nymend, -neomend</b> (n.)



<b>ge-férscripian</b>	<i>to unite, accompany</i> FROM: <b>ge-fér-scipe</b> , -scype (n.)
<b>hand-fæstan</b>	<i>to beat with the hands as an expression of grief[?], to lament</i> FROM: <b>hand-fæstung</b> , -fæstnung (n.)
<b>hearm-cwidian</b>	<i>to revile, calumniate, speak ill of</i> FROM: <b>hearm-cwide</b> (n.)
<b>leás-lícettan</b>	<i>to dissemble, feign</i> FROM: <b>leás-lícettung</b> (n.)
<b>mægwlitian</b>	<i>to form, shape</i> FROM: <b>mæg-</b> , <b>még-wlite</b> (n.)
<b>teón-cwidian</b>	<i>to reproach, abuse, revile, calumniate</i> FROM: <b>teón-cwide</b> (n.)
<b>þeów-[w]racian</b>	<i>to threaten</i> FROM: <b>þeów-wracu</b> (n.)
<b>(ge)-wilcumian</b>	<i>to welcome</i> FROM: <b>wil-cuma</b> (n.)
<b>ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian</b>	<i>to root up, eradicate</i> FROM: <b>wyrt-truma</b> / wyrtruma (n.)
<b>wyrtwalian</b>	<i>to plant; to root up, eradicate</i> FROM: <b>wyrt-wala</b> (n.)

### **3. THE DERIVATION PROCESS ACCOMPANIED BY INTROFLEXION**

<b>āþ-swerian</b>	<i>to swear an oath, vow</i>
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FROM: **āþ-swaru, āþ-swara** (n.)

**ABLAUT + DESUFFIXATION**

**dǣd-bétan**

*to make amends, give satisfaction, to be penitent, to repent*

FROM: **dǣd-bót** (n.)

**UMLAUT**

**frum-lyhtan /**

*to dawn*

**frum-līhtan**

FROM: **frum-leóht** (n.)

**UMLAUT**

**mansléan**

*to kill, murder*

FROM: **manslaga** (n.)

**CONTRACTED VERB**

**mán-swerian**

*to swear falsely, commit perjury, forswear*

FROM: **mán-swara, -swora** (n.)

**ABLAUT + DESUFFIXATION**

**torn-wyrdan**

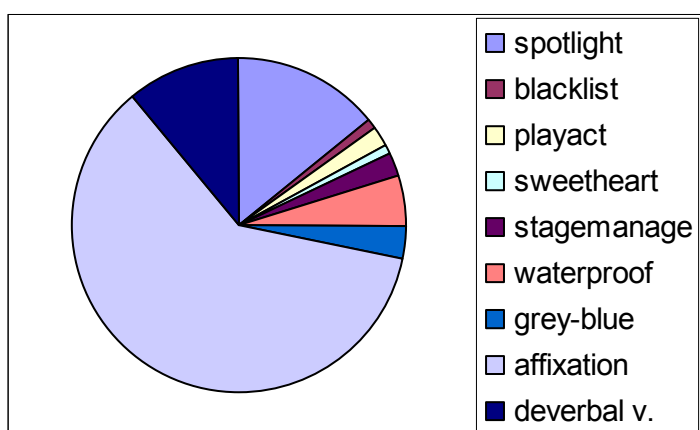
*to address abusive words to, to vituperate*

FROM: **torn-word** (n.)

**UMLAUT**

## 2. 2. Classification according to Marchand

This chapter focuses on the classification postulated by Marchand (Marchand: 1969, p.101), to which we added two groups, namely Group III (which is concerned with prefixation and suffixation) and Group IV<sup>87</sup> (which contains deverbial verbs). When we leave these two groups aside (even though they comprise 71 % of all verbs), then we can state that “to spotlight” is the most frequent type in Old English (30 verbs). It gave rise to three times more verbs than the second most productive type “to waterproof” (10 verbs), which is closely followed by the type “to grey-blue” (7 verbs). “To blacklist” and “to sweetheart” belong to minor word-formation types because they produced only 3 verbs each. On the whole, we can claim that synthetic compounds were not very frequent in Old English<sup>88</sup>. The types “to stagemanage” and “to playact” were used to form only 5 verbs each. And the third type “to spoonfeed” is not represented at all.



### **GROUP I:**

#### 1. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM A NOMINAL COMPOUND:

##### **1. spotlight (sb/sb)**

æfen-gereordian

FROM: æfen-gereord (n.)

<sup>87</sup> Marchand excludes deverbial verbs from his account. But they are important not only because they were very productive during Old English, but also because they represent a genuine word-formation type as they differ from prefixed and suffixed verbs on the one hand and from all verbs belonging to one of the Marchandean types on the other. Unlike the latter, deverbial verbs are primary, i.e. they were not derived from any derivational base. And in contrast to the former, neither their determinant, nor their determinatum can be conceived of as bound morphemes.

<sup>88</sup> What is peculiar is that Marchand does not thoroughly analyze the group of synthetic compounds in Old and Middle English. He merely states that there were few coinages before about 1550. But he fails to mention which types were productive and which did not occur at all. (Marchand: 1969, p. 104)

ærend-secgan	FROM: ærend-secg (n.)	
āþ-swerian	FROM: āþ-swaru, āþ-swara (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
dæd-bétan	FROM: dæd-bót (n.)	
(ge)-eárplættan	FROM: eár-plætt (n.)	
ellen-wórdian	FROM: ellen-wód (n.)	
(ge)-endebyrdan	FROM: ende-byrd (n.)	
ge-erfeweardian	FROM: erfe-weard (n.)	
firen-tácnian	FROM: firen-tácn (n.)	
gold-hordian	FROM: gold-hord (n.)	
ge-grundweallian	FROM: grund-weall (n.)	
hæftniedan	FROM: hæftnied (n.)	
hámsíðian	FROM: hámsíð (n.)	
hearm-cwidian	FROM: hearm-cwide (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
herebeorgian	FROM: here-beorg (n.)	
mægwlitian	FROM: mæg-, még-wlite (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
(ge)-mundbyrdan	FROM: mund-byrd (n.)	
níd-næman	FROM: níd-næm (n.)	
níd-þeówian	FROM: níd-þeów (n.)	
ge-racent[t]eágian	FROM: racent-teáh; <i>gen.</i> -teáge (n.)	
sealm-lofian	FROM: sealm-lof (n.)	
teón-cwidian	FROM: teón-cwide (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
tintregian	FROM: tintreg (n.)	
torn-wyrdan	FROM: torn-word (n.)	
þeów-[w]racian	FROM: þeów-wracu (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
wræc-lástian	FROM: wræc-lást (n.)	
wræc-síþian	FROM: wræc-síþ (n.)	
(ge)-wuldorbeágian	FROM: wuldor-beáh (n.)	
(ge)-wyrtrumian	FROM: wyrtruma / wyrtruma (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
wyrtwalian	FROM: wyrtruma (n.)	DESUFFIXATION

## 2. **blacklist** (adj/sb) / **cold shoulder** (syntactic group)

(ge)-cynehelcian	FROM: cyne-helm (n.)
frum-lyhtan	FROM: frum-leóht (n.)

godspellian

FROM: god-spell (n.)

## 2. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM AN ADJECTIVAL COMPOUND:

### 1. **waterproof** (sb/adj)

ár-weorþian

FROM: ár-weorþ (adj.)

cum-líðian

FROM: cum-líðe (adj.)

DESUFFIXATION

hearm-cwedelian

FROM: hearm-cwedol (adj.)

ge-mannþwærian

FROM: mann-þwære (adj.)

(ge)-riht-wísian

FROM: riht-wís (adj.)

seonuwealtian

FROM: seonu-wealt (adj.)

ge-þylmédan

FROM: ge-þyldmód (adj.)

wearg-cwedolian

FROM: wearg-cwedol, -cwídol (adj.)

yfel-cwedolian

FROM: \*yfelcwedol (adj.)

unriht-háeman

FROM: unriht-háemed (adj.)

### 2. **grey-blue** (adj/adj)

(ge)-eádmédan / (ge)-eáþmédan

FROM: eád-mód, eáþ-mód (adj.)

(ge)-eáþmóðian / (ge)-eádmóðian

FROM: eád-mód, eáþ-mód (adj.)

leoþuwácan

FROM: leoþu-wác (adj.)

ge-liþewácian

FROM: liþe-wác / leoþu-wác (adj.)

(ge)-wídmær(i)an

FROM: wíd-mære (adj.)

(ge)-wídmærsian

FROM: wíd-mære (adj.)

wís-wyrðan

FROM: wís-wyrde (adj.)

DESUFFIXATION

### 3. **sweetheart**<sup>89</sup> (Bahuvrihi-compound: adj/sb)

ge-ācolmōðian

FROM: acol-mód (adj.)

(ge)-collenferhtan

FROM: collen-ferhþ (adj.)

(ge)-háthyrtan

FROM: hátheort (adj.)

## GROUP II:

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<sup>89</sup> The type *to sweetheart* is peculiar in Old English because (unlike in Modern English) even though the compound is a combination of an adjective and a noun, the whole compound functions as an adjective.

The verb is derived from a synthetic compound.

### 1. stage-manage from stage-manager (agent noun)

This subgroup consists of verbs whose nominal bases have either the suffix *-a* or the suffix *-end*. The latter is widely accepted as “one of the most productive OE suffixes, [which] primarily forms deverbal agent nouns<sup>90</sup> from both weak and strong verbs.” (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 385) But it is questionable whether the former can actually be assigned to this subcategory. Most (historical) linguists are reluctant to ascribe the status of suffix to *-a*. Kastovsky, for example, distinguishes between explicit and affixless (or zero) derivation. Explicit derivation makes use of derivational morphemes (e.g. *-end*) in order to create new lexemes (e.g. *dǣl-nimend*). In zero derivation, there is no overt derivational morpheme as in the case of *wil-cum* + *-a*. The function of *-a* is purely inflectional, namely to mark grammatical categories and derive word-forms, but not to form new lexemes. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 392) Thus Kastovsky suggests that *wilcuma* has the following structure: *wil-cum-0-a*. Consequently, it does not function as the (present-day) English suffix *-er*<sup>91</sup>, which indicates that the noun in question is an agent noun, but as an ending. In other words, Kastovsky assumes that *-a* is restricted to inflectional morphology. Marchand shares his opinion. Although he does not explicitly state that he does not recognize *-a* as a suffix, he regards these verbs as being of the type “to spotlight”. (Marchand: 1969, p. 102) Sgall, on the other hand, does not share Kastovsky’s opinion on this matter. He claims that *-a* is an ending in inflectional morphology and a suffix in derivational morphology. (Sgall: 1993, p. 272) What he suggests is that *-a* can function either as an ending or as a suffix according to the point of view. Hence it is used not only to mark grammatical categories, but also to form new words. Strang strongly disagrees with Kastovsky and Marchand because she claims that *-a* is a suffix and therefore it is used in derivational morphology. In her argument, she puts *-a* and *-end* on the same level as she acknowledges that masculine agent-nouns had four formation-types, namely *-a*, *-end*, *-bora*, *-ere*. (Strang: 1970, p. 336)<sup>92</sup>

ǣrend-wreccan	FROM: ǣrend-wreca (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
dǣl-niman	FROM: dǣl-nimend (n.)	DESUFFIXATION

<sup>90</sup> Thus it qualifies for this category.

<sup>91</sup> The suffix *-er* emerged already in Middle English.

<sup>92</sup> If we were to draw a scale, Kastovsky and Marchand would be on the one end, Strang on the opposite one and Sgall somewhere inbetween.

mansléan	FROM: manslaga (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
mán-swerian	FROM: mán-swara, -swora (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
(ge)-wilcumian	FROM: wil-cuma (n.)	DESUFFIXATION

## 2. **playact** from playacting (action noun)

hearm-cweðan	FROM: hearm-cweðend (part.)	DESUFFIXATION
yfel-cweþan	FROM: yfelcweðend (part.)	DESUFFIXATION
wearg-cweþan	FROM: wearg-cweðend (part.)	DESUFFIXATION

### **-UNG:**

The suffix *-ung* / *-ing* was used to derive feminine abstract nouns from verbs (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 112). Thus it approaches the function of *-ing* in gerunds (which are conceived of as verbal nouns). For example, the noun *hand-fæstung* is a feminine abstract noun (with the following meaning: *a giving of the hand by way of pledge or assurance*). From the synchronic point of view<sup>93</sup>, we can assume that the suffix *-ung* merely denotes that the noun in question is a feminine. Similarly, the gerundial suffix *-ing* is lexically empty. It functions only as a morphological indicator.

hand-fæstan	FROM: hand-fæstung (n.)	DESUFFIXATION
leás-lícettan	FROM: leás-lícettung (n.)	DESUFFIXATION

## 3. **spoonfeed** from spoonfed, **new-create** from new-created (participial adjective)

No Old English verb in our sample qualifies as being derived from a participial adjective.

### **GROUP III:**

The third group consists of verbs which cannot be labelled compounds because one of their elements is either a prefix or a suffix. Consequently, they belong to derivatives. Nevertheless they are included in this account because all prefixes and suffixes were once independent

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<sup>93</sup> In the diachronic perspective, suffixes once enjoyed the status of free morphemes. But they were gradually losing their independence. Thus also their original meaning was changing until it was finally lost.

words with a distinct meaning (which was changing during the course of time). In Old English, most affixes mentioned below were already conceived of as suffixes and prefixes without having an independent existence as free morphemes. But we encounter also two so-called prefixoids and one suffixoid which still retained some of their original characteristics.

Before we turn to the individual affixes, it is quintessential to define the concepts we will be dealing with now, namely prefixes, suffixes, prefixoids, suffixoids and combining forms. Prefixes are “bound morphemes which are preposed to free morphemes. In a syntagma AB they fill the position A, i.e. they normally function as determinants of the word B to which they are prefixed. Prefixal combinations [...] must meet the condition of analysability after the formula  $AB = B$ ”. (Marchand: 1969, p. 129) From the functional point of view, they are equivalent to an adjective when they modify a noun, or to an adverb when they modify an adjective or a verb. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 377) A prefixoid is to be distinguished from a prefix because it is “ein freies Morphem, das sich bei der Reihenbildung von Komposita vom Erstglied zu einem Präfix entwickelt, da es sich von seiner Bedeutung als freies Morphem entfernt.“ (Metzler Lexikon Sprache: 2004) Thus the main distinction between them is that a prefix is always bound, whereas a prefixoid is basically a free morpheme which can drift away from its original meaning when becoming part of a compound<sup>94</sup>. Both of these concepts are not to be confused with a combining form. (Although there are no combining forms occurring in connection with pseudo-compound verbs, it is necessary to draw clear borders between the terms in order to avoid any confusion). It can be defined as “a linguistic form that occurs only in combination with other forms. In word formation, a combining form may conjoin with an independent word [...], another combining form [...], or an affix [...]; it is thus distinct from an affix, which can be added to either a free word or a combining form but not solely to another affix [...]. Note that the term ‘combining form‘ does not specify placement before or after the element to which the form is attached.“ (RHWUD: 2003) Hence it might easily happen that it is misinterpreted as a suffix or a suffixoid. The difference between the two latter concepts resembles the one between prefixes and prefixoids. Whereas a suffix is “a bound morpheme which in a syntagma AB occupies the position B. It thus is the determinatum of a syntagma whose determinant is a simple or composite free morpheme“ (Marchand: 1969, p. 209), a suffixoid can be characterized as “ein freies Morphem, sich bei

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<sup>94</sup> When we compare these two terms from the diachronic viewpoint, we can claim that a prefix is the final stage in the development of a free morpheme. Similarly, a prefixoid was at the very beginning a free morpheme. But when it was combined with other morphemes, it gave up its original meaning. Thus it was gradually losing its status as a free morpheme and was turning into a bound morpheme. In the end, it turned into a prefix. In the synchronic perspective, prefixes cannot stand on their own (i.e. they are always bound) but prefixoids can occur either as bound or as free morphemes.



der Reihenbildung von Komposita vom Zweitglied zu einem Affix entwickelt, da es sich von seiner Bedeutung als freies Morphem entfernt.“ (Metzler Lexikon Sprache: 2004)

## 1. Prefixation

The following account outlines the semantics of the individual affixes and affixoids. The prefix *ge-* is not included because in many cases, “there does not seem to be any meaning difference between a simplex and a *ge-*prefixation”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 380) (In all other instances, *ge-* can still be attributed a specific meaning, namely “perfectivity” or “result”. All Old English dictionaries ignore this difference so we decided to adopt their viewpoint for the sake of simplicity.)

### EFEN- / EFNE-:

As DOE suggests, this prefixoid derived verbs which were usually element-by-element glosses of Latin verbs in *con-*, where *efen* may be taken as either adverb or prefix. (DOE: 2003) Unlike all other prefixes in this subcategory, it did not survive into Middle English. (viz. Chapter on Middle English)

efen-āmetan

efen-blissian

efen-cuman / efne-cuman

efen-etan / efn-etan

efen-gedǣlan / efn-gedǣlan

efen-gefeón

efen-frēfran / efne-frēfran

efen-hérian / emn-hérian

efen-hléoprian

efen-līcian / ge-efen-līcian

efen-metan / efen- gemetan

efen-gemetgian / emn-gemetgian

efen-rīcsian

efen-sārgian

efen-stālian

efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian

efen-weaxan, emn-weaxan  
efen-wrītan, emn-wrītan  
efne-ācunnian  
efne-ārīsan  
efne-āwendan  
efne-ætwendan  
efne-beþeccan  
efne-gebrengan  
efne-gebīgan  
efne-gebūgan  
efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan  
efne-gecunnian  
efne-gecweccan  
efne-gecyrran  
efne-gefæstnian  
efne-forcuman  
efne-forniman  
efne-gefrignan  
efne-gegadrian  
efne-geheaporian  
efne-gehýran  
efne-gelædan  
efne-genēahwian  
efne-geræcan  
efne-scēawian  
efne-gesēcan  
efne-secgan  
efne-gesettan  
efne-sittan  
efne-gepittan  
efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan  
efne-gestyrian  
efne-gesweltan  
efne-getrymman

efne-geþancian  
efne-geþeahtian  
efne-geþencan  
efne-unrōtsian  
efne-geweorþan  
efne-gewyrcan  
efne-geyrnan / efne-yrnan

**FULL-:**

This prefixoid modifies various parts of speech with the sense of “completeness”. (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 116) Although it lost its productivity, it survived into Modern English. (OED: 2008)

ful-berstan / full-berstan  
ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan  
ful-brecan / full-brecan  
full-cuman  
full-cwēman  
full-cýþan  
ful-dón / full-dón  
ful-endian / full-endian  
full-fæstnian  
full-faran  
ful-fealdan  
ful-fleón / full-fleón  
full-forþian  
ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian  
ful-fyllan / full-fyllan  
ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán  
ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan  
full-gearwian  
full-grōwan  
ful-læstan / ge-fulllæstan

full-secgan  
full-singan  
full-slēan  
ful-trúwian  
full-trymman  
full-weaxan  
ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian  
full-wunian  
full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean

### **WAN-:**

It is a privative or negative prefix, used especially with nouns and adjectives. (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 118) It carries the meaning of “lacking, not”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 381) OED claims that it was productive in the Scottish and northern dialects well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. (OED: 2008)

wanhælan  
wanhálian

### **SÁM-:**

This prefix occurs most often with adjectives, but also with nouns and verbs. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390) It has the sense of “half”. (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 118) OED classifies this prefix as obsolete except in dialects and gives citations from the 11<sup>th</sup> up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. (OED: 2008)

sám-wyrcean

## **2. Suffixation**

### **-FULL:**

This suffix is used to form adjectives, especially from abstract nouns, but in some cases, it is added to existing adjectives or verbs. (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 113) It carries the meaning of “having”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390) Although it might be surprising, the suffix *-full* has remained productive until the present day. (OED: 2008)

ge-incfullian / incfullian  
ge-læstfullian  
ge-lustfullian / lustfullian  
ge-sundfullian  
ge-þrýþfullian  
ge-wistfullian / wistfullian  
ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian

### **-SUM:**

This suffix derives adjectives from nouns, adjectives or verbs with the meaning “being (characterized by)”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 391) It has been used to produce new adjectives even after the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>95</sup>. (OED: 2008)

ge-angsumian  
friþsumian  
ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian  
mænsumian / ge-mæn-sumian / mansumian  
ge-módsumian  
ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian  
sibsumian  
ge-spédsumian / spédsumian  
ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

### **-FÆST:**

According to Kastovsky, this suffix is used to derive adjectives from nouns and adjectives, with the meaning “having, characterized by, being”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390) Although *-fæst* survived into Modern English (as the determinatum of some verbs), it is no longer productive. (OED: 2008)

ār-fæstian  
borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan

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<sup>95</sup> But later derivations seems to emerge rather sparingly. (OED: 2008)

líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festan

ród-fæstnian

sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

sóðfæstian / ge-sóðfæstian

gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan

stapolfæstan / ge-stapolfæstan

ge-staðolfæstnian

ge-treówfæstnian

wed-fæstan

### **-FEALD:**

This suffix creates adjectives with the meaning “-fold” from numerals and quantifiers. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390) Although many derivatives with *-feald* have survived into Modern English, new formations of this type are rather rare. (OED: 2008)

manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan / ge-monigfealdian

ge-þicfyldan / þicfildan

### **-LEÁS:**

The suffix *-leás* forms adjectives from nouns, with the sense of “bereft of, lack of”. (Quirk, Wrenn: 1983, p. 113) Thus it represents the counterpart of *-full*. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390) In Modern English, it is commonly used for the formation of nonce words. (OED: 2008)

gýmeleásian

réceleásian

### **-BÆRE:**

According to Kastovsky, *-bære* qualifies as a suffixoid, with the meaning “productive of, having, carrying” (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 389) Unlike all suffixes in this subgroup, it did not pass into Middle English. (Strang: 1970, p. 337)

ge-cwelmbæran

ge-wæstmbáerian / wæstmbáerian

**-SCIFE:**

This suffix forms masculine abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns with the meaning “state, act, fact, condition”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 388). According to OED, it is one of the suffixes which has remained alive till the present day, giving rise to many nonce formations. (OED: 2008)

ge-férs SCIPIAN

**-LÍC:**

The suffix *-lic* derives nominal, deadjectival and deverbal adjectives with the meanings “being, characterized by, having”. (Kastovsky: 1992, p. 390-91) In Modern English, it may be appended to almost all nouns (including proper names) in formations intended as nonce words (OED: 2008).

ge-hīwcūþlician / ge-hīwcāþlician

lóm-líCIAN

singallíCIAN

**GROUP IV:**

All pseudo-compound verbs in this subcategory rank among non-derived verbs because they lack any immediate derivational base. But when we consider the fact that the regular compounds are “analysable on the basis of the formula AB = B” (Marchand: 1969, p. 11), we could regard the second element of the compound (i.e. determinatum) as the derivational base and consequently label the non-derived verbs as deverbal verbs.

atolhíwIAN / ge-atolhíwIAN

blind-fellIAN / ge-blindfellIAN

dyrn-licGAN / dirn-licGAN

ellen-campIAN

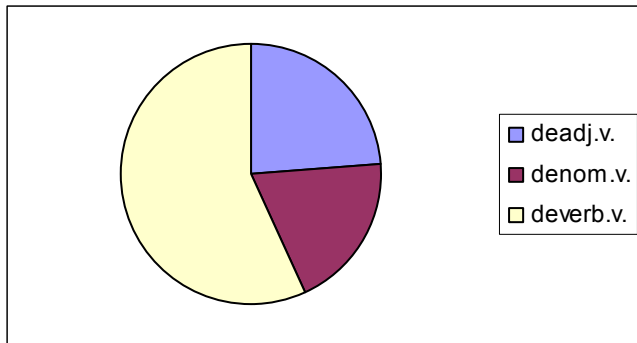
firen-ligerIAN / fyren-ligerIAN

gagulswillan  
gristbátian / gristbitian  
ge-grundstapelian / grund-stapelian  
hand-bæftian  
leás-óleccan  
leás-tyhtan  
líc-lætan  
morgen-wacian  
níd-niman  
ge-rihtreccan  
ge-sceatwyrpan  
sóþ-secgan  
geþanc-metian  
wíd-herian / -hergan  
wín-reáfetian  
wínreopan  
ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian  
yfel-wilnian



### 2.3. Frequency according to word-formation patterns<sup>96</sup>

In this chapter we will analyze various word-formation patterns that gave rise to pseudo-compound verbs in Old English. The total number of 215 verbs can be divided into 52 deadjectival, 41 denominal and 122 deverbal verbs. (Non-derived compounds are grouped together with deverbal verbs.)



