

## Old English Project, with Particular Reference to the hapax legomena in the Old English Translation of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*

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Like all responsible Anglo-Saxonists, I use Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) materials heavily. Indeed, as long ago as 1989 Ashley Amos and Toni Healey sent me a CD-ROM version of their files, some years ahead of the first public release of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* database, which we now take so much for granted; thus, I have benefited from access to their electronic files for a long time now. The arrival of the CD led to a decision that delayed publication of the *Thesaurus of Old English*, a pilot-study for the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*.<sup>1</sup> With the possibility of running checks on the words and meanings taken from standard dictionaries of Old English, it also became possible to supply the thesaurus entries with a minimal flagging system: superscript **o** for hapax legomena, **p** for words found only in poetry, **g** for glosses, and **q** for dubious words. Checking for even these four flags was a time-consuming and problematic process, as we indicated in the Introduction to the *TOE*.<sup>2</sup> We toyed with adding various indications to this small group of flags to mark, for example, single forms found in multiple manuscripts, relative trustworthiness among types of glosses, or everyday elements within poetic compounds. Most compelling of all arguments against a more elaborated system of flagging was the state of the available dictionary resources. Except for the letters of the alphabet already edited by the *DOE* team, **D** (1986) and **C** (1988), the

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1 Roberts and Kay, *A Thesaurus of Old English* (1995). Kay et al., *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2009).

2 Roberts and Kay, Introduction, *TOE*, 1:xviii.

dictionaries were insufficient even for this level of detail, but with the help of the editorial materials of The Dictionary of Old English Project it was feasible to test for and apply the minimal flagging I proposed. Before the arrival of the CD-ROM files, use of the two sets of *DOE* microfiches (1980, 1985) was a cumbersome process suited only to the investigation of small amounts of data.

The checking had to be undertaken at King's College, where the contents of the CD-ROM were installed on my desk computer. It rapidly became a hot desk, used not only by Lynne Grundy and myself but also by graduate students who queued up to consult the CD in odd moments when the room just happened to be empty.<sup>3</sup> (That wasn't often, given that the desk could not be used by others whenever I happened to have tutorials or be seeing students.) It was essential to have at hand, alongside the electronic files, the 1973 collection *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, now unfortunately out of print, in order to identify the texts more rapidly than by trawling through the list of texts and editions supplied with the 1980 *Microfiche Concordance* — on the CD, texts were identified by their Cameron numbers unaccompanied by short titles.<sup>4</sup> The database first released publicly in 2000 was a more sophisticated piece of software by far. Also invaluable was the *Old English Word Studies* volume,<sup>5</sup> which so often yields useful bibliography for particularly intractable words. This panoply of tools was pressed into constant use alongside the older lexicographical resources that I had used in assembling the archive of Old English slips

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3 Among the numerous King's College London graduate students for whom the CD-ROM was an essential research tool over the next few years were Julie Coleman, Taro Ishiguro, Stuart Lee, Hiizu Moriyama, Edward Pettit, and Louise Sylvester. The *DOE* preface to F (2004) reports that Moriyama, now at Waseda University, did preliminary work on the *feorm* word-family, and Ishiguro, now at Meiji University, wrote a preliminary draft of *forsacan*. Some of their dissertations and other publications resulting from their work on this project are listed in the bibliography below.

Lynne Grundy held research appointments in the Department of English at King's (1989-1993), working with Christian Kay and me on the *TOE* alongside teaching Old English in Queen Mary College and Royal Holloway College. From 1993 to her early death in 1997, she worked in the Centre for Computing in the Humanities at King's.

My thanks go to Janet Bately, then as now, for years of collaboration and illuminating discussion.

4 Frank and Cameron, eds., *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (1973). Venezky and Healey, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (1980). The machine-friendly Cameron numbers follow the short titles in the *DOE Corpus* but are omitted in the edited materials in *DOE: A to G online*. On the development of the Cameron numbers and short titles, see Mitchell, Ball, and Cameron, "Short Titles of Old English Texts" and "Short Titles of Old English Texts: Addenda and Corrigenda."

5 Cameron, Kingsmill, and Amos, *Old English Word Studies* (1983).

for the Historical Thesaurus project.<sup>6</sup> There was a special field in the *TOE* database, in which we made notes on difficulties encountered and oddities spotted. Much of this material is available in the comments field of *TOE Online* (2005), which records information about sources and other discussion points. Its sporadic contents show that, of the four flags, **o** to identify nonce words was by far the most problematic to apply. For **p** we more or less followed the Toronto A category (poetry), and for **g** the C and D categories (glosses), i.e., the letters at the beginning of each Cameron number. We resorted to **q** to mark a dubious form only when unconvinced of its actual existence. With **o**, it was not just a matter of thinking up and checking for every possible spelling but of making quick decisions. If, for example, a putative nonce word looked suspiciously like the metaphoric extension of a form separately categorized in the dictionaries, we chose, for the most part, to follow authority. For example, since the older dictionaries gave us *sceacga* in the sense 'hair' as a separate word, we flagged **og**, although it may be no more than a figurative extension of *sceacga* 'copse'.<sup>7</sup> As we wrestled with the many instances where the need to decide on a flag or combination of flags made a decision necessary, we often wished for the chance to slow down, but all the time speculations popped up without time to pursue them. Was the first element of *granwisc* 'chaff' to be compared with *granu* 'beard/whisker'? Were there really two separate roots for a STORM lexical group (*hrypig*<sup>og</sup>, *hweolripig*, *riscipig*, *(ge)rip(e)*, *ripig*) and for a FEVER lexical group (*hrip*, *hripadl*, *hripian*, *hriping*)? Or indeed why is the STORM group assigned long vowels? And how satisfying that sharp points should be the focus of some of the words for pain (for example, two words more usually found with the meaning 'spear,' *gar* and *sper*e, and the nonce word *hildescur* 'shafts of pain') as well perhaps of *flah* 'treacherous, deceitful,' or that smoothness then as now should be a questionable quality, accounting for *glid(d)er* in the sense "lascivious."<sup>8</sup>

Most often, we longed to track words back to where they belong, in texts — which is why I have chosen, for this paper, to turn to the hapax legomena of two texts I worked on long ago, the Old English prose life of Guthlac and Vercelli Homily XXIII,<sup>9</sup> in an attempt to discover what evidence they hold for the original translation from which they derive. I shall argue that the revisers whose work is seen in

6 Roberts, "On the *Thesaurus of Old English*" and "Towards an Old English Thesaurus."

7 Roberts and Kay, *A Thesaurus of Old English*, 1:xxv.

8 See further Peters, "The Vocabulary of Pain," 203-204.

9 Crawford [Roberts], "Guthlac: An Edition."

the Old English prose life of St. Guthlac had a good sense of everyday words in their revisions of a translation made perhaps as early as the end of the ninth century.<sup>10</sup> The remaining problems mainly concern the structuring of sentences. The longer of the two extant texts, a late West-Saxon copy dating from the late eleventh century, reflects an originally fuller version of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* that has undergone considerable revision and modernization. Preserved in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xxi, ff. 18-40, it has been edited twice: first, by Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, as long ago as 1848, with a facing translation; and second, by Paul Gosser, in 1909 (the edition presented in the *DOE Corpus*).<sup>11</sup> Gosser was able to include the short tenth-century Vercelli Book homily XXIII that runs parallel with the central part of the Vespasian life, and he also supplies interesting editorial material he had published a year earlier as a separate monograph and a selection of comparative passages from the *Vita* in parallel with the text. Some eight or nine years later, Ida Geisel published a glossary keyed to Gosser's edition, but it was not included in the 1966 reprint of Gosser's text. Vercelli Homily XXIII has been edited separately three times, by Paul E. Szarmach, Herbert Pilch, and Donald Scragg.<sup>12</sup> An identifiable strand of Anglian vocabulary runs through both the Guthlac life and homily, important evidence for the dialect affiliation of the original translation. My discussion of the Anglian words and other non-West Saxon features of the Guthlac life and homily, complementing the discussion of their hapax legomena, takes into account Robert D. Fulk's new assessment of the non-West Saxon dialect features present in Old English homiletic writings.<sup>13</sup> In my concluding comments, I shall also point to one of the less obvious benefits of the *DOE* database, namely, that in its sizeable amount of Latin material there resides information which can prompt serendipitous discoveries.

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10 Cp. Whatley, "Lost in Translation: Omission of Episodes in Some Old English Prose Saints' Legends," esp. 193.

11 Goodwin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac*; and Gosser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*.

12 Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII* (1981); Pilch, "The Last Vercelli Homily: A Sentence-Analytical Edition" (1990); and Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (1992). Zacher's discussion of its "coherent and self-contained" narrative provides an excellent overview of its content; Zacher, *Preaching the Converted*, chap. 7.

13 Fulk, "Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature."

### Hapax legomena in the Vespasian life of Guthlac and Vercelli Homily XXIII

Although the most striking non-West Saxon features of the Vespasian life of Guthlac and Vercelli Homily XXIII are lexical, the hapax legomena they contain also hold evidence for the original translation from which they derive. It is important, therefore, to examine them as a group and to seek out the differing clues they give both for the original making of the translation and for its transmission. The hapax legomena of the Vespasian life are discussed first (in the order nouns, adjectives, verbs), followed by those of the Vercelli homily.

For all Old English words beginning with A through G we now have the authoritative ruling of the *DOE* team (2007). That is the case with the noun *cnihhtwise*, deployed once only, in an adverbial phrase to represent “pueriliter” (*VitG* xii):<sup>14</sup>

LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.20 Mid þam þe seo yld com, þæt hit spreca mihte æfter *cnihhtwisan*, þonne wæs he nawiht hefig, ne unhyrsum his yldrūm on wordum ne þam, þe hine feddon, nænigum oþþe yldrān oþþe gingran.

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.20 When the time came that he could talk as a little boy, he wasn't at all rough or disobedient to his elders in speech or to any of those who cared for him, not to anyone, whether older or younger.]

So, too, we can be certain that the adjective *cnihhtlice* occurs only in the Vespasian life, and that, because it appears twice in a single sentence, it is not technically a nonce word. The adjective is first pressed into service in translating the phrase “puerorum lascivias” (the naughtiness of boys) and soon afterwards to stand in for the backward-referring deictic of “illa aetas” (that age; *VitG* xii):

LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.23 Ne he *cnihhtlice* galnysse næs begangende, ne idele spellunge folclicra manna, ne ungeliclice olæcunge, ne leaslicetunge; ne he mistlice <fugela> sangas ne wurþode, swa oft swa *cnihhtlicu* ylde begæð, ac on his scearpnysse þæt he weox, and wearð glæd on his ansyne, and hluttur and clæne on his mode, and bilwite on his þeawum.

14 Throughout I cite Old English texts from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form*, using the short titles employed in publications of The Dictionary of Old English Project; full bibliographical details may be found on the website of the Project, at <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/st/index.html>>. The *DOE Corpus* draws on Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, for the texts of both the Vercelli Homily XXIII and the Vespasian life, LS 10 (Guth) and LS 10.1 (Guth), respectively. Citations from Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* (*VitG*) are taken from Colgrave, ed., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.23 And he didn't go in for childish temper tantrums or the idle chatter of common people or inappropriate flattery or lying and he didn't imitate the various songs of birds (as is so often the practice at a childish age), but he grew in intelligence and became happy in face and transparent and pure in heart and innocent in his ways.]

Both words draw on elements still commonly used in forming English words. The adjective form was to appear again late in the fourteenth century, not with the meaning “boyish” but with all the connotations of chivalrousness that *knight* had by then acquired, and alongside it an adverb *knightly*. Otherwise, a single-form rendering of the concept BOYISH occurs only in the singleton gloss “hysewise” against *hircitallo* (ClG1 1 (Stryker) “*Hircitallo* hysewise”), an unusual Aldhelm word explained by the adjective *beardleas* in other glosses. Although *cnihtwise* remains unrecorded in later English, it points to the usefulness of *-wise* as a formative. Apparently then as now, *-wise* had the facility of forming parasynthetic compounds at will. Comparable adverbial phrases are *on beagwisan* ‘ring-wise, in rings,’ *on hringwisan* ‘ring-wise, in rings,’ *on scipwisan* ‘in form of a ship,’ *on leoðwisan* ‘in verse, rhythmically,’ *on munucwisan* ‘monastically,’ *on wilewisan* ‘like a basket in texture.’

Felix's heady description of the fenlands sparks off two nonce words in quick succession:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 3.3 hwilon sweart wætersteal, and hwilon fule eariþas yrnende.

(*VitG* xxiv: nunc stagnis, nunc flactris, interdum nigris fusi.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 3.3 sometimes dark standing water and sometimes foetid running streams of water.

(*VitG* xxiv: now with swamps, now with pools, sometimes with black mist-covered waters.)]

The phrase “nunc flactris” is omitted by the *DOE* editors in citing phrases from Felix for comparison in their entry for *ēa-rīþ*; I shall return to “flactris” at the end of this paper. The *DOE* hyphenated headword *ēa-rīþ* ‘stream, rivulet’ prompts speculation that this word hovers uneasily between phrase (*ea* as a feminine noun could be possessive rather than attributive) and compound. With *wætersteal* ‘standing water, pool’ the constraints of Old English grammar require that it, too, be regarded as a compound, though again it could be said to hover between phrase and compound. Its make-up is transparent, and semantically it closely resembles a nonce formation *meresteall* that occurs in one of the Vercelli homilies: HomU 11 (ScraggVerc 7) 111

“on meresteallum wyrmas tyddriað” (worms breed in standing pools). Stagnant waters help create the nightmarish locale haunted by demons. The passage also lists “and swylce eac manige ealand, and hreod, and beorhgas, and treowgewrido” (and many islands also and reeds and hills and thickets of trees) (*VitG* xxiv: “necnon et crebris insularum nemorumque” [and with thickly scattered islands and woods as well and intervening circuitous windings of river courses]), introducing reeds and hills alongside yet another hapax legomenon, *treowgewrid* ‘thicket of trees.’ (In introducing “beorhgas,” the passage resembles the *Guthlac A* poem.) Again, it is a compound transparent in make-up, its base-element *wrid* lasting into regional forms of later English (see *OED* under *wride*), and it is paralleled by a compound *hæselwrid* recorded in mid-tenth-century charter bounds: Ch 495 (Birch 792) 42 “to þam miclan hæsl wride” (to the big hazel thicket); Ch 495 (Birch 792) 43 “Of þam hæsl wride adun on þa blacan rixa” (From the hazel thicket down into the black rushes).

Also transparent in make-up is *tintrehstow* ‘place of torture’:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.178 and hi þa sona ealle þone halgan wer gelæddon to þam sweartum **tintrehstowum**, helleduru hi hine gebrohton.

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.178 and then straightaway they all took the holy man to the black torture-chambers of hell, they carried him to the doors of hell.]

This compound may not, however, have originated with the translator. Rather, it seems to reflect revision of earlier wording better preserved in the homily’s phrasing, where “gomum” answers more closely to Felix’s “fauces”:

LS 10 (Guth) 5.178 hie ða sona þone halgan wer gelæddon to ðam sweartum tintreges **gomum** helledures.

(*VitG* xxxi: supra memoratum Christi famulum Guthlac ad nefandas tartari fauces usque perducunt.)