Out of 52 deadjectival verbs, there are only 13 (25%) verbs which have adjectives in their determinatum position. (We will label these compounds as “genuine” in contrast to prefixed or suffixed derivations). 3 verbs (c. 6%) are derived from present participles. Consequently, they cannot be conceived of as genuine deadjectival verbs. (Their morphological status has been discussed above). Other 3 verbs (c. 6%) are formed from adjectives of a special kind which have adjectives as their determinants and nouns as their determinata (the so-called bahuvrihi compounds). The majority of deadjectival verbs, namely 33 verbs (c. 63%), belong either to prefixed or suffixed derivations, whereby prefixation as a word-formation process is almost negligible in comparison with suffixation. The most productive suffix was *-fæst* (c. 15%), closely followed by *-sum* (c. 13%) and *-full* (c. 11%). These three suffixes gave rise to almost twice as many verbs as there are genuine compounds. Other suffixes / suffixoids are more restricted in their productivity (but when counted together, their number approaches that of genuine compounds): adjectives with *-leás*, *-feald*, *-bære* produced two verbs (c. 4%) each, those with *-ol* three (c. 6%) and the one with *-ed* only one (c. 2%) (whereby *-ed* is the only suffix which has to be removed before the actual suffixation happens).

DERIVATIONAL BASE	NUMBER OF VERBS
“genuine” adjective	13

<sup>96</sup> We have to make clear that we are dealing with types in the first two groups and with tokens in the third and the fourth group.

present participle	3
bahuvrihi combination	3
prefixed adjective	2
suffixed adjective	31

Although the group of denominal verbs is smaller in number, genuine denominal verbs represent c. 90 per cent of it. The composition of two nominal stems supersedes all other word-formation patterns (c. 78%). There are only four suffixed nouns (c. 10%), whereby three of them have to shed their suffixes before *-(i)an* can be attached to their stems (*-scipe* being the only exception).

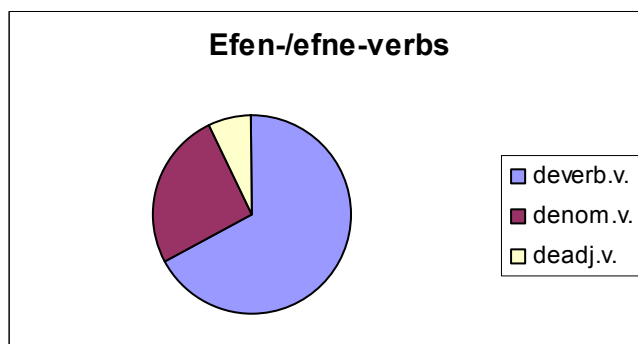
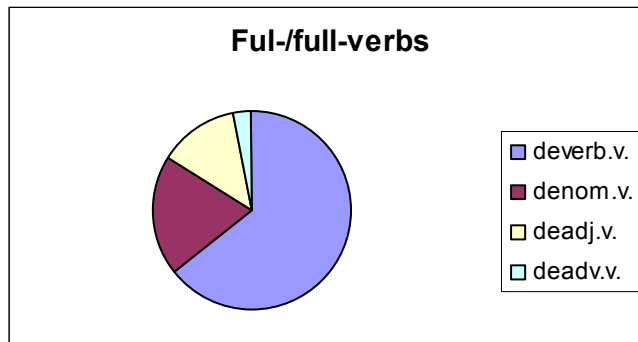
DERIVATIONAL BASE	NUMBER OF VERBS
„genuine“ noun	38
suffixed noun	3

Genuine verbal compounds are very limited in number (only 23 out of 122 deverbal verbs, i.e. c. 19%). Deverbal verbs are peculiar in the respect that not suffixation but prefixation gave rise to most of them. Whereas the three suffixes produced 7 verbs altogether (in all instances, it might be the case that they actually belong to deadjectival verbs derived from a lost adjective), 75 per cent of verbs were formed with the help of a prefixoid (*efen- / efne-* or *ful- / full-*).

DERIVATIONAL BASE	NUMBER OF VERBS
„genuine“ verb	23
suffixed verb	7
prefixed verb	92

Although the number of *efen- / efne-*verbs is twice as large as the number of *ful- / full-*verbs, their subgroups according to absolute derivational bases are percentually very similarly represented: 19 out of 30 *ful- / full-*verbs (c. 64%) can be labelled deverbal, 6 denominal (20%), 4 deadjectival (c. 13%) and 1 deadverbial (c. 3%). 41 out of 61 *efen- / efne-*verbs (c.

67%) can be conceived of deverbal, 16 denominal (c. 26%) and only 4 deadjectival verbs<sup>97</sup> (c. 7%).



<sup>97</sup> What might be of special interest is the fact that the four deadjectival *efen-* / *efne-*verbs resulted from different word-formation processes. While in the case of *efen-lícian* the verbal suffix was simply attached to the stem, the suffixes in *efen-ríce* and *efen-sárig* had to be removed and replaced by *-(i)an* in order to form *efen-rícsian* and *efen-sárgian*. *Efne-gefæstnian*, on the other hand, has no immediate derivational base.

## 2.4. Frequency according to participation in a word-formation

### family

This chapter classifies pseudo-compound verbs according to whether they belong to a word-formation family. Although the frequency of isolated verbs (94) almost approaches that of verbs with a word-formation family (121), we can detect significant differences between these two major groups. Most isolated verbs are derived from simple verbs (c. 72%), whereby almost one-half of them consists of *efen-* / *efne-* verbs and almost one-fourth of *ful-* / *full-* verbs. About 22% of isolated verbs have nouns as their derivational bases. What is most remarkable is that this group contains solely *efen-* / *efne-* (75%) and *ful-* / *full-* verbs (25%). Even though the number of deadjectival and deadverbial verbs is almost negligible (c. 5% and c. 1% respectively), the former group is interesting in the respect that it features not only *efen-* / *efne-* and *ful-* / *full-* verbs but also *yfelcwedolian* (which was formed from a lost adjective). To draw a conclusion, the majority of isolated pseudo-compound verbs were produced by way of prefixation.

	<b>RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES</b>	<b>NUMBER OF VERBS</b>	<b>EFEN- / EFNE-</b>	<b>FUL- / FULL-</b>
<b>ISOLATED VERBS</b>	deverbal verbs	68	33	16
	denominal verbs	20	15	5
	deadjectival verbs	5	1	3
	deadverbial verb	1	-	1
<b>NON-ISOLATED VERBS</b>	deverbal verbs	20	4	3
	denominal verbs	43	2	1
	deadjectival verbs <sup>98</sup>	58	3	1

This word-formation process, however, gave rise to very few verbs which are attested as belonging to a word-formation family. 58 out of 121 verbs (almost one-half) were derived from adjectives. But only one *ful-* / *full-* and three *efen-* / *efne-* verbs can be regarded as being deadjectival. Although the group of denominal verbs contains more than one-third of all verbs

<sup>98</sup> Two verbs deserve special attention, namely *wearg-cwepan* and *yfel-cwepan*, because their status is not entirely clear. Being derived from present participles which may be regarded as parts of verb paradigms, they might be perceived as isolated. But we conceive of present participles as being verbal adjectives and therefore representing a word-formation family. In contrast, *hearm-cweðan*, even though also derived from a present participle, causes no problems because it has a word-formation family containing a noun.

with a word-formation family, merely one *ful-* / *full-* and two *efen-* / *efne-*verbs can be found there. Deverbal verbs (c. 17%) belong to the least frequently represented class. Hence it is striking that this category has the highest proportion of prefixed verbs (four *efen-* / *efne-*verbs, i.e. 20%, and three *ful-* / *full-*verbs, i.e. 15%).

## **2.5. Absolute frequency**

In the two following chapters, we will discuss absolute frequencies of pseudo-compound verbs and their frequencies in individual types of texts. It might be surprising that 96 out of 215 verbs (almost 45%) occur only once. Other 31 verbs (c. 14.5%) appear twice. Thus almost 60 % of all pseudo-compound verbs can be found only once or twice in the corpus. Only 31 verbs (c. 14.5%) have more than 10 occurrences each.

When we analyze the verbs from the point of view of their derivational bases, we can state that almost all deverbal verbs have less than 10 occurrences. 34 deadjectival verbs (c. 64%) (eight of them not being suffixed and three of them having been derived from present participle forms) appear less than 10 times. 19 deadjectival verbs (c. 36%) occur more than 10 times. 32 denominal verbs (c. 84%) (only one of them having a suffix) can be found less than 10 times in the corpus. And only 5 denominal verbs (c. 16%) have more than 10 occurrences each. The fact that most verbs are not very frequently represented might have been caused by two reasons. First, many pseudo-compound verbs have been probably perceived as nonce formations (see below). Second, verbal pseudo-compounds as such were presumably a rather peripheral phenomenon in Old English. Therefore also the more established verbs had a considerably low number of tokens<sup>99</sup> (in comparison with simplex Old English verbs).

Let us now examine word-formational and lexico-semantics regularities of pseudo-compound verbs. The two prefixoids (*efen-* / *efne-* and *ful-* / *full-*) were apparently very productive in the Old English period because they were used for the derivation of 98 verbs (c. 45%). They share some similarities in the number of tokens. Most of them appear only once or twice: 29 out of 58 *efen-* / *efne-*verbs (50%) and 15 out of 40 *ful-* / *full-*verbs (37.5%) can be found only once in the corpus. And 11 *efen-* / *efne-*verbs (c. 19%) and 4 *ful-* / *full-*verbs (10%) occur twice. To sum up, almost 70 % of *efen-* / *efne-*verbs and almost 50% of *ful-* / *full-*verbs have a frequency up to 2 occurrences. The highest frequency reached by an *efen-* / *efne-*verb is 15. There are only 2 *ful-* / *full-*verbs which occur more than 10 times, namely *ful-gán* (35 times) and *ful-fremman* (93 times).

What might be particularly remarkable is that verbs with one occurrence only display almost all derivational and compounding patterns possible (i.e. prefixation (*efen-* / *efne-*, *ful-* / *full-*, *wan-*), suffixation (*-sum*, *-full*, *-fæst*, *-feald*, *-leás*, *-bære*, *-lic*), desuffixation (*-ung*), deverbal, denominal and deadjectival derivation). Other suffixes (like *-scipe*, *-ol*) appear with verbs occurring twice. Consequently, verbs with a lower frequency display a much greater

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<sup>99</sup> We have to bear in mind that many texts might have been (and probably were) lost. So our conclusions are highly inaccurate.

word-formational and lexico-semantic variety. This might have been due to the fact that many pseudo-compound verbs could have been labelled as nonce formations. Thus, theoretically, any suffix or prefix could have been appended to any base, forming a not-yet-established word<sup>100</sup>. It is striking that almost 50 percent of verbs whose number of tokens is higher than 10 belong to “genuine“ compounds. Suffixed and prefixed verbs occurring more times are rather rare. Moreover, the former were usually derived with the suffix *-sum*, the latter with *efen-/efne-* and *ful-/full-*. Consequently, we might suggest that in Old English, “genuine“ compounds were more established than prefixed and suffixed verbs which used to give rise to nonce words.

Only 12 verbs occur between 10 and 20 times (4 deadjectival (*-full*, *-fæst*), 1 deverbal and 2 denominal verbs, 3 cases of desuffixation and 2 of prefixation (*efen-* / *efne-*)) and only 14 verbs appear between 20 and 141 times (7 deadjectival (*-sum*), 1 deverbal and 4 denominal verbs, 2 instances of prefixation (*ful-* / *full-*)). 7 verbs whose number of tokens is higher than 100 are all deadjectival verbs, whereby 5 of them are formed from adjectives with suffixes (*-sum*, *-full*, *-feald* and *-fæst*).

NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	NUMBER OF VERBS	RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES
1	96	15 denominal verbs (2x <i>-ung</i> ), 46 prefixed verbs (29x <i>efen-/efne-</i> , 15x <i>ful-/full-</i> , 2x <i>wan-</i> ), 16 deverbal verbs (1x <i>-sum</i> , 3x <i>-fæst</i> ), 19 deadjectival verbs (1x <i>-sum</i> , 2x <i>-full</i> , 3x <i>-fæst</i> , 1x <i>-feald</i> , 2x <i>-leás</i> , 1x <i>-bære</i> , 2x <i>-lic</i> )
2	31	six denominal verbs (1x <i>-scipe</i> ), 15 prefixed verbs (11x <i>efen-/efne-</i> , 4x <i>ful-/full-</i> ), six deverbal verbs (1x <i>-sum</i> ), four deadjectival verbs (1x <i>-lic</i> , 2x <i>-ol</i> )
3	16	three denominal verbs, eight prefixed verbs (7x <i>efen-/efne-</i> , 1x <i>ful-/full-</i> ), three deverbal verbs (1x <i>-full</i> , 1x <i>-fæst</i> ), two deadjectival verbs ( <i>-bære</i> , <i>-end</i> )
4	9	three denominal verbs, five prefixed verbs (2x <i>efen-/efne-</i> , 3x <i>ful-/full-</i> ), deverbal verb
5	6	denominal verb, three prefixed verbs (2x <i>efen-/efne-</i> ,

<sup>100</sup> This practice was used especially in the production of calques (i.e. element-by-element glosses) in order to capture the exact meaning of the Latin word.

		1x <i>ful-/full-</i> ), deverbal verb ( <i>-full</i> ), deadjectival verb ( <i>-end</i> )
6	7	denominal verb, three prefixed verbs ( <i>efen-/efne-</i> , <i>ful-/full-</i> , <i>sám-</i> ), deadjectival verb, two deverbal verbs
7	5	denominal verb, two prefixed verbs ( <i>efen-/efne-</i> , <i>ful-/full-</i> ), two deadjectival verbs (1x <i>-full</i> , 1x <i>-ol</i> )
8	8	deverbal verb, three denominal verbs, two prefixed verbs ( <i>efen-/efne-</i> , <i>ful-/full-</i> ), two deadjectival verbs ( <i>-fæst</i> )
9	4	denominal verb, three prefixed verbs (2x <i>efen-/efne-</i> , 1x <i>ful-/full-</i> )
10	2	two deadjectival verbs ( <i>-end</i> , <i>-fæst</i> )
11	1	denominal verb
12	1	prefixed verb ( <i>efen- / efne-</i> )
13	1	denominal verb
14	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-ed</i> )
15	1	prefixed verb ( <i>efen- / efne-</i> )
17	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-full</i> )
18	1	denominal verb ( <i>-end</i> )
19	3	three deadjectival verbs (1x <i>-full</i> , 1x <i>-fæst</i> )
21	1	deverbal verb
24	1	deadjectival verb
26	1	denominal verb
27	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-sum</i> )
34	1	denominal verb
35	1	prefixed verb ( <i>ful- / full-</i> )
36	1	deadjectival verb
37	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-sum</i> )
38	1	denominal verb
59	1	denominal verb
64	1	deadjectival verb
81	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-sum</i> )



83	1	deadjectival verb
93	1	prefixed verb ( <i>ful-</i> / <i>full-</i> )
141	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-sum</i> )
169	1	deadjectival verb
177	2	two deadjectival verbs ( <i>-full</i> , <i>-sum</i> )
211	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-fæst</i> )
283	1	deadjectival verb ( <i>-feald</i> )
285	1	deadjectival verb

## 2.6. Frequency according to types of texts

The last chapter concerning Old English analyzes the frequency of pseudo-compound verbs in different types of texts. We will distinguish four categories which will be referred to as “poetry”, “prose”, “glosses”<sup>101</sup> and “glossaries”.

The number of pseudo-compound verbs in poetry and in glossaries (28 and 35 respectively) is almost identical. This frequency is, however, extremely low. The greatest number of pseudo-compound verbs can be found in glosses<sup>102</sup> (1519). It surpasses by c. 28% the number of pseudo-compound verbs in prose (1184) (which, on the other hand, is not much greater than the frequency of verbs in psalters (1024)).

	SUBGROUPS	NUMBER OF TEXTS	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES
<b>POETRY</b>	-	11	28
<b>PROSE</b>	NATIVE RELIGIOUS	41	659
	NATIVE NON-RELIGIOUS	16	172
	TRANSLATED RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL	12	213
	BIBLE	9	140
<b>GLOSSES / GLOSSARIES</b>	-	43	1519

Upon closer inspection, we can claim that religious<sup>103</sup> texts of any kind (not only the native but also the translated ones) are the most frequent prosaic genre. Consequently, they contain an overwhelming majority of pseudo-compound verbs (c. 92%). Other genres (e.g. chronicles, legal texts, philosophical texts, grammars, ...) are not so frequently represented. Thus they contain pseudo-compound verbs only sporadically (c. 8%). Not surprisingly, interlinear glosses were added almost exclusively to religious texts. Hence the number of pseudo-compound verbs occurring in other genres is not worth mentioning (less than 1%). Homilies (404) and Psalters (1024) concentrated the greatest amount of pseudo-compound verbs in

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<sup>101</sup> Glosses are peculiar in the sense that they appear not only in prosaic, but also in poetic texts. We will nevertheless regard them as belonging to one category only.

<sup>102</sup> This is connected with the fact that many pseudo-compound verbs were actually attempts of the monks to translate Latin words as accurately as possible. Therefore these verbs can be often perceived as nonce formations which did not gain access to the core vocabulary.

<sup>103</sup> Division into religious and secular prose does not fully apply here because even the “secular” texts made frequent references to religious matters. (Millward: 1996, p. 135)

”prose“ and “glosses” respectively, whereby the frequency in psalters was 2.5 times higher than the one in homilies.

Most texts containing pseudo-compound verbs can be labelled as prosaic (their number is three times higher than the number of texts counting as glosses). Moreover, prose is the only main category which offers more genres in which pseudo-compound verbs occur. It can be divided into four categories: native religious prose, native non-religious prose, translated religious and philosophical prose and the Bible. Native religious prose is with 659 occurrences the most frequently represented one. Homilies dominate among the genres (c. 61%). Apart from them, only Hagiography (c. 18%) and the Benedictine Rule (c. 13%) have more than 10 occurrences each. The number of pseudo-compound verbs in native non-religious prose is almost four times lower than that in native religious prose, whereby pseudo-compound verbs most frequently occur in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (c. 42%) and in Ælfric’s *Grammar* (c. 19%). The Bible comprises even less pseudo-compound verbs (140) than native non-religious prose. These verbs appear mostly in two kinds of texts, namely Gospels (45%) and The Old English Version of the Heptateuch (c. 38%). Translated religious and philosophical prose contains 213 pseudo-compound verbs. Almost one-half of them can be found in Gregory the Great’s texts. To sum up, we can see a clear tendency for pseudo-compound verbs to occur mainly in religious prose<sup>104</sup>. The number of tokens appearing in non-religious prose (whether translated or not) is almost negligible<sup>105</sup>.

	SUBGROUPS	TEXTS WITH A HIGH FREQUENCY	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES
<b>PROSE</b>	NATIVE RELIGIOUS	Homilies	404
		Hagiography	118
		Benedictine Rule	87
	NATIVE NON-RELIGIOUS	Bede’s <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>	72
		Ælfric’s <i>Grammar</i>	32
	TRANSLATED RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL	Gregory the Great’s texts	106
	BIBLE	Gospels	63
		Old English Version of the Heptateuch	53

<sup>104</sup> This term subsumes not only native and translated religious prose, but also the Bible.

<sup>105</sup> This tendency shows not only the primacy of religious prose, but also its impact on the development of Old English word-stock.

<b>GLOSSES / GLOSSARIES</b>		Psalters	1024
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Let us now compare pseudo-compound verbs from the point of view of their presence in poetry, prose, glosses and glossaries. There are only three verbs which occur only once in poetic texts, namely *efen-etan* in Exeter Book, *efen-gedálan* in Exodus and *geþanc-metian* in Genesis. Apart from these verbs, no other verb appears exclusively in poetry.

	<b>NUMBER OF VERBS</b>	<b>EFEN- / EFNE-</b>	<b>FUL- / FULL-</b>
<b>ONLY ONCE IN PROSE</b>	39	2	14
<b>ONLY ONCE IN GLOSSES / GLOSSARIES</b>	54	25	1

39 verbs can be found only once in prosaic texts, whereby more than one-third of them consists of either *efne- / efen-* or *ful- / full-*verbs. Further, 11 of them (i.e. almost one-third) are contained merely in Homilies. There are 54 verbs occurring only once in glosses or glossaries. 25 of them (almost one-half) belong to *efen- / efne-*verbs. 13 verbs (c. 24%) can be found in various psalters, other 13 verbs (again c. 24%) in Lindisfarne or Rushworth Gospels and yet other 11 verbs (c. 20%) in various glossaries. Some pseudo-compound verbs appear more frequently but their occurrence is restricted to either prose (17 verbs, i.e. almost 8%) or glosses and glossaries (46 verbs, i.e. about 21%). Only 56 out of 215 verbs (c. 26%) can be found in more than one of the four main categories (i.e. poetry, prose, glosses, glossaries).

	<b>ONCE</b>	<b>MORE TIMES</b>
<b>ONLY IN POETRY</b>	3	-
<b>ONLY IN PROSE</b>	39	17
<b>ONLY IN GLOSSES / GLOSSARIES</b>	54	46
<b>IN MORE CATEGORIES</b>	56	

## 3. MIDDLE ENGLISH

### **3. 1. Classification according to word-formation process applied**

“The system of English word-formation was entirely upset by the Norman Conquest. This does not mean that the present system is due to the Normans, but the Normans paved the way for the non-Germanic trend the language has since taken. It was due to the continuous contact with France that English borrowed so many words from French [...]. And it is due to this Romanization, through French, of the English vocabulary that Latin words could so easily be adopted. The language took to wholesale borrowing.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 130) Because of the extensive borrowing, we have to divide pseudo-compound verbs according to their origin. Thus the Middle English word-stock consists of native (Old English and Middle English) verbs on the one hand and foreign (loan and hybrid) verbs on the other hand. Even though hybrid verbs contain also native elements, they have been grouped together with loanverbs because the corpus evidence suggests that they were used only sparingly<sup>106</sup>. The two main categories will be discussed separately in each chapter but they will be ultimately compared with each other and also with Old English.