[LS 10 (Guth) 5.178 then straightaway they took the holy man to the dark jaws of torture of the door of hell.

(*VitG* xxxi: they took the above-commemorated servant of Christ Guthlac right up to the hateful jaws of Tartarus.)]

Over time, the two reflexes of the translation have diverged considerably. For the use of *goma* in the figurative sense ‘the jaws of death, hell, etc.’, see *DOE*, under *gōma* 2.a. All the examples illustrated are from the latter part of the tenth century: HomM 13 (ScraggVerc 21) 87 “of gomum þæs ecan deaðes” (from the jaws of everlasting death), with Pembr. 25 34.41 “ab aeternę mortis faucibus” (from the jaws of everlasting death)

cited as the likely underlying Latin; Whale 71 “þa grimman goman” (the cruel jaws); and in a poetic compound at ChristC 1544 “frecnum feorhgomum” (with terrible fatal jaws). There appear to be no later instances of this figurative usage, and it may already have felt strange to the Vespasian reviser, which could explain why he resorts here to an unusual compound.

The Vespasian scribe, faced with a form that began with six minims, could well have miscounted them to produce the otherwise unrecorded *unmann*, its prefix marked for stressing by an apex sign in the manuscript:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.32 þa gemunde he þa strangan dæda þara <iumanna>  
and þara woruldfrumena.

(*VitG* xvi: tunc valida pristinorum heroum facta reminiscens).

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.32 when he thought upon the mighty deeds of men of days gone by and of heroes.

(*VitG* xvi: then remembering the doughty deeds done by heroes of former days.)]

Tempting though it is to opt for this manuscript form as the more difficult reading and to argue for its retention of *un-* ‘very,’ as I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>15</sup> the prefixed *geo-* element is to be set against *pristinus*. The linked *woruldfruma* ‘a great man,’ also a hapax legomenon, is made up from well-attested elements and is easily understood in context. The *DOE* editors note seven instances of the compound *geomann*. In addition to the form emended into LS 10.1 (Guth), they list two instances from poetry, one from the fragmentary “History of the Kentish Royal Saints” and three from glosses (see *DOE* under *geō-mann*: Met 1.22; Beo 3051; and MtGl (Ru) 5.21, 5.27, and 5.33). Their seventh instance is, they point out, disputed:

LS 27.2 (SeaxburghFörst) 19 ða gelicode ðære halgan cwene Seaxburge,  
þæt heo ðærinnan . . . ðær mynster getimbrode & gestadelode, swa **geomen**  
cwædon, þæt ðrittigum gearum ne gestilde næfre stefen cearciendes wænes  
ne ceoriendes wales.

[LS 27.2 (SeaxburghFörst) 19 it then pleased that holy queen Seaxburg to build and establish a monastery in that place, so that, as men of old said, for thirty years the noise of a creaking wagon or a complaining servant did not cease.]

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15 Roberts, “Old English *un-* ‘very’ and Unferth.”



The *DOE* editors report that this instance has alternatively been taken as two words, with the phrase translated “as men said of old,” an attractive reading. An eighth instance is embedded in Thomas Miller’s notes to the Old English Bede for 480.20-22, where his printed text (from C; T fails here) runs,

Bede 5 22.480.20 Þas þing by stære Ongelþiode cirican on Brytene, swa swa **geo** of manna gewritum oððe of ealdra gesegene oððe of minre sylfre cyþeþe ic gewitan mihte, mid Dryhtnes fultume gedyde ic Beda Cristes þiow & mæssepreost þæs minstres þara eadigra apostola Petrus & Paulus, þæt is æt Wiramuþon & on Gyrwum.<sup>16</sup>

[Bede 5 22.480.20 These things concerning the history of the church of England in Britain, as far as I could formerly learn it from the writings of men of old, or from the tradition of elder men or from my own knowledge, with the help of the Lord, I Bede have written, who am servant of Christ and priest in the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, that is at Wearmouth and in Jarrow.]

Here the clause containing “geo” corresponds to the Latin “prout uel ex litteris antiquorum uel ex traditione maiorum uel ex mea ipse cognitione” (either from ancient documents or from tradition or from my own knowledge).<sup>17</sup> The readings of manuscripts B and Ca, “of iú manna” and “of iu manna” respectively, retain an older form apparently rationalized out of C.<sup>18</sup> The LS 10.1 (Guth) emendation, proposed first by Klaeber, is accepted by Gonser, I now think rightly. Klaeber suggests the word is Anglian.<sup>19</sup>

Adjectives form the limiting element in the two unusual nouns *efenheafodling* and *heahþeod*. In *efenheafodling* the prefixed *efen-*, commonly used in the way in which English was later to employ the Scandinavian borrowing *fellow-* or the Latin-derived prefix *co-*, joins with the word *heafodling*:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.34 and he gesomnode miccle scole and wered his geþoftena and hys **efenhæfdlingas**.  
(*VitG* xvi: adgregatis satellitum turmis.)

16 Text and translation from Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 2:591; see also Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 2:\$607.

17 Latin text and translation from Colgrave and Mynors, eds. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 566-67 [v. 24].

18 Waite, “The Vocabulary of the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,” 447.

19 Klaeber, “Zur altenglischen Bedaübersetzung,” 433-34.

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.34 and he gathered a great following and host of his comrades and equals.

(*VitG* xvi: having drawn together crowds of followers.)]

The form *heafodling* is otherwise recorded in Old English twice only, in Lindisfarne glosses to Matthew, at MtGl (Li) 11.16 and MtGl (Li) 24.49. Yet it appears once in Middle English as “heuedling,” where apparently summoned up by the Otho redactor of Laȝamon’s *Brut* in order to avoid the obsolescent word “here-toȝe” (used in the Caligula text, l. 4980).<sup>20</sup> Here the *-ling* suffix is still used in much the same sense as in Old English, rather than with the diminutive force later adopted from Old Norse. The second of these unusual compounds with an adjective as limiting element may appear twice. One of the two instances of *heahþeod* is secure, supported by Felix’s wording:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 1.1 sum æþela man on þære **hehþeode** Myrcnarice.

(*VitG* i: quidam vir de egregia stirpe Merciorum.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 1.1 a very noble man in that great country, the kingdom of the Mercians.

(*VitG* i: a certain man of excellent Mercian family.)]

But J. H. Kern suggests the need for emendation to “nehþeode” for the second instance:<sup>21</sup>

LS 10.1 (Guth) 15.18 And na læs þæt an þæt hine men sohton of þære **hehþeode** Mercnarice, ac eac swylce ealle þa, þe on Bretone wæron, þe þisne eadigan wer hyrdon, þæt hi æghwonon to him efston and scyndon.

(*VitG* xlv: non solum de proximis Merciorum finibus, verum etiam de remotis Britanniae partibus, fama nimirum virtutum eius acciti, confluebant.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 15.18 And not only did people visit him from the nearby country, the kingdom of the Mercians, but all those as well who were in Britain who heard of the blessed man, they hastened and hurried to him from all sides.

20 Brook and Leslie, eds., *Laȝamon: ‘Brut,’* 1:259, line 4980. *MED*, under *here-towa*, cites three passages from Laȝamon, reporting no later instances. In all, I have found four examples of this word in the Caligula version of Laȝamon’s *Brut* but none in the Otho text (“hertoȝe” C 2932 / “cheueteine” O; “here-toȝe” C 4980 / “heuedling” O; “hære-toȝe” C 5121 / no direct equivalent in O; “here-toȝe” C 5146 / “kine-louerd” O).

21 Kern, “Altenglische Varia,” 7.

(*VitG* xlv: They flocked together not only from the neighbouring territories of the Mercians, but also indeed from faraway parts of Britain, attracted by the fame of his miraculous powers.)]