#### **A. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM A NOUN**

This category bears resemblance to the Old English one. Even though it is not as productive as it was in the previous period, it gave rise to a fairly large number of verbs<sup>107</sup>. Moreover, it has been simplified because introflexion was not productive any more<sup>108</sup>. Consequently, denominal verbs can be divided into two subgroups. The first one causes no problems because the nominal bases carry no suffix. This makes the derivation process easier because the bases simply obtain the verbal suffix *-(e)n*. For example, the verb *saltwáteren* was formed from *salt-wáter* by simply appending the verbal suffix *-en* to the nominal base. The second subclass comprises verbs formed from suffixed nouns. Therefore the derivation of verbs has to be preceded by desuffixation<sup>109</sup>. The nominal suffix is separated from the stem in order to

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<sup>106</sup> It might have been the case that they were understood only by some speakers.

<sup>107</sup> On the whole, derivation decreases in Middle English due to the loss of inflection.

<sup>108</sup> It is connected with the fact English has given up much of its inflectional character since Old English.

<sup>109</sup> Nominal suffixes in this group range from agent noun (*-ere*) through gerundial (*-ing*) to plural suffixes (*-es*). The suffix *-e* (denoting masculine nouns) has probably undergone the process of semantic bleaching because many verbs can occur with or without it. The reason for this development can be seen in the loss of grammatical gender (which, again, is due to the fact that Old English has lost much of its inflectional character on the way to Middle English).

be replaced by the verbal suffix *-(e)n*. For example, the noun *oil-dregges* was disposed of its (plural) suffix *-es* before the verbal suffix *-en* was appended to the stem in order to create the verb *oil-dreggen*.

### 1. A NON-SUFFIXED NOUN

**cart-sadelen**                    *to put a cart saddle on (sth.), harness to a cart*

FROM: **cart-sadel** (n.)

**saltwáteren**                    *to sprinkle (sth.) with salt water*

FROM: **salt-wáter** (n.)

**sour-douen**                    *to mix leaven with (dough or flour)*

FROM: **sour-dough** (n.)

**worthminten**<sup>110</sup>                *to show respect for (sth.), honor*

FROM: **worth-mint** (n.)

### 2. A SUFFIXED NOUN

**bak-bíten**<sup>111</sup>                    *to detract from the good name of (sb.) behind his back; to defame, traduce, slander; to speak ill of (sth.); disparage, criticize*

FROM: **bak-bíter(e OR bak-bíting** (ger.)

**bat-foulen**                    *to hunt birds (at night) by knocking them from the roost with a 'bat' or pole and netting them*

FROM: **bat-foulere** (n.) OR **bat-fouling** (ger.)

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<sup>110</sup> The verbs *worthminten*, *ilic-hamen*, *hús-bonden* and *wóde-wosen* are peculiar in the sense that their derivational bases are attested as soon as Old English but the verbs did not appear until Middle English.

<sup>111</sup> The verbs *bak-bíten* and *bat-foulen* could have been derived either from an agent noun or a gerund because both of them share the date of their first appearance in the Middle English corpus. This indeterminacy causes many problems in further analysis because the verbs cannot be clearly ascribed to any category (e.g. in Marchand's classification). Moreover, as in the case of Old English verbs formed from present participles, gerunds can be viewed either as parts of verb paradigms or as verbal nouns. Agent nouns, on the other hand, would not complicate matters in any way (they are always regarded as nouns). But because of this confusion concerning derivational base, we have to consider more options in each of the following chapters.

<b>bém-fellen</b> <sup>112</sup>	Arch. <i>To provide (a building) with bemfilling</i>
	FROM: <b>bém-filling</b> (ger.)
<b>caltrappen</b>	<i>to trap or snare (sth.)</i>
	FROM: <b>calketrappe</b> (n.)
<b>hám-burwen</b>	<i>to put on a horse collar</i>
	FROM: <b>hám-berwe</b> (n.)
<b>hough-sineuen</b>	<i>to hamstring (sb.)</i>
	FROM: <b>hough-sineue</b> (n.)
<b>hus-bónden</b>	<i>to manage (goods, etc.) thriftily; fig. accumulate (mercy) by virtuous living</i>
	FROM: <b>hous-bónd(e)</b> (n.)
<b>ilíc-hamen</b>	<i>to clothe (sb.) with flesh, make incarnate</i>
	FROM: <b>líchame</b> (n.)
<b>oil-dreggen</b>	<i>to treat (sth.) with oil-dregs</i>
	FROM: <b>oil-dregges</b> (n.)
<b>pit-fallen</b>	<i>to set (an area) with pitfalls</i>
	FROM : <b>pit-falle</b> (n.)
<b>sóth-sauen</b>	<i>to tell the truth</i>
	FROM: <b>sóth-sau(e)</b> (n.)
<b>warnestóren</b>	<i>to furnish or provision (an army, a castle) with necessary supplies; ?make (a city) rich and prosperous with goods; to fortify, make secure</i>
	FROM: <b>warnestór(e)</b> (n.)

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<sup>112</sup> The verb *bém-fellen* was derived from a gerund. (It is far less complicated than the verbs *bak-bíten* and *bat-foulen* because no other possible derivational bases have to be taken into consideration.) Thus the problem arises whether gerunds are to be perceived as verbal nouns or as parts of verb paradigms.

**wóde-wósen** *to run wild, become mad*

FROM: **wóde-wóse** (n.)

## **B. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM AN ADJECTIVE**

This category resembles the Old English one in that it consists of verbs produced from suffixed or non-suffixed adjectival bases. But unlike in Old English, the individual subclasses are much simpler. This is caused mainly by the fact that only four verbs were derived from adjectival bases in Middle English. Moreover, these verbs can be indubitably divided into two subcategories. The first one comprises verbs with non-suffixed adjectival bases. Hence, the verbs were formed by simply attaching the verbal suffix *-(e)n* to the adjectival base. For example, *chek-máten* came to existence when the verbal suffix *-en* was attached to the adjectival base *chek-mát*. The second subgroup contains verbs which have participial bases. Therefore the participial suffixes (i.e. *-ing* in the case of *ever-lasting* and *-te* in the case of *wel-setten*) have to be removed before the actual verb-forming derivation takes place. For example, *ever-lasting* was deprived of the suffix *-ing* before the verbal suffix *-en* was added to the stem to form the verb *ever-lasten*.

### **1. A NON-SUFFIXED ADJECTIVE**

**chek-máten** *to checkmate (the king in chess); to discomfit or frustrate (sb.)*

FROM: **chek-mát** (adj.)

**selcouthen** *to make (sth.) wonderful, make known as marvelous*

FROM: **selcouth** (adj.)

### **2. A SUFFIXED ADJECTIVE**

**ever-lasten**<sup>113</sup> *to endure forever*

FROM: **ever-lasting** (ppl.)

**wel-setten**<sup>114</sup> *to establish (a covenant)*

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<sup>113</sup> The verb *ever-lasten* was derived from a present participle. Thus it resulted from the same derivation process as the Old English verbs *hearm-cweðan*, *wearg-cweþan* and *yfel-cweþan*. Consequently, it presents us with the same kind of problems we faced already in Old English (and which will be discussed at greater length in other chapters).



FROM: **wel-set(te** (ppl.)

### C. GENUINE COMPOUNDS

“Compounding, often thought to be in decline at this period, does show new developments.” (Strang: 1970, p. 257) The most important of them is definitely the rise of genuine compounds of the structural types [N + V] (e.g. *laue-bréken*), [Adj + V] (e.g. *whít-límen*) or [Adv + V] (e.g. *neigh-comen*). These formations are a Middle English innovation as they did not occur in Old English<sup>115</sup>. Therefore it is rather surprising that their determinant and determinatum were attested already in Old English. (In other words, the elements did exist for a long time but the process which joined them together was “invented“ much later<sup>116</sup>.)

**blínd-whalfen**<sup>117</sup>            *to blindfold*  
Blend of **blínd-wharven** & **whelven** (adj.& v.)

**blínd-wharven**            *to blindfold*  
FROM: **blínd** (adj.) & **wharven** (v.)

**fré-willen**<sup>118</sup>            *to exercise free will*  
FROM: **fré** (adj.) & **wil(le** (n.)

**laue-bréken**            *to violate the Mosaic law*  
FROM: **laue** (n.) & **bréken** (v.)

**man-handlen**            *to wield (a tool); to attack (an enemy)*  
FROM: **man** (n.) & **hóndlen** (v.)

**neigh-comen**            *to get close to (sb., an animal), approach*

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<sup>114</sup> The verb *wel-setten* was derived from a past participle. Participial derivational bases in general are problematic in the sense that they can be regarded either as verbal adjectives or as parts of verb paradigms.

<sup>115</sup> The verbs which we have regarded as “genuine compounds” in Old English are in fact no compounds at all. All of them belong to (immediate or absolute) derivatives. We have labelled them “genuine compounds” in order to distinguish them from prefixed and suffixed verbs.

<sup>116</sup> This is the viewpoint we can adopt when relying completely on the records. We cannot, of course, forget that many texts might have been lost and more importantly, that CME is not finished yet.

<sup>117</sup> The verb *blind-whalfen* is the first attestation of a blend among pseudo-compound verbs.

<sup>118</sup> The phrase *fré wille* serves as a word-formation base for *fré-willen*. Therefore the verb cannot be conceived of as a derivative but has to be grouped together with compounds. (The individual problems connected with this verb will be solved in the next chapters.)

	FROM: <b>neigh</b> (adv.) & <b>comen</b> (v.)
<b>somer-laien</b>	<i>to leave (land) fallow for a year</i>
	FROM: <b>somer</b> (n.) & <b>leien</b> (v.)
<b>treu-plighen</b> <sup>119</sup>	<i>to pledge oneself to marry (sb.)</i>
	FROM: <b>treu(e)</b> (adv.) & <b>plighen</b> (v.)
<b>treuth-plighen</b>	<i>to enter into a covenant, make a compact; make a pact or bargain with (death); promise (sth.) solemnly; to betroth (a woman), pledge one's troth to</i>
	FROM: <b>treuth</b> (n.) & <b>plighen</b> (v.)
<b>wed-setten</b>	<i>to mortgage (land, property), pledge</i>
	FROM: <b>wed</b> (n.) & <b>setten</b> (v.)
<b>wel-fáren</b>	<i>to prosper, do well, fare well</i>
	FROM: <b>wel</b> (adv.) & <b>fáren</b> (v.)
<b>wel-wonen</b>	<i>?to be assiduous</i>
	FROM: <b>wel</b> (adv.) & <b>wonen</b> (v.)
<b>whít-límen</b>	<i>to whitewash (sth.); apply a plaster coating to (walls)</i>
	FROM: <b>whít</b> (adj.) & <b>límen</b> (v.)

#### D. VERBS ATTESTED ALREADY IN OLD ENGLISH

Verbs in this subcategory survived from Old English. Their existence in Middle English is accompanied by the so-called obscuration. “Some of the compounds that first appear in [Old English] have since lost their transparency as compounds because of some sound changes or because one or both of the constituents have become obsolete as independent words.” (Millward: 1996, p. 203)<sup>120</sup> For example, the verb *gospellen* has (due to the elision of *-d-*)

<sup>119</sup> The verb *treu-plighen* was definitely a nonce-formation. (MED: 2006) Consequently, it is not easy to decide whether it can be conceived of as a genuine composition (of an adverb and a simplex verb) or rather as a reduced form of *treuth-plighen*.

<sup>120</sup> The mechanism of obscuration is more complicated than Millward’s statement suggests. But it will not be discussed here in full. Only some examples will be provided as an illustration.

given up its two-element structure. As a result, it lost its analysability and was most probably regarded as a simple verb.

Obscuration is connected with another problem which involves the loss of derivational bases. Therefore many Old English verbs were isolated at that point in time. Their isolation has contributed to their obscuration and subsequent replacement of their elements through the more productive and transparent ones in order to preserve their two-element structure. For example, the first element of the verb *wilcumian* has been assimilated to the Middle English adverb *wel*. (It was a case of analogy influenced by the word-formation pattern of other compound verbs like *wel-fāren* and *wel-wonen*.)

<b>ár-wurðen</b>	<i>to honour or respect (sb.); confer honours upon</i> [OE ár-weorþian]
<b>blínd-fellen</b>	<i>to blind (sb.), strike blind; to blindfold (sb., the eyes); to deceive</i> [OE geblind-fellian]
<b>dædbéten</b>	<i>to make amends, do penance</i> [OE dædbétan]
<b>éd-méden /</b>	<i>to humble (oneself), to make humble</i>
<b>iéd-méten</b>	[OE éad-médan] / [OE geéaþmédan]
<b>éd-módien /</b>	<i>to humble (someone, one's self)</i>
<b>iéd-módien</b>	[OE éaþmóðian, éad-médan] / [OE geéaþmóðian]
<b>ér-plattien</b>	<i>to box the ears of (a person)</i> [OE éar-plættan, éar-plættian]
<b>éthe-móden</b>	<i>to be gracious or merciful, be appeased</i> [OE éaþ-móðian]
<b>gospellen</b>	<i>to preach the gospel</i> [OE godspellian]

<b>grisbáten</b>	<i>to grind one's teeth in anger or sorrow</i> [OE grist-bátian]
<b>grisbiten</b>	<i>to gnash one's teeth</i> [OE grist-bitian]
<b>herberwen</b>	<i>to entertain (sb.) as a guest, lodge (a guest); to harbour, shelter; to procure or arrange lodgings for (sb.)</i> [OE herebeorgian]
<b>kinehelmen</b>	<i>to crown (sb.)</i> [OE cynehelmian]
<b>right-wísen</b>	<i>to justify, vindicate; hold (sb.) justified; to judge (a cause), do justice to</i> [OE riht-wísian]
<b>tintregen</b>	<i>to torture (sb.), torment</i> [OE tintregian]
<b>welcomen</b>	<i>to speak words of greeting, welcome to (sb.), hail, greet; to invite the presence of (the Holy Spirit) with a hymn</i> [OE wilcumian, wylcumian]

## E. LOANWORDS

This subcategory includes verbs with one or both elements borrowed from different languages. Like native pseudo-compound verbs, they have been classified according to word-formation processes which produced them. We can distinguish two distinct groups, namely denominal verbs and genuine compounds. Genuine compounds have been divided into three subclasses according to their origin: hybrid verbs, genuine loanverbs<sup>121</sup> and verbs which were

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<sup>121</sup> Verbs which include only foreign elements.

transparent only for the educational elite of that time (which understood and was able to use them correctly<sup>122</sup>).

Genuine loanverbs were not borrowed as ready-made compounds. Their individual elements entered Middle English at different points in time. For example, the determinant of *sauf-vouchen* was borrowed from Old French as early as 1300. Its determinatum was adopted from Anglo-French in 1325. But the compound verb occurred more than hundred years later – in 1450. (MED: 2006) As a result, we can claim that even though foreign elements were already used frequently in Middle English, it lasted quite a long time before the process of composition was applied also to them. The corpus evidence suggests that genuine loanverbs came to existence later than most native genuine compounds.

The other group consists of hybrid verbs which combine native and foreign elements. As in the case of genuine loanverbs, the composition of a native and a foreign element did not happen overnight. For example, *half-tónen* is attested in 1483. But its determinatum can be found already in 1380<sup>123</sup>. (MED: 2006)

The last group of genuine loanverbs contains two verbs which were transparent only to a small number of educated people. But in the case of *maledigheten*, we can observe that the determinatum was being assimilated to the Middle English verb *digheten*<sup>124</sup>. (MED: 2006)

Foreign denominal verbs do not differ greatly from the native ones. They have been derived from foreign nominal bases which were borrowed earlier than the respective verbs. What might be puzzling is the question as to whether these verbs were regarded as denominal also in Old French. In other words, once the noun was already established in Middle English, it was essential to have a verb from the same word-formation family. The corpus evidence does not show how this verb was formed. It could have been either borrowed later from Old French as a whole or it might have been derived from the nominal base which was already present in Middle English (by adding the verbal suffix to it).

## 1. THE VERB DERIVED FROM A NOUN:

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<sup>122</sup> These verbs occur almost exclusively in religious prose and poetry (usually in works of a high linguistic value which are frequently quoted in OED). *Maledigheten* can be found only in *Cursor Mundi* and *primseinen* appears, for example, in the *Ormulum*.

<sup>123</sup> It is interesting that pseudo-compound verbs which have borrowed one element from a foreign language are formed according to two patterns: ON-OE (i.e. the determinant being from Old Norse and the determinatum from Old English) or OE-OF (i.e. the determinant being from Old English and the determinatum from Old French). But otherwise, they resemble each other because in all cases, the respective element borrowed from a foreign language was attested one or two hundred years before the pseudo-compound verb came to existence. (MED: 2006)

<sup>124</sup> This assimilation made the pseudo-compound verb more transparent and thus understandable to a wider public.

**main-prísen**<sup>125</sup> *to release or to arrange the release of (a prisoner) by surety, go bail for (sb.); to procure pardon for (sb.)*  
FROM: **main-prís(e)** (n.)

**morgágen**<sup>126</sup> *to mortgage (land, possessions)*  
FROM: **morgáge** (n.)

**quíét-claimen**<sup>127</sup> *Law. To relinquish one's right to (money, property, the performance of an obligation, a legal claim), quitclaim*  
FROM : **quíét(e-claime)** (n.)

**quíte-claimen**<sup>128</sup> *to relinquish entirely (a legal right or claim), relinquish all rights to (property, possessions); to set (sb.) free from captivity, release; acquit (sb.)*  
FROM: **quíte-claime** (n.)

## 2. GENUINE COMPOUNDS:

- **ONE OF THE ELEMENTS WAS BORROWED, THE OTHER IS FROM OLD ENGLISH**

**half-tónen**<sup>129</sup> *to sing or play in semitones*  
FROM: **half** (adj.) & **tónen** (v.)

**il-hópen**<sup>130</sup> *to think ill of (sth.), mistrust*  
FROM : **il(le)** (adv.) & **hópen** (v.)

**il-tornen**<sup>131</sup> *to become wicked*

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<sup>125</sup> The verb *main-prísen* was adopted from Anglo-French. (MED: 2006)

<sup>126</sup> The verb *morgágen* is a loanword from Old French. (MED: 2006)

<sup>127</sup> The verb *quíét-claimen* was borrowed from Middle Latin (*quíétum clámáre*). (MED: 2006)

<sup>128</sup> The verb *quíte-claimen* was adopted from Anglo-French (*quiteclamer, -claimer*). (MED: 2006) Although *quíét-claimen* was a loanword from Middle Latin, its first occurrence can be found more than hundred years later than that of *quíte-claimen*. Consequently, it can be suggested that the former verb might have been some kind of scribal error accompanied by narrowing (or specialization) of meaning. This idea can be underlined by the fact that *quíét-claimen* appears mostly in the Paston Letters (which are notorious for their misspellings).

<sup>129</sup> The determinant of *half-tónen* is from Old English, the determinatum was borrowed from Old French. (MED: 2006)

<sup>130</sup> The determinant of *il-hópen* is a loanword from Old Norse, the determinatum was attested already in Old English. (MED: 2006)

FROM: **il(le** (adv.) & **turnen** (v.)

**right-reulen**<sup>132</sup>

*to order (sb. or sth.), govern; direct (sth.) rightly; to favor (sb. or sth.), prosper, further*

FROM: **right** (adv.) & **reulen** (v.)

• **DETERMINANT AND DETERMINATUM WERE BORROWED FROM OTHER LANGUAGES**<sup>133</sup>

**fé-tailen**<sup>134</sup>

*to render service under obligations of fee-tail*

FROM: phrase **fé** (n.) & **taille** (ppl.)

**hónd-festen**<sup>135</sup>

*to unite; betroth (sb. to sb.); pledge oneself to (sb. to be married)*

FROM: **hónd(e** (n.) & **festen** (v.)

**main-presenten**<sup>136</sup>

*to release or to arrange the release of (a prisoner) by surety*

FROM: **main** (n.) & **presenten** (v.)

**sauf-conduiten**<sup>137</sup>

*to give (sb.) safe-conduct*

FROM: **sauf** (adj.) & **conduit** (n.)

**sauf-vouchen**<sup>138</sup>

*to grant (sth.), consent (to do sth.)*

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<sup>131</sup> The determinant of *il-tornen* was borrowed from Old Norse, the determinatum could have been found already in Old English. (MED: 2006)

<sup>132</sup> The determinant of *right-reulen* is from Old English, the determinatum from Old French. (MED: 2006)

<sup>133</sup> It is interesting that not a single pseudo-compound verb attested in Middle English combines elements from two different foreign languages (e.g. Old French and Old Norse). The only language combination which can be found is the combination of Old French and Anglo-French (but they cannot be perceived as two totally distinct languages because Old French inevitably had a great impact on Anglo-French.

<sup>134</sup> The phrase *fé taille*, which served as a word-formation base for *fé-tailen*, was adopted from the Anglo-French. The second element is the past participle of Old French *taillier*. (OED: 2008) (For the classification of *fé-tailen* viz. *fré-willen*.)

<sup>135</sup> Both elements of the compound verb *hónd-festen* are loanwords from Old Norse. (MED: 2006)

<sup>136</sup> The verb *main-presenten* was borrowed from Anglo-French. (MED: 2006) It presents us with a classification problem due to the fact that it can be regarded as a nonce formation (error for *main-prisen*). But unlike *main-prisen*, it has no derivational base. Thus it has to be conceived of as a genuine compound, consisting of the noun *main* and the verb *presenten*.

<sup>137</sup> Both elements of *sauf-conduiten* have been borrowed from Old French. (MED: 2006)

<sup>138</sup> The determinant of *sauf-vouchen* is from Old French, the determinatum from Anglo-French. (MED: 2006)

FROM : **sauf** (adj.) & **vouchen** (v.)

- **THE ELEMENTS OF A COMPOUND ARE TRANSPARENT FOR THE EDUCATIONAL ELITE**

**maledigheten**<sup>139</sup>                    *to curse (sb.)*

FROM: **mal(e)** (adv.) & **digheten** (v.)

**primseinen**<sup>140</sup>                    *to mark (sb.) with the sign of the cross prior to baptism*

FROM: **prim(e)** (adj.) & **seinen** (v.)

## F. RHYMING COMBINATIONS:

“Ablaut and rime gemination are based on the principle of coining words in a phonically varied rhythmic twin form. [...] such combinations are essentially pseudo-compounds, motivated by the significant, whether they are made up of two real morphemes [...], of only one sign [...], or whether they are entirely unmotivated by semantic content [...]. They are therefore not compounds [...] based on a determinant / determinatum relationship<sup>141</sup>.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 429) The verb *piter-pateren* belongs to ablaut combinations of the type “*chit-chat*“ because it consists of “one basic morpheme [...], which is repeated with a different vowel in the other constituent<sup>142</sup>.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 429) The verb *hoker-moker*, on the other hand, can be perceived as a rime combination of the type “*boogie-woogie*“ because it has “two elements ([...] two pseudo-morphemes, i.e. fanciful, meaningless sound clusters) which are joined to rime. Rime is obviously the basic factor in these combinations.” (Marchand: 1969, p. 432)

**hoker-moker**<sup>143</sup>                    *to hoard (things), ?collect stealthily*

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<sup>139</sup> The verb *maledigheten* is a loanword from Latin (classical Latin *maledict-*, past participial stem of *maledicere* (< *male* badly + *dicere* to speak, say). (OED: 2008) But the determinatum shows influence of the Old English verb *digheten* (MED: 2006).