Kern's emendation to "nehþeode" is clearly related to the Latin and is more appropriate contextually. The scribe had already met *hehþeod* in conjunction with a phrase for the kingdom of Mercia, whereas he might not previously have come across *neahþeod*, a word recorded twice only in the Old English *Orosius* (Or 1 10.30.12, Or 3 1.53.25), and it is likely therefore that he mistakenly repeated the form he had already met in transcribing the life of Guthlac. Thus, *hehþeod* is to be regarded as a hapax legomenon.

Six unusual nominal forms are easily understood when compared with the attested cognates. The use within Old English both of the adjective *heardlic* (10 occurrences) and the adverb *heardlice* (about 55 occurrences) supports easy understanding of the sole appearance of *heardlicnes* in LS 10.1 (Guth) 17.13 "þa heardlicnyse his lifes" (*VitG* xlvi: "asperitatem vitae ipsius" [the austerity of his way of life]). The iterative noun of LS 10.1 (Guth) 8.7 "hræfena cræcetung" (the croaking of ravens) (*VitG* xxxvi: "corvus crocitur" [a raven croaking]) is supported in form and meaning by another infrequent word, an infinitive, recorded at the same place in all three Old English versions of Gregory's *Dialogues*, GD 2 (H) 8.118.22 "crakettan" (C "cræcetta," O "cræcetan") and translating "crocitare" (see *DOE* under *crācettung* and *crācettan*). Similarly, the noun *leaslicetung* 'dissimulation,' in LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.23 "ne ungeliclice olæcunge, ne leaslicetunge" (neither inappropriate flattery nor lying) (*VitG* xii: "non falsidicas parasitorum fribulas" [not the lying fantasies of spongers]), is paralleled by a verb, in this case found once in a gloss: ClG 1 (Stryker) 1888 "*Dissimulari* leasliccettan." A noun "taking, seizure" seems involved in the phrase "on gerisne":

LS 10.1 (Guth) 19.18 Ac beo þu geþyldig, forþon ne begitest þu na þæt rice on gerisne woruldlicra þinga, ac mid drihtnes fultume þu þin rice begytest.

(*VitG* xlix: *patiens esto, ne declines in consilium quod non potest stabiliri. Non in praeda nec in rapina regnum tibi dabitur, sed de manu Domini obtinebis.*)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 19.18 But be patient, for you will not obtain your kingdom by seizing worldly possessions, but with the Lord's help you shall obtain your kingdom.]

(*VitG* xlix: Be patient, and do not turn aside from your purpose because it cannot be established. Not through plunder or pillage will you be given your kingdom, but you will take hold of it from the hand of the Lord.)]

Its trigger must lie in the Latin phrase “in rapina,” and it is best explained by reference to the verb (*ge*)*risan* ‘seize, take,’ cognate to *rasian* and *ræs*. Holthausen assumes a feminine noun *ge-risen*.<sup>22</sup> Again, *geþeot* ‘howling’ in LS 10.1 (Guth) 8.7 “wulfa geþeot” (*VitG* xxxvi: “lupus ululatum”) is explained by reference to a cognate verb *þeotan* ‘to howl.’ The curious neuter plural “þa unablinnu” has all the appearance of a nonce formation, as if the translator were aiming at conveying the idea of “incessancies” in coping with *flagitiosus*: LS 10.1 (Guth) 7.24 “þa unablinnu þæs yfelan geþohtes” (the persistence of that evil intent) (*VitG* xxxv: “flagitiosas meditationes” [vile thoughts]); cognate forms can be found under the *DOE* entry for *ā-blinnan*. The suggestion found in the Bosworth-Toller entry, that the form could have resulted from a reviser’s shortening of an otherwise unrecorded \**unablinnunge*, is attractive, but if emendation on these grounds be thought necessary it would be as easy to put forward some such reconstruction as \**unablinne(n)dnesse*. A solitary use of the form *yldend* ‘delay,’ translating the phrase “Nec mora,” looks like a relict from the original translation process:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.135 Næs þa nænig yldend.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.135 Næs þa nænig ylding.

(*VitG* xxxi: Nec mora.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.135 / LS 10 (Guth) 5.135 There was no delay then.

(*VitG* xxxi: Without delay.)]

Bosworth-Toller, under *ildend* and citing Goodwin’s edition, translate the form as “one who delays,” an interpretation in accordance with the suffix’s usual use in nouns for agents. The Vercelli homily at this point has the normal noun form in *-ing*. The common use of *-licnes* with adjectives for constructing abstract nouns is found in the object phrase LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.83 “þa hlutturlicnysse his modes and þa clænnysse his lifes” (the clarity of his mind and the purity of his life) (*VitG* xxi: “vitae illius sinceritatem et serenae mentis modestiam” [the integrity of his way of life and the unassuming nature of his joyous heart]). The concept “sincerity” is elsewhere expressed by the less cumbersome *hlutornes*.

22 Holthausen, *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 261.

It is noteworthy that the nonce words in the Vespasian life of Guthlac are predominantly nouns. There are only a few adjectives without parallel. The unusual *ongryrlic* 'horrible' occurs in a passage considerably abbreviated by comparison with Felix:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.165 Ða æfter þan þa awerigedan gastas hine genamon and hine swungon mid isenum swipum, and þa æfter þon hi hine læddon on þam **ongryrlican** fiðerum betwux þa cealdan faca þære lyfte.

(*VitG* xxxi: Dein iterum adsumentes, flagellis velut ferreis eum verberare coeperunt. Cum autem, post innumerabilia tormentorum genera, post flagellorum ferreorum verbera, illum inmota mente, robusta fide in eo quod incooperat, perstare viderent, horridis alarum stridoribus inter nubifera gelidi aeris spatia illum subvectare coeperunt.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.165 Then after that the accursed spirits took and whipped him with iron whips, and after that they carried him on their terrible wings in among the cold stretches of the sky.

(*VitG* xxxi: Next taking up whips that seemed made of iron they proceeded to flog him again. Nevertheless, when they saw him persist in what he had undertaken with steadfast heart, with sturdy faith after countless sorts of torments, after the strokes of those iron whips, with the horrible clashing of their wings they started to carry him amidst the cloud-bringing spaces of the icy air.)]

The *DOE* editors describe the form as “a blend of *angrislic* and *gryre*” (*DOE*, under *an-gryrelic*), noting that alternatively a mistaken reading of *ongryslican* has been suggested. The Vercelli homily, here sharing in a similar truncation of Felix's original, reads LS 10 (Guth) 5.165 “in þam andrysenlicum fiðerum” (on those terrible wings), one of its four occurrences of the adjective *ondrysenlic*, employing a word not found in the Vespasian life and indeed seemingly more typical of earlier than later Old English; see also LS 10 (Guth) 5.111 “ondrysenlice muðas” (terrible mouths), LS 10 (Guth) 5.119 “ondrysenlice on stefne” (horrible in voice), LS 10 (Guth) 5.178 “ða ondrysenlican fiðeru” (those terrible wings). Surprisingly, *gewitfæst* 'sane,' a transparent compound adjective, is recorded once only in Old English:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 15.24 næs nænig untrum, þæt he ungelacnod fram him ferde; nænig deofolseoc, þæt he eft wel **gewitfæst** ne wære.

(*VitG* xlv: nullus ab illo egrotus sine remedio, nullus vexatus sine salute.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 15.24 there was no-one sick that went away from him unhealed, no-one possessed by the devil that was not truly sane again.  
(*VitG* xlv: no-one sick [was sent away] by him without a cure, no-one injured without sound health, no-one sorrowful without happiness.)]

The same elements occur in *ungewitfæstnes* ‘insanity,’ a hapax legomenon in Bald’s Leechbook: Lch II (2) 27.2.1 “brægenes adl & ungewitfæstnes” (disease of the brain and insanity). Two words make use of the privative prefix *un-*, then as now, a customary way of forming adjectives for the nonce, reversing the force of their base element. The first of these, *unhyrsum* ‘disobedient,’ happens not to have its usual infix *-ge-* element: LS 10.1 (Guth) 2.20 “nawiht hefig, ne unhyrsum his yldrūm on wordum” (he wasn’t at all rough or disobedient to his elders in speech). The second occurs in a passage which suggests simplification of the original translation:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 17.45 Þa hi þa hæfdon þa þenunge gefylled, and he wæs gehalgod, swa ic ær sæde, he þa se biscop bæd þone halgan wer, þæt he scolde to gereorde fon mid him; and he þa swa dyde, þeah hit his life **ungeþeawe** wære.

(*VitG* xlvii: Peractis ergo consecrationum obsequiis, rogatu summi pontificis contra rem solitam vir Dei illo die ad prandium venire cogitur.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 17.45 When they’d completed the service and, as I’ve said, he was consecrated, he, the bishop, asked the holy man to have a meal with him, and he did so, although it was not customary for his way of life.

(*VitG* xlvii: Once the rites of consecration were completed, at the entreaty of the bishop, the man of God was urged contrary to his usual practice to eat a meal that day.)]

Yet, this unusual-looking adjective form is paralleled by *geþeawe* ‘customary’ in the Old English translation of Gregory’s *Dialogues* GD 2 (C) 19.142.30 “swa him geþeawe wæs” (as was customary with him).

One form, *gebliþe* ‘happy’ (or ‘happily’ if taken as an adverb) is remarkable only for its *ge-* prefix:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 20.8 and he swyþe **gebliþe** hine het gyrwan to þam ingange þæs heofonlican rices.

(*VitG* l: Tunc se ovante spiritu ad perennis regni gaudia praeparare coepit.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 20.8 and filled with joy he ordered that he should be made ready for entrance into the heavenly kingdom.]

(*VitG* I: Then with a rejoicing spirit he began to make himself ready for the joys of the everlasting kingdom.)]

Perhaps a reviser, avoiding the obsolescent *gefeonde* of his exemplar, retained *ge-* by mistake? That this is a likely hypothesis emerges when three Vercelli homily passages containing the participial adjective (*ge*)*feonde* are placed side by side with parallel Vespasian passages. In the first, the Vespasian *blīpe* may be the simple substitution for an obsolescent form:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.95 And he þa sona se eadiga wer Guðlac swiþe **blīpe** wæs þæs heofonlican cuman; and him sona his heorte and his geþanc eall wæs onlihtod.

LS 10 (Guth) 4.95 And he wæs þa sona se eadiga wer swiðe **feonde** þæs heofonlican <cuman>.

(*VitG* xxix: Igitur vir praefatus, veluti miles inter densas acies dimicans, cum caeleste adiutorium angelicae lucis adventasse persensisset, extimplo discussis nefandarum cogitationum nebulis, inluminato turbulenti peccatoris gremio, velut triumphali voce psallebat aiens: *Dominus mihi adiutor est, et ego videbo inimicos meos.*)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.95 And he immediately then, the blessed man Guthlac, was very glad because of his heavenly visitor and straightaway his heart and mind were all illumined.

LS 10 (Guth) 4.95 And he was immediately then, the blessed man, greatly gladdened by his heavenly visitor.

(*VitG* xxix: And then the aforesaid man, struggling like a soldier amidst crowded lines of battle, when he realized that the help of angelic light had arrived from heaven, suddenly, with the clouds of dreadful thoughts scattered, he sang out as if with a victorious voice with his turbulent heart's core alight, crying, "The Lord is my helper, and I shall see my enemies.")]

The Vercelli homily is shorter even than the Vespasian representation of Felix's involved sentence, though clearly descended from the same original translation: its *feonde* is unusual, for otherwise this adjectival participle has *ge-* prefixed. In the second instance, the simple clause of the Vespasian redaction has no need for an adjective:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.110 þa wæs he mid gæstlicre blisse gefylled.

LS 10 (Guth) 4.110 ða wæs he on gæstlicre blisse and heofoncundre gife swiðe **gefeonde**.

(*VitG* xxix: spiritali gaudio repletus.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.110 then he was filled with spiritual joy.

LS 10 (Guth) 4.110 then he rejoiced greatly with spiritual joy and in heavenly happiness.

(*VitG* xxix: filled with spiritual joy.)]

By contrast, the Vercelli homily contains the sort of heavy phrase often found in the Old English versions of Bede and the *Dialogues*, an attempt to tease out the meaning of the Latin more fully than in a simpler equivalence. It is worth noting that the Vercelli scribe first wrote “feonde” here, later adding *ġ* above the last letter of the preceding word. The third passage has *blipe* in the Vespasian life, but the “swiðe gefeonde” of the homily is closer to the Latin in phrasing:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.247 Ða se eadiga wer Guthlac his þone getreowan freond geseah, þa wæs he mid gastlicre blisse and mid heofonlice gefean swiðe blipe.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.247 Þa <he> ða se eadiga wer his þone getrywan freond geseah, ða wæs he mid gastlicre gefeannesse and on heofoncundre blisse swiðe gefeonde.

(*VitG* xxxii: Sanctus vero Guthlac adventum fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens, spiritali laetitia repletus, gavisus est.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.247 When the blessed man Guthlac saw his true friend, he was very joyful in spiritual happiness and heavenly rejoicing.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.247 When he, the blessed man, saw his true friend, he rejoiced greatly with spiritual joy and in heavenly happiness.

(*VitG* xxxii: And Saint Guthlac, recognizing the coming of his truest helper, rejoiced, filled with heavenly gladness.)]

It would seem that *blipe* is again a replacement form and that the unusual *ge-* prefix at LS 10.1 (Guth) 20.8 materialized in the process of updating an earlier exemplar. Noteworthy, too, is the homily’s *gefeannesse* with its unparalleled abstract ending; the suffix may appear otiose, but contextually this hapax legomenon is easily understood.

One further adjective should be noted, *witedomlic* ‘prophetic,’ because its four occurrences are restricted to the Old English versions of the *Vita Guthlaci*. The first instance, translating the adjective *propheticus*, is in that part of the life paralleled in the Vercelli homily; thus, the form can be said to be separately validated by two witnesses: LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.74 “efne swa witedomlice muþe” (as from a prophet’s mouth) and LS 10 (Guth) 4.74 “eft swa he witedomlice muðe” (and so afterwards he [sang]



with prophesying mouth) (*VitG* xxix: “velut prophetico spiritu” [as if through the spirit of prophecy]). In both later examples in the Vespasian life, the adjective occurs where the Latin has a descriptive genitive. At LS 10.1 (Guth) 11.1 “witedomlice wundor” (a miraculous prophecy) (*VitG* xl: “providentiae miraculum” [a miracle of foreknowledge]), both Goodwin and Gosser regularize the form to *witedomlic*, an inappropriate change in a text that displays evidence of the breakdown of gender congruence and the non-West Saxon move towards a case-marking system.<sup>23</sup> The last occurrence is in an instrumental phrase: LS 10.1 (Guth) 13.10 “witedomlice gaste” (in prophetic spirit) (*VitG* xliii: “prophetiae spiritu” [in a spirit of prophecy]).

The first appearance of *miscrooked* in English occurs in the Vespasian life:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.121 hi hæfdon woge sceancan, and mycele cneowu and hindan greate, and **miscrocetan** and hasrunigendum stefnum.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.123 And hie hæfdon wo sceancan, and micle cneowo and hindan greate, and misscrence tan, and hashrymedon on heora cleopunge.