<sup>140</sup> The verb *primseinen* was borrowed from Old French (*prinseignier*, *primseignier*). (MED: 2006) But the French word seems to be formed ultimately from Latin elements (classical Latin *primum* (adverb), originally neuter accusative of *primus* PRIME adj. + *signare* SIGN v.) (OED: 2008)

<sup>141</sup> For this reason, they will not be included in the chapters on frequencies.

<sup>142</sup> The vowel alternation is /i-a/ in this case.

<sup>143</sup> The verb *hoker-moker* belongs to “the commonest group of reduplicated words of parallel forms and nearly synonymous meaning. Nothing definite appears as to their derivation or origin, and it is not unlikely that they came from different sources, and influenced each other. An early form [...] was *hucker-mucker* (*hoker-moker*),



**piter-pateren**<sup>144</sup>

FROM: **hoker-moker** (n.)

*to whisper, babble softly; ?babble prayers*

FROM: **piter-pater** (n.)

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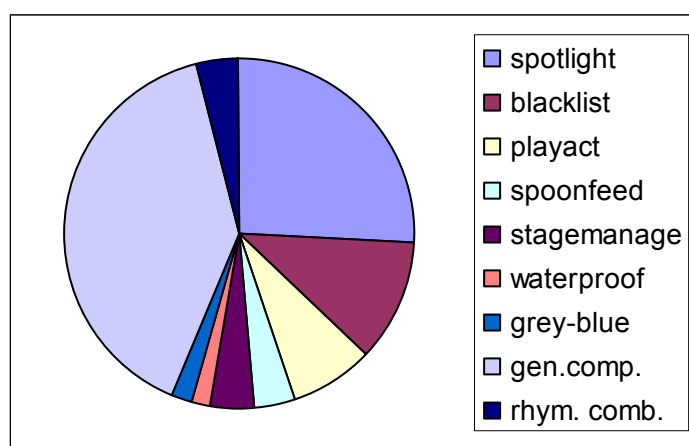
the second element of which may have been the Middle English verb *mokeren*. [...] Whether *hucker* had an independent existence, or was merely a riming variation, cannot at present be determined.” (OED: 2008)

<sup>144</sup> The verb *piter-pateren* has been derived from a noun which was produced by “reduplication (with vowel variation) of PATTER n.” (OED: 2008)

### 3. 2. Classification according to Marchand

This chapter focuses on the classification of pseudo-compound verbs introduced by Marchand (Marchand: 1969, p.101), to which we added two groups, namely Group III (which contains genuine compounds) and Group IV (which consists of two rhyming combinations). It is important to state that Old English verbs are excluded from this section<sup>145</sup>.

Let us now turn to the individual types. “To spotlight” is represented by 14 verbs (c. 27%) in Middle English, retaining thus its status as the most productive type. It derived more than two times more verbs than “to blacklist” (6 verbs, i.e. c. 12%) and more than three times more verbs than “to playact” (4 verbs, i.e. c. 8%)<sup>146</sup>. The types “to waterproof” and “to grey-blue” were used to form only one verb each. And the last two types, i.e. “to spoonfeed” and “to stagemanage”, derived two verbs each. Two additional groups can be found in Middle English. Group III<sup>147</sup> is very productive because it contains almost one-third of all Middle English verbs. (It virtually replaced the group of Old English deverbal verbs. Whereas in Old English, verbs which had no immediate derivational base (their absolute derivational base being a verb) were formed by way of derivation, this word-formation process was not productive in Middle English any more. Instead, such verbs were created by way of composition.) The other group<sup>148</sup> is interesting in the sense that it exhibits two different types of earliest rhyming combinations.



<sup>145</sup> They have been classified already in the chapter on Old English. Moreover, most of them have been somewhat obscured by that time so they would probably defy classification anyway.

<sup>146</sup> The verbs *bak-biten* and *bat-foulen* belong not only to the type “to playact”, but also to the type “to stagemanage” because of their indeterminable derivational base.

<sup>147</sup> Although this group was the most productive one in Middle English, Marchand does not mention it because he concentrates on pseudo-compound verbs derived from different types of derivational bases.

<sup>148</sup> Even though Marchand regards rhyming combinations as pseudo-compound verbs, he analyzes them more synchronically than diachronically.

When we compare these four groups with the Old English ones, we can claim that the productivity of the type “to spotlight” decreased considerably (from 30 to 14 verbs, i.e. by more than 50%). This type nevertheless remained the most productive one (when we do not take Group III into account). But other types which were quite productive in Old English times, namely “to waterproof” and “to grey-blue”, almost disappeared (just as “to sweetheart” did). “To stagemanage” and “to playact” decreased slightly in their productivity since Old English. “To blacklist” and “to spoonfeed” are the only types that contain more verbs in Middle English than they did before.

On the whole, we could suggest that only those Marchandean types were persistent which could be found not only in Latin, but also in French. As we have already claimed, many Old English pseudo-compound verbs are nonce formations because the translators wanted to capture the exact meaning of a Latin word. Consequently, we could assume that the Old English system of verbal pseudo-compounds is to a large extent modelled on the Latin one. The Middle English system, on the other hand, was influenced not only by Latin, but also by (Old) French. Thus we can state that the productivity of some patterns, i.e. “to blacklist”, “to spoonfeed” and genuine composition, increased because these patterns were productive also in (Old) French. The type “to spotlight” gave rise to many verbs in both periods because Latin and (Old) French favoured this type. The deadjectival types, i.e. “to waterproof”, “to grey-blue” and “to sweetheart”, were on the verge of disappearance because not a single deadjectival verb was borrowed from other languages. Synthetic compounds of the types “to stagemanage” and “to playact” were also decreasing in productivity, for they were also created only from the Middle English (and not the borrowed) material.

## **GROUP I:**

### 1. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM A NOMINAL COMPOUND:

#### **1. spotlight (sb/sb)**

caltrappen	FROM: calketrappe (n.)
cart-sadelen	FROM: cart-sadel (n.)
hám-burwen	FROM: hám-berwe (n.)
hough-sineuen	FROM: hough-sineue (n.)
hus-bónden	FROM: hous-bónd(e) (n.)

ilíc-hamen	FROM: líchame (n.)
main-prísen	FROM: main-prís(e (n.))
oil-dreggen	FROM: oil-dregges (n.)
pit-fallen	FROM: pit-falle (n.)
quiét-claimen	FROM: quiét(e-claime (n.))
quíte-claimen	FROM: quíte-claime (n.)
warnestóren	FROM: warnestór(e (n.))
wóde-wósen	FROM: wóde-wóse (n.)
worthminten	FROM: worth-mint (n.)

## **2. blacklist (adj/sb) / cold shoulder (syntactic group)**

fré-willen	FROM: fré (adj.) & wil(le (n.))
morgágen	FROM: morgáge (n.)
saltwáteren	FROM: salt-wáter (n.)
sauf-conduiten	FROM: sauf (adj.) & conduit (n.)
sóth-sauen	FROM: sóth-sau(e (n.))
sour-douen	FROM: sour-dough (n.)

## 2. THE VERB IS DERIVED FROM AN ADJECTIVAL COMPOUND:

### **1. waterproof (sb/adj)**

chek-máten	FROM: chek-mát (adj.)
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### **2. grey-blue (adj/adj)**

selcouthen	FROM: selcouth (adj.)
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## GROUP II:

The verb is derived from a synthetic compound.

### 1. **stage-manage** from stage-manager (agent noun)

bak-bíten FROM: bak-bíter(e (n.) OR bak-bíting (ger.)

bat-foulen FROM: bat-foulere (n.) OR bat-fouling (ger.)

### 2. **playact** from playacting (action noun)

“A marked feature of the [Middle English] period is the persistence of patterns, though all the old words made according to them died out. Thus, there were predicate-object compounds in *-ing / -ung* in OE, but they all went out of use, and a new series on the same pattern begins with *backbiting* (1175), *blood-shedding*, etc.” (Strang: 1970, p. 257) For example, the Old English verb *hand-fæstan* had the predicate-object structure, which was later adopted also by the newly emerged Middle English verb *bak-bíten*. But we could have observed a considerable shift in the function of *-ung / -ing* in Old English on the one hand and *-ing* in Middle English on the other. Whereas this suffix was used to derive feminine abstract nouns in Old English<sup>149</sup>, it was completely genderless in Middle English. Moreover, *-ing* became not only a gerundial, but also a participial suffix. Consequently, the formal distinction between a present participle and a noun (or a gerund) was abandoned in Middle English.

bak-bíten FROM: bak-bíter(e (n.) OR bak-bíting (ger.)

bat-foulen FROM: bat-foulere (n.) OR bat-fouling (ger.)

bém-fellen FROM: bém-filling (ger.)

ever-lasten FROM: ever-lasting (ppl.)

### 4. **spoonfeed** from spoonfed, **new-create** from new-created (participial adjective)

fê-tailen FROM: fê (n.) & taille (ppl.)

wel-setten FROM: wel-set(te (ppl.)

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<sup>149</sup> This pattern is still productive in Modern German.

### **GROUP III:**

The pseudo-compound verb is a genuine compound.

blínd-whalfen	Blend of blínd-wharven & whelven
blínd-wharven	FROM: blínd (adj.) & wherven (n.)
half-tónen	FROM: half (adj.) & tónen (v.)
hónd-festen	FROM: hónd(e (n.) & festen (v.)
il-hópen	FROM : il(le (adv.) & hópen (v.)
il-tornen	FROM: il(le (adv.) & turnen (v.)
laue-bréken	FROM: laue (n.) & bréken (v.)
main-presenten	FROM: main (n.) & presenten (v.)
maledighen	FROM: mal(e (adv.) & dighen (v.)
man-handlen	FROM: man (n.) & hóndlen (v.)
neigh-comen	FROM: neigh (adv.) & comen (v.)
primseinen	FROM: prím(e (adj.) & seinen (v.)
right-reulen	FROM: right (adv.) & reulen (v.)
sauf-vouchen	FROM : sauf (adj.) & vouchen (v.)
somer-laien	FROM: somer (n.) & leien (v.)
treu-plighen	FROM: treu(e (adv.) & plighen (v.)
treuth-plighen	FROM: treuth (n.) & plighen (v.)
wed-setten	FROM: wed (n.) & setten (v.)
wel-fáren	FROM: wel (adv.) & fáren (v.)
wel-wonen	FROM: wel (adv.) & wonen (v.)
whít-límen	FROM: whít (adj.) & límen (v.)

### **GROUP IV:**

The pseudo-compound verb is a rhyming combination.

**Type “boogie-woogie“ (rime combinations in Marchand’s approach)**

hoker-moker            FROM: hoker-moker (n.)

**Type “chit-chat“ (ablaut combinations in Marchand’s approach)**

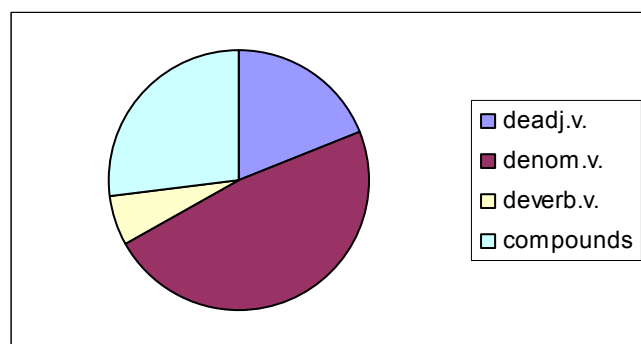
piter-pateren            FROM: piter-pater (n.)

### 3.3. Frequency according to word-formation patterns<sup>150</sup>

This chapter will be concerned with various word-formation patterns that produced pseudo-compound verbs in Middle English. The overall number of types had considerably decreased since the Old English period (from 215 to 63). This development has been caused by two reasons. First, many Old English verbs die out. Second, we have excluded prefixed and suffixed verbs from the chapter on Middle English. Even in Old English, they were a rather peripheral group of verbal pseudo-compounds. Nevertheless, we included them in our account, mainly because of prefixoids and suffixoids. But on the way to Middle English, even affixoids lost their partially independent existence and became bound.) Thus only 15 compound verbs<sup>151</sup> (c. 7% of Old English verbs) passed into Middle English, even though some of them have been obscured on the way. Borrowing from other languages constituted another source of Middle English pseudo-compound verbs. Their number equals that of verbs from Old English. Hence only 33 verbs (c. 52%) belong to native compound verbs which appeared for the first time in Middle English.

ORIGIN OF VERBS	NUMBER OF VERBS
OE	15
ME	33
loanwords	15

As in the first chapter, we have to divide pseudo-compound verbs into two groups, namely the native (Old and Middle English) and the foreign ones, and provide two parallel analyses. We will begin with the discussion of native pseudo-compound verbs. The total number of 48 verbs can be divided into 9 deadjectival, 23 denominal, 3 deverbal verbs and 13 genuine compounds.



<sup>150</sup> As in the case of Old English, we will be dealing with types in the first and the second chapter and with tokens in the third and the fourth chapter.

<sup>151</sup> It is interesting that verbs which survived from Old English represent almost all Marchandean types (except for the type “to sweetheart”). Thus 4 verbs can be regarded as belonging to the type “to spotlight”, 2 verbs to “to blacklist”, 2 verbs to “to waterproof”, 3 verbs to “to grey-blue”, 1 verb to “to stage-manage”. 3 verbs can be perceived as deverbal.



7 out of 23 denominal verbs (c. 30%) belong to the Old English word-stock. The morphological status of 3 other verbs is not entirely clear because 2 of them (c. 9%) could have been derived either from a gerund or an agent noun, while the third one (c. 4%) has been definitely formed from a gerund. Consequently, the nominal nature of their derivational bases is questionable.

DERIVATIONAL BASE	NUMBER / ORIGIN OF VERBS
noun	13 ME + 7 OE
agent noun/ gerund	2 ME
gerund	1 ME

The group of deadjectival verbs is about half the size of that of denominal verbs. But Old English verbs dominate this category with almost 56 per cent. Although this class does not seem to be very productive in Middle English, two verbs stand out because they were derived from participles. (The problem with participial bases was discussed already in connection with Old English.)

DERIVATIONAL BASE	NUMBER / ORIGIN OF VERBS
adjective	2 ME + 5 OE
present participle	1 ME
past participle	1 ME

No deverbal verbs seem to have been produced in the Middle English period. (The three verbs which are listed below occurred already in Old English.) But another word-formation process was used to create new words in Middle English, namely composition. 13 verbs (c. 27% of native verbs) can be regarded as genuine compounds<sup>152</sup>.

Foreign verbs represent 24 per cent of Middle English pseudo-compound verbs. The proportion of word-formation processes involved is quite remarkable. 11 out of 15 verbs (c. 73%) can be labelled genuine compounds<sup>153</sup>. All other verbs (c. 27%) were derived from nominal bases. Hence no deadjectival or deverbal verbs were borrowed from other languages.

WF PROCESS	NUMBER OF VERBS
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<sup>152</sup> The verb *fré-willen* is worth mentioning because a phrase (*fré wille*) was used as its word-formation base. Therefore it can be perceived as a compound (and not as a derivative).

<sup>153</sup> The verb *fê-tailen* resembles *fré-willen* in that the phrase *fê taille* served as its word-formation base. Thus it can be conceived of as a compound.

denominalization	11
composition	4

In Old English, we could encounter quite a considerable amount of pseudo-compound verbs. But they were radically reduced in number because most of them died out or were obscured on the way to Middle English. Moreover, very few new compound verbs emerged in Middle English. What is striking is the shift in word-formation processes applied. More than one-half of Old English pseudo-compound verbs were formed from simplex verbs. In Middle English, however, 24 out of 63 verbs (c. 38%) are attested as genuine compounds. As a result, deverbal verbs have been replaced by genuine compounds.

The question might be posed as to why foreign word-stock does not employ more variety in word-formation. But in fact, we cannot satisfactorily answer this question because we have to rely on the corpus evidence. It might have been the case that foreign verbs were deverbal or deadjectival derivatives in their mother languages. But the process of borrowing has left them isolated, which has led to the assumption that they belong to genuine compounds.

### 3.4. Frequency according to participation in a word-formation family

This chapter attempts to classify pseudo-compound verbs according to whether they belong to a word-formation family or not. As in the previous section, native and foreign verbs have to be treated separately. We will analyze native verbs first. The frequency of isolated verbs is four times lower than that of verbs with a word-formation family. Most isolated verbs can be labelled genuine compounds<sup>154</sup> (80%). 20 per cent of isolated verbs have nouns as their derivational bases, whereby both denominal verbs occurred already in Old English. But the loss of their nominal bases (during the transition to Middle English) has left these verbs isolated. Other Old English verbs, however, survived alongside their derivational bases or later derivatives, participating thus in word-formation families. 5 out of 9 deadjektival verbs (almost 56%) and 4 out of 21 denominal verbs (c. 19%) belong to Old English word-stock. And virtually all deverbal verbs are Old English in origin. Other pseudo-compound verbs emerged in Middle English, namely 5 deadjektival verbs (c. 44%), 17 denominal verbs (c. 81%) and 5 genuine compounds.

	<b>RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES</b>	<b>NUMBER/ ORIGIN</b>
<b>ISOLATED VERBS</b>	genuine compounds	2 OE
	denominal verbs	8 ME
<b>NON-ISOLATED VERBS<sup>155</sup></b>	genuine compounds	5 ME
	denominal verbs	4 OE + 17 ME
	deadjektival verbs	5 OE + 4 ME
	deverbal verbs	3 OE

Let us now examine foreign pseudo-compound verbs. The group of isolated verbs is two times larger than that of verbs with a word-formation family. Furthermore, this category

<sup>154</sup> One of these verbs (*fré-willen*) presents us with a classification problem because a phrase (*fré wille*) served as its word-formation base. Therefore the question can be raised as to whether a phrase can be regarded as a member of a word-formation family. We adopted the viewpoint that we are facing a case of isolation in such instances.

<sup>155</sup> Five Middle English verbs can be perceived as problematic because two of them were derived from participles, other two either from a gerund or an agent noun and one from a gerund. It is not easy to decide whether participles and gerunds can represent a word-formation family because they are actually parts of verb paradigms.

consists entirely of genuine compounds<sup>156</sup>. The class of non-isolated verbs, however, contains only one genuine compound (20%). The other verbs were derived from nominal bases.

	RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES	NUMBER
<b>ISOLATED VERBS</b>	genuine compounds	10
	denominal verbs	4
<b>NON- ISOLATED VERBS</b>	genuine compounds	1
	denominal verbs	4

The group of isolated verbs as well as that of verbs with a word-formation family were almost equally large in Old English. This proportion has changed during the course of time in favour of the latter. The former category contains mostly genuine compounds (which stayed isolated throughout the Middle English period) and a couple of (Old English) denominal verbs. Other Old English word-formation patterns<sup>157</sup> (which gave rise to many *efen-/efne-* and *ful-/full-*verbs) were abandoned altogether. Only genuine compounds arose in Middle English. Even though the category of non-isolated verbs preserved all Old English word-formation patterns, not many verbs were actually produced on the basis of these patterns. Not a single deverbal verb has been derived since the Old English period. Also most deadjectival verbs can be dated to Old English. Only denominal verbs and genuine compounds were created in a considerably higher number.

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<sup>156</sup> The verb *fē-tailen* bears resemblance to *fré-willen* in that the phrase *fē taille* was used as its word-formation base.

<sup>157</sup> These word-formation processes were peculiar in the sense that they involved absolute derivational bases.

### 3.5. Absolute frequency

This part focuses on absolute frequencies of Middle English pseudo-compound verbs in comparison with the Old English ones. As in the two previous chapters, the verbs have to be divided into two groups according to whether they contain foreign stems or not. Let us now examine native verbs first. 16 out of 48 native verbs (one-third) occur only once. Other 11 verbs (almost one-fourth) appear twice. Hence more than one-half of native pseudo-compound verbs can be found only once or twice in the corpus. Merely 6 verbs (12.5%) have more than 10 occurrences each, whereby 4 of them survived from Old English times. There are only 2 verbs whose number of tokens is higher than 25, namely *welcomen* (57) and *herberwen* (156). Both these verbs appeared already in Old English.

NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	NUMBER OF VERBS	RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES
1	16	denominal verb (gerund/agent noun), denominal verb (gerund), two genuine compounds, deadjectival verb and 11 denominal verbs
2	11	deverbal verb, two deadjectival verbs (participles), three denominal verbs, five genuine compounds
3	4	two genuine compounds and two deadjectival verbs
4	4	genuine compound, denominal verb and two deadjectival verbs
5	3	deverbal verb, denominal verb and deadjectival verb
6	2	genuine compounds
7	1	denominal verb
8	1	denominal verb
12	1	deadjectival verb
17	1	deverbal verb
24	1	genuine compound
25	1	denominal verb (gerund/agent noun)
57	1	denominal verb
156	1	denominal verb

When we analyze native pseudo-compound verbs from the point of view of word-formation processes applied, we can suggest that since the Old English period, 13 genuine pseudo-compound verbs emerged, whereby 12 of them (c. 92%) can be found less than 10 times in the corpus. Most deverbal verbs did not pass into Middle English. There are two deverbal verbs with less than 10 occurrences each and only one deverbal verb with a higher frequency. 8 deadjectival verbs (c. 89%) (two of them being derived from participle forms) appear less than 10 times. Only one deadjectival verb (c. 11%) occurs more than 10 times. 20 denominal verbs (c. 87%) (one of them being derived from a gerund or an agent noun and another one from a gerund) can be found less than 10 times in the corpus. And 3 denominal verbs (c. 13%) (one of them being derived from a gerund or an agent noun) have more than 10 occurrences each.

Although the group of foreign pseudo-compound verbs (including also hybrid verbs) is three times smaller than that of native verbs, these two categories share certain similarities. 5 out of 15 foreign verbs (one-third) can be found only once in the corpus. Other 3 verbs (one-fifth) have two occurrences each. Thus more than one-half of foreign pseudo-compound verbs appears once or twice. This proportion resembles that of native verbs. But the two main classes differ greatly in the number of occurrences of other verbs because not a single foreign verb can be found more than 20 times in the corpus. And only 3 verbs appeared more than 10 times. (It might have been the case that foreign pseudo-compound verbs were either not fully understood or still perceived as foreign and therefore restricted in use.)

<b>NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES</b>	<b>NUMBER OF VERBS</b>	<b>RESULTS OF WF PROCESSES</b>
1	5	genuine compounds
2	3	denominal verb and two genuine compounds
4	1	denominal verb
5	1	genuine compound
6	2	genuine compounds
13	1	denominal verb
14	1	genuine compound
20	1	denominal verb

Unlike native verbs, foreign compounds resulted solely from two word-formation processes. Genuine foreign compound verbs come close to the native ones in number and frequency. Although 11 genuine foreign pseudo-compound verbs entered Middle English, only one of them (c. 9%) appears more than 10 times. The one and only derivational process applied to foreign vocabulary was denominalization. But this process was still not very productive, having formed merely 4 denominal verbs. Moreover, only 2 of them have a frequency higher than 10 occurrences.

Although the overall number of pseudo-compound verbs has decreased by more than two-thirds since Old English, verbs with low frequencies prevail also in Middle English. But unlike in Old English, only a handful of Middle English verbs occur many times. Furthermore, the highest frequency achieved by a verb is much lower in Middle English (156) than it was in Old English<sup>158</sup> (285). Consequently, we can observe quite a considerable decline in the use of pseudo-compound verbs in the Middle English period.