(*VitG* xxxi: genibus nodatis, cruribus uncis, talo tumido, plantis aversis, ore patulo, clamoribus raucisonis.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.121 they had twisted legs and big knees, and huge at the back, and crooked toes, and with raucous voices.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.123 and they had twisted legs and big knees, and huge at the back, and withered toes, and they shrieked hoarsely in their outcry.

(*VitG* xxxi: knotted knees, legs twisted, bloated ankles, splay feet, spreading mouth, hoarse yowlings.)]

An interesting parallel to the *miscroket tan* of the demons is the phrase “miscrokid lymes” (crooked limbs) from Trevisa, cited in both the *OED* and the *MED*. The Bosworth-Toller nonce word *miscrocettan* ‘to make a horrible noise’ is a ghost word based on the reading “miscrocetton” reported by Goodwin; and Henry Sweet puts forward an invented form *mis-crācettan* ‘to croak horribly’ in his *Student’s Dictionary*. Both Goodwin and Gosser emend the homily’s “misscrence tán” into their editions of the life. The *DOE* editors, in their entry for *ge-crōcod*, make a firm cross-reference to *miscrōcod*. The Vercelli homily also has an unusual adjective here: its *misscrence* ‘shrivelled, withered’ is based on the well-attested Old English (*ge*)*scrence*.<sup>24</sup> Scragg regards the form as “not a literal but an acceptable translation of the Latin.”<sup>25</sup> The

23 Roberts, “Traces of Unhistorical Gender Congruence.”

24 Roberts, “The Old English Prose Translation of Felix’s *Vita sancti Guthlaci*,” 372.

25 Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, 394.

compound *hasrunigende* of the Vespasian text, directly related to Felix's adjective, must have come through from the original act of translation, whereas the homily's freer interpretation lends itself to analysis as endingless adverb *has* and verb, as in Pilch's translation;<sup>26</sup> some adjectives allowed the adverbial use of the accusative singular neuter.<sup>27</sup> Both Goodwin and Gonser present the emendation *fægere* in LS 10.1 (Guth) 0.17 "fæger and glæwlice gesette" (beautifully and wisely composed), but the *DOE* editors give the manuscript form.

Two verb forms unusual in Old English and each found once in the Vespasian life need comment. One, a present participle with the meaning "stretching" or maybe "heaving a deep sigh," is the earliest instance recorded of the verb *rax* or *rask* (the *OED* headwords): LS 10.1 (Guth) 12.44 "swa he of hefegum slæpe raxende awoce" (as if he awoke from a heavy sleep sighing deeply). In Middle English the verb is commonest in midland alliterative texts, and it is also found in both Older and Modern Scots. The second is the earliest recorded instance of the verb *sleve* (see *OED* †*sleve*, v.): LS 10.1 (Guth) 16.20 "he <hit> slefde on þone foresprecenan man" (he slipped <it> on the aforementioned man). The other *OED* instances are mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The verb is used transitively for "To cause to slip (*on, down, over, or into* something)" and intransitively with *over* in the sense "slip past." Joseph Wright, under *SLIVE* v.2 and sc.3, suggests that in modern English dialects the word is restricted to midland and northern counties. Both verbs are unusual only within the context of Old English. Worth mentioning is the unusual use of *astellan* to express outwards movement: LS 10.1 (Guth) 16.24 "efne swa swa stræl of bogan astelleþ" (just as an arrow leaps from a bow). The *DOE* editors, under *ā-styllan*, *ā-stellan*, record a second instance in GD 1 (C) 2.21.25, of leaping up from a place. This use of *ā-* 'away from' with *styllan* need therefore have caused no difficulty to readers.

One further verb should be noted for having given rise to discussion, \**bigleofian*, for Kern a ghost word:<sup>28</sup> LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.24 "þonne þigede he þæs andlyfene, þe he bigleofode" (then he ate the food on which he lived); LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.81 "ac þa feng medmycclan bigleofan, þæt wæs to þam berenan hlafe, and þone þigede and his lif bi leofode" (but he took then a moderate amount of food, that was barley bread, and ate it, and gave sustenance to his life). It is a well attested separable verb, and now clearly described by the *DOE* editors (see *DOE* under *be*, *big*, prep., conj., and adv., I.E.4 and

26 Pilch, "The Last Vercelli Homily: A Sentence-Analytical Edition," 327.

27 Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 668.

28 Kern, "Altenglische Varia," 6.

III.D). By contrast, the parallel Vercelli homily reading for the second of these Vespasian passages has an awkward feel to it: LS 10 (Guth) 5.81 “ac þa feng to þære teala myclan andleofone, þæt wæs to þam berenan hlafe, and þone geþygde and his feorh big ferede” (but he then took just such a big [piece of] food, that was barley bread, and ate it, and gave sustenance to his life). In his edition, Scragg gives an emended form “fer[c]ede” (line 83), but the *DOE* editors, under *ferian* 5, where this is the sole entry, retain the manuscript reading, comparing *fercian*.<sup>29</sup>

The few hapax legomena of the brief Vercelli homily are odder, qualitatively different from those of the Vespasian life. Two, *gefeannes* ‘joyfulness’ and *misscrence* ‘shriveled, withered,’ have already been discussed above. The adjective *leglic* ‘fiery’ is transparent, describing the flame-filled waves of hell in a passage without parallel in the Vespasian life: LS 10 (Guth) 5.194 “þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres” (the flamelike waves of that fire). A preterite form *onþræc* ‘grew frightened’ for a strong verb not otherwise attested is worth noting:

LS 10 (Guth) 5.205 Þa he se eadiga wer Guðlac geseah þa micelnesse þara wita, and hine for þy ege swiðlice **onþræc**.

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.205 Ða se eadiga Guthlac þa micelnysse geseah þara witu, þa wæs he for þæra egsan swyðe afyrht.

(*VitG* xxxi: Igitur vir Dei Guthlac, cum innumerabiles tormentorum species horresceret . . .)

[LS 10 (Guth) 5.205 Then he, the blessed man Guthlac, saw the enormity of those punishments, and he trembled greatly because of the horror.

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.205 When the blessed Guthlac saw the enormity of those punishments, he was very frightened because of the horror.

(*VitG* xxxi: So when the man of God Guthlac began to shudder at the countless sorts of torture . . .)]

Cognates for this verb, very likely an older form discarded by the redactor responsible for the Vespasian text, include *onþracung* ‘fear,’ *onþræclīc* ‘horrible,’ *geonþracian* ‘to be afraid of.’

More troublesome is the adjective *earhwinnende*, designated a crux by the *DOE* editors, who place it under the headword *earg-winnende*. The form occurs in a passage that seems to lose its way:

29 For a fuller discussion of this passage, see Roberts, “Two Readings in the Guthlac Homily,” 203–206.

LS 10 (Guth) 4.33 Þa gelamp hit sume dæge, mid þy þe he þy gewunelic can þeowdome his sealmas sang and his gebedum ætfealh, þa se ealda feond mancynnes gengde geond þæt græswang swa grymetende leo, þæt he his costunga attor wide geond stregde. 4.42 Mid þy he þa yfelnes mægen and his grimnesse attor teldað, þæt he mid þy atre þa menniscean heortan wundað, þa semninga swa he of bendum & of brogan wæs his costunge ða he ða þam earhwinnendan stræle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempa.

(*VitG* xxix: cum quodam die adsueta consuetudine psalmis canticisque incumberet, tunc antiquus hostis prolis humanae, ceu leo rugiens, per vasti aetheris spatia tetra numina commutans novas artes novo pectore versat. Cum enim omnes nequitiae suae vires versuta mente temptaret, tum veluti ab extenso arcu venenifluam desperationis sagittam totis viribus iaculavit, quousque in Christi militis mentis umbone defixa pendit.)

[LS 10 (Guth) 4.33 It happened one day, when according to the usual ritual he sang his psalms and fell [to his knees] in prayer, the old enemy of mankind, like a raging lion, roamed through the grassland, to scatter his poisonous temptations far and wide. 4.42 (In that way he spreads his evil power and bitter poison in order to wound human hearts with his poison.) Then he, suddenly, as if his temptation was from bonds and terrors,<sup>30</sup> he fixed his intimidating arrow in the mind of that soldier of Christ.

(*VitG* xxix: when one day according to his usual custom he was engaged in psalms and canticles, then the old enemy of the human race, like a lion raging through the spaces of the boundless sky, setting his foul powers in motion, ponders in his heart new deceits, new schemes.<sup>31</sup> For when in his deceitful mind he tested all the powers of his wickedness, then with his whole strength he hurled a poisonous arrow of despair, as if from a drawn bow, so that it hung fixed in the shield of Christ's soldier.<sup>32</sup>]

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30 I have done my best here to translate the text as it has come down to us, although some such phrase as “of gebendum bogan” is perhaps being reinterpreted.

31 The translation depends upon recognition of Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1:657-58, “At Cytherea novas artes, nova pectore versat / consilia . . .” (But the Cytherean revolves in her breast new wiles, new schemes . . . [Fairclough's translation]) as lying behind Felix's wording here. (This Vergilian echo seems not to have been noticed previously.)

32 Both English texts relate directly to “mentis”; very likely originally a gloss to “umbone,” it is accepted by Colgrave into his text.

Pilch, who sees in the homily “a mixture of syntactic and asyntactic modes of cohesion,” suggests that minimal emendation is needed (“yfelnes[se]”).<sup>33</sup> Instead of looking for complete sentences, he finds his way through these clauses, arguing for the following reading:

- Then it happened some day
- — as he was singing his psalms in the habitual liturgy, and observing the routine of his prayers —
- at that moment the old fiend of mankind was walking the grassy plain
- — like a raging lion, so that he was spraying far and wide the poison of his temptation
- — he spreads the power of evil and the poison of his range, in order therewith to wound the human heart —
- at that very moment as he was free of his bondage and of the horrors (of hell).
- His temptation — as he was fastening it on the mind of Christ’s champion with the poisonous arrow —<sup>34</sup>

The homily passage as edited by Gonser (the edition on the *DOE* database for this homily) is here understood as a succession of elements identified without recourse to Felix’s Latin source-text. Pilch’s careful separation of the larger units of this homily deserves fuller consideration than attempted here: bullet points substitute for element numbers within units; capitals signal the beginning of a unit, and full stops the end. In this reading of the Old English translation, the poisoned arrow has a place, just as does the “*venenifluam desperationis sagittam*” in Felix’s heady sentence. The orderliness of the parallel Vespasian text with its “*costunge streale*” indicates a greater degree of reshaping of what must have been the original translation:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.33 þa gelamp hit sume dæge, mid þan gewunelican þeawe his sealm sang and his gebedum befeal, þa se ealda feond mancynnes efne swa grymetigende leo, þæt he his costunga attor wide todæleð. 4.43 Mid þy he þa his yfelnyse mægen and grymnysse attor þæt he mid þan þa menniscan heortan wundode, þa semninga swa he of gebendum bogan his *costunge streale* on þam mode gefæstnode þæs Cristes cempan.

33 Pilch, “The Last Vercelli Homily: A Sentence-Analytical Edition,” 302

34 Pilch, “The Last Vercelli Homily: A Sentence-Analytical Edition,” 316-17.

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 4.33 It happened one day, when in the usual way he sang his psalm and fell [to his knees] in prayer, that the old enemy of mankind, like a raging lion, is scattering his poisonous temptations far and wide. 4.43 While he [was spreading]<sup>35</sup> his evil power and bitter poison in order to wound human hearts, suddenly, as if from a drawn bow, he fixed his arrow of temptation in the mind of Christ's soldier.]

As Scragg points out in his edition, "it is very unlikely that the unique *earhwinnendan* is a scribal addition."<sup>36</sup> The *DOE* editors provide a marvellously succinct explanation of interpretations advanced for *earg-winnende*; my own choice here is for "intimidating" or "coward-conquering," taking into account that this poisoned arrow is despair-inducing, rather than for identification of the first element of this compound as *earh* 'arrow.'

### Non-West Saxon elements in the Vespasian life of Guthlac and Vercelli Homily XXIII

By their nature, hapax legomena yield little about their dialect origins. Two of the forms discussed above may, because of the evidence for their use in later English, suggest a non-West Saxon context: *raxende* and *slefde*. Others, such as *ondrysenlic* and *(ge)feon*, have been discussed above in relation to the replacement of obsolescent words with late West Saxon equivalents. Among the corpus of anonymous homiletic texts surveyed by Fulk, the Guthlac life and homily score quite high for Anglian features.<sup>37</sup> Although I shall focus here on Fulk's categories 29-30, which relate to vocabulary choice, his phonological and morphological categories (numbers 1-28) must be summarized as providing valuable evidence for the non-West Saxon features contained in these texts.<sup>38</sup> The first column gives Fulk's descriptions (sometimes abbreviated):

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35 Goodwin inserts "todælde" here; Goodwin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac*, p. 28, line 1. Gonser inserts "teldode," an emendation omitted in the *DOE Corpus*; Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, p. 119, col. (a), line 15.

36 Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, 393.

37 Fulk, "Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature," 91.

38 Fulk, "Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature," App. A, pp. 86-88.

Anglian features surveyed in Fulk's corpus	LS 10	LS 10.1
1. <i>o</i> for <i>a</i> before nasal consonants	✓	✓
2. <i>ě</i> for EWS <i>īe</i> , LWS <i>ǰ, ĭ</i> as front mutation of <i>ěa</i>	✓	✓
3. failure of initial diphthongization by initial palatal consonants	✓	✓
4. non-WS examples of back mutation	✓	
7. retraction of prehistoric <i>æ</i> before covered <i>l</i>		✓
8. front mutation of the vowel produced under no. 7 as <i>æ</i> or <i>e</i> , e.g., <i>onheld</i> 'inclined,' <i>welde</i> 'boiled'		✓
12. absence of syncope (and usually of front mutation) in the present tense, 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> persons sing., of strong verbs and long-stemmed verbs of the 1 <sup>st</sup> weak class, as well as in the passive participles of weak verbs of the 1 <sup>st</sup> class with stems that end in a dental stop		✓
13. Anglian <i>hafap</i> , <i>nafap</i> , <i>hafast</i> , <i>nafast</i> '(not) have'		✓
15. distinctive accusative personal pronouns <i>þec</i> , <i>mec</i> , <i>ūsic</i>	✓	
16. use of the accusative case with <i>mid</i>		✓
17. forms of <i>lifigan</i> 'live' (WS <i>libban</i> ), except in formulas ( <i>þām lifigendan Gode, ðone lifiende Gāst</i> etc.)	✓	✓
24. possessive pronoun <i>ūs(s)</i> - 'our' rather than <i>ūr</i> -	✓	
25. inceptive prefix <i>in-</i> = WS <i>on-</i>		✓
26. co-occurrence of a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun, e.g., <i>his þām hālgum</i> 'his the saints'		✓
28. <i>ac</i> = Lat. <i>nonne</i> ?		✓

According to Fulk, there are fewer examples overall for categories 1-28 in the Vercelli homily than in the life, but it must be remembered that it is a very much shorter text. Its one instance of a distinctive accusative personal pronoun, "mec," requiring emendation to the second person, is a form that could have slipped through in part, because

of some sense of awkwardness about it.<sup>39</sup> The Vercelli Book scribe has no other instances of these older forms. The Vercelli homily may retain traces of *ē* for WS *ǣ* as the reflex of Gmc. *ē*<sup>1</sup> (Fulk category 6) in the manuscript forms *weccean*, *wecst*, and *weccest* — all appear in emended form in the *DOE* database, as LS 10 (Guth) 5.36 “wecean” and 5.41 “swecst and wecest.” In addition, the Vespasian life has one instance of the non-West Saxon preterite form of *sēon* ‘to see’ (Fulk category 7): LS 10.1 (Guth) 11.5 “gesegon.”