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<sup>158</sup> But we can assume that the number of tokens of the individual Middle English verbs will be much higher, once CME contains all Middle English texts.

### **3.6. Frequency according to types of texts**

The last chapter concerning Middle English analyzes the frequency of pseudo-compound verbs in different types of texts. The division adopted in the chapter on Old English has had to be adapted to Middle English records (because “glosses” have been abandoned in Middle English altogether). Therefore we will distinguish three main categories, i.e. secular prose, religious texts and poetry. The individual “genres”<sup>159</sup> are organized according to chronology<sup>160</sup>.

	<b>“GENRES”</b>	<b>NUMBER OF TEXTS</b>	<b>NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES (+ORIGIN OF VERBS)</b>
<b>SECULAR PROSE</b>	LEGAL	5	4 OE + 1 ME + 5 F <sup>161</sup>
	PHILOSOPHICAL	2	2 OE + 1 ME
	EPISTOLARY	4	1 OE + 2 ME + 6 F
	HISTORICAL	10	14 OE + 4 ME + 5 F
	DICTIONARIES / GLOSSARIES / GR. TREATISES	5	10 OE + 15 ME + 6 F
	MISCELLANEOUS	23	33 OE + 14 ME + 8 F
<b>RELIGIOUS TEXTS</b>	BIBLE	8	16 OE + 24 ME + 17 F
	TRACTS / SERMONS / HAGIOGRAPHY / HOMILIES	32	48 OE + 8 ME + 2 F
	MISCELLANEOUS	30	43 OE + 16 ME + 1 F
<b>POETRY</b>	SECULAR	53	58 OE + 32 ME + 12 F
	RELIGIOUS	17	28 OE + 13 ME + 15 F
	PLAYS / DIALOGUES / EARLY PLAYS /	6	12 OE + 2 ME + 1 F

Most texts containing pseudo-compound verbs can be labelled as prosaic (their number is 1.5 times higher than the number of poetic texts). As a result, the frequency of verbs in prose is 1.8 times higher than that in poetry. Let us now discuss prosaic texts in Middle English. They can be divided into two groups, namely secular and religious prose. Religious prose is

<sup>159</sup> Our definition of “genres” does not match the traditional one. So although tracts, sermons, homilies or plays can be clearly regarded as genres even in the traditional approach, labels such as “legal” or “historical” prose would have to be divided further. We adopted the term “genres” in order to distinguish these heterogeneous groups of texts from the main categories of poetry, secular and religious prose.

<sup>160</sup> When one text is preserved in various manuscripts or copies, only those containing pseudo-compound verbs are listed. They are nevertheless perceived as a single text.

<sup>161</sup> F means “a word from a foreign language”.



more frequently represented 175) than the secular one (131). Moreover, it concentrates a greater number of individual texts (70) than secular prose (49). The latter, on the other hand, displays more different “genres“ (e.g. epistolary, philosophical, historical, ...). Apart from the group of miscellaneous secular prose (which comprises 55 verbs, i.e. c. 42%), Dictionaries, glossaries<sup>162</sup> and grammatical treatises have the highest frequency among them (c. 24%). They are closely followed by historical texts (c. 18%). Other genres, i.e. legal, philosophical and epistolary prose, have a rather low number of tokens.

The frequency of pseudo-compound verbs is almost equal in all religious “genres“. 57 out of 175 verbs (c. 33%) can be found in the Bible. 58 verbs (c. 33%) are contained in Tracts, sermons, hagiography and homilies. And miscellaneous religious prose comprises 60 verbs (c. 34%).

The number of pseudo-compound verbs occurring in literary and religious texts is almost identical (173 and 175 respectively). But verbs in poetry are not so equally distributed as those in religious texts. 102 out of 173 verbs (c. 59%) appear in secular poetry. 56 verbs (c. 32%) can be found in religious poetry. And 15 verbs (c. 9%) are attested in “Early plays“, dialogues and plays.

Let us now compare pseudo-compound verbs from the point of view of their presence in poetry and prose. There is only one verb which occurs only once in (secular) poetry, namely *pit-fallen* in John Page’s *The Siege of Rouen*. Apart from this verb, only three other verbs (two Middle English and one foreign) appear exclusively in poetry.

	“GENRES”	NUMBER OF VERBS OCCURRING ONCE
<b>SECULAR PROSE</b>	LEGAL	1
	EPISTOLARY	1
	HISTORICAL	2
	DICTIONARIES / GLOSSARIES / GR. TREATISES	7
	MISCELLANEOUS	3
<b>RELIGIOUS TEXTS</b>	BIBLE	1
	TRACTS / SERMONS / HAGIOGRAPHY / HOMILIES	4
	MISCELLANEOUS	1
<b>POETRY</b>	SECULAR	1

<sup>162</sup> Although Middle English glossaries resemble the Old English ones, they have been more elaborated. They could be, in fact, called the first dictionaries.

20 verbs (c. 32%) can be found only once in prosaic texts. Their number in secular prose is two times higher than that in religious prose. 7 out of 14 verbs (one-half) are contained only in Dictionaries, glossaries and grammatical treatises (in four different texts, namely *Medulla Grammaticae*, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, *Latin and English Vocabulary* and *Catholicon Anglicum*). There are 2 verbs (c. 14%) occurring merely in two historical texts (i.e. *Peterborough Chronicle* and *Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant*). 3 other verbs (c.21%) appear in miscellaneous prose texts (namely *Palladius' De Re Rustica* and *Expenses and Accounts of Sir John Howard*). Two homilies (i.e. *Homily for the Feast of the Virgin Mary* and *Northern Homily Cycle: Narrationes*) comprise almost 67 per cent of all pseudo-compound verbs occurring in religious texts. Apart from the above mentioned verbs, 17 pseudo-compound verbs (5 Old English, 8 Middle English and 4 loanwords) are restricted in their occurrence to prosaic texts only. Thus 22 out of 63 verbs (c. 35%) can be found in both main categories (i.e. poetry and prose).

<b>ONLY IN PROSE</b>	5 OE + 8 ME + 4 F
<b>ONLY IN POETRY</b>	2 ME + 1 F

The number of main categories has been reduced to “prose” and “poetry” in Middle English. Although glossaries were compiled also in Middle English, the number of tokens occurring in them has decreased slightly. (Moreover, 6 verbs<sup>163</sup> were Old English in origin.) The number of tokens in poetry, on the other hand, has increased considerably (from 28 to 158). Prose comprises most pseudo-compound verbs also in Middle English. But the dominance of religious texts is rivalled by that of secular prose which starts to blossom (because many new genres developed in Middle English, e.g. letters, wills, various kinds of documents,...). But what is most important is the fact that Middle English texts can be dated. Therefore we decided to apply the chronological principle (even if in many cases a single text is listed more times) in order to compensate for its lack in Old English.

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<sup>163</sup> i.e. types, not tokens

## 4. CONCLUSION

We attempted to analyze not only the diachronic development of pseudo-compound verbs (or rather tendencies in the historical development because we excluded the Early Modern English period from our research), but also the synchronic problems in the Old and Middle English periods. But a fully consistent and balanced analysis proved impossible due to a variety of objective reasons. First, even though a fairly large number of Old English texts (i.e. 3037) survived into Modern English, we have no evidence as to how much texts were actually compiled in that period. The number of Middle English texts in CME is extremely low (i.e. 146). (What might seem puzzling is that Old English records surpass the Middle English ones. But it is due to the fact that CME has not been finished yet.) This unbalance of available texts makes any comparison between pseudo-compound verbs in Old and Middle English highly inaccurate. Second, Old English literature is to a very large extent homogeneous, consisting almost entirely of religious texts. Middle English writers compiled also other types of texts (e.g. secular prose and secular poetry). Nevertheless, it is impossible to draw a definite conclusion about the use of pseudo-compound verbs in various kinds of literature unless all Middle English texts are incorporated into CME. Third, because of the homogeneous nature of Old English literature, we cannot determine whether pseudo-compound verbs were restricted to a higher stylistic layer or not. This is connected with the question as to which compound verbs were actually established in the Old English word-stock and which can be labelled as mere “inventions“ or “innovations“ (i.e. nonce formations) of scribes. Middle English records, on the other hand, were definitely not restricted to a single stylistic level. Concerning nonce formations, we are not able to suggest anything plausible because we do not know how many and which pseudo-compound verbs are occurring in the remaining (not-yet-incorporated) texts of CME.

Let us now briefly summarize the main facts and compare them with Marchand's statements. When classifying Old English pseudo-compound verbs, we employed two criteria. First, we distinguished between primary (with and without derivatives) and secondary verbs. Second, we divided these verbs into groups according to (immediate or absolute) derivational bases. Thus we obtained four distinct classes, namely non-derived verbs, non derived verbs (with derivatives), denominal verbs and deadjectival verbs (both with attested derivational bases). The criteria changed slightly in the case of Middle English verbs. Although the distinction between primary and secondary verbs was still valid, the other criterion was

replaced that of origin, giving rise to six categories, i.e. denominal, deadjectival verbs, verbs attested already in Old English, rhyming combinations and loanwords. As a result, we observed considerable changes not only in the classification according to Marchand, but also in the frequency analyses.

In Old English, we encountered quite a considerable amount of pseudo-compound verbs. But they were radically reduced in number because most of them died out or were obscured on the way to Middle English. Moreover, very few new compound verbs emerged in Middle English. This was reflected also in the Marchandean classification only two types, namely “to blacklist” and “to spoonfeed”, increased in productivity. Other types either disappeared, i.e. “to sweetheart”, or almost entirely lost their productivity, namely “to waterproof” and “to grey-blue”, or decreased in productivity (but still gave rise to a handful of verbs), i.e. “to spotlight”, “to stagemanage” and “to playact”. Moreover, deverbal verbs were regarded as an Old English phenomenon, while genuine compounds emerged and disappeared in Middle English. Consequently, we suggested that deverbal verbs were replaced by genuine compounds. The analysis of word-formation processes supported this statement.

When classifying verbs according to their participation in a word-formation family, we claimed that the group of isolated verbs and that of verbs with a word-formation family were almost equally large in Old English. This proportion has changed during the course of time in favour of the latter. But different word-formation processes created non-isolated verbs in the Old and Middle English periods. Even though the category of verbs with a word-formation family preserved all Old English word-formation patterns, not many verbs were actually produced on the basis of these patterns. Not a single deverbal verb has been derived since the Old English period. Also most deadjectival verbs can be dated to Old English. Only denominal verbs and genuine compounds were created in a considerably higher number.

When examining the number of tokens, we concluded that verbs with low frequencies prevailed in both periods. But unlike in Old English, only a handful of Middle English verbs occurred many times. Furthermore, the highest frequency achieved by a verb is much lower in Middle English (156) than it was in Old English (285). Consequently, we can observe quite a considerable decline in the use of pseudo-compound verbs in the Middle English period.

Finally, we counted the number of tokens occurring in the main categories. There were four main categories in Old English, namely “poetry”, “prose”, “glosses” and “glossaries”. The number of these categories was reduced to “prose” and “poetry” in Middle English. Although glossaries were compiled also in Middle English, the number of tokens appearing in them has decreased slightly. The number of tokens in poetry, on the other hand, has increased

considerably. Prose comprises most pseudo-compound verbs not only in Old, but also in Middle English.

We will now return to Marchand's statements which we introduced in the very first chapter and analyze them in the light of the results of our research. First, he claimed that with the exception of verbs with preposed particles, verbal composition did not occur in Old English. But in his opinion, derivation of verbs from compound substantives was old in the Germanic languages. (Marchand: 1969, p. 101) Our research provides support for Marchand's statement because genuine compounds emerged as late as Middle English. Other types of verbal composition, however, are attested already in Old English. But what Marchand fails to acknowledge is the fact that genuine composition did exist at all. His statement covers only the Old English period. It is questionable whether he encountered genuine compounds during his research. But even if he did, he did not pay any attention to them. At the end, he even claims that "it does not seem that the existence of the several pseudo-compound verbs will bring about a genuine compound verb type." (Marchand: 1969, p. 106) We can agree when we regard the phenomenon from the synchronic viewpoint. But the diachronic research shows that the Marchandean types of verbal pseudo-compounds are far from covering all types which emerged and were later abandoned in the history of English. Apart from genuine compounds, Marchand fails to mention verbs which were derived from adjectival bases. What is striking is that he describes all three deadjectival types, i.e. "to sweetheart", "to grey-blue" and "to blacklist", in his book but does not suggest that these types gave rise to a handful of pseudo-compound verbs in the previous periods. This is probably caused by the fact that he concentrates on the synchronic description of the language. Consequently, he deals only with those types that have survived into Modern English. Not surprisingly, also deverbal verbs are absent from his account.

The problem with our research is that it does not include the Early Modern English period. Therefore we have to rely on Marchand's statements concerning Early Modern and Modern English. He claims that "pseudo-compound verbs have been steadily increasing in Modern English, especially since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their growth, however, has been largely on the colloquial or slang level. This is one of the reasons why they are still not really established in literary usage, though even educated speakers use them in conversation. Many people are hesitant about them, consciously or unconsciously considering them to be 'not good English'." (Marchand: 1969, p. 106) Even though we have to take into account that Marchand's book was published in 1969 (i.e. 40 years earlier), we can at least compare "present-day" English with the two earliest stages of the language. As a result, we can suggest

that the modern usage of pseudo-compound verbs differs greatly from that in Old and Middle English. Whereas in Old English, verbal pseudo-compounds were reserved almost exclusively for religious language, in Middle English, they appeared not only in religious, but also in secular and poetic texts, thus spreading in all areas of literature. The question as to whether verbal pseudo-compounds are good or bad English is beyond our concern.

We will now attempt to examine which Marchandean types are attested in the four main categories in Old English. The total amount of six verbs (i.e. types, not tokens) occurring in poetry can be divided into two verbs of the “spotlight” type, one verb of the “waterproof” and one of the “grey-blue” type and two deverbal verbs. Not a single synthetic compound is attested in poetry. The situation in glossaries almost mirrors that in poetry because synthetic compounds are completely absent. The types which have adjectives as their derivational bases, i.e. “to waterproof”, “to grey-blue” and “to sweetheart”, are very rare in comparison with deverbal verbs and verbs of the “spotlight” type. It is interesting that deverbal verbs, the “spotlight”, “waterproof” and “grey-blue” verbs are present in each category. They might have been considered the most basic ones. This assumption can be underlined by the fact that these types are the most productive ones also in nearly every group in prose and glosses. Other types can be perceived as rather peripheral. Verbs of the “playact” type occur merely in glosses. Even though verbs belonging to other types can be found not only in prose but also in glosses, they are very scarce. Generally speaking, all Marchandean types can be found only in glosses. This resulted from the fact that Old English monks tried to translate Latin texts as accurately as possible. Consequently, their element-by-element glosses copied not only the exact meaning of the Latin original, but in many cases also its morphemic structure. Latin morphology and syntax influenced not only translated religious prose, but apparently also the native one. Poetry, on the other hand, was written in Old English, mirroring thus the native language which was not penetrated by foreign influences.

	POETRY	PROSE				GLOSSSES			GLOSSARIES
		NR <sup>164</sup>	NNR <sup>165</sup>	TRP <sup>166</sup>	B <sup>167</sup>	P <sup>168</sup>	G <sup>169</sup>	O <sup>170</sup>	
<b>spotlight</b>	2	10	9	9	4	12	4	11	9

<sup>164</sup> Native religious prose

<sup>165</sup> Native non-religious prose

<sup>166</sup> Translated religious and philosophical prose

<sup>167</sup> The Bible

<sup>168</sup> Psalters

<sup>169</sup> Gospels

<sup>170</sup> Other glosses

<b>blacklist</b>	-	3	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
<b>waterproof</b>	1	3	1	4	3	5	2	3	1
<b>grey-blue</b>	1	5	5	4	3	2	2	3	1
<b>sweetheart</b>	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
<b>stagemanage</b>	-	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	-
<b>playact</b>	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-
<b>deverbal verbs</b>	2	5	2	4	1	7	4	3	6

The situation has changed on the way to Middle English. The type “to spotlight” retained its productivity also in Middle English, spreading to all areas of literature. Two other groups can be found in both prose and poetry, namely deverbal verbs and genuine compounds. Although no deverbal verbs were derived during Middle English, some of them survived since Old English. Genuine compounds, on the other hand, can be conceived of as a Middle English “innovation”. Genuine composition was the most productive type in Middle English but unfortunately, it went out of use and is not attested in Modern English (for reasons see below). It seems peculiar that “to grey-blue” and “to waterproof”, which were frequently represented in Old English, are restricted almost exclusively to prose. “To spoonfeed” can be found only in prose but it might be due to the fact that it was not established in Middle English for a long time. Generally speaking, different types of pseudo-compound verbs became the domain of prose<sup>171</sup>. Poets seem to have been rather hesitant about creating new verbs on the basis of these types. But unlike in Old English, verbal pseudo-compounds were slowly spreading also to poetic texts.

	SECULAR PROSE	RELIGIOUS PROSE	POETRY		
			SP <sup>172</sup>	RP <sup>173</sup>	P <sup>174</sup>
<b>spotlight</b>	10 + 1 OE	3 + 4 OE	3 + 1 OE	4 + 2 OE	1 OE
<b>blacklist</b>	5	3 + 1 OE	1	-	1
<b>waterproof</b>	1 + 2 OE	2 OE	1	-	1 OE
<b>grey-blue</b>	-	1 + 3 OE	-	-	-
<b>stagemanage</b>	2 + 1 OE	1 + 1 OE	1 + 1 OE	1 + 1 OE	-

<sup>171</sup> We can claim that unlike in Old English, more verbs belonging to different Marchandean types are attested in secular prose.

<sup>172</sup> Secular poetry.

<sup>173</sup> Religious poetry.

<sup>174</sup> Plays.

<b>playact</b>	4	1	1	1	-
<b>spoonfeed</b>	1	1	-	-	-
<b>genuine compounds</b>	13	10	8	6	1
<b>deverbal verbs</b>	3 OE	3 OE	1 OE	2 OE	1 OE

To sum up, we can observe a continuity of word-formation patterns which produced pseudo-compound verbs. Apart from two exceptions, namely “to sweetheart” and “to spoonfeed”, all Marchandean types passed into Middle English but most of them decreased in productivity. Unfortunately, Marchand did not draw a similar conclusion. Even though he mentioned that very few Old English denominal verbs survived into the Middle English period, he did not comment on the development of synthetic compounds before 1550. Moreover, as we have already stated above, he excluded deadjectival verbs from his account. Consequently, Marchand’s results concerning Old and Middle English are incomplete.

On the whole, we can claim that the transition from Old to Middle English was a progression from synthesis to analysis<sup>175</sup> (or from inflection to isolation<sup>176</sup>). We can observe two radical changes in the development from Old to Middle English. First, the process of obscuration set in. Thus the boundaries between the individual elements of the already existing compounds became blurred and the whole compound lost its two-element structure, turning into a simplex verb (e.g. *gospellen*). This radical change in the structure of compounds has been accompanied by some minor changes, i.e. loss of ablaut and umlaut as word-formation devices. Second, we could suggest that polysynthesis (which is responsible for creating compounds) was being replaced by isolation (e.g. simplex loanwords from other languages). Popela’s statement would mistakenly support this idea, for he claims that an ideal isolating type does not favour composition because the combination of morphemes violates isolation. (Popela: 2006, p. 34) But the problem is that no language can be perceived as an ideal representation of any language type. As a result, historical development of many languages proves that isolation often co-operates with polysynthesis. Millward supports this argument as she claims that “the loss of inflections made compounding [...] easier.” In other words, inflectional endings have been lost on the way to Middle English, which is an obvious sign of the fact that Old English was gradually losing its inflectional character. This development resulted in the formation of new compounds (because words were assuming a simplex structure due to the fact that endings were worn out): “Just coming into English was

<sup>175</sup> Trnka distinguishes only between synthetical and analytical languages. (Trnka: 1928, p. 138)

<sup>176</sup> Viz. e.g. Sgall, Skalička.



a new type consisting of noun + verb.“ (Millward: 1996, p. 203) (Millward fails to mention other types of genuine compounds, consisting of adverb + verb or adjective + verb.) In order to analyze the phenomenon of genuine composition, we will “borrow” the terminology from German word-formation because it differentiates between *Zusammenbildungen* and *Zusammenrückungen*. Whereas all Marchandean types belong to *Zusammenbildungen*, genuine compounds can be labelled as *Zusammenrückungen*. Therefore we can suggest that genuine compounds are unlike any other group of compound verbs. In Marchand’s approach, they would be labelled as verbal nexus compounds. (We encountered this type of composition already in Old English, in which case it was most probably a nonce formation, viz. *sóp-secgan*). It means that the verbal compound is a reduced sentence with an empty subject position: S – V (*comen*) – Adv (*neigh*) or S – V (*plighen*) – O (*treuth*). Hence genuine compounds came to existence when the object or adverbial of the reduced sentence was transposed into the first element of the compound. (Marchand: 1969, p. 31) In Modern English, this word-formation process seems to be replaced by syntactic phrases (i.e. instead of *neigh-comen*, we would say *comen neigh* (to), which again is an isolating trait).

## 5. RESUMÉ

Tématem této diplomové práce je popsat vývoj složených sloves ve staré a střední angličtině. (Raná nová angličtina není do výzkumu zahrnuta.) Mým záměrem je dát každému, kdo je „handicapován“ neznalostí staré nebo střední angličtiny nebo obojího, možnost nahlédnout do slovotvorných procesů, které umožnili vznik současných složených sloves Marchandovského typu.

V jednotlivých kapitolách věnovaných staré a střední angličtině jsem kompozita klasifikovala podle různých kritérií, ať už slovotvorných nebo frekvenčních. Vzniklé skupiny se v obou epochách od sebe výrazně liší. Zatímco počet složených sloves je ve staré angličtině několikanásobně vyšší než v angličtině střední, pestrost středoanglických slovotvorných procesů daleko převyšuje slovotvorbu staroanglickou. Nejzajímavějším jevem středoanglické doby je vznik (a záhy také zánik) pravých kompozit. Kompozita byla dále srovnávána podle 4 frekvenčním ukazatelů. Nakonec byl celkový obraz vývoje zasazen do typologických souvislostí.

Ve své diplomové práci jsem čerpala z nejrůznějších odborných publikací, studií a článků, přičemž páteř celého výzkumu tvořili (staroanglické, středoanglické a historické) slovníky a korpusy (staroanglický a středoanglický).

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# **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX 1 : Old English word-formation patterns**

### **1. DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + -(SI)AN

ge-liþewácian

leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan

ge-wídmáeran (-ian) / wíd-máeran

ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian

wís-wyrdan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + NOUN + -(I)AN

ge-ācolmōdian

ge-collenferhtan / collen-ferhtan

ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + ADJECTIVE + -(IGI)AN

ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian

cum-líðian

eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-mód(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian

eád-méðan / eáþ-méðan / ge-eádméðan / ge-eáþméðan

ge-mannþwáerian

ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

seonuwealtian

ge-þylméðan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + PARTICIPLE – (-END) + -AN

hearm-cweðan

wearg-cweþan

yfel-cweþan

**WITH THE SUFFIX -SUM:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -SUM + -IAN

ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian

ge-móðsumian

sibsumian

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + SUFFIX -SUM + -IAN

ge·angsumian

ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** VERB + SUFFIX -SUM + -IAN

ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

**WITH THE SUFFIX -FÆST:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -FÆST + -IAN

ār-fæstian

líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festan

sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

gestaðel-fæstan / ge-staþelfæstan

staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + SUFFIX -FÆST + -IAN

sóðfæstian / ge-sóþfæstian

ge-treówfæstnian

**WITH THE SUFFIX -FEALD:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NUMERAL + SUFFIX -FEALD + -(I)AN

manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan / ge-monigfealdian

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + SUFFIX -FEALD + -AN

ge-þicfyldan / þicfildan

**WITH THE SUFFIX -LEÁS:**

**SLOVOTVORNÝ VZOREC:** NOUN + SUFFIX -LEÁS + -IAN

gýmeleásian

réceleásian

**WITH THE SUFFIXOID -BÁERE:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX(OID) -BÁERE + -(I)AN

ge-cwelmbáeran

ge-wæstmbáerian / wæstmbáerian

**WITH THE SUFFIX -OL:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + VERB + SUFFIX -OL + -IAN

hearm-cwedelian

wearg-cwedolian

yfel-cwedolian

**WITH THE SUFFIX -FULL:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -FULL + -IAN

ge-læstfullian

ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

ge-þrýþfullian

ge-wistfullian / wistfullian

ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + SUFFIX -FULL + -IAN

ge-sundfullian

**WITH THE SUFFIX -ED:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + ADJECTIVE - (-ED) + -AN

unriht-hæman

**WITH THE PREFIX WAN-:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIX WAN- + ADJECTIVE + -(I)AN

wanhálian

wanháelan



## **2. DEVERBAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + VERB

atolhíwian / ge-atolhíwian

blind-fellian / ge-blindfellian

dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan

leás-óleccan

leás-tyhtan

líc-láetan

wíd-herian / -hergan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + VERB

ellen-campian

firen-ligerian / fyren-ligerian

gagulswillan

gristbátian / gristbitian

ge-grundstapelian / grund-stapelian

hand-bæftian

morgen-wacian

níd-niman

ge-rihtreccan

ge-sceatwyrpan

sóþ-secgan

geþanc-metian

wín-reáfetian

wínreopan

ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian

yfel-wilnian

**WITH THE SUFFIX –FULLIAN (-FULL + -IAN):**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -FULL + -IAN

ge-incfullian / incfullian

**WITH THE SUFFIX –SUMIAN (-SUM + -IAN):**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -SUM + -IAN

friþsumian

ge-spédsumian / spédsumian

**WITH THE SUFFIX –FÆSTNIAN / -FÆSTAN (FÆST + -(NI)AN):**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -FÆST + -(NI)AN

borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan

ród-fæstnian

ge-staðolfæstnian

wed-fæstan

**WITH THE PREFIX SÁM-:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIX SÁM- + VERB

sám-wyrca

**NON-DERIVED VERBS WITH THE PREFIXOID EFNE- / EFEN-:**

**A) DEVERBAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID EFEN-/EFNE- + VERB

efen-āmetan

efen-etan / efn-etan

efen-gedáelan / efn-gedáelan

efen-hérian / emn-hérian

efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian

efen-metan / efen- gemetan

efen-gemetgian / emn-gemetgian

efen-rīcsian

efen-sārgian

efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian

efen-weaxan, emn-weaxan

efen-wrītan, emn-wrītan

efne-ācunnian

efne-āwendan

efne-ætwenden  
efne-beþeccan  
efne-gebrengan  
efne-gebūgan  
efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan  
efne-gecunnian  
efne-gecweccan  
efne-gefæstnian  
efne-forcuman  
efne-forniman  
efne-gefrignan  
efne-gegadrian  
efne-gehýran  
efne-gelædan  
efne-genēahwian  
efne-gerácan  
efne-scēawian  
efne-gesēcan  
efne-gesettan  
efne-sittan  
efne-gestyrian  
efne-gesweltan  
efne-getrymman  
efne-unrōtsian  
efne-geweorþan  
efne-gewyrca  
efne-geyman / efne-yrnan

## **B) DENOMINAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID EFEN-/EFNE- + NOUN + -(I)AN

efen-blissian  
efen-cuman / efne-cuman  
efen-gefeón

efen-frēfran / efne-frēfran  
efen-hléoþrian  
efen-stālian  
efne-ārīsan  
efne-gebīgan  
efne-gecyrran  
efne-geheaþorian  
efne-secgan  
efne-geþittan  
efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan  
efne-geþancian  
efne-geþeahtian  
efne-geþencan

### **C) DEADJECTIVAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID EFEN-/EFNE- + ADJECTIVE + -NIAN

efne-gefæstnian  
efen-rīcsian  
efen-sārgian  
efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian

### **NON-DERIVED VERBS WITH THE PREFIXOID FULL- / FUL-:**

#### **A) DEVERBAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID FULL- + VERB

ful-berstan / full-berstan  
ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan  
ful-breccan / full-breccan  
full-cwēman  
ful-dón / full-dón  
full-faran  
ful-fealdan  
ful-fleón / full-fleón  
ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman

full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian

ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan

full-grōwan

ful-læstan / ge-fullæstan

full-singan

full-trymman

full-weaxan

full-wunian

full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean

### **B) DENOMINAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID FULL- + NOUN + -(I)AN

full-cuman

ful-endian / full-endian

full-secgan

full-slēan

ful-trúwian

ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian

### **C) DEADJECTIVAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID FULL- + ADJECTIVE + -(N)IAN

full-cýþan

full-fæstnian

ful-fyllan / full-fyllan

full-gearwian

### **D) DEADVERBIAL**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** PREFIXOID FULL- + ADVERB + -IAN

full-forþian

## **3. DENOMINAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + NOUN+ -(NI)AN

æfen-gereordian

ærend-secgan

ærend-wreccan

āþ-swerian

dæd-bétan

eár-pláttan / ge-eárpláttan / ēar-pláttian

ellen-wórdian

ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

ge-erfewardian / ge-yrfewardian

fíren-tácnian

gold-hordian

ge-grundweallian

hæftniedan

hámsíðian

hearm-cwidian

herebeorgian

mægwlítian

mansléan

ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan

níd-náeman

níd-þeówian

ge-racent[t]eágian, -racodteágian

sealm-lofian

teón-cwidian

tintregian

þeów-[w]racian

ge-wilcumian / wilcumian

wræc-lástian

wræc-síþian

ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian

ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian

wyrtwalian

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + NOUN + -(I)AN

ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian

frum-lyhtan / frum-līhtan

godspellian

mán-swerian

torn-wyrdan

**WITH THE SUFFIX –END:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + NOUN – (-END) + -AN

dæl-niman

**WITH THE SUFFIX –SCIFE:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + SUFFIX -SCIFE + -IAN

ge-férsclipian

**WITH THE SUFFIX –UNG:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + NOUN – (-UNG) + -AN

leás-lícettan

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + NOUN– (-UNG) + -AN

hand-fæstan

## **APPENDIX 2: Old English isolated verbs / word-formation families**

## **1. Isolated verbs:**

### **DEVERBAL VERBS:**

atolhíwian / ge-atolhíwian

blind-fellian / ge-blindfellian

borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan

dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan

efen-āmetan

efen-etan / efn-etan

efen-gedáelan / efn-gedáelan

efen-metan / efen- gemetan

efen-gemetgian / emn-gemetgian

efen-weaxan, emn-weaxan

efen-wrītan, emn-wrītan

efne-ācunnian

efne-āwendan

efne-ætwendan

efne-beþeccan

efne-gebrengan

efne-gebūgan

efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan

efne-gecunnian

efne-gecweccan

efne-forcuman

efne-forniman

efne-gefrignan

efne-gegadrian

efne-gehýran

efne-gelædan

efne-genēahwian

efne-gerácan

efne-scēawian

efne-gesēcan



efne-gesettan  
efne-sittan  
efne-gestyrian  
efne-gesweltan  
efne-getrymman  
efne-geweorþan  
efne-geyrnan / efne-yrnan  
ellen-campian  
fīren-ligerian / fyren-ligerian  
ful-berstan / full-berstan  
ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan  
full-cwēman  
ful-dón / full-dón  
full-faran  
ful-fealdan  
ful-fleón / full-fleón  
full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian  
ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán  
ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan  
full-grōwan  
full-singan  
full-trymman  
full-weaxan  
full-wunian  
full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean  
hand-bæftian  
ge-incfullian / incfullian  
morgen-wacian  
ród-fæstnian  
ge-sceatwyrpan  
ge-spédsumian / spédsumian  
wed-fæstan  
wíd-herian / -hergan  
wín-reáfetian

yfel-wilnian  
gagulswillan  
líc-lætān  
wínreopan

**DENOMINAL VERBS:**

efen-blissian  
efen-cuman / efne-cuman  
efen-gefeón  
efen-frēfran  
efen-stālian  
efne-ārīsan  
efne-gebīgan  
efne-gecyrran  
efne-frēfran  
efne-geheaporian  
efne-secgan  
efne-geþpittan  
efne-geþancian  
efne-geþeahtian  
efne-geþencan  
full-cuman  
ful-endian / full-endian  
full-secgan  
full-slēan  
ful-trúwian

**DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:**

efne-gefæstnian  
ful-fyllan / full-fyllan  
full-gearwian  
full-fæstnian  
yfel-cwedolian

## DEADVERBIAL VERB:

full-forþian

## 2. Verbs with a word-formation family:

### DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:

ge-ācolmōdian

ge-angsumian

ār-fæstian

ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian

ge-collenferhtan / collen-ferhtan

cum-líðian

ge-cwelmbæran

eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-mód(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian

efen-līcian / ge-efen-līcian

efen-rīcsian

efen-sārgian

full-cýþan

gýmeleásian

hand-fæstan

ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan

hearm-cwedelian

hearm-cweðan

ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

ge-hīwcūþlician / ge-hīwcāþlician

ge-læstfullian

leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan

ge-liþewácian

líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

lóm-līcian

ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian

ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festan

manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan / ge-monigfealdian  
ge-mannþwærian  
ge-módsumian  
ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian  
réceleásian  
seonuwealtian  
sibsumian  
sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian  
singallícian  
sóðfæstian / ge-sóþfæstian  
gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan  
staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan  
ge-sundfullian  
ge-treówfæstnian  
ge-þicfyldan / þicfildan  
ge-þrýþfullian  
ge-þylmédan  
unriht-háeman  
ge-wæstmbærian / wæstmbærian  
wanháelan  
wanhálian  
wearg-cwedolian  
wearg-cweþan  
ge-wídmæran (-ian) / wíd-mæran  
ge-wídmærsian / wíd-mærsian  
ge-wistfullian / wistfullian  
wís-wyrdan  
ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian  
ge-wynsumian / wynsumian  
yfel-cweþan

**DENOMINAL VERBS:**

áfen-gereordian  
árend-secgan

ærend-wreccan  
āþ-swerian  
ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian  
dæd-bétan  
dæl-niman  
eár-plættan / ge-eárplættan / ēar-plættian  
efen-hléoþrian  
efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan  
ellen-wóðian  
ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan  
ge-erfeweardian / ge-yrfeweardian  
ge-férscipian  
firen-tácnian  
frum-lyhtan / frum-līhtan  
ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian  
godspellian  
gold-hordian  
ge-grundweallian  
hæftniedan  
hámsíðian  
hearm-cwidian  
herebeorgian  
leás-lícettan  
mægwlitian  
mansléan  
mán-swerian  
ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan  
níd-næman  
níd-þeówian  
ge-racent[t]eágian, -racodteágian  
sealm-lofian  
teón-cwidian  
tintregian  
torn-wyrdan

þeów-[w]racian  
ge-wilcumian / wilcumian  
wræc-lástian  
wræc-síþian  
ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian  
ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian  
wyrtwalian

**DEVERBAL VERBS:**

efen-hérian / emn-hérian  
efen-þrówian / emn-þrówian  
efne-unrōtsian  
efne-gewyrcean  
friþsumian  
ful-brecan / full-brecan  
ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
ful-læstan / ge-fullæstan  
gristbátian / gristbitian  
ge-grundstapelian / grund-stapelian  
leás-óleccan  
leás-tyhtan  
níd-niman  
ge-rihtreccan  
ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian  
sám-wyrcean  
sóþ-secgan  
ge-staðolfæstnian  
geþanc-metian  
ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian

**APPENDIX 3: Number of tokens of Old English verbs**

**1 occurrence:**      æfen-gereordian  
ærend-secgan  
ærend-wreccan  
ge-ācolmōdian  
ār-fæstian  
atolhíwian / ge-atolhíwian  
āþ-swerian  
blind-fellian / ge-blindfellian  
ge-collenferhtan / collen-ferhtan  
cum-líðian  
efen-etan / efn-etan  
efen-gedáelan / efn-gedáelan  
efen-frēfran  
efen-hléoþrian  
efen-gemetgian / emn-gemetgian  
efen-rīcsian  
efen-stālian  
efen-wrītan, emn-wrītan  
efne-ācunnian  
efne-āwendan  
efne-ætwendan  
efne-beþeccan  
efne-gebīgan  
efne-gebūgan  
efne-gecunnian  
efne-gefæstnian  
efne-forcuman  
efne-forniman  
efne-frēfran  
efne-gegadrian  
efne-gerácan  
efne-scēawian  
efne-secgan  
efne-sittan

efne-gesweltan  
efne-getrymman  
efne-geþeahtian  
efne-unrōtsian  
efne-geweorþan  
ellen-campian  
firen-tácnian  
friþsumian  
ful-breca / full-breca  
full-cuman  
full-cwēman  
full-cýþan  
ful-endian / full-endian  
full-fæstnian  
full-faran  
ful-fealdan  
ful-fleón / full-fleón  
full-grōwan  
full-singan  
full-slēan  
ful-trúwian  
full-trymman  
full-wunian  
frum-lyhtan / frum-līhtan  
gagulswillan  
ge-grundstapelian / grund-stapelian  
gýmeleásian  
hæftniedan  
hámsíðian  
hand-fæstan  
herebeorgian  
ge-hīwcūþlician / ge-hīwcāþlician  
ge-læstfullian  
leás-lícettan



leás-óleccan  
 leás-tyhtan  
 lóm-lícian  
 máegwlitian  
 ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festan  
 ge-mannþwárian  
 ge-módsumian  
 níd-niman  
 níd-þeówian  
 réceleásian  
 ge-rihtreccan  
 ród-fæstnian  
 sealm-lofian  
 seonuwealtian  
 ge-staðolfæstnian  
 ge-treówfæstnian  
 torn-wyrdan  
 geþanc-metian  
 ge-þicfyldan / þicfildan  
 ge-þrýpfullian  
 ge-þylmédan  
 ge-wæstmbárian / wæstmbárian  
 wanhálan  
 wanhálian  
 wed-fæstan  
 wíd-herian / -hergan  
 wín-reáfetian  
 wís-wyrdan  
**2 occurrences:** efen-āmetan  
 efen-weaxan, emn-weaxan  
 efne-gebrengan  
 efne-gecweccan  
 efne-geheþorian  
 efne-gehýran

efne-genēahwian  
 efne-gesēcan  
 efne-gespittan  
 efne-gestyrian  
 efne-geþencan  
 ellen-wóðian  
 ful-berstan / full-berstan  
 full-forþian  
 ful-fyllan / full-fyllan  
 full-secgan  
 ge-férscipian  
 hand-bæftian  
 líc-lætan  
 ge-liþewácian  
 mansléan  
 morgen-wacian  
 ge-racent[t]eágian, -racodeágian  
 singallícian  
 ge-spédsumian / spédsumian  
 þeów-[w]racian  
 wearg-cwedolian  
 wínreopan  
 wræc-lástian  
 yfel-cwedolian  
 yfel-wilnian  
**3 occurrences:** borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan  
 ge-cwelmbæran  
 eár-plættan / ge-eárplættan / ēar-plættian  
 efen-blissian  
 efen-gefeón  
 efen-hérian / emn-hérian  
 efne-gelæðan  
 efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan  
 efne-gewyrca

efne-geyrnan / efne-yrnan  
full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian  
hearm-cwidian  
ge-incfullian / incfullian  
sóþ-secgan  
teón-cwidian  
wearg-cweþan

**4 occurrences:**

efne-gefrignan  
efne-gesettan  
ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian  
full-gearwian  
ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian  
full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean  
níd-náeman  
ge-sceatwyrpan  
wræc-síþian

**5 occurrences:**

efen-cuman / efne-cuman  
efne-ārīsan  
ful-láestan / ge-fulláestan  
ge-grundweallian  
hearm-cweðan  
ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian

**6 occurrences:**

dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan  
efne-geþancian  
firen-ligerian / fyren-ligerian  
full-weaxan  
ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan  
sám-wyrcean  
ge-wídmáeran (-ian) / wíd-máeran

**7 occurrences:**

efen-sārgian  
ful-dón / full-dón  
hearm-cwedelian  
sibsumian  
wyrtwalian

<b>8 occurrences:</b>	efen-metan / efen- gemetan ge-erfeweardian / ge-yrfeweardian ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan sóðfæstian / ge-sópfæstian gestaðel-fæstan / ge-staþelfæstan ge-wilcumian / wilcumian ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian
<b>9 occurrences:</b>	efen-līcian / ge-efen-līcian efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan gold-hordian
<b>10 occurrences:</b>	staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan yfel-cweþan
<b>11 occurrences:</b>	mán-swerian
<b>12 occurrences:</b>	efne-gecyrran
<b>13 occurrences:</b>	godspellian
<b>14 occurrences:</b>	unriht-háeman
<b>15 occurrences:</b>	efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan
<b>17 occurrences:</b>	ge-sundfullian
<b>18 occurrences:</b>	dáel-niman
<b>19 occurrences:</b>	ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
<b>21 occurrences:</b>	gristbátian / gristbitian
<b>24 occurrences:</b>	leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan
<b>26 occurrences:</b>	ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
<b>27 occurrences:</b>	máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
<b>34 occurrences:</b>	tintregian
<b>35 occurrences:</b>	ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
<b>36 occurrences:</b>	ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian
<b>37 occurrences:</b>	ge-angsumian
<b>38 occurrences:</b>	dáed-bétan
<b>59 occurrences:</b>	ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

<b>64 occurrences:</b>	eáþ-mód(i)gian / (ge)-eáþmóðian / (ge)-eáðmóðian
<b>81 occurrences:</b>	ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
<b>83 occurrences:</b>	ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
<b>93 occurrences:</b>	ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
<b>141 occurrences:</b>	ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
<b>169 occurrences:</b>	ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
<b>177 occurrences:</b>	ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
<b>211 occurrences:</b>	líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
<b>283 occurrences:</b>	manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
<b>285 occurrences:</b>	eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eáðmédan / ge-eáþmédan

#### **APPENDIX 4: Number of tokens in different types of texts**

## **A. POETRY:**

### 1. Genesis:

- 1x geþanc-metian
- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan
- 1x ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan
- 1x sám-wyrca

### 2. Exodus:

- 1x efen-gedálan / efn-gedálan

### 3. Daniel:

- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

### 4. Exeter Book:

- 1x efen-etan / efn-etan
- 1x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan
- 2x ful-læstan / ge-fullæstan
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 2x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

### 5. Vercelli Book:

- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x ful-læstan / ge-fullæstan

### 6. Beowulf:

- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x ful-læstan / ge-fullæstan

### 7. Beowulf and Judith (Judith):

- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian

## 8. Paris Psalter:

- 1x hearm-cwidian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

## 9. The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems:

- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

## 10. Instructions for Christians:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 2x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian

## 11. The Metrical Preface to Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues:

- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

## **B. PROSE:**

### • **NATIVE RELIGIOUS PROSE:**

#### 1. Homilies:

##### **A. Ælfric:**

- 1x blind-fellian / ge-blindfellian
- 2x eár-plættan / ge-eárplættan / ēar-plættian
- 2x unriht-háeman
- 22x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 5x dáed-bétan
- 7x eád-méðan / eáþ-méðan / ge-eádméðan / ge-eáþméðan
- 3x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 3x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x ge-grundweallian
- 8x ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan

- 51x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian  
 1x leoþuwæcan / ge-liðewæcan / ge-leoþewæcan  
 25x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian  
 6x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian  
 13x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan  
 14x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian  
 15x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian  
 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-staþelfæstan  
 2x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan  
 8x ge-wídmársian / wíð-mársian  
 3x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian  
 1x wræc-síþian  
 5x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian  
 1x ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian  
 1x full-cýþan  
 13x ge-angsumian  
 5x tintregian  
 1x sibsumian  
 4x full-weaxan

### **B. Wulfstan:**

- 1x réceleásian  
 1x unriht-háeman  
 3x dáed-bétan  
 5x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan  
 1x ful-dón / full-dón  
 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán  
 2x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan  
 3x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian  
 2x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian  
 2x mænsumian / ge-mæn-sumian / mansumian  
 2x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan  
 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian



- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x sibsumian
- 1x full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian
- 2x tintregian

### **C. Others:**

#### 1. Old English:

- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian
- 3x ge-angsumian
- 2x tintregian
- 1x efen- hléoprian

#### 2. Early English:

- 1x eár-plættan / ge-eárplættan / ēar-plættian
- 1x hand-fæstan
- 1x ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian
- 1x dæd-bétan
- 5x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 6x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 2x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x wanháelan
- 1x full-cuman
- 1x full-forþian

### 3. Anglo-Saxon:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan
- 6x eád-méðan / eáþ-méðan / ge-eádméðan / ge-eáþméðan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian
- 1x ge-háthyrta / hát-hirta
- 7x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 2x ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian
- 1x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x wanhálian
- 2x ge-angsumian

### 4. Blickling:

- 1x frum-lyhtan / frum-līhtan
- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 2x dælniman
- 8x eád-méðan / eáþ-méðan / ge-eádméðan / ge-eáþméðan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 3x efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 3x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 2x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 3x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 2x sóþ-secgan
- 4x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x lóm-lícian
- 1x tintregian

### 5. Vercelli:

- 1x ge-hīwcūþlician / ge-hīwcāþlician
- 1x ge-liþewácian
- 2x dælniman
- 5x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian
- 4x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan
- 2x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 2x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 2x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 3x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

### 6. Five Old English Homilies for Palm Sunday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday:

- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian
- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

### 7. Eleven Old English Rogationtide:

- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

### 8. Twelfth-Century:

- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

## 2. Hagiography:

### **A. Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*:**

- 1x ge-grundstapelian / grund-stapelian
- 1x full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean
- 1x ge-liþewácian
- 1x unriht-háeman
- 12x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 3x dæl-niman
- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ful-dón / full-dón
- 3x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 3x ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan
- 12x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 2x leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 2x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 3x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 3x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-racent[t]eágian, -racodteágian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian
- 3x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian
- 2x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 2x full-secgan
- 3x efen-sārgian
- 10x ge-angsumian
- 6x tintregian

**B. The Old English Lives of St. Margaret:**

- 2x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

**C. The Life of St. Chad:**

1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

2x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

**D. Saint Andrew:**

1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

**E. Saint Guthlac:**

2x godspellian

3x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

2x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

1x tintregian

**F. The Old English Life of Saint Pantaleon:**

1x gristbátian / gristbitian

**G. Saint Michael:**

1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian

1x efen-rīcsian

**H. The Old English Life of Machutus:**

1x ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian

1x gristbátian / gristbitian

1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

**I. The Old English Vision of St. Paul:**

1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

**J. Saint Christopher:**

1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

**K. Saint Mildred:**

1x ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian

**L. Saint Giles:**

1x full-forþian

3. Benedictine Rule:

6x ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan

1x ful-fyllan / full-fyllan

12x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian

13x dæd-bétan

6x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

11x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

2x ful-dón / full-dón

5x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman

2x ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan

19x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

3x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

4x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

1x ge-wídmærsian / wíd-mærsian

2x mansléan

4. Handbook for the Use of a Confessor:

1x ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan

1x dæd-bétan

5. Poenitentiale pseudo-Egberti:

4x dæd-bétan

2x mán-swerian

1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

6. Confessionale pseudo-Egberti:

- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x mán-swerian
- 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan

7. Confessional Prayers:

- 1x dæd-bétan
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

8. Rubrics and Directions for the Use of Forms of Service:

- 1x dæd-bétan
- 1x dæl-niman
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

9. Formulas and Directions for the Use of Confessors:

- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

10. Revival of Monasticism:

- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

11. The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers:

- 1x ful-dón / full-dón
- 1x tintregian

12. The Benedictine Office:

- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

13. De sex etatibus huius seculi:

- 1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

14. De sancto Iohanne:

- 1x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian

15. Poenitentiale Theodori and Capitula d'Acheriana:

1x mán-swerian

16. Virgins (Evangelium de virginibus):

1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

17. In Sabbato sancto:

1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

18. The Portiforium of St. Wulfstan (Prayers to the Cross):

4x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

19. Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The 'Gospel of Nichodemus' and 'The Avenging of the Saviour:

14x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

20. The Soul to the Body:

1x gristbátian / gristbitian

21. History of the Holy Rood-Tree:

1x tintregian

• **NATIVE NON-RELIGIOUS PROSE:**

1. Bede's Ecclesiastical History:

1x árend-secgan

1x árend-wreccan

1x ful-endian / full-endian

1x gýmeleásian

2x efen-blissian

5x efen-cuman / efne-cuman

2x efen-gefeón

12x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian



- 2x dæl-niman
- 2x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 3x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 3x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 12x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 4x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 2x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 2x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 2x ge-wídmæran (-ian) / wíð-mæran
- 3x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian
- 1x tintregian

## 2. Ælfric's Grammar:

- 1x ful-fealdan
- 1x ful-fleón / full-fleón
- 1x ful-fyllan / full-fyllan
- 1x ful-bétan / full-bétan / full-ge-bétan
- 5x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ful-dón / full-dón
- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x leoþuwæcan / ge-liðewæcan / ge-leoþewæcan
- 4x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 4x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan

- 2x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 1x wræc-siþian
- 1x wirtwalian
- 1x ge·angsumian

### 3. Anglo-Saxon Law:

- 1x ful-breca / full-breca
- 1x níd-niman
- 1x níd-þeówian
- 1x full-wyrca / ful-wyrca
- 4x níd-náeman
- 2x dæd-bétan
- 1x mán-swerian
- 1x sám-wyrca
- 1x wirtwalian
- 1x full-faran

### 4. Chronicles:

- 1x full-wyrca / ful-wyrca
- 1x borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan
- 4x sám-wyrca
- 1x herebeorgian
- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x godspellian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x full-fæstnian
- 1x ge·angsumian

### 5. Byrhtferth's Manual:

- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 8x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 2x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

- 1x ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian
- 2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

6. Anglo-Saxon Charters, An Annotated List and Bibliography:

- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x full-trymman
- 1x full-gearwian
- 1x sibsumian

7. Alexander's Letter to Aristotle:

- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

8. Apollonius of Tyre:

- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

9. Prognostics:

- 1x friþsumian

10. Institutes of Polity:

- 2x ful-berstan / full-berstan
- 1x full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian

11. Ælfric's Letters (Old English Letters for Wulfstan):

- 1x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian
- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x full-singan
- 1x full-slēan

12. Cartularium Saxonicum (Bull of Pope Sergius):

- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

13. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England:

1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

14. Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds:

1x full-wunian

15. Adrian and Ritheus:

1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

16. Boniface to Eadburga:

1x gristbátian / gristbitian

• **TRANSLATED RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL PROSE:**

1. Gregory the Great:

**A. Pastoral Care:**

1x ge-mannþwáerian

1x ge-módsumian

1x wíd-herian / -hergan

14x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

3x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian

3x efen-þrówian / emn-þrówian

10x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman

2x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán

1x full-grōwan

2x full-gearwian

2x full-weaxan

1x godspellian

1x ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan

3x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

4x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

**B. Dialogues:**

- 1x leás-óleccan
- 1x efen-blissian
- 1x efen-gefeón
- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x dæd-bétan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eáðmóðian
- 5x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 6x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 5x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 4x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan
- 6x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 2x ge-wídmæran (-ian) / wíð-mæran
- 2x ge-wídmærsian / wíð-mærsian
- 4x ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian
- 1x hæftniedan
- 4x efen-sārgian
- 1x full-gearwian
- 2x ge-angsumian
- 2x tintregian

## 2. Translation of Boethius (The Consolation of Philosophy):

- 1x ful-trúwian
- 1x full-wyrcean / ful-wyrcean
- 6x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 10x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 2x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan
- 1x hearm-cwidian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan

- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

### 3. Orosius:

- 1x torn-wyrdan
- 2x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 3x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 2x ful-gangan / ful-gongan / full-gangan
- 4x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 3x tintregian

### 4. St. Augustine's Soliloquies:

- 1x ge-rihtreccan
- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 2x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x wyrtwalian

### 5. Martyrology:

- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 2x mán-swerian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 3x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 1x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 4x tintregian

### 6. The Old English Version, with the Latin Original, of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang:

- 1x ge-staðolfæstnian
- 2x dæd-bétan
- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

7. Ælfric's Version of *Alcuini interrogationes Sigeulfi in Genesin*:

- 2x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian

8. Theodulfi Capitula in England:

- 1x dæd-bétan
- 2x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán
- 2x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 1x mán-swerian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

9. De creatore et creatura:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan

10. Hexameron:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 3x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

11. St. Basil's Admonitio ad filium spiritualem:

- 1x unriht-háeman
- 3x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

• **BIBLE:**

## 1. Liber Psalmorum:

- 2x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan  
1x ful-gán / ful-gegán / full-gán  
2x gristbátian / gristbitian  
1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian  
2x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian  
11x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan  
2x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian  
2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

## 2. Gospels:

### **A. The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions:**

- Mark:* 2x unriht-háeman  
1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan  
1x gristbátian / gristbitian  
2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian  
1x ge-wídmærsian / wíd-mærsian
- Matthew:* 4x unriht-háeman  
10x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan  
1x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
2x gold-hordian  
2x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian  
3x ge-wídmærsian / wíd-mærsian  
1x sibsumian
- Luke:* 2x unriht-háeman  
2x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan  
1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan  
2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian  
1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian  
4x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian  
4x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian  
2x ge-wídmærsian / wíd-mærsian



	1x	tintregian
<i>John:</i>	4x	ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
	1x	eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
	2x	ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
	4x	líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

### **B. The Yale Fragments of the West-Saxon Gospels:**

<i>Mark:</i>	1x	eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
<i>Matthew:</i>	1x	eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

### 3. The Old English Version of the Heptateuch:

	1x	unriht-háeman
	7x	ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
	1x	dæd-bétan
	17x	eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
	1x	ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
	9x	ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
	1x	leoþuwæcan / ge-liðewæcan / ge-leoþewæcan
	2x	líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
	10x	manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
	3x	ge-wídmærsian / wíð-mærsian
	1x	tintregian

### 4. Leviticus:

	1x	mán-swerian
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## **C. GLOSSES / GLOSSARIES:**

### 1. Psalters:

#### **A. Eadwine's Canterbury:**

	1x	ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
	1x	ge-mæt-fæstan / ge-met-festan

- 1x efen-gemetgian / emn-gemetgian
- 2x yfel-cweþan
- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 18x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 5x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 14x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 3x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 3x wyrtwalian
- 3x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 2x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 9x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 2x efen-metan / efen- gemetan
- 1x efen-frēfran
- 1x full-fylgan / full-fyligan / full-fyligian
- 1x efen-wrītan, emn-wrītan
- 1x efen-āmetan

**B. Lambeth:**

- 1x ge-collenferhtan / collen-ferhtan
- 1x ge-læstfullian
- 1x ród-fæstnian
- 1x sealm-lofian
- 1x ge-þylmédan
- 1x wín-reáfetian
- 1x ge-cwelmbæran
- 4x ge-erfeweardian / ge-yrfeweardian
- 3x ge-sundfullian
- 2x yfel-wilnian
- 6x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 17x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

- 7x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x hearm-cwidian
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 17x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 12x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 14x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 4x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 3x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 1x dæl-niman
- 2x ge-angsumian

**C. Vespasian:**

- 3x efen-hérian / emn-hérian
- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 1x hearm-cweðan
- 2x ge-sundfullian
- 2x wearg-cwedolian
- 3x wearg-cweþan
- 5x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 18x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gold-hordian
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 14x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 25x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 2x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-staþelfæstan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 11x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

- 2x dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan
- 1x efen-metan / efen- gemetan
- 1x efen-āmetan
- 1x efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian
- 1x wīnreopan

**D. Junius:**

- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 1x hearm-cweðan
- 2x ge-sundfullian
- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 5x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 10x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x gold-hordian
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 16x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 16x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 22x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-staþelfæstan
- 2x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 11x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 2x efen-metan / efen- gemetan
- 1x dælniman
- 1x efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian
- 1x singallīcian
- 1x wīnreopan

**E. Tiberius:**

- 1x ge-erfewardian / ge-yrfewardian
- 1x ge-sundfullian
- 1x yfel-cwedolian
- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian

- 8x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 5x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x ge-grundweallian
- 3x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 9x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 15x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 4x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian

**F. Salisbury:**

- 1x ge-erfewardian / ge-yrfewardian
- 1x yfel-cweþan
- 8x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 11x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 4x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x gold-hordian
- 16x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 10x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 2x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 2x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 3x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 1x dæł-niman
- 1x ār-fæstian
- 2x ge-angsumian

**G. Regius:**

- 1x firen-tácnian
- 1x ge-þrýþfullian

- 1x firen-ligerian / fyren-ligerian
- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 1x ge-sundfullian
- 1x yfel-cwedolian
- 4x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 12x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 5x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x ge-grundweallian
- 17x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 12x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 22x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 3x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian

**H. Stowe:**

- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 1x ge-sundfullian
- 1x þeów-[w]racian
- 2x yfel-cweþan
- 5x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 13x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 7x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gold-hordian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x ge-grundweallian
- 10x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 10x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 17x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan

- 1x ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian
- 1x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan
- 4x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 5x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 3x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 1x dælniman

**I. Bosworth:**

- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 11x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 2x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 2x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x dælniman

**J. Vittelius:**

- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 1x ge-sundfullian
- 1x yfel-cweþan
- 7x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 16x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 3x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gold-hordian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x ge-grundweallian
- 13x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 11x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 14x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

- 1x ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian
- 1x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan
- 6x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 3x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 2x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 1x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 12x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 2x efen-līcian / ge-efen-līcian

**K. Arundel:**

- 1x ge-sundfullian
- 1x þeów-[w]racian
- 2x yfel-cweþan
- 5x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 12x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 20x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 12x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x ge-yfelsacian / yfel-sacian
- 16x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-wuldorfullian / wuldorfullian
- 4x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 4x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 3x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 4x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x efen-metan / efen- gemetan
- 1x dælniman
- 2x efen-līcian / ge-efen-līcian

**L. Cambridge:**

- 1x ge-sundfullian



- 3x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 7x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 13x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x ellen-wóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x godspellian
- 1x gold-hordian
- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 18x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 13x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 22x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x staþolfæstan / ge-staþolfæstan
- 5x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 4x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 9x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan
- 2x efen-metan / efen- gemetan

**M. Canterbury:**

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x wyrtwalian

**N. Anglo-Saxon:**

- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

2. The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions:

**A. Lindisfarne Gospels:**

- 1x dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan
- 1x efne-āwendan
- 1x efne-beþeccan
- 1x efne-gebīgan
- 1x efne-forniman
- 1x efne-scēawian

1x	efne-gesweltan
1x	efne-geþeahcian
1x	efne-unrōtsian
3x	efne-ārīsan
1x	efne-gebrengan
10x	efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan
1x	efne-gecweccan
7x	efne-gecyrran
2x	efne-gefrignan
1x	efne-geheaporian
1x	efne-gehýran
2x	efne-gelædan
1x	efne-genēahwian
1x	efne-gesēcan
2x	efne-gesettan
1x	efne-gespittan
2x	efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan
1x	efne-gestyrian
3x	efne-geþancian
1x	efne-geþencan
2x	efne-geyrnan / efne-yrnan
1x	líc-láetan
2x	hand-bæftian
2x	yfel-cweþan
7x	sóðfæstian / ge-sóþfæstian
1x	hearm-cweðan
1x	mægwlitian
2x	ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
4x	eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
1x	ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
1x	godspellian
1x	gristbátian / gristbitian
2x	ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
1x	líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

- 2x mǣnsumian / ge-mǣn-sumian / mansumian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mǣnigfealdian / ge-mǣnigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 1x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian
- 1x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian
- 1x ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian

**B. Rushworth Gospels:**

- 1x dyrn-licgan / dirn-licgan
- 1x efne-ætwendan
- 1x efne-gebūgan
- 1x efne-gegadrian
- 1x efne-geræcan
- 2x efne-ārīsan
- 5x efne-cīgan / efne-gecīgan
- 1x efne-gecweccan
- 4x efne-gecyrran
- 2x efne-gefrignan
- 1x efne-geheaporian
- 1x efne-gehýran
- 1x efne-genēahwian
- 1x efne-gesēcan
- 1x efne-gesettan
- 1x efne-gespittan
- 1x efne-gestyrian
- 3x efne-geþancian
- 1x efne-geyrnan / efne-yrnan
- 1x líc-lǣtan
- 2x tintregian
- 1x sóðfæstian / ge-sóðfæstian
- 1x hearm-cwedelian
- 3x ge-incfullian / incfullian
- 2x hearm-cweðan

- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 3x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eádmóðian
- 1x efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x ful-láestan / ge-fulláestan
- 1x ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 2x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 1x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 6x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian
- 1x ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian

### **C. Others:**

- 1x efne-ācunnian
- 1x efne-gecunnian
- 1x efne-frēfran
- 1x efne-secgan
- 1x efne-geweorþan
- 1x efne-geláedan
- 1x efne-gesettan
- 1x efne-geþencan
- 2x efne-gewyrčan
- 1x ge-treówfæstnian
- 1x ge-wilcumian / wilcumian
- 3x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

### 3. Hymns:

- 4x ge-sundfullian
- 5x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan

- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 6x leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan
- 2x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 6x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian
- 1x ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian

#### 4. Aldhelm:

- 1x wís-wyrdan
- 2x ge-cwelmbáeran
- 2x ge-spédsumian / spédsumian
- 3x ge-sceatwyrpan
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 4x ge-háthyrtan / hát-hirtan
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 12x leoþuwácan / ge-liðewácan / ge-leoþewácan
- 3x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 4x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 2x mán-swerian
- 4x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 12x ge-wídmársian / wíd-mársian
- 2x wræc-siþian
- 4x ge-wyrtrumian / wyrtrumian
- 1x tintregian

#### 5. Benedictine Rule:

- 1x cum-líðian
- 7x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x dælniman
- 3x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 4x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 6x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x gestaðel-fæstan / ge-stapelfæstan
- 1x stapolfæstan / ge-stapolfæstan

## 6. Liturgical texts:

### **A. Durham Ritual**

- 1x efne-sittan
- 1x efne-gewyrca
- 2x ge-erfeweardian / ge-yrfeweardian
- 2x ge-férscripan
- 2x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eáðmóðian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 9x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 8x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x teón-cwidian

### **B. Headings to Readings in Matthew**

- 1x eád-móðan / eáþ-móðian / eáþ-móð(i)gian / ge-eáþmóðian / ge-eáðmóðian
- 1x efne-gefæstnian
- 1x efne-gebrengan
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

### **C. Headings to Readings in John**

- 1x efne-getrymman
- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 2x sóþ-secgan

### **D. Headings to Readings in Luke**

- 1x efne-forcuman
- 1x efne-sprecan / efne-gesprecan

## E. Headings to Readings in Mark

1x efne-gecyrran

### 7. Liber scintillarum:

7x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian

2x ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian

1x dæd-bétan

1x dælniman

6x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan

3x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman

2x gold-hordian

5x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

4x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

7x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

3x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

12x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

7x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

2x ge-wynsumian / wynsumian

1x ge-angsumian

3x sibsumian

### 8. Prudentius:

1x ge-þicfyldan / þicfildan

1x ge-cynehelmian / cynehelmian

1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan

1x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian

### 9. The Old English Version, with the Latin Original, of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang:

1x ge-fullwihtan(-ian) / fulluhtan / fulluhtian

2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

3x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

### 10. Regularis concordia:

1x æfen-gereordian

- 1x dæd-bétan
- 1x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 2x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 2x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

#### 11. Bible:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 1x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman
- 2x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 3x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x máensumian / ge-máen-sumian / mansumian
- 1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian
- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian

#### 12. Homilies (Blickling):

- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian
- 1x ge-wuldorbeágian / wuldorbeágian

#### 13. Prayers:

- 1x ár-weorþian / ár-wurþian / ár-wyrþian
- 15x eád-médan / eáþ-médan / ge-eádmédan / ge-eáþmédan
- 1x full-cwēman
- 1x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian

#### 14. Monastic Canticles:

- 2x líf-fæstan / ge-líffæstan / ge-líffæstian / ge-líffæstnian
- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan
- 1x stapolfæstan / ge-stapolfæstan

#### 15. Isidore's Sententiae:



- 2x ful-fremman / full-fremman / ge-fullfremman  
1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

16. Early Scholastic Colloquies:

- 1x manigfildan / ge-mænigfealdian / ge-mænigfyldan / ge-menigfealdan  
1x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

17. Prognostics:

- 2x ge-nihtsumian / nyhtsumian / ge-nyhtsumian

18. Old English Glosses to an Epistle of Boniface:

- 1x ful-dón / full-dón

19. Ælfric's Colloquy:

- 1x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian

20. Lorica of Gildas:

- 2x efen-weaxan, emn-weaxan  
2x ge-mundbyrdan / mundbyrdan

21. Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*:

- 1x efen-þrōwian / emn-þrōwian

22. Translation of Sedulius (Carmen Paschale):

- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian

23. Prosper's *Epigrammata and Versus ad coniugem*:

- 1x ge-riht-wísian / riht-wísian

24. GLOSSARIES:

- 1x ge-ācolmōdian  
1x atolhíwian / ge-atolhíwian  
1x āþ-swerian  
1x efen-stālian

- 1x gagulswillan
- 1x hámsíðian
- 2x efen-līcian / ge·efen-līcian
- 1x ellen-campian
- 1x leás-lícettan
- 1x leás-tyhtan
- 1x seonuwealtian
- 1x ge-wæstmbárian / wæstmbárian
- 1x wed-fæstan
- 2x morgen-wacian
- 2x wræc-lástian
- 1x ge-sceatwyrpan
- 1x borh-fæstan / ge-borhfæstan
- 1x ellen-wórdian
- 1x ende-byrdan / ge-endebredian / ge-endebrednian / ge-endebyrdan
- 1x gristbátian / gristbitian
- 4x ge-hiérsumian / ge-hýrsumian / hýrsumian / ge-hírsumian
- 1x ge-lustfullian / lustfullian
- 1x ge-racent[t]eágian, -racodteágian
- 1x sigefæstan / ge-sigefæstan / ge-sigfæstnian
- 2x teón-cwidian
- 2x ge-wídmáeran (-ian) / wíd-máeran
- 1x ge-wistfullian / wistfullian

## **APPENDIX 5 : Middle English word-formation patterns**

### **NATIVE PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

A) **DERIVATION**

**1. DENOMINAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** **ADJECTIVE + NOUN**

saltwáteren

sóth-sauen

sour-douen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** **NOUN + NOUN**

caltrappen

cart-sadelen

dædbéten

ér-plattien

hám-burwen

herberwen

hough-sineuen

hus-bónden

kinehelmen

ilíc-hamen

oil-dreggen

pit-fallen

tintregen

warnestóren

welcomen

wóde-wósen

worthminten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** **ADVERB + GERUND- (-ING) + -EN** **OR**

**ADVERB + NOUN- (-ER(E)) + -EN**

bak-bíten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** **NOUN + GERUND- (-ING) + -EN** **OR**

**NOUN + NOUN- (-ERE) + -EN**

bat-foulen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + GERUND- (-ING) + -EN

bém-fellen

## **2. DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + ADJECTIVE + -(E)N

ár-wurðen

chek-máten

right-wísen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + -(I)EN

éd-méden / iéd-méten

éd-módien / iéd-módien

éthe-móden

selcouthen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADVERB + PARTICIPLE – (-ING) + -EN

ever-lasten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADVERB + PARTICIPLE + -(E)N

wel-setten

## **3. DEVERBAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + VERB

grisbáten

grisbiten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + VERB

blínd-fellen

**B) COMPOSITION**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + NOUN

fré-willen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + VERB

laue-bréken

man-handlen

somer-laien

treuth-plighthen

wed-setten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + VERB

blínd-whalfen

blínd-wharven

whít-límen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADVERB + VERB

neigh-comen

treu-plighthen

wel-fären

wel-wonen

## **FOREIGN PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

A) DERIVATION

### **1. DENOMINAL VERBS:**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + NOUN

morgágen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + NOUN

main-prísen

quiét-claimen

quite-claimen

**B) COMPOSITION**

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + PARTICIPLE + -(E)N

fé-tailen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** NOUN + VERB

hónd-festen

main-presenten

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADJECTIVE + VERB

half-tónen

primseinen

sauf-conduiten

sauf-vouchen

**WORD-FORMATION PATTERN:** ADVERB + VERB

il-hópen

il-tornen

maledigheten

right-reulen

**APPENDIX 6: Middle English isolated verbs / word-formation families**

**NATIVE PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

**1. ISOLATED VERB**

A) **DERIVATION**

**DENOMINAL VERBS:**

dædbéten

ér-plattien

B) **COMPOSITION**

blínd-whalfen

blínd-wharven

fré-willen

laue-bréken

man-handlen

somer-laien

treu-plighthen

wel-wonen

**2. VERB WITH A WORD-FORMATION FAMILY:**

A) **DERIVATION**

**1. DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:**

ár-wurðen

chek-máten

éd-méden / iéd-méten

éd-módien / iéd-módien

éthe-móden

ever-lasten

right-wísen

selcouthen

wel-setten

**2. DENOMINAL VERBS:**

bak-bíten

bat-foulen

bém-fellen

caltrappen

cart-sadelen  
hám-burwen  
herberwen  
hough-sineuen  
hus-bónden  
ilíc-hamen  
kinhelmen  
oil-dreggen  
pit-fallen  
saltwáteren  
sóth-sauen  
sour-douen  
tintregen  
warnestóren  
welcomen  
wóde-wósen  
worthminten

### **3. DEVERBAL VERBS:**

blínd-fellen  
grisbáten  
grisbiten

#### **B) COMPOSITION**

neigh-comen  
treuth-plighen  
wed-setten  
wel-fären  
whít-límen

### **FOREIGN PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

#### **1. ISOLATED VERB**

#### **COMPOSITION**



fé-tailen  
half-tónen  
hónd-festen  
il-hópen  
il-tornen  
main-presenten  
maledighten  
primseinen  
sauf-conduiten  
sauf-vouchen

## **2. VERB WITH A WORD-FORMATION FAMILY:**

### **A) DERIVATION**

#### **DENOMINAL VERBS:**

main-prisen  
morgágen  
quiét-claimen  
quíte-claimen

### **B) COMPOSITION**

right-reulen

## **APPENDIX 7: Number of tokens of Middle English verbs**

### **NATIVE PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

**1 occurrence:**      bat-foulen  
                            bém-fellen  
                            blínd-whalfen  
                            caltrappen

	ér-plattien
	éthe-móden
	hám-burwen
	hough-sineuen
	ilíc-hamen
	kinehelmen
	oil-dreggen
	pit-fallen
	saltwáteren
	treu-plighen
	wóde-wósen
	worthminten
<b>2 occurrences:</b>	blínd-wharven
	cart-sadelen
	dádbéten
	ever-lasten
	fré-willen
	grisbiten
	hus-bónden
	laue-bréken
	man-handlen
	wel-setten
	wel-wonen
<b>3 occurrences:</b>	ár-wurðen
	éd-méden / iéd-méten
	neigh-comen
	somer-laien
<b>4 occurrences:</b>	chek-máten
	éd-módien / iéd-módien
	sóth-sauen
	whít-límen
<b>5 occurrences:</b>	grisbáten
	selcouthen
	tintregen

<b>6 occurrences:</b>	wed-setten wel-fären
<b>7 occurrences:</b>	sour-douen
<b>8 occurrences:</b>	warnestóren
<b>12 occurrences:</b>	right-wisen
<b>17 occurrences:</b>	blínd-fellen
<b>24 occurrences:</b>	treuth-plighen
<b>25 occurrences:</b>	bak-bíten
<b>57 occurrences:</b>	welcomen
<b>156 occurrences:</b>	herberwen

### **FOREIGN PSEUDO-COMPOUND VERBS:**

<b>1 occurrence:</b>	fé-tailen	
	half-tónen	<b>HYBRID</b>
	il-hópen	<b>HYBRID</b>
	main-presenten	
	sauf-conduiten	
<b>2 occurrences:</b>	il-tornen	<b>HYBRID</b>
	morgágen	
	sauf-vouchen	
<b>4 occurrences:</b>	quiét-claimen	
<b>5 occurrences:</b>	maledighen	
<b>6 occurrences:</b>	hónd-festen	
	primseinen	
<b>13 occurrences:</b>	main-prisen	
<b>14 occurrences:</b>	right-reulen	<b>HYBRID</b>
<b>20 occurrences:</b>	quíte-claimen	

## **APPENDIX 8: Number of tokens in different types of texts**

### **A) SECULAR PROSE:**

#### **1. Legal texts:**

*The Usages of Winchester a1400*

1x herberwen

***Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the London Guildhall (calendar and extracts) (1427)***

1x quíte-claimen

***Ipswich Domesday (2) c1436***

1x quíte-claimen

3x herberwen

***Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the London Guildhall (calendar and extracts) (1437)***

1x quíte-claimen

***Wills Registered at York (2) (1455)***

1x quíte-claimen

***Rolls of Parliament (1472-3)***

1x hough-sineuen

1x quíte-claimen

**2. Philosophical texts:**

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Boece ?a1425(c1380)***

1x warnestóren

1x herberwen

***Stephen Scrope, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers a1475(1450)***

1x herberwen

**3. Epistolary Prose:**

***Paston Letters (1467)***

1x somer-laien

***Paston Letters (?1467)***

1x morgágen

***Paston Letters (1470)***

3x quiét-claimen

***Paston Letters (?a1473)***

1x somer-laien

***English Letters, part 3 (c1418)***

1x fé-tailen

***The Shillingford Letters and Papers (1448)***

1x welcomen

***Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou a1500(a1470)***

1x main-prisen

**4. Historical prose:**

***Peterborough Chronicle a1121:***

1x ár-wurðen

1x worthminten

***Robert of Gloucester, Chronicle, Version A c1325(c1300)***

1x welcomen

***John Trevisa, Higden's Polychronicon (ME translation) (a1387)***

1x grisbiten

2x herberwen

***Robert Mannyng of Brunne, The Chronicle of England, Part 2 ?a1400(a1338)***

1x blínd-fellen

1x main-prisen

1x wel-fären

2x herberwen

***Nicholas Bishop, Historical Notes and Memoir c1432***

1x treuth-plighen

***London Chronicle in BL Cotton Julius B.2 (ending 1432) ?1435***

2x main-prisen

***Robert Mannyng of Brunne, The Chronicle of England, Part 1 a1450(a1338)***

1x wed-setten

1x herberwen

1x welcomen

***Prose Brut (ME version concluding in 1430) c1450(c1430)***

1x herberwen

***Prose Brut (ME version concluding in 1447) ?c1450***

1x welcomen

***A Short English Chronicle a1500(c1465)***

1x welcomen

***English Conquest of Ireland a1500***

1x primseinen

1x herberwen

***Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant a1600(1472)***

1x sauf-conduiten

**5. “Dictionaries” / Glossaries / “Grammatical treatises”:**

***Medulla Grammatice a1425***

1x bak-bíten

1x blínd-whalfen

1x wel-wonen

2x herberwen

***Promptorium Parvulorum (1440)***

1x bat-foulen

2x blínd-fellen  
1x caltrappen  
1x hus-bónden  
3x main-prísen  
2x sour-douen  
1x treuth-plighen  
1x wed-setten  
1x whít-límen  
1x herberwen

***Latin and English Vocabulary in Cambridge, Trinity College O.5.4 c1450***

1x hám-burwen  
1x wel-wonen

***Terms of Association (1) a1475***

2x herberwen

***Promptorium Parvulorum ?a1475***

1x wed-setten  
1x main-presenten  
1x treu-plighen

***Catholicon Anglicum ?c1475***

1x hónd-festen  
1x herberwen

***Catholicon Anglicum 1483***

1x half-tónen

***Terms of Association (3) a1500***

2x herberwen

**6. Miscellaneous secular prose:**

***John Trevisa, Bartholomaeus's De Proprietatibus Rerum (ME translation) (a1398)***

- 1x ever-lasten
- 1x grisbáten
- 1x whít-límen
- 1x herberwen

***Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, Master of Game (c1410)***

- 4x herberwen

***Mandeville's Travels (1) ?a1425(c1400)***

- 1x herberwen

***Mandeville's Travels (2) ?a1425***

- 1x herberwen

***Constitutions of Masonry (1) ?a1425***

- 1x herberwen

***Palladius, De Re Rustica (ME version) (?1440)***

- 1x oil-dreggen
- 1x saltwáteren

***The Prose Alexander c1440***

- 1x herberwen

***Henry Lovelich, The History of the Holy Grail a1450(c1410)***

- 2x herberwen
- 1x welcomen

***Benedict Burgh, Continuation of Lydgate's Secreta Secretorum c1450***

- 1x main-prísen

***Proclamation to be Made Each Year ?a1450***

- 1x herberwen

***Boccaccio's De Claris Mulieribus (ME version) c1450***



1x bak-bíten

***Manuscript extracts cited from unpublished transcriptions a1450***

1x herberwen

***The English Register of Oseney Abbey c1460***

1x quíte-claimen

***Documents in Madden's 'Collectanea Topographica,' part 3 (1464)***

1x quíte-claimen

***Expenses and Accounts of Sir John Howard, part 1 (1467)***

1x bém-fellen

***Thomas Malory, Works (a1470)***

1x blínd-fellen

1x man-handlen

1x treuth-plighen

2x welcomen

5x herberwen

***Northern documents in Raine's 'English Miscellanies' (1472)***

2x herberwen

***English Register of Godstow Nunnery, Oxfordshire a1475***

1x quiét-claimen

2x quíte-claimen

1x treuth-plighen

***Book of Courtesy a1475***

2x herberwen

***Chess Problems (2) c1475***

2x chek-máten

***Secreta Secretorum (anonymous ME version in Lambeth MS 501) a1500(?a1425)***

- 1x ever-lasten
- 1x warnestóren
- 1x herberwen

***The Prose Merlin* a1500(?c1450)**

- 2x quíte-claimen
- 4x herberwen

***Walter of Henley's Husbandry (ME version)* a1500**

- 1x somer-laien

***Thomas Usk, The Testament of Love* 1532 rev.(c1385)**

- 1x right-wísen

## **B) RELIGIOUS TEXTS:**

### **1. Bible (OT, NT, psalters, gospels):**

***Midland Prose Psalter* c1350**

- 1x bak-bíten

***Wycliffite Bible (early version)* (a1382)**

- 2x bak-bíten
- 2x laue-bréken
- 13x right-reulen
- 1x herberwen

***Wycliffite Bible (early version)* (a1384)**

- 2x bak-bíten
- 5x sour-douen
- 2x herberwen

***Northern Verse Psalter (Surtees Psalter)* a1400**

- 2x bak-bíten

1x il-hópen  
2x il-tornen  
1x right-wísen  
3x selcouthen  
2x wel-setten

***Prose Life of Christ (Gospel Harmony) a1400***

1x treuth-plighthen  
1x herberwen

***Wycliffite Bible (early version) a1425(a1382)***

1x bak-bíten

***Wycliffite Bible (later version) a1425(c1395)***

1x bak-bíten  
1x blínd-fellen  
1x herberwen

***Bible: prose version of portions of the New Testament (1) c1425***

1x herberwen

***Metrical Version of the Old Testament c1450(a1425)***

2x herberwen  
2x welcomen

***John Trevisa, The Gospel of Nicodemus (ME translation) ?c1475***

1x grisbiten

***Richard Rolle, English Psalter and Commentary a1500(c1340)***

1x right-reulen  
3x right-wísen  
2x selcouthen

**2. Tracts / sermons / hagiography / homilies:**

***Homily for the Feast of the Virgin Mary in Cotton Vespasian D.14 a1150(c1125)***

- 1x ér-plattien
- 1x hónd-festen
- 1x ilíc-hamen
- 1x kinehelmen
- 1x herberwen

***OE Homilies (ME versions in Cotton Vespasian D.14) a1150(OE)***

- 1x tintregen
- 1x welcomen

***Homily for Dominica in Quadragesima in MS Bodley 343 c1175(OE)***

- 1x éd-méden / iéd-méten
- 1x right-wísen

***Homilies in MS Bodley 343 (other than those analyzed separately) c1175(?OE):***

- 1x ár-wurðen
- 1x dádbéten
- 2x éd-méden / iéd-méten
- 1x éd-módien / iéd-módien
- 2x right-wísen
- 1x tintregen

***Homilies in Lambeth MS 487 (excluding homilies treated individually) a1225(?OE)***

- 1x éd-módien / iéd-módien
- 1x tintregen
- 1x herberwen

***Homilies in Cotton Vespasian A.22 a1225(?OE)***

- 1x éd-módien / iéd-módien

***Homilies in Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.52 a1225(?a1200)***

- 3x herberwen

***St. Juliana of Cumae c1225(?c1200)***

2x grisbáten

***Homily on the Pater Noster in Lambeth MS 487 a1225***

1x herberwen

***Legend of Pope Gregory c1330***

3x herberwen

***South English Legendary: Temporale (Ministry and Passion of Christ) c1300***

1x whít-límen

***South English Legendary: Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury c1300***

2x welcomen

***South English Legendary: St. Brendan c1300***

2x welcomen

***South English Legendary: St. Patrick's Purgatory c1300***

1x welcomen

***South English Legendary: St. John the Evangelist c1300***

1x welcomen

***South English Legendary: unanalyzed portions c1300***

1x welcomen

1x herberwen

***Thomas Wimbleton, Redde rationem villicationis tue (sermon) (?1387)***

1x wel-fáren

***Northern Homily Cycle: Narrationes c1390***

1x wóde-wósen

***Northern Homily Cycle: Sermons on the Gospels a1400(c1300)***

1x welcomen

***Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars (Wycliffite tract) c1400(?c1384)***

1x herberwen

***A Comment on the Seven Deadly Sins (Wycliffite tract) c1400***

1x herberwen

***John Trevisa, Defensio Curatorum (ME translation) (a1402)***

2x herberwen

***The Lantern of Light (Wycliffite tract) ?a1425(a1415)***

1x blínd-fellen

1x hónd-festen

1x treuth-plighen

***Of the Leaven of Pharisees (Wycliffite tract) ?c1430(c1383)***

1x herberwen

***Of Clerks Possessioners (Wycliffite tract) ?c1430(c1400)***

1x herberwen

***The Three Kings of Cologne (1) c1450(?c1400)***

1x herberwen

***St. Patrick's Purgatory (Vision of William Staunton) a1450(?1409)***

1x wel-fären

***Life of Saint Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne ?c1450***

1x herberwen

***John Capgrave, Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria c1450***

1x sóth-sauen

***John Capgrave, Life of Saint Augustine (c1450)***

1x herberwen

***An Apology for Lollard Doctrines (Wycliffite tract) c1475(?c1400)***

1x bak-bíten

***De Papa (Wycliffite tract) a1500(c1380)***

1x herberwen

**3. Miscellaneous religious prose:**

***Winteneý version of the Benedictine Rule a1225***

1x dædbéten

***Ancrene Riwe c1230(?a1200)***

2x blínd-fellen

1x éd-módien / iéd-módien

1x treuth-plighen

2x herberwen

***Ancrene Riwe a1250***

1x grisbáten

***Genesis and Exodus a1325(c1250)***

1x éthe-móden

2x herberwen

1x welcomen

***Ayenbite of Inwyt (1340)***

1x primseinen

3x herberwen

***John Gaytryge, The Lay Folk's Catechism (1357)***

1x bak-bíten

1x wel-fáren

1x herberwen

***Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost c1390***

1x welcomen

***Ancrene Riwe* a1400**

1x herberwen

***Material from Owst's 'Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England'* a1400**

1x blínd-fellen

***?Richard Maidstone, Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms* a1425(?a1396)**

1x bak-bíten

***?John Lacy, Treatise on the Ten Commandments* c1425**

1x bak-bíten

***Milicia Christi* a1425**

1x treuth-plighthen

***Benedictine Rule (1)* a1425**

2x herberwen

***The Holy Book Gratia Dei* a1425**

1x herberwen

***John Mirk, Instructions for Parish Priests* (a1425)**

1x herberwen

***John Drury, Works* (c1434)**

1x herberwen

***Richard Misyn, The Fire of Love* (1435)**

1x bak-bíten

***Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe, Book 1* (a1438)**

1x herberwen

1x welcomen

***Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe, Book 2* (c1438)**

1x warnestóren



***The Mirror of St. Edmund (4) c1440(?c1350)***

1x herberwen

***The Holy Book Gratia Dei c1440***

1x bak-bíten

***The Privy of the Passion (ME version of chapters 74-92 of Meditationes Vitae Christi) c1440***

1x herberwen

***Reginald Pecock, The Rule of Christian Religion (c1443)***

1x fré-willen

***Seven Points of Everlasting Wisdom, from Henry Suso's Orologium Sapientie c1450(a1400)***

1x herberwen

***The Book of Vices and Virtues c1450(c1400)***

1x herberwen

***Benedictine Rule (2) a1450***

1x welcomen

***Alphabet of Tales c1450***

1x bak-bíten

1x herberwen

1x welcomen

***William Wey, The Way to Jerusalem c1470(?1458)***

1x blínd-fellen

***Reginald Pecock, The Donet c1475(c1445)***

1x fré-willen

***Dives and Pauper a1500(c1410)***

2x sóth-sauen

1x welcomen

***John Mirk, Festial* a1500(a1415)**

1x blind-wharven

2x herberwen

1x welcomen

***Mirk's Festial (anonymous revision)* a1500**

2x welcomen

***Speculum Sacerdotale* a1500(?c1425)**

1x treuth-plighen

1x herberwen

***The Mirror of Man's Salvation* a1500**

1x herberwen

**C) POETRY:**

**1. SECULAR:**

***Layamon, The Brut* c1275(?a1200)**

1x h nd-festen

3x neigh-comen

1x wel-f ren

1x herberwen

4x welcomen

***The Owl and the Nightingale* c1275(?a1216)**

1x welcomen

***Havelok the Dane* (c1300)**

2x herberwen

***"Of Rybaud3..." (incipit)* c1325**

1x herberwen

***"Ne mai no lewed..." (incipit) c1325***

1x bak-bíten

***Floris and Blauncheflur c1330(c1250)***

1x treuth-plighen

***Bevis of Hampton c1330(?c1300)***

1x welcomen

***Guy of Warwick (1) c1330(?c1300)***

1x quíte-claimen

1x treuth-plighen

2x herberwen

***Arthur and Merlin c1330(?a1300)***

4x welcomen

***Otuel c1330***

1x treuth-plighen

***Horn Child c1330***

1x treuth-plighen

***William of Palarne a1375***

1x warnestóren

1x herberwen

2x welcomen

***Sir Firumbras (1) c1380***

1x blínd-fellen

1x herberwen

***"Lorde I 3elde..." (incipit) c1390***

1x herberwen

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales: Thopas-Melibee Link and Tale of Melibee (c1390)***

3x warnestóren

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales: Parson's Prologue and Tale (exclusive of the Retraction) (c1390)***

1x bak-bíten

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales: Man of Law's Head-Link, Prologue, Tale, and End-Link (c1390)***

1x welcomen

***John Gower, Confessio Amantis (a1393)***

1x bak-bíten

1x welcomen

***The Siege of Troy (I) a1400(?a1350)***

1x welcomen

***Sir Gawain and the Green Knight c1400(?c1390)***

1x quíte-claimen

2x herberwen

***The Conflict of Wit and Will c1400***

1x wel-fären

***Middle English verse previously unrecorded a1400***

1x welcomen

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales: Man of Law's Head-Link, Prologue, Tale, and End-Link c1410***

1x herberwen

***Ywain and Gawain a1425(?c1350)***

1x herberwen

1x welcomen

***The Seven Sages (2) a1425(?a1350)***

1x welcomen

***Geoffrey Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde a1425 (c1385)***

1x welcomen

***Romance of the Rose a1425(?a1400)***

4x herberwen

***Laud Troy Book c1425(c1400)***

1x herberwen

***John Lydgate, Troy Book c1425(a1420)***

2x bak-bíten

1x welcomen

***Sir Isumbras c1440(a1350)***

1x herberwen

***Morte Arthure c1440(?a1400)***

2x herberwen

***John Metham, Amoryus and Cleopes (1449)***

1x sóth-sauen

***The Parliament of the Three Ages c1450(?a1400)***

1x warnestóren

***Duke Roland and Sir Otuel of Spain c1450(?a1400)***

1x herberwen

***Wars of Alexander c1450(?a1400)***

2x sauf-vouchen

***The Siege of Jerusalem (1) ?a1450(a1400)***

2x quíte-claimen

***The Seven Sages (3) a1450***

1x herberwen

***King Ponthus c1450***

1x hónd-festen

1x treuth-plighen

***Generides (1) a1450***

1x herberwen

***Mum and the Sothsegger (1) c1475(c1399)***

1x herberwen

***Sir Amadace c1475(a1400)***

1x wed-setten

***John Page, The Siege of Rouen c1475(c1420)***

1x pit-fallen

***Tournament of Tottenham a1475(a1450)***

1x treuth-plighen

***Octavian (2) a1500(a1375)***

1x chek-máten

***Sir Torrent of Portyngale a1500(?a1400)***

2x herberwen

***Le Bone Florence of Rome a1500(?c1400)***

2x herberwen

***Emaré a1500(c1400)***

1x welcomen

***Sir Firumbras (2) a1500(?a1400)***

1x treuth-plighen

***Ipomedon (2) a1500(?a1425)***

1x herberwen

***Le Bone Florence of Rome a1500(?c1450)***

1x quíte-claimen

1x welcomen

***"Off alle Werkys..." (incipit) ?a1500(?1458)***

1x man-handlen

***Guy of Warwick (4) a1500(?a1475)***

2x treuth-plighen

1x herberwen

***The Romance of Partenay (Lusignan) a1500***

1x treuth-plighen

***Sir Degrevant a1500***

1x treuth-plighen

***A Pennyworth of Wit (2) a1500***

1x herberwen

***"Sum be mery..." (incipit) a1500***

1x chek-máten

***Destruction of Troy c1540(?a1400)***

2x quíte-claimen

2x welcomen

***Piers the Plowman's Creed c1600(?c1395)***

1x herberwen

**2. RELIGIOUS:**

***Holy Rood* c1175(?OE)**

2x tintregen

***Orm, Ormulum* ?c1200**

1x h nd-festen

3x primseinen

***Body and Soul (2)* c1225**

2x herberwen

***"I-hereþ ny one..." (incipit)* a1300**

1x bl nd-fellen

***William Shoreham, Poems of William of Shoreham* c1350(a1333)**

1x bak-b ten

1x primseinen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, A Version (I)* (a1376)**

1x herberwen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, A Version (I)* c1390**

1x cart-sadelen

***"As I wandrede..." (incipit)* c1390**

1x bak-b ten

***Castle of Love (I)* c1390**

1x bl nd-wharven

***Robert Mannyng of Brunne, Handling Sin* a1400(c1303)**

1x qu te-claimen

1x treuth-plighthen

1x herberwen

***Cursor Mundi* a1400(a1325)**

1x bl nd-fellen



4x maledighten  
2x welcomen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, A Version (I) c1400 (a1376)***

1x main-prísen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, B Version c1400(c1378)***

1x bak-bíten  
1x main-prísen  
1x whít-límen  
3x herberwen  
3x welcomen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, C Version c1400 (?a1387)***

1x main-prísen  
1x herberwen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, C Version c1400***

1x cart-sadelen  
1x treuth-plighthen

***Cursor Mundi a1400***

1x grisbáten  
1x treuth-plighthen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, A Version (I) c1425***

1x main-prísen

***John Audelay, Poems (c1426)***

1x bak-bíten  
1x blínd-fellen

***Thomas Hoccleve, Balade to the Virgin and Christ (?a1430)***

1x hus-bónden

***Thomas Hoccleve, Invocatio ad Spiritum Sanctum (?a1430)***

1x herberwen

***Robert Mannyng of Brunne, Handling Sin c1450***

1x treuth-plighthen

***The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man c1450***

1x blínd-fellen

2x herberwen

***"As I went þrow..." (incipit) c1450***

1x herberwen

***Cursor Mundi c1460***

1x maledighthen

***John Lydgate, Pilgrimage of the Life of Man a1475(?a1430)***

3x herberwen

***The Stations of Rome (I) a1500***

1x herberwen

***William Langland, Piers Plowman, A Version (I) c1500***

1x main-prísen

**3. Plays / Dialogues / "Early plays":**

***Dialogue on Vices and Virtues a1225(c1200)***

1x blínd-fellen

4x right-wísen

2x herberwen

***Interlude of the Clerk and the Girl a1325(?a1300)***

1x herberwen

***The Shrewsbury Fragments a1425***

1x herberwen

***York Plays a1450***

2x wed-setten

2x herberwen

***Alain Chartier's Le Quadrilogue Invectif (ME translation) (1) c1475***

1x morgágen

***Towneley Plays a1500(a1460)***

1x blínd-fellen