Fulk’s Anglian words are divided into two categories: 28 “words not normally found in West Saxon”; and 29 “words not normally found in Late West Saxon though they occur in Early West Saxon”:<sup>40</sup>

Anglian words surveyed in Fulk’s corpus	LS 10	LS 10.1
29 (h) unstressed <i>in</i> (WS <i>on</i> )	✓	✓
29 (j) <i>nānig</i> ‘no, none’	✓	✓
29 (o) <i>semninga</i> , <i>samnunga</i> ‘suddenly’	✓	✓
29 (r) <i>werig</i> ‘accursed’	✓	✓
30 (c) ( <i>ge</i> ) <i>fēon</i> ‘rejoice’	✓	
30 (d) <i>frignan</i> ‘ask’		✓
30 (e) infinitive <i>gangan</i> ‘go’		✓
30 (f) <i>snyttru</i> ‘wisdom’ (LWS <i>wisdōm</i> )		✓

He also notes for LS 10 (Guth) the words *rēc* ‘smoke,’ *ondrysenlic* ‘terrible,’ *smīcan* ‘reek,’ and *ofergeotol* ‘forgetful.’<sup>41</sup> An additional two of the diagnostic Anglian words listed by Fulk also occur in the prose Guthlac texts: 29 (s) *ymbsellan* ‘surround’ in LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.172, 15.21, and 20.96 “ymbseald”; and 29 (i) *iren* ‘iron’ in LS 10.1 (Guth) 12.2 “irene.” The Vespasian life is not entirely free of 30 (c) (*ge*)*fēon* ‘rejoice,’ for one

39 LS 10 (Guth) 5.11 “þær we þin cunedon and costedon, þæt we mid manigfealdum cræfte ussa wæpna stræla wið mec sendan” (we tested and made trial of you there, launching our weapons, arrows, against [you] with manifold skill). Szarmach puts forward the emendation “þe”; Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, 98, line 39. Scragg gives “[ð]ec”; Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, 386, line 53.

40 Fulk, “Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature,” App. A.

41 Fulk, “Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature,” 91.



instance is apparently overlooked by Fulk. A finite form occurs once where the parallel Vercelli reading makes no sense:

LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.40 and swa mycclē swa þu on þisum andweardan life ma earfoða drigast, swa mycclē þu eft on towardnysse gefehst.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.46 And swa micle swiðor swa ðu on þyssan andweardan life ma earfeða dreogest, swa micle þu eft in towyrðnesse forgifest.

(*VitG* xxx: et quanto in praesenti adfligeris, tanto in futuro gaudebis.)

[LS 10.1 (Guth) 5.40 and as much as you suffer more hardships in this present life, so much will you rejoice afterwards in time to come.

LS 10 (Guth) 5.46 And as much as you suffer more strongly more hardships in this present life, so much will you rejoice afterwards in time to come.

(*VitG* xxx: and to the degree that you are scourged in the present, so you will rejoice in the future.)]

The homily's "forgifest," perhaps a misreading of some such form as \**gefist*, is emended to *gefehst* by Gonser.<sup>42</sup> The Vercelli homily's three other instances of (*ge*)*fēon* were cited in the discussion of the unusual adjective *geblīpe* above, and this is very likely a fourth. Yet Vleeskruyer, too, points out that the Vespasian life of Guthlac should be numbered among those texts recognized by Jordan as avoiding this verb.<sup>43</sup>

### Concluding comments

Having the run of the *DOE* database can sometimes lead in surprising directions. The oddity of \**fleoþam*, reconstructed by Herbert Dean Meritt from a curious form in the Harley Glossary, caught my eye when flagging it **og** for the *TOE*: HIGI (Oliphant) F429 "*Flactris .i. pontibus uel fleoþomum.*" I knew *flactris* from Felix's description of the fens (*VitG* xxiv, cited above in the discussion of "eariþas" on p. 180), and I remembered that Colgrave includes it among his list of nearly fifty words for which "the only authority quoted by Du Cange is Felix."<sup>44</sup> The *DOE* editors include this Harley Glossary reference under the hypothetical headword \**flēot-hamm* 'a watery place, marsh,' comparing a place-name element *floodhamm*. Meritt, in the supplement to

42 Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, 51.

43 Vleeskruyer, ed., *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*, 28. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes*, 89.

44 Colgrave, ed., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, 17, n. 1.

Clark Hall's dictionary, also suggests that the glossary form is to be understood as a dative plural of "flēotham ?*watery place*," and compares *flōdham* (the charter reference is accorded the status of a common noun in Clark Hall). Now, if one rare word from Felix had, I speculated, made it into the Harley Glossary, could any others have done so, too? To my surprise I was lucky with two further words in Colgrave's list: HIGI (Oliphant) F71 "*Falsi uomis leas portantibus*," paralleled in the phrase *VitG xxxi* "falsivomis pectoribus" (from your lie-spewing breasts); and HIGI (Oliphant) F105 "*Fauillantium yslendra*," paralleled in *VitG xxxi* "inter favillantium voraginum atras cavernas" (amidst the black caves of the fire-spattering depths). These three unusual Latin words, which do not appear anywhere else in the Toronto database, may well have been newly incorporated into the Harley Glossary, a Worcester manuscript. It would seem possible, therefore, that I had tumbled on a previously unidentified source used by the maker of the Harley Glossary, for Felix is not among the sources identified by Jessica Cooke.<sup>45</sup>

But I stray far from the central purpose of this paper, an examination of the hapax legomena of Vercelli Homily XXIII and of the Vespasian D. xxi life of Guthlac. With the aid of the *DOE* lexicographical tools, it has become very clear that these two texts, although separated from one another by a century or more, were both uneasily adapted into late West Saxon from a translation made some time before. That original translation must have been very different. Linguistically, it is to be aligned rather with the Old English Bede and Wærferth's version of Gregory's *Dialogues* than with the early West Saxon evidenced in the Hatton *Cura pastoralis*, the Lauderdale Orosius, and the stints of the first and second scribes of the Parker Chronicle. Worcester connections are advanced for the two earliest extant manuscripts of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, London, British Library, Royal MS 4 A. xiv, ff. 1-2, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 307, ff. 1-52,<sup>46</sup> and these are followed most closely in time by two tenth-century manuscripts, London, British Library, Royal MS 13 A. xv and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 389.<sup>47</sup> The former, dated to the middle of the tenth century, is again thought to be from Worcester, the latter, from St. Augustine's Canterbury and dated to the second part of the century and probably more closely to its last quarter. The make-up of Royal 13 A. xv, a small single-text volume, would repay closer investigation. Part Anglo-Saxon minuscule, part Caroline, it is

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45 Cooke, "Worcester Books and Scholars, and the Making of the Harley Glossary."

46 Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 454, 88.

47 Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 484, 103.

marked up as a copy-text by a layer of interlineations made in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>48</sup> Coincidentally, the Harley Glossary, another Worcester manuscript,<sup>49</sup> bears witness to interest c.1000 in the *Vita Guthlaci* at Worcester. The pointers are tenuous. Yet together they point to the availability of the *Vita Guthlaci* in the Alfredian period at Worcester as well as to a continuing interest in the saint at that centre in the tenth century. It would seem therefore that not only are Vercelli Homily XXIII and the Vespasian life of Guthlac witnesses to an early translation, but that the original translation had close affinities with the translation work undertaken at Worcester in Alfred's day.

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48 Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 266.

49 Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 436.

